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# COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR

OF THE

SANSKRIT, ZEND,

GREEK, LATIN, LITHUANIAN, GOTHIC, GERMAN,

AND SCLAVONIC LANGUAGES.

BY

PROFESSOR F. BOPP.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

BY

EDWARD B. EASTWICK, F.R.S., F.S.A.

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#### PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

the adoption of the Work as a Lecture Book at Oxford, and by the extensive use which Rawlinson and other eminent scholars have made of it in their researches.

It remains to be added, that while the Notes and Preface made by Professor Wilson, the former Editor, have been retained, I must be myself held responsible for the errors and defects, whatever they may be, of the present edition.

EDWARD B. EASTWICK.

HAILEYBURY COLLEGE,
February, 1854

# PREFACE

TO THE

# FIRST EDITION.

The study of Comparative Philology has of late years been cultivated in Germany, especially, with remarkable ability and proportionate success. The labours of Grimm, Pott, Bopp, and other distinguished Scholars, have given a new character to this department of literature; and have substituted for the vague conjectures suggested by external and often accidental coincidences, elementary principles, based upon the prevailing analogies of articulate sounds and the grammatical structure of language.

But although the fact that a material advance has been made in the study of Comparative Philology is generally known, and some of the particulars have been communicated to the English public through a few works on Classical Literature, or in the pages of periodical criticism; yet the full extent of the progress which has been effected. and the steps by which it has been attained, are imperfectly appreciated in this country. The study of the German language is yet far from being extensively pursued; and the results which the German Philologers have developed, and the reasonings which have led to them. being accessible to those only who can consult the original writers, are withheld from many individuals of education and learning to whom the affinities of cultivated speech are objects of interest and inquiry. Translations of the works, in which the information they would gladly seek

for, is conveyed, are necessary to bring within their reach the materials that have been accumulated by German industry and erudition, for the illustration of the history of human speech.

Influenced by these considerations, Lord Francis Egerton was some time since induced to propose the translation of a work which occupies a prominent place in the literature of Comparative Philology on the Continent-the Vergleichende Grammatik of Professor Bopp of Berlin. In this work a new and remarkable class of affinities has been systematically and elaborately investigated. Taking as his standard the Sanskrit language, Professor Bopp has traced the analogies which associate with it and with each other-the Zend, Greek, Latin, Gothic, German, and Sclavonic tongues: and whatever may be thought of some of his arguments, he may be considered to have established beyond reasonable question a near relationship between the languages of nations separated by the intervention of centuries, and the distance of half the globe, by differences of physical formation and social institutions,-between the forms of speech current among the dark-complexioned natives of India and the fair-skinned races of ancient and modern Europe; -a relationship of which no suspicion existed fifty years ago, and which has been satisfactorily established only within a recent period, during which the Sanskrit language has been carefully studied, and the principles of alphabetical and syllabic modulation upon which its grammatical changes are founded, have been applied to its kindred forms of speech by the Philologers of Germany.

As the Vergleichende Grammatik of Professor BOPP is especially dedicated to a comprehensive comparison of languages, and exhibits, in some detail, the principles of the Sanskrit as the ground-work and connecting bond of the comparison, it was regarded as likely to offer most interest to the Philologers of this country, and to be one of

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the most acceptable of its class to English students: it was therefore selected as the subject of translation. The execution of the work was, however, opposed by two considerations—the extent of the original, and the copiousness of the illustrations derived from the languages of the East, the Sanskrit and the Zend. A complete translation demanded more time than was compatible with Lord F. EGERTON's other occupations; and as he professed not a familiarity with Oriental Literature, he was reluctant to render himself responsible for the correctness with which the orientalisms of the text required to be represented. This difficulty was, perhaps, rather over-rated, as the Grammar itself supplies all the knowledge that is needed, and the examples drawn from the Sanskrit and Zend speak for themselves as intelligibly as those derived from Gothic and Sclavonic. In order, however, that the publication might not be prevented by any embarrassment on this account, I offered my services in revising this portion of the work: and have hence the satisfaction of contributing, however humbly, to the execution of a task which I consider likely to give a beneficial impulse to the study of Comparative Philology in Great Britain.

The difficulty arising from the extent of the original work, and the consequent labour and time requisite for its translation, was of a more serious description. This, however, has been overcome by the ready co-operation of a gentleman, who adds a competent knowledge of German to eminent acquirements as an Oriental Scholar. Having mastered several of the spoken dialects of Western India, and made himself acquainted with the sacred language of the Parsees during the period of his service under the Presidency of Bombay, Lieutenant Eastwick devoted part of a furlough, rendered necessary by failing health, to a residence in Germany, where he acquired the additional qualifications enabling him to take a share in the transla-

tion of the Vergleichende Grammatik. He has accordingly translated all those portions of the Comparative Grammar, the rendering of which was incompatible with the leisure of the Noble Lord with whom the design originated, who has borne a share in its execution, and who has taken a warm and liberal interest in its completion.

The Vergleichende Grammatik, originally published in separate Parts, has not yet reached its termination. In his first plan the author comprised the affinities of Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, Latin, Gothic, and its Teutonic descendants. To these, after the conclusion of the First Part, he added the Sclavonic. He has since extended his researches to the analogies of the Celtic and the Malay-Polynesian dialects, but has not yet incorporated the results with his general Grammar. The subjects already treated of are quite sufficient for the establishment of the principles of the comparison, and it is not proposed to follow him in his subsequent investigations. The first portions of the present Grammar comprise the doctrine of euphonic alphabetical changes, the comparative inflexions of Substantives and Adjectives, and the affinities of the Cardinal and Ordinal Numerals. The succeeding Parts contain the comparative formation and origin of the Pronouns and the Verbs: the latter subject is yet unfinished. The part of the translation now offered to the public stops with the chapter on the Numerals, but the remainder is completed, and will be published without delay.

With respect to the translation, I may venture to affirm, although pretending to a very slender acquaintance with German, that it has been made with great scrupulousness and care, and that it has required no ordinary pains to render in English, with fidelity and perspicuity, the not unfrequently difficult and obscure style of the original.

H. H. WILSON.

### THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

I CONTEMPLATE in this work a description of the comparative organization of the languages enumerated in the title page, comprehending all the features of their relationship, and an inquiry into their physical and mechanical laws, and the origin of the forms which distinguish their grammatical relations. One point alone I shall leave untouched, the secret of the roots, or the foundation of the nomenclature of the primary ideas. I shall not investigate, for example, why the root i signifies "go" and not "stand"; why the combination of sounds stha or sta signifies "stand" and not "go," I shall attempt, apart from this, to follow out as it were the language in its stages of being and march of development; yet in such a manner that those who are predetermined not to recognise, as explained, that which they maintain to be inexplicable, may perhaps find less to offend them in this work than the avowal of such a general plan might lead them to expect. In the majority of cases the primary signification, and, with it, the primary source of the grammatical forms, spontaneously present themselves to observation in consequence of the extension of our horizon of language, and of the confronting of sisters of the same lingual stock separated for ages, but bearing indubitable features of their family connection. In the treatment, indeed, of our European tongues a new epoch could not fail to open upon us in the discovery of another region in the world of language, namely the Sanskrit,\* of which it has been demonstrated, that, in its

<sup>\*</sup> Sanskrita signifies "adorned, completed, perfect"; in respect to language, "classic"; and is thus adapted to denote the entire family or race." It is compounded of the elements sam, "with," and krita (nom. kritas, kritā, kritam), "made," with the insertion of a euphonic s (§§. 18.96.).

grammatical constitution, it stands in the most intimate relation to the Greek, the Latin, the Germanic, &c.; so that it has afforded, for the first time, a firm foundation for the comprehension of the grammatical connection between the two languages called the Classical, as well as of the relation of these two to the German, the Lithuanian, and Sclavonic. Who could have dreamed a century ago that a language would be brought to us from the far East, which should accompany, pari passû, nay, sometimes surpass, the Greek in all those perfections of form which have been hitherto considered the exclusive property of the latter, and be adapted throughout to adjust the perennial strife between the Greek dialects, by enabling us to determine where each of them has preserved the purest and the oldest forms?

The relations of the ancient Indian languages to their European kindred are, in part, so palpable as to be obvious to every one who casts a glance at them, even from a distance: in part, however, so concealed, so deeply implicated in the most secret passages of the organization of the language, that we are compelled to consider every language subjected to a comparison with it, as also the language itself, from new stations of observation, and to employ the highest powers of grammatical science and method in order to recognise and illustrate the original unity of the different grammars. The Semitic languages are of a more compact nature, and, putting out of sight lexicographical and syntactical features, extremely meagre in contrivance; they had little to part with, and of necessity have handed down to succeeding ages what they were endowed with at starting. The triconsonantal fabric of their roots (§. 107.), which distinguishes this race from others, was already of itself sufficient to designate the parentage of every individual of the family. The family bond, on the other hand, which embraces the Indo-European race of languages, is not indeed less universal, but, in most of its bearings, of a quality infinitely more refined. The members of this race inherited, from the period of their earliest youth,

endowments of exceeding richness, and, with the capability (§. 108.), the methods, also, of a system of unlimited composition and agglutination. Possessing much, they were able to bear the loss of much, and yet to retain their local life; and by multiplied losses, alterations, suppressions of sounds, conversions and displacements, the members of the common family are become scarcely recognisable to each other. It is at least a fact, that the relation of the Greek to the Latin, the most obvious and palpable, though never quite overlooked, has been, down to our time, grossly misunderstood; and that the Roman tongue, which, in a grammatical point of view, is associated with nothing but itself, or with what is of its own family, is even now usually regarded as a mixed language, because, in fact, it contains much which sounds heterogeneous to the Greek, although the elements from which these forms arose are not foreign to the Greek and other sister languages, as I have endeavoured partly to demonstrate in my "System of Conjugation."\*

The close relationship between the Classical and Germanic languages has, with the exception of mere comparative lists of words, copious indeed, but destitute of principle and critical judgment, remained, down to the period of the appearance of the Asiatic intermediary, almost entirely unobserved, although the acquaintance of philologists with the Gothic dates now from a century and a half; and that language is so perfect in its Grammar and so clear in its affinities, that had it been earlier submitted to a rigorous and systematic process of comparison and anatomical investigation, the pervading relation

<sup>\*</sup> Frankfort. a. M. 1816. A translation of my English revision of this treatise ("Analytical Comparison of the Sanskrit, Greek, Latin and Teutonic Languages," in the "Annals of Oriental Literature," London 1820.) by Dr. Pacht, is to be found in the second and third number of the second annual issue of Seebode's new Record of Philology and Pædagogical science. Grimm's masterly German Grammar was unfortunately unknown to me when I wrote the English revision, and I could then make use only of Hickes and Fulda for the old German dialects.

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of itself, and, with it, of the entire Germanic stock, to the Greek and Roman, would necessarily have long since been unveiled, tracked through all its variations, and by this time been understood and recognised by every philologer.\* For what is more important, or can be more earnestly desired by the cultivator of the classical languages, than their comparison with our mother tongue in her oldest and most perfect form? Since the Sanskrit has appeared above our horizon, that element can no longer be excluded from a really profound investigation of any province of language related to it; a fact, however, which sometimes escapes the notice of the most approved and circumspect labourers in this department.† We need

<sup>\*</sup> Rask has been the first to supply a comprehensive view of the close relationship between the Germanic and the Classical Languages, in his meritorious prize treatise "On the Thracian Tribe of Languages," completed in 1814 and published in 1818, from which Vater gives an extract in his Comparative Tables. It cannot be alleged as a reproach against him that he did not profit by the Asiatic intermediary not then extensively known; but his deficiency in this respect shews itself the more sensibly, as we see throughout that he was in a condition to use it with intelligence. Under that deficiency, however, he almost everywhere halts halfway towards the truth. We have to thank him for the suggestion of the law of displacement of consonants, more acutely considered and fundamentally developed by Grimm (§. 87., and see Vater, §. 12.).

<sup>†</sup> We refer the reader to the very weighty judgment of W. von. Humboldt on the indispensable necessity of the Sanskrit for the history and philosophy of language (Indische Bibl. I. 133). We may here borrow, also, from Grimm's preface to the second edition of his admirable Grammar, some words which are worthy of consideration (I. vi.): "As the too exalted position of the Latin and Greek serves not for all questions in German Grammar, where some words are of simpler and deeper sound, so however, according to A. W. Schlegel's excellent remark, the far more perfect Indian Grammar may, in these cases, supply the requisite corrections. The dialect which history demonstrates to be the oldest and least corrupted must, in the end, present the most profound rules for the general exposition of the race, and thus lead us on to the reformation, without the entire subversion of the rules hitherto discovered, of the more recent modes of speech."

not fear that that practical and profound research in utraque lingua, which is of most importance to the philologer can suffer prejudice by extension over too many languages; for the variety vanishes when the real identity is recognised and explained, and the false light of discrepancy is excluded. It is one thing, also, to learn a language, another to teach one, i.e. to describe its mechanism and organization. The learner may confine himself within the narrowest limits, and forbear to look beyond the language to be studied: the teacher's glance, on the contrary, must pass beyond the confined limits of one or two members of a family, and he must summon around him the representatives of the entire race, in order to infuse life, order, and organic mutual dependency into the mass of the languages spread before him. To attempt this appears to me the main requirement of the present period, and past centuries have been accumulating materials for the task.

The Zend Grammar could only be recovered by the process of a severe regular etymology, calculated to bring back the unknown to the known, the much to the little; for this remarkable language, which in many respects reaches beyond, and is an improvement on, the Sanskrit, and makes its theory more attainable, would appear to be no longer intelligible to the disciples of Zoroaster. Rask, who had the opportunity to satisfy himself on this head, says expressly (V. d. Hagen, p. 33) that its forgotten lore has yet to be rediscovered. I am also able, I believe, to demonstrate that the Pehlvi translator (tom. II. pp. 476, et seq.) of the Zend Vocabulary, edited by Anquetil, has frequently and entirely failed in conveying the grammatical sense of the Zend words which he translates. The work abounds with singular mistakes; and the distorted relation of Anquetil's French translation to the Zend expressions is usually to be ascribed to the mistakes in the Pehlvi interpretations of the Zend original. Almost all the oblique cases, by degrees, come to take rank as nominatives: the numbers, too, are sometimes mistaken. Further, we find forms of cases produced by the Pehlvi translator as verbal persons, and next these also confounded with each other, or translated by abstract nouns.\* Anquetil makes, as far as I know, no

<sup>\*</sup> I give the Zend expressions according to the system of representation explained in §.30., annexing the original characters, which are exhibited in type for the first time in this book, and which were lately cut at the order of the Royal Society of Literature by R. Gotzig, according to the exemplar of the lithographed M.S. of M. Burnouf. I give the Pehlvi words exactly according to Anquetil (II. 435): 659w6x ahmakem, "ήμῶν," P. rouman (cf. p. 502, roman, "nos"), A. "je," "moi;" צע אַ עַנְאָנָאַ ahubya, "bonis" (with dual termination, §. 215), P. avaéh, A. "bon," "excellent;" word aêtê, "hi," "ii," P. varman, "is," A. "lui;" קבשים anhem, "I was," or also "I am," P. djanounad, "he is," A. "il est;" עביש anheus, "mundi," P. akhé, A. "le monde;" אינעסעשאיטע avaêshanm, "horum," P. varmouschan, "ii," A. "eux;" אנצא baraiti, "fert," P. dadrouneschné, "the carrying" (eschné, in Pehlvi, forms abstract substantives), A. "il porte," "il execute," "porter;" "bîs, "twice," P. dou, "two," A. "deux;" bérétebil \$33,300 baratibyô, "ferentibus?" (unquestionably a plural dative and ablative), P. dadrouneschné, "the carrying," A. "porter;" mo tê, "tui," P. tou, "tu," A. "toi;" wowo tâcha, "eaque," (neut. 3. 231), P. zakedj, A. "ce;" your jatô, "the smitten" (cf. Sansk hatas from han), P. maitouned, "he smites," A. "il frappe;" אַעןעק janat, "he smote," P. maitouneschné, "the smiting," A. "frapper;" 2 zanthra, "per genitorem," P. zarhounad, "gignit," A. "il engendre," sos strî, "femina," P. vakad, A. "femelle;" ς, γου strîm, "feminam," P. vahad, A. "femelle;" ς κυνωρω stâranm, "stellarum," P. setaran, A. "les étoiles;" swowand fra-dâtâi, "to the given," or "especially given," P. feraz acheschné (nomen actionis), A. "donner abondamment;" & gaethanaim, "mundorum," P. guehan (cf. جہاں), A. "le monde;" אועס gâtûmcha, "locumque," P. gah, A. "lieu;" nars, "of the man," P. guebna hamat advah, A. "un homme;" אלא nara, "two men," P. guebna hamat dou, A. "deux hommes;" ן אנגלען nairikananm, "feminarum," P. nairik hamat sé, A. "trois (ou plusieurs) femmes;" 6 3396 thryanm, "trium," P. sevin, A. "troisième;" אור vahmemcha, "præclarumque," P. néueschné, "adoratio," A. "je fais néuesch;" swab vahmâi, "præcluro," P. néaesch, konam, "adorationem facio," A. "je bénis

remark on the age of the Vocabulary to which I advert; while he ascribes to another, in which the Pehlvi is interpreted through the Persian, an antiquity of four centuries. The

et fais néaesch." I do not insist on translating the adjective was valma by "præclarus," but I am certain of this, that vahmen and vahmai are nothing else than the accusative and dative of the base vahma; and that vahmâi could be the first person of a verb is not to be thought possible for a moment. Anquetil, however, in the interlinear version of the beginning of the V. S. attempted by him, gives two other evident datives compounded with the particle wo cha, "and," as the first person singular of the present, viz. אנענעטעלנעסעלנעסעל csnaothrâi-cha, אנענעטעלנעטעטעטעל frasastoyaê-cha (see §. 164.), by "placere cupio," "vota facio. One sees then, from the example here adduced, the number of which I could with ease greatly increase, that the Pehlvi Translator of the said Vocabulary has, no more than Anquetil, any grammatical acquaintance with the Zend language, and that both regarded it rather in the light of an idiom, poor in inflexions; so that, as in the Pehlvi and Modern Persian, the grammatical power of the members of a sentence would be to be gathered rather from their position than from their terminations. And Anquetil expressly says (II. 415.): "La construction dans la langue Zende, semblable en cela aux autres idiômes de l'Orient, est astreinte à peu de regles (!). La formation des tems des Verbes y est à peu près la même que dans le Persan, plus trainante cependant, parce qu'elle est accompagnée de toutes les voyelles (!). How stands it, then, with the Sanskrit translation of the Jzeschne made from the Pehlvi more than three centuries before that of Acquetil. This question will, without doubt, be very soon answered by M. E. Burnouf, who has already supplied, and admirably illustrated (Nouv. Journ. Asiat., T. III. p. 321), two passages from the work in a very interesting extract from its Commentary on the V. S. These passages are, however, too short to permit of our grounding on them overbold influences as to the whole; moreover, their contents are of such a nature that the inflexionless Pehlvi language could follow the Zend original almost verbatim. The one passage signifies, "I call upon, I magnify the excellent pure spell, and the excellent man, the pure and the strict, strong like Dámi (? cf. Sansk. upamâna, "similarity;" and V. S., p. 423, dâmôis drujô) Izet." It is, however, very surprising, and of evil omen, that Neriosengh, or his Pehlvi predecessor, takes the feminine genitive dahmayas as a plural genitive, since this expression is evidently, as Burnouf rightly remarks, only an epithet of afritois. I abstain from speaking of the dubious expression dâmôis upamanahê, and content myone in question cannot therefore be ascribed to any very late period. The necessity, indeed, of interpretation for the Zend must have been felt much sooner than for the Pehlvi, which remained much longer current among the Parsee tribes. It was therefore an admirable problem which had for its solution the bringing to light, in India, and, so to say, under the very eye of the Sanskrit, a sister language, no longer understood, and obscured by the rubbish of ages;—a problem of which the solution indeed has not hitherto been fully obtained, but beyond doubt will be. The first contribution to the knowledge of this language which can be relied on—that of Rask—namely, his treatise "On the age and authenticity of the Zend Language and the Zend-Avesta," published in 1826, and made generally accessible by V. d. Hagen's translation, deserves high honour as a first attempt. The Zend has to thank this able man (whose premature death we deeply deplore) for the more natural appearance which it has derived from his rectification of the value of its written characters. Of three words of different declensions he gives us the singular inflections, though with some sensible deficiencies, and those, too, just in the places where the Zend forms are of most interest, and where are some which display that independence of the Sanskrit which Rask claims, perhaps in too high a degree, for the Zend; a language we are, however, unwilling to receive as a mere dialect of the Sanskrit, and to which we are compelled to ascribe an independent existence, resembling that of the Latin as compared with the Greek, or the Old Northern with the Gothic. For the rest, I refer the reader to my review of Rask's and Bohlen's treatises on the Zend in the Annual of Scientific Criticism for December 1831, as also to an earlier work (March 1831) on the able labours of E. Burnouf in this newlv-

self with having pointed out the possibility of another view of the construction, different from that which has been very profoundly discussed by Burnouf, and which is based on Neriosengh. The second possessinguisties, "I call upon and magnify the stars, the moon, the sun, the eternal, self-created lights!

opened field. My observations, derived from the original texts edited by Burnouf in Paris, and by Olshausen in Hamburgh, already extend themselves, in these publications, over all parts of the Zend Grammar; and nothing therefore has remained for me here, but further to establish, to complete, and to adjust the particulars in such a manner that the reader may be conducted on a course parallel with that of the known languages, with the greatest facility towards an acquaintance with the newly-discovered sister tongue. In order to obviate the difficulty and the labour which attend the introduction of the learner to the Zend and Sanskrit-difficulty sufficient to deter many, and to harass any one-I have appended to the original characters the pronunciation, laid down on a consistent method, or in places where, for reasons of space, one character alone is given, it is the Roman. This method is also perhaps the best for the gradual introduction of the reader to the knowledge of the original characters.

As in this work the languages it embraces are treated for their own sakes, i. e. as objects and not means of knowledge, and as I aim rather at giving a physiology of them than an introduction to their practical use, it has been in my power to omit many particulars which contribute nothing to the character of the whole; and I have gained thereby more space for the discussion of matters more important, and more intimately incorporated with the vital spirit of the language. By this process, and by the strict observance of a method which brings under one view all points mutually dependent and mutually explanatory, I have, as I flatter myself, succeeded in assembling under one group, and in a reasonable space, the leading incidents of many richly-endowed languages or grand dialects of an extinct original stock. Special care has been bestowed throughout on the German. This care was indispensable to one who, following Grimm's admirable work, aimed at applying to it the correction and adjustment that had become necessary in his theory of relations, the discovery of new affinities, or the more precise definition of those discovered, and to catch, with greater truth, at every step of grammatical progress, the

monitory voices of the Asiatic as well as the European sisterhood. It was necessary, also, to set aside many false appearances of affinity; as, for example, to deprive the i in the Lithuanian geri of its supposed connection with the i of Gothic, Greek, and Latin forms, such as gôdai, ἀγαθοι, boni (see p. 251, Note †, and compare Grimm I. 827.11); and to disconnect the Latin is of lupis (lupibus) from the Greek ις of λύκοις (λύκοι-σι). As concerns the method followed in treating the subject of Germanic grammar, it is that of deducing all from the Gothic as the guiding star of the German, and explaining the latter simultaneously with the older languages and the Lithuanian. At the close of each lecture on the cases, a tabular view is given of the results obtained, in which every thing naturally depends on the most accurate distinction of the terminations from the base, which ought not, as usually happens, to be put forward capriciously, so that a portion of the base is drawn into the inflection, by which the division becomes not merely useless, but injurious, as productive of positive error. Where there is no real termination none should be appended for appearance sake: thus, for example, we give, §. 148, p. 164, the nominatives γώρα, terra, giba, &c., as without inflection cf. §. 137. The division gib-a would lead us to adopt the erroneous notion that a is the termination, whereas it is only the abbreviation of the ô (from the old a, §. 69.) of the theme.\* In certain instances it is extraordi-

<sup>\*</sup> The simple maxim laid down elsewhere by me, and deducible only from the Sanskrit, that the Gothic  $\hat{o}$  is the long of a, and thereby when shortened nothing but a, as the latter lengthened can only become  $\hat{o}$ , extends its influence over the whole grammar and construction of words, and explains, for example, how from dags, "day" (theme DAGA), may be derived, without change of vowel,  $d\hat{o}gs$  ( $D\bar{O}GA$ ), "daily"; for this derivation is absolutely the same as when in Sanskrit  $r\hat{a}jata$ , "argenteus," comes from  $r\check{a}jata$ , "argentum," on which more hereafter. Generally speaking, and with few exceptions, the Indian system of vowels, pure from consonantal and other altering influences, is of extraordinary importance for the elucidation of the German grammar: on it principally rests my own theory of vowel change, which differs materially from that of Grimm, and which I explain by mechanical laws, with some modifications of my earlier defini-

narily difficult in languages not now thoroughly understood to hit on the right divisions, and to distinguish apparent terminations from true. I have never attempted to conceal these difficulties from the reader, but always to remove them from his path.

The High German, especially in its oldest period (from the eighth to the eleventh century), I have only mentioned in the general description of forms when it contributes something of importance. The juxta-position of it in its three main periods with the Gothic, grammatically explained at the close of each chapter, is sufficient, with a reference also to the treatise on sounds intended to prepare and facilitate my whole Grammar, after the model of my Sanskrit Grammar. Wherever, in addition, explanatory remarks are necessary, they are given. The second part will thus begin with the comparative view of the Germanic declensions, and I shall then proceed to the adjectives, in order to describe their formations of gender and degrees of comparison; from these to the pronouns.

As the peculiarities of inflection of the latter must have, for the most part, already been discussed in the doctrine of the universal formation of the cases, inasmuch as they are intimately connected and mutually illustrative, what will remain to be said on their behalf will claim the less space, and the main compass of the second division will remain for the verb. To the formation and comparison of words it is my intention to devote a separate work, which may be considered as a completion of its antecedent. In this latter the particles, conjunctions, and original prepositions, will find their place, being, I consider, partly offshoots of pronominal roots, and partly naked roots of

tions, while with Grimm it has a dynamic signification. A comparison with the Greek and Latin vocalism, without a steady reference to the Sanskrit, is, in my opinion, for the German more confusing than enlightening, as the Gothic is generally more original in its vocal system, and at least more consistent than the Greek and Latin, which latter spends its whole wealth of vowels, although not without pervading rules, in merely responding to a solitary Indian a (septimus for septamas, quatuur for chatvâr-as τέσσαρ-ες, momordi f r mamarda).

this class of words,\* and which will, therefore, be treated in this point of view among the pronominal adjectives.† It is likely that a chasm in our literature, very prejudicial to inquiries of this kind, may be shortly filled up by a work ready for the press, and earnestly looked for by all friends of German and general philology, the Old High German Treasury of Graff. What we may expect from a work founded on a comprehensive examination of the MS. treasures of libraries national and foreign, as well as on a correction of printed materials, may be gathered from a survey of the amount contributed to knowledge in a specimen of the work, small, but happily selected, "The Old High German Prepositions."

<sup>\*</sup> I refer the reader preliminarily to my two last treatises (Berlin, Ferd. Dümmler) "On Certain Demonstrative Bases, and their connection with various Prepositions and Conjunctions," and "On the Influence of Pronouns on the Formation of Words." Compare, also, C. Gottl. Schmidt's excellent tract "Quæst. Gramm. de Præpositionibus Græcis," and the review of the same, distinguished by acute observations, by A. Benary, in the Berlin Annual (May 1830). If we take the adverbs of place in their relation to the prepositions-and a near relation does exist-we shall find in close connection with the subject a remarkable treatise of the minister W. von Humboldt, "On the Affinity of the Adverbs of Place to the Prepositions in certain Languages.' The Zend has many grammatical rules which were established without these discoveries, and have since been demonstrated by evidence of facts. Among them it was a satisfaction to me to find a word, used in Sanskrit only as a preposition (ava, "from,") in the Zend a perfect and declinable pronoun (§. 172.). Next we find sa-cha, "isque," which in Sans'rit is only a pronoun, in its Zend shape אמאט ha-cha (§. 53.), often used as a preposition to signify "out of"; the particle wo cha, "and," loses itself, like the cognate que in absque, in the general signification.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Remark.—What in  $\S$ . 68. is said of the rise of the u or o out of the older a is so far to be corrected according to my later conviction, that nothing but a retroactive influence is to be ascribed to the liquids; and the u and the o, in forms like plintemu (mo), plintyu, are to be exempted from the influence of the antecedent consonants."

<sup>†</sup> The arrangement thus announced, as intended, has undergone, as will be seen, considerable modification.—Editor.

## COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR.

#### CHARACTERS AND SOUNDS.

SANSKRIT writing distinguishes the long from their corresponding short vowels by particular characters, slightly differing from these latter in form. We distinguish the long vowels, and the diphthongs v e and si o, which spring from i and u united with an antecedent a, by a circumflex. The simple vowels are, first, the three, original and common to all languages, a, i, u, short and long; secondly, a vowel r, peculiar to the Sanskrit, which I distinguish by r, and its long sound by  $\bar{r}$ . The short r ( $\bar{z}$ ) is pronounced like the consonant r with a scarcely-distinguishable i, and in European texts is usually written  $r\tilde{i}$ ; the long  $\tilde{r}$  ( $\mathfrak{F}$ ) is scarcely to be distinguished from the union of an r with a long i. Both vowels appear to me to be of later origin; and r presents itself generally as a shortening of the syllable ar by suppression of the a. The long  $\bar{r}(\mathbf{z})$  is of much rarer occurrence. In declension it stands only for a lengthening of the r, where, according to the laws of the formation of cases, a short vowel at the end of the inflective base must be lengthened; and in the conjugation and formation of words, those roots to which grammarians assign a terminating w r almost always substitute for this unoriginal vowel at ar, at ir, at ir, or, after labials, at ur. The last simple vowel of the Sanskrit writing belongs more to the grammarians [G. Ed. p. 2.] than to the language: it is in character, as well as in pronunciation, an union of an  $\overline{e}$  l with  $\overline{e}$  r ( $\overline{e}$ ), or, when lengthened, with  $\overline{\mathbf{q}}$   $\overline{r}$  ( $\overline{\mathbf{e}}$ ). We require no representative for this vowel, and shall not further advert to it.

<sup>2.</sup> Sanskrit possesses two kinds of diphthongs. In the one,

a short a united with a following i becomes  $\mathbf{r}$  & (equivalent to the French ai), and with u becomes with 6 (equivalent to the French au); so that neither of the united elements is heard, but both melt into a third sound. In the second kind, a long d with a following i becomes  $\hat{e}$  ai, and with u, au, as in the German words waise, baum; so that the two elements form indeed one syllable, but are both audible. In order, however, to fix the observation on the greater weight of the a in this diphthong, we write di for  $\hat{e}$ , and dufor औ. That in ए ê and को ô a short, in रे ai and की au, a long  $\alpha$  is bound up, I infer from this, that where, in order to avoid a hiatus, the last element of a diphthong merges into its corresponding semi-vowel, out of e & and wit of proceed the sounds say and say av (with short a), but out of रे di and जी du proceed dy and dv. If, according to the rules of combination, a concluding with an si,  $\hat{\xi}$  i, or  $\hat{s}$  u,  $\hat{s}$  u of a following word, be contracted, like the short a, into e e and wit d, but not into è di and wit du, this, in my view, is to be understood as if the long a, before its combination with the initial vowel of the following word, had shortened itself. This should the less surprise us, as the long a before a dissimilar vowel of an appended inflexion or a suffix entirely disappears; and, for example, दहा dada with उस् us makes neither द्दीस् dadaus, nor द्दोस् dados, but इटस् dadus. The opinion I have already expressed on [G. Ed. p. 3.] this point I have since found confirmed by the Zend; in which sw di always stands in the place of the Sanskrit & di, and sw do or >w du for wit du. support, also, of my theory, appears the fact, that a concluding a (short or long) with a following e ê or wi ô, becomes & di and wi du; of which it is to be understood, that the short a contained in  $\ell$  and  $\delta$  merges with the antecedent a into a long a, which then, with the i of the diphthong & becomes di, and with the u of d, becomes du. For example, नमेतन mamaitat, from मन एतन mama êtat, is to be understood

as if the diphthong  $\vec{v}$  & united its first element a with the preceding a into  $\hat{a}$ , and with this, further united its last element (i) into  $\hat{v}$   $\hat{a}i$ . [Compare § 688, p. 917.]

3. Among the simple vowels the old Indian alphabet is deficient in the designation of the Greek epsilon and omicron (e and o) whose sounds, if they existed when the Sanskrit was a living language, yet could only have evolved themselves, subsequently to the fixing of its written character, out of the short a; for an alphabet which lends itself to the subtlest gradations of sound would assuredly not have neglected the difference between a, e, and o, if the sounds had been forthcoming.\* It is important here to observe, that in the oldest Germanic dialect, namely, the Gothic, the sounds and characters of the short e and o are also wanting, and that either a, i, or u corresponds, in that dialect, to our German short e. For example, faltha, "ich falte," "I fold;" giba, "ich gebe," "I give." In the Zend the Sanskrit a a remains usually a a. or has changed itself, according to certain [G. Ed. p. 4.] rules, into s e. Thus, for example, before a concluding m we always find & e; compare the accusative & God puthre-m "filium" with प्रम putra-m; and its genitive power too puthra-hê with प्रस्य putra-sya. In Greek the Sanskrit स a becomes ă, e, or o, without presenting any certain rules for the choice on each occasion between these three vowels; but the prevailing practice is, that in the terminations of nominal bases the Greek o answers to the Indian wa, except in the vocatives, where an  $\epsilon$  is substituted. In the Latin, besides ă, ě, and ŏ, u also is employed, in the terminations of nouns of the second declension and of the first person plural, as also in some adverbial suffixes, to replace the Sanskrit & a

4. As in the Greek the short Sanskrit a is oftener replaced by  $\epsilon$  or  $\circ$  than by a short a, so the long  $\exists i$   $\hat{a}$  is oftener re-

<sup>\*</sup> Grimm, Vol. i. p. 594; with whom I entirely concur in this matter; having long abandoned a contrary opinion, which I maintained in 1819 in the Annals of Oriental Literature.

presented by η or ω than by a long alpha: and though in the Doric the long a has maintained itself in places where the ordinary dialect employs an  $\eta$ , no similar trace of the long  $\bar{a}$ for ω is to be found. दथामि dadhāmi, "I place," becomes τίθημι; ददानि dadāmi, "I give," δίδωμι; the dual termination πιπ tâm answers to την, and only in the imperative to των: on the other hand, the आम am of the genitive plural is always represented by ων. Never, if we except peculiarities of dialect, does either  $\eta$  or  $\omega$  stand for the Indian diphthongs v & or wit o, formed by s i or an s u following a long 4: for the first, the Greek substitutes et or of (because for  $\mathbf{x}$  and also for  $\alpha$ ,  $\epsilon$  and  $\mathbf{o}$  are the substitutes), and for the last, ev or ov. Thus, the êmi, "I go," becomes elu; पतेस patês, "thou mayest fall," मांमरा ; चेद vêda, "I know," οίδα; τη go, mas. fem. "a bullock or heifer," βου-ς. From this dropping of the i or u in the Indian diphthongs ê and oit

[G. Ed. p. 5.] may happen that α, ε, or ο, answer to these diphthongs; thus, एकतरस् θkataras, "one of two," becomes ἐκάτερος; देवृ dêvri,\* "brother-in-law," Latin, levir (nom. देवा dêvâ, accus. देवरस् devar-am), becomes δαήρ (from δαΓήρ, δαι-Γήρ); देवस dêva-s, "God," Θεός; and the o in βοός, βοί, stands for βου-ός, βου-ί, the u of which must have passed into F, and certainly did so at first, as is proved by the transition into the Latin bovis, bovi, and the Indian πfa gavi (locative) from gô-i.

5. In Latin we sometimes find the long e, which, however, may be shortened by the influence of the following consonant, arising from the mixture of a and i, as in the abovementioned word lêvir, and in the subjunctive amêmus; cf. कामपेम kûmayêma, from kûmaya-îma.

6. If we inquire after the greater or less relative weight of the vowels of different quality, I have discovered, by

<sup>\*</sup> The original has devr, but, as observed in p. 1, in European texts it is usual to write ri for  $\mathbf{E}$ ; and the absence of any sign for the vowel sound is calculated to cause embarrassment: it seems advisable, therefore, to express  $\mathbf{E}$  by ri.—Editor.

various but sure appearances, which I shall further illustrate in my treatise on Forms, that in Sanskrit w a and w a are graver than the corresponding quantity of the vowel i; and this discovery is of the utmost importance for every Treatise on special as well as comparative Grammar. It leads us, in particular, to important discoveries with respect to the Germanic modification of vowels. In Latin, also, the i may be considered as lighter than a, and generally takes the place of the latter when a root with an original a would otherwise be burthened with a reduplication of sound. Hence, for example, abjicio for abjacio, tetigi for tetagi. I am compelled by this view to retract an earlier conjecture, that the i in tetigi was produced by a virtue of assimilation in the termination i. I have also to relieve myself from my former theory, that the e in words like inermis, imberbis, instead of [G. Ed. p. 6.] inarmis, imbarbis, springs from a retrospective power of assimilation in the following i, after the fashion of the modification of the vowel in German (Grimm, p. 80), and must place it in the same class with the e in such forms as abjectus and tubicen. The Latin radical a, for instance, is subject to a double alteration, when the root is burthened with antecedent syllables or words: it becomes i in open syllables, but e if the vowel is pressed upon by a following consonant unattended by a vowel. Hence we have tubicen, abjectus, in contrast to tubicinis, abjicio; and inermis, imberbis, not inirmis, imbirbis: on the contrary, inimicus, insipidus, not inemicus, insepidus. In connection with this stands the transition of the first or second declension into the third. As us is the masculine form for a, we ought to say inermus, imberbus; but inermis, imberbis, and other such forms, owe their origin to the lesser weight of the i. With the displacement of the accent, where it occurs, this change of the vowel has nothing to do; but the removal of the accent and the weakening of the vowel are nearly related, and are both occasioned by the composition. In the Lithuanian we find similar appearances; as, for example, ponas, "lord," at the end of compounds, is weakened into ponis, as rotponis, "councillor," Germ. rathsherr." (See p. 1305, Note \*).

- 7. Sanskrit Grammar gives no certain indication of the relative weight of the u with regard to the other original vowels. The u is a vowel too decided and full of character to allow of its being exchanged in this language, in relief of its weight, for any other letter. It is the most obstinate of all, and admits of no exclusion from a terminating syllable, in cases where a and i admit suppression. Nor will it retire [G. Ed. p. 7.] from a reduplicated syllable in cases where a allows itself to be weakened down to i. Thus in Latin we have pupugi, tutudi; while a, in cases of repetition, is reduced to i or e (tetigi, fefelli, &c.) In the Gothic, also, the u may boast of its pertinacity: it remains firm as the terminating vowel of nominal bases where a and i have undergone suppression, and in no single case has it been extinguished or transmuted. No power, however, exists which will not yield at last to time; and thus in the High German, whose oldest records are nearly four centuries younger than Ulphilas, the u has, in many cases, given way, or become in declension similar to i. (See also §§ 490, 584.)
- 8. If, in the matter of the relative dignity of the vowels, we cast a glance at another race of languages, we find in Arabic the u taking precedence in nobility, as having its place in the nominative, while the declension is governed by the change of the terminating vowel; i, on the contrary, shews itself to be the weakest vowel, by having its place in the genitive, the most dependent case of the Arabic, and one which cannot be separated from the governing word. I, also, is continually used in cases where the grammatical relation is expressed by a preposition. Compare, also, in the plural, the una of the nominative with the termination ina of the oblique cases. A stands between the strong u and the weaker i; and under the threefold change of vowels has its place in the accusative,

which admits of more freedom than the genitive. In the oblique cases, however, of nouns, and in the two-fold change of vowels, it stands opposed to the u of the nominative, and in the dependent subjunctive of the verb to the u of the independent indicative.

9. Between the vowels and the consonants, or at the close of the list of vowels, are commonly placed two signs, the sounds of which are rather to be considered as ap- [G. Ed. p 8.] pendages to, or modifications of, the preceding vowels, than as independent sounds, and take, also, no place in the alphabet of the Native Grammarians, inasmuch as they are considered neither as consonants nor vowels, but rather as complements to the latter. The first, which we distinguish by n, is called Anuswara, "echo;" and is, in fact, a thick nasal echo, which I think is best represented by the nasal n at the end of a French syllable. The weakness of its expression is discernible in the fact that it does not, like a consonant, impede the euphonic influence of an i or u on a following s, (see Sanskrit Grammar, R. 1013). It has its place before semi-vowels (4 y, र्r, छ l, ए v), sibilants, and h; and we might thence term it the nasal of the two last lists of consonants, and assign its alphabetical place between them. A concluding \( \pi \) m, followed by a consonant of the said two lists, passes into Anuswâra; for example, तस्याम् tasyâm, "in this," becomes तस्यां tasyan, with the French nasal pronunciation of the n, if such a word as राजा râtrau, "in the night," come after. In connection with the # s of a verbal termination, a radical 7 n also passes into Anuswâra; as, इंसि hansi, "thou killest," from En han. Great confusion, however, has arisen from the circumstance that the Indian copyists allow themselves to express the unaltered concluding # m, as well as all the nasal alterations, and, in the middle of words, each of the six nasal sounds (the proper Anuswara included), by Anuswara.\* I have

<sup>\*</sup> The practice is not unauthorized by rule. A final # is convertible to Anuswâra before any consonant (Pán. 8. 3. 23); and a media # or # is convertible

endeavoured, in my Grammar, to remedy this confusion in the simple theory of Anuswâra. My predecessors in the treatment of Sanskrit Grammar make no distinction between the real and the supposititious Anuswâra. Colebrooke gives it, in [G. Ed. p. 9.] general, the pronunciation of n, and calls it "a shortening of the nasal consonants at the end of a syllable," which leads to the error, that each of the nasal characters, even the concluding  $\pi$  n, may be abbreviated into Anuswâra. Forster expresses it by the n in the English word plinth; Carey and Yates by the English combination nq; Wilkins by m. All substitute it for the concluding  $\pi$  of grammatical terminations: and as they give rules for the transition of the Anuswara into म or न, the necessary consequence occurs, that we must write abhavan or abhavang," I was;" duntan or dantang, "a tooth;" not abhavam, dantam. Colebrooke, on the other hand, expressing a Sanskrit inscription in Roman letters (Asiatic Transactions, Vol. VII.) gives the proper termination m, and before t, by a euphonic rule, n; but he maintains the original m before sibilants and half vowels where Anuswâra is due; as vidwishâm śrimad, for fafsai vidwishân. On the other hand, F. von Schlegel and Frank write n, for the value of Anuswâra, in the place of m in several grammatical terminations. The first, for example, gives danan, "a gift," for dûnam; the second, ahan for aham, "I." A. W. von Schlegel gives rightly m instead of a spurious or representative Anuswâra at the end of words; and makes, for example, the infinitive termination in tum, not in tun or tung. He, nevertheless, on this important point of grammar, retains the erroneous opinion, that the Anuswâra is a variable nasal, which, before vowels, must of necessity pass into m(Preface to the Bhag. Gita, p. xv.);while the direct converse is the fact, that the concluding m is

convertible to Anuswara before any consonant except a semi-vowel or a nasal. (Ib. 8. 3. 24.) Such are the rules. In practice, the mutation of the final  $\mathbf{z}$  is constant: that of the medial nasal is more variable, and in general the change occurs before the semi-vowels and sibilants.—Editor.

the variable nasal, which, under certain conditions, passes into the proper Anuswâra; but before vowels is necessarily retained, both in writing and pronunciation. [G. Ed. p. 10.] That Von Schlegel also still continues the original # m at the end of words as an euphonic alteration of the dead sound of Anuswâra appears from his mode of printing Sanskrit text, in which he makes no division between a concluding m and the commencing vowel of the following word; while he does make a division after 7 n, and thereby shews that he admits a division after terminating letters which remain unaffected by the influence of the letters which follow. If, however, we write तान सन्नवीत tân abravît, "he said to them," we must also write ताम अवदोत tâm abravît, "he said to her;" not तामज्ञवीत tâmabravît, for the म of ताम tâm is original, and not, as Von Schlegel thinks, begotten out of Anuswâra. The conjecture of C. Lassen (Ind. Bibl. Book III. p. 39), that the Anuswâra is to be understood, not as an after sound (Nachlaut), not as an echo (Nachhall), but as a sound which regulates itself by that which follows—as it were the term Nachlaut, with the accent on laut\*-appears to me highly improbable. Schlegel's nasalis mutabilis would indeed be justified by this view, and the imputation of error removed from the Indian Grammarians, to whom we willingly concede a knowledge of the value of the Sanskrit signs of sound, and whom we are unwilling to censure for designating a half sound as mutable, in a language whose termi-

<sup>\*</sup> This seems intended for an explanation, for Lassen has nothing like it. I have not found an etymological explanation of the term in any grammatical commentary; but it may be doubted if the explanation of the text, or that given by Lassen, be correct. Anuswâra may indeed be termed sequens sonus; but by that is to be understood the final or closing sound of a syllable. Any other nasal may be used as the initial letter of a syllable; but the nasal Anuswâra is exclusively an "after" sound, or final It is not even capable of blending, as it were, with a following vowel, like a final n or m, as in tân- or tâmabravît. It is the legitimate representative of either of the other nasals when those are absolutely terminal,

nating sounds are almost always governed by the following words. It is true the half sound owes its being to the mutability of a concluding m, but is not mutable itself, since it never has an independent existence of its own at the end of any word: in the middle, however, of a radical syllable, as in the hins, it is susceptible of expulsion, but not of alteration.

[G. Ed. p. 11.] That the Indian Grammarians, however, consider the m and not the n as the original but mutable letter in grammatical terminations, like wh am, with bhyam, &c., appears from the fact that they always write these terminations, where they give them separate, with the labial nasal, and not with Anuswâra. If it be objected that this is of no importance, as dependent on the caprice of the editor or copyist, we can adduce as a decisive proof of the just views of the Indian Grammarians in this respect, that when they range the declensions of words in the order of their terminating letters, the Pronouns set idam, and fam kim, in which they consider the m as primitive, are treated when the turn comes of the labial nasal m, and together with while prasam, "quiet," from the root who lagher than (Laghu-Kaumudî, p. 46.)

10. The deadened nasal, which is expressed in the Lithuanian by particular signs over the vowel which it follows, appears to be identical with the Sanskrit Anuswâra; and we write it in the same manner with i. At the end of words it stands for the remainder of an ancient m, in the accusative singular for example; and the deadening of n before s into i presents

terminal, and in pronunciation retains their respective sounds, according to the initial consonant of the following word. Again, with regard to its relation to the semi-vowels and sibilants, it may be regarded as appropriate to them merely in as far as neither of the other nasals is so considered. In this sense Anuswâra may be termed a subsidiary or supplemental sound, being prefixed with most propriety to those letters which, not being classed under either of the five series of sounds, have no rightful claim to the nasals severally comprehended within each respective series.—Editor.

a remarkable accordance with the Sanskrit rule of euphony before mentioned. From laupsin-u, "I praise," therefore comes laupsinsu, "I shall praise;" as in Sanskrit इंस्पानि hansyami, "I shall kill," from the root इन् han. In the Prâkrit, not only the म् m, but the न् n, at the end of words, has always fallen into Anuswâra, without regard to the following letters Thus we read in Chezy's edition of the Sakuntalâ, p. 70, असरं, which is certainly to be pronounced, not bhaavam, but bhaavan, for अगवन bhagavan; [G. Ed. p. 12.] इसं kudhan, for क्यम kutham.\*

11. The second of the signs before mentioned is named Visarga, which signifies abandonment. It expresses a breathing, which is never primitive, but only appears at the end of words in the character of an euphonic alteration of  $\mathbf{z}$  s and  $\mathbf{z}$  r. These two letters (s, r) are very mutable at the end of words, and are changed into Visarga before a pause or the deadened letters of the guttural and labial classes (§. 12.). We write this sign h to distinguish it from the true  $\mathbf{z}$  h

12. The proper consonants are classed in the Sanskrit alphabet according to the organs used in their pronunciation; and form, in this division, five classes. A sixth is formed by the semi-vowels, and a seventh by the sibilants and the the letters are so arranged, that the first are the surd or hard consonants, the thin (tenues), and their aspirates; next, the sonant or soft, the medials, and their aspirates, each class being completed by its nasal. The nasals belong, like the vowels and semi-vowels, to the sonants; the sibilants to the surd or hard. Every thin and every medial letter has its corresponding aspirate. The aspirates are pronounced, like their

<sup>\*</sup> No native scholar would read these as bhaavan or kudhan, as the text affirms, but bha-avam, hudham, agreeably to the final # represented by Anuswâra.—Editor.

respective non-aspirates, with a clearly audible h; thus, for example,  $\mathbf{v}$  th, not like the English th;  $\mathbf{v}$  th, not th or th; and th, not like the Greek th.\* In an etymological point of view it is important to observe that the aspirates of different organs are easily exchanged with each other; thus, at that, at that, (th thri, th dhri, th dhri, th to bear," "to hold," are perhaps originally identical. Let th dhuma-s, [G. Ed. p. 13.] "smoke," is, in Latin, fumu-s. In Greek, th day, as well as th deven, is related to th han, from th dhan, "to kill." The Gothic thluhan is the German fliehen, Old High German vliuhan.

13. The first class is that of the gutturals, and includes the letters  $\mathbf{a}$  k,  $\mathbf{a}$  kh,  $\mathbf{n}$  g,  $\mathbf{a}$  gh,  $\mathbf{a}$  n. The nasal of this class is pronounced like the German n before gutturals, as in the words sinken, enge, so as to prepare for the following guttural. In the middle of words it is only found before gutturals; and, at the end, supplies the place of  $\mathbf{a}$  m when the following word begins with a guttural. We write it without the distinctive sign, as its guttural nature is easily recognised by the following consonant. The aspirates of this class are not of frequent use, either at the beginning or end of words. In some Greek words we find  $\chi$  in the place of  $\mathbf{a}$  kh: compare  $\delta vv\xi$ ,  $\delta vv\chi$ -os, with nakha, "a nail;"  $\kappa \delta v\chi\eta$ ,  $\kappa \delta v\chi \delta v$ , with  $\delta sankha$ , "shell;"  $\chi \alpha \delta v\omega$ ,  $\chi \alpha v\hat{\omega}$ , with khan, "to

<sup>\*</sup> The original here adds—"We designate the aspirate by a comma, as t', d', b'." The use of such a mark is, however, unsightly, and appears likely to cause occasional perplexity and doubt. It seems therefore preferable to adhere to the usual mode of expressing the aspirated letters, as dh, bh, and the like. It is only necessary to remember that th and ph are the letters t and p with an aspiration, and not the th and f of the English alphabet.—Editor.

<sup>†</sup> A careful examination will perhaps shew that the several nasals of the Sanskrit alphabet are mere modifications of one sound, according to the manner in which that is affected by a succeeding letter; and that the modifications prevail equally in most languages, although it has not been thought necessary to provide them with distinct symbols.—Editor.

dig." As regards the sonant aspirates, the  $\mathbf{v}$  gh of gharma, "heat" (in Greek  $\theta \acute{e}\rho \mu \eta$ ), has passed into the aspiration of another organ;  $\mathbf{v}$   $\mathbf{v}$  laght, "light," has laid aside the guttural in the Latin levis, and, in virtue of the i, changed the i into i. The guttural has kept its place in the German leicht, the English light, and the Old High German lihti.

14. The second class is that of the palatals; and includes the sounds ch and i, with their aspirates and nasal. We write च ch, इ chh, त j,\* म jh,\* ज n. This class is an offshoot from the preceding, and to be considered as a softening of it. It is only found before vowels and weak consonants (semivowels and nasals); and before strong consonants, and at the end of a word, generally retires into the class from which it springs. Thus, for example, the base [G. Ed. p. 14.] वाच vâch, "speech," "voice" (cf. vox), makes, in the uninflected nominative, and vak; in the instrumental and locative plurals, वाग्भिस् våg-bhis, वाह्य våkshu. In the cognate languages we have to look for, in the place of the letters of this class, first, gutturals; next, labials, on account of their mutual affinity; thirdly, the sounds of t, as, according to pronunciation, the first element of the palatals is a t or d; fourthly, sibilants, as being the last element in the letters of this class. Compare प्यामि pachami, "I cook," (inf. paktum, part. pass. pakta), with coquo, πέπω (πέπτω, πέττω, πέσσω); বπι chatur, "four," nom. चत्वारस chatwâras, with quatuor, τέτταρες, τέσσαρες, Gothic fidvor, Lithuanian ketturi; पत्रन panchan, "five" (nom. accus. pancha), with quinque, πέντε, πέμπε, Gothic fimf, Lithuanian penki; राजन rajan, "king," with rex, regis; राजत rajata, nom. rajatam, "silver" (from raj, "to shine"), with argentum, aργυρος; जान janu, "knee," with genu, γόνυ. With regard to the aspirates of this class, the chh, as an initial letter in some words, answers to ec, जह; विन्यस chhind-

<sup>\*</sup> The original has g and  $\tilde{g}$ ; but the appropriate symbols in English are j and its aspirate.

mas, "we cleave," faffa chhinadmi, "I cleave," answers to the Latin scindo; and chhâyâ, "shadow," to the Greek σκιά. As the terminating letter of a root chh answers, in na prachh, "to ask," to the Gothic h in frah, "I or he asked," and to the German and Latin g in frage, rogo, in case that the latter, as I suspect, is a modification of progo. The nasal of this class, for which we require no distinctive sign, as it only precedes palatals, deviates but slightly from the sound of the guttural n, and is pronounced nearly like nj.

15. The third class is called that of the linguals or cerebrals, and embraces a peculiar kind of sounds of t, together with its [G. Ed. p. 15.] nasal; a kind not original, but which has developed itself from the ordinary class of t sounds. We distinguish them by a point under the letter, thus, z t, z th, इ d, द dh, ज n. In the Prâkrit this class has obtained great supremacy, and has frequently supplanted the ordinary t. We there find, for example, भोड़ bhôdu, for भवत bhavatu, "let it be;" and पटन padhama, for प्रथम prathama, "the first." With regard to the nasal, the substitution of u for a is nearly universal. The Indian Grammarians approach the Pråkrit nearer than the Sanskrit, when at the beginning of roots they use the same substitution. The practice, also, which we have condemned (§. 9.), of using Anuswara for m, at the end of words, is more Prâkrit than Sanskrit. At the beginning of words these letters are seldom found in Sanskrit, but they are found as terminations to a certain number of roots; for example, wz at, "to go." They are pronounced by bending back the tongue against the roof of the mouth, by which a hollow sound is expressed, as if from the head.\* The nasal of this class has sometimes overstepped the limits of its usual laws: it is found before vowels, which

<sup>\*</sup> Here, also, it may be doubted if similar modifications of the dental sounds are not discoverable in languages which do not express them by separate symbols. The t of the Italian tutto is the Sanskrit 7.— Editor.

is not the case with the nasals of the preceding classes; yet never at the beginning of words.

16. The fourth class embraces the dentals, or the sounds which properly answer to the common d and t, together with the common n, which belongs to them, 7 t, 2 th, 3 d, थ dh, न n. Of the aspirates of this organ, we have to remark, that \(\mathbf{t}\) th, in an etymological respect, never—at least in no instance of which we are aware—is represented in Greek by  $\theta$ , but always like the natural t, by  $\tau$ . On the other hand, y dh does correspond to  $\theta$ , which also sometimes represents & d. Thus the imperative ending for dhi, in Greek becomes  $\theta_i$ ; मध् madhu, "honey," "wine," is  $\mu \epsilon \theta v$ ; द्धानि dadhami, "I place," τίθημι; εξεπτ duhitar [G. Ed. p. 16.] ( ξέξη duhitri, §. 1.), "daughter," θυγάτηρ; πτ dwar, f. and dwara, neut. (nom. dwaram), "door," θύρα; देव dêva, Lithuan. diewas, "God," Θεός. With regard to the hard aspirate, compare the terminations Te and Tov with w tha and we thas, the former in the plural, the second in the dual of the present and future; στήσω with स्वास्थानि sthâsyâmi, "I shall stand"; όστέον with with asthi, "bone"; in the Latin, rota with ratha, "carriage"; and in the Gothic, the ending t, in the second person singular of the preterite, with tha; for example, vais-t, "thou knewest," with and vêt-tha. From the beginning of words in the Sanskrit this aspirate is nearly excluded.

17. The interchange of d and l is well known. Upon it, among other instances, is founded the relation of lacryma to δάκρυ, δάκρυμα. In Sanskrit, also, an apparently original ₹ d often corresponds to the l of cognate European languages; for example, दीष dip, "to light," दीष dipa, "lamp," becomes λάμπω, λαμπάς; ξξ dtha, "body," Gothic leik. On this relation also rests, as I have shewn elsewhere, the relation of our lf, Gothic lif, in elf, zwölf, Gothic tralif, to दशन daśan, δέκα. As also the second consonant has undergone alteration, and has migrated from the gutturals into the

labials; and as, moreover, the number "ten," taken alone, is, in Gothic, taihun, in German zehn, its origin from lif was deeply concealed; and even the Lithuanian lika, which accompanies the simple numbers in their compounded forms from eleven to twenty, remained long under my notice without result. The fact, however, that one and the same word may, in the course of time, assume various forms for various objects, proved, as it is, by numberless examples, requires no further [G. Ed. p. 17.] support. With respect to the affinity of λίκος in ἡλίκος, &c., and of the Gothic leiks in hvêleiks, "like to whom?" to ξη driśa, Prâkrit fξη disa, "like," I refer the reader to my Treatise on the Pronoun and its influence (Berlin, published by Dümmler); and only remark, in addition, that by this analogy of λίκος, leiks, I was first led to that of lif to δέκα; while the Lithuanian lika had not yet attracted my observation.

18. The labial class comes next, namely, प् p, फ ph, ज b, भ bh, म m. The hard aspirate ph is among the rarer letters; the most usual words in which it occurs are, we phala. "fruit," फोन phêna, "foam," and the forms which come from the root me phull, "to burst, blow, bloom." The sonant aspirate \( \mathbf{h} \) belongs, together with \( \mathbf{u} \) dh, to the most frequent of the aspirates. In the Greek and Latin,  $\phi$  and fare the letters which most frequently correspond to this w bh, especially at the beginning of words; for example, ¥ bhri, "to bear," fero, φέρω; ¥ bhû, "to be," fu-i, φύ-ω.  $\mathbf{a}$  bh is also often represented by b in Latin, especially in the middle of words. The f of fero becomes b in certain compounds which rank as simple words with a derivable suffix, as ber, brum, brium, in words like saluber, candelabrum, manubrium. Thus the f of fu appears as b in the forms amabam, amabo, which I have recognised as compounds, and which will be hereafter explained. The dative and ablative termination plural अवस् bhyas, becomes bus in Latin. The nasal of this class, # m, is subject, at the end of a word, to several alterations, and only remains fast before a pause, a

vowel, or letters of its own class: it otherwise governs itself according to the nature of the following letters, and may pass, in this manner, into any of the four preceding nasals, and weakens itself into the softened nasal sound [G. Ed. p. 18.] of the proper Anuswâra, if followed by a semi-vowel, a sibilant, or  $\xi$  h. M has also a full right to the name of a mutable nasal. It is, however, not beseeming, when, in editions of a text otherwise conspicuous for accuracy, we find  $\pi$ , though protected in its original condition by a pause, or by the following letters, written as Anuswâra.

19. The semi-vowels follow next: य् y, र् r, लू l, च v. We distinguish y by the sound of our German j, or the English y in the word year. As the Latin j in English has the sound of a softened y, so in Prâkrit प् y often passes into ज् j, and in Greek, upon this exchange of sound rests the relation of ζεύγνυμι, ζυγός. &c. to the root यु yuj, "to bind," and that of the verbs in άζω to the Indian verbs in ज्ञयाम ayami; for T is ds. but the sound dsch is not to be looked for in the Greek. The relation of the Persian Javan, "young," to the Sanskrit Theme युवन yuvan, Lat. juvenis, belongs to this place. By v we here designate the sound of the German w and English v. After consonants, as are twam, "thee," this letter takes the pronunciation of the English w. The occasional hardening of the v into a guttural deserves mention here; thus, in Latin, vic-si (vixi), victum, spring from viv; and in facio I recognise the Sanskrit causal भावपानि bhav-aya-mi, "I make to be," from the root \ bhû. The connection between fac-tus and fio is practically demonstrated. Refer back, in the Old and Modern Greek, to the occasional hardening of the Digamma into y (cf. C. G. Schmidt in the Berlin Jahrbuch, 1831, p. 613.). The voice cannot dwell on q v or य y; and these two letters are therefore, as in the Semitic languages, excluded from the end of words: [G. Ed. p. 19.] therefore the word fee div, "Heaven." forms its nominative, which ought to be div (divs being forbidden, see §. 94.). from  $\exists i dy \delta$ . Nominal bases in y do not exist.  $\forall r$  at the end of a word is subject to many alterations, and is interchangeable with  $\exists s$ . In places where the concluding s, by favour of the following letter, is retained,  $\forall r$  becomes  $\exists s$ ; and, on the other hand, remains unaltered in places where  $\exists s$  becomes  $\exists r$ , namely, before vowels and sonant consonants.

20. The semi-vowels, by reason of their tractable and fluent nature, are easily interchanged. For instance, in the more recent Sanskrit works & l often stands for \(\tau \, r.\\*\) We often, also, find in the cognate European languages l for व् v. On this interchange is founded the relation of the Latin suffix lent (e.g. opulens), and of the Gothic laud(a)-s+ (see §. 116.). in hvêlauds, "quantus," svalauds, "tantus," samalauds, "just so much," to the Sanskrit वन vant (in the strong case, §. 119.), in words like धनवन्त् dhanavant, "endowed with wealth," तावन्त tâvant, "so much," यावन्त् yâvant, "how much." On the change between v and r is founded, as I believe, the relation of the Old High German pir-u-mês, "we are" (sing. pim, भवामि bhav-a-mi), to भवामस् bhav-a-mas; as also that of scrir--u-mês, "we shriek," to श्रावयामम śrâv-ayâ-mas, "we make to hear" (§. 109.); as also that of triusu, "I fall," from the [G. Ed. p. 20.] root trus, to the Sanskrit san dhwans, "to fall;" t and of the Cretan τρέ "thee" from τFέ, to the Sanskrit twd. The semi-vowel l is also exchanged with the nasals; thus, अन्यम् anya-s, "the other," becomes alius in Latin, and

<sup>\*</sup> It is scarcely correct to say "often," as the instances are rare: nor are they restricted to recent works. Menu has aślika for aśrika.—Ed.

<sup>†</sup> Grimm (iii. p. 46) assumes an adjective lauds, "great;" which, as far as the Gothic at least is concerned, might be dispensed with, as it is of the greatest antiquity as a suffix, and does not appear alone as an adjective, even in the oldest periods.

<sup>‡</sup> Dh, according to §. 16., = the Greek 9; and to the 9, according to §. 87., corresponds the old High German t. The u of trus, from the old a, may be produced by the influence of the r, or of the dropped nasal.

जनारम् antara-s, "the other," alter; यह vad, "to speak," answers to the Gothic lath-on, "called," "invited," ga-lathon, "called together": भा dhma, "to blow," answers to flare. (§. 109.) Compare, also, balbus with βαμβαίνω.

21. The last class embraces the sibilants and h: \ s, \ sh, स s, and ह h. The first sibilant is spoken with a slight aspiration, and usually written by the English sh.\* It belongs to the palatal class, and thence supplies the place of the third or proper स s when a hard palatal च् ch or च् chh follows; for instance, रामज्ञ चरित râmas charati, instead of रामम् चरित râmas charati, "Râmas goes." In its origin, \$\forall s appears to have sprung from k; and in Greek and Latin we find k and c regularly corresponding to the Sanskrit a s. The Gothic substitutes h in pursuance of the law of change of sound; but the Lithuanian stands the nearest to the Sanskrit with reference to this letter, and has in its stead a sibilant compound sz, pronounced like sh. Compare decem, δέκα, Gothic taihun, Lithuan. dészimtis, with επι daśan (nom. επι daśa); canis, κύων, Gothic hunds, Lithuan. szuo (gen. szuns), with अन् śwan (nom. शा śwa, gen. जनम śunas, κυνός), "dog;" δάκρυ, lacrima, aszara, f. with सत्र asru n. "tear;" equus (=ecvus), Lith. aszwa f. "mare," with अध aswa (nom. अध्व aswas), "horse;" szaka f. with शासा sakha "bough." The Lith. szwenta-s, "holy," answers to the Zend words spenta (§ 50.). At the end of a word, and in the middle before strong consonants, I s is not allowed, although admitted as an euphonic substitute for a concluding a s before an initial hard palatal. Otherwise n s usually falls back into the sound from which [G. Ed. p. 21.] it appears to have originated, namely, k. In some roots, however, of s passes into z t; for instance, and dris, "seeing," and fan vis, "a man of the third caste," form, in the uninflected nominative, Eq. drik, faz vit. The second sibilant, sh, is pronounced like our sch, or sh in English, and

More usually s; the sh is reserved for the cerebral sibilant.—Editor.

belongs to the lingual class. It often steps, according to certain rules into the place of # s; thus, for instance, after  $\mathbf{z}$  h,  $\mathbf{z}$  s never follows, but only  $\mathbf{z}$  sh; and the  $\xi$ , x, in Greek and Latin, are regularly represented by w ksh. Compare दिश्वण dakshina, with dex-ter, defios, Lithuanian dészine, "the right hand." Of the vowels, i, u, and ri, short or long, are averse from \( \pi\_s \), to which a and a alone are inclined. After the first-named vowels, स s passes into प् sh; for instance, तनोपि tanóshi, instead of तनोसि tanósi (extendis). As an initial, प sh is extremely rare: the Indian grammarians, however, write the roots which, under certain circumstances, change स् s into प sh, from the first with a प sh. A word which really begins with \ sh is \ \ \ sh ash, "six;" to which the Lith. szeszi, a plural nominative, answers most nearly, while other cognate languages indicate an original ordinary s. At the end of a word, and in the middle before other strong consonants, such as द t, द th, म् sh is not permitted, but in most roots passes into  $\neq k$ , but with some into  $\neq t$ : the number six, mentioned above, becomes, in the uninflected nominative, पर shat.

22. The third sibilant is the ordinary s of all languages, but which, at the end of Sanskrit words, holds a very insecure position, and by certain rules is subjected to transmutation into ज्ञ के च sh, र r, : ah or h Visarga (§. 11.), and u; and only remains unaltered before t and th. We write, for example, सन्स् तर्ति sûnus tarati, "the son passes over," but तर्ति सन: tarati sûnuh, मृतुष् चरित sûnus charati (it), मृतुर् [G. Ed. p. 22.] अवति sûnur bhavati (est). This sensitiveness against a concluding # s can only have arisen in the later period of the language, after its division; as in the cognate languages the concluding s remains unaltered, or where it has been changed for r does not return into its original form. Thus, in the decree against Timotheus (Maittaire, §. 383-4.) p everywhere stands for ς: Τιμόσεορ ὁ Μιλίσιορ-παραγινόμενορ-λυμαίνεται τὰρ ἀκοὰρ τῶν νέων, &c.\* The Sanskrit could not endure

<sup>\*</sup> Cf. Hartung, p. 106.

r before t. The Latin protects the s usually at the end of words; but in the classical period generally sacrifices it, when between two vowels, to the r; for instance, genus, generis, for genesis; a contrast to forms found in Varro and Festus, such as plusima, fadesum, meliosem, majosibus, in which the s evinces its original existence in the history of the language (see § 127.). The accusative form arbosem, recorded by Festus, is more startling, for here r is the original form, if, as I can hardly doubt, arbor, arbos, is related to the word of such frequent occurrence in the Zend-Avesta, with arbor, arbos, is related to the word of such frequent occurrence in the Zend-Avesta, with arbor, arbos, is related to the word of such frequent occurrence in the Zend-Avesta, with arbor, arbos, is related to the word of such frequent occurrence in the Zend-Avesta, with arbor, arbos, is related to the word of such frequent occurrence in the Zend-Avesta, with arbor arbor, arbor, arbor, arbos, is related to the word of such frequent occurrence in the Zend-Avesta, with arbor arbor, is related to the word of such frequent occurrence in the Zend-Avesta, with arbor arbor, arbor,

23. \$\notan h\$ belongs to the letters which, in Sanskrit, are never admitted at the end of words, nor in the middle before strong consonants. In these places it passes, by certain rules, into ट t, इ d, क k, or  $\eta$  g. In Greek we often find  $\chi$  in the place of the Sanskrit & h: compare χειμών, hiems, with fen hima, "snow," "rime;" γαίρω with इ आ f hrish- [G. Ed. p. 23.] yami, gaudeo; γήν with ἐπ hansa, "goose;" χθές, heri, with सम् hyas, "yesterday;" oxos with बह vah, "to transport." We also find κ, c, for h: compare καρδία, cor, Gothic hairto, with हुद hrid (n. हुद्य hridaya), "heart." We sometimes, but rarely, find the spiritus asper substituted for h; for instance, αίρέω, ετιτη harami, "I take away." The Lithuanian exhibits sometimes sz for h; for instance, asz, "I," for खहम aham, szirdis f. "heart," for Ez hrid. This letter stands sometimes in Sanskrit for a mutilation of other aspirated consonants, of which the aspiration alone has been suppressed; thus, instead of the imperative ending fu dhi, we generally find hi; on which account the grammarians accept fe hi, and not fy dhi, as the original ending, and assume that hi passes into dhi, for euphonic reasons, after consonants. The root us grah, "to take," is written in the Vedas us grabh, and answers thus more nearly to the German greifen, and the Persian giriflan.

We give here a general view of the Sanscrit characters, with their respective values.

VOWELS.

## षा व, सा व, इ i, ई i, उ u, ज û, सृ ri, सृ rī.

ANUSWÂRA AND VISARGA.

· n, : ah.

CONSONANTS.

[G. Ed. p. 24.] The vowel characters given above are found only at the beginning of words; and in the middle or end of a word are supplied in the following manner:  $\mathbf{a}$  is left unexpressed, but is contained in every consonant which is not distinguished by a sign of rest (\) or connected with another vowel.  $\mathbf{a}$  h is thus read ka; and k by itself, or the absence of the a, is expressed by  $\overline{a}$ .  $\overline{a}$ ,  $\overline{a}$ , are expressed by f, I, and the first of these two is placed before, the second after, the consonant to which it relates; for instance, fa hi, की kî. For उ u, ज û, ज ri, जू rī, the signs , a, e, a, are placed under their consonants; as, a ku, a kû, a kri, a krī. For ve and vai, and are placed over their consonants; as, के kê, के kâi: जो 8 and जी au are written by omission of the ज, which is here only a fulcrum; as, and kô, and kâu. The consonants without vowels, instead of appearing in their entire shapes, and with the sign of rest, are usually written so that their distinctive sign is connected with the following consonant; for instance, for त्, स, य्, we have र, र, द; and thus matsya is written मत्स्य, not मत्स्य; for ज् + ज् we have ज्; and for a + y we have w.

25. The Sunskrit letters are divided into hard or surd, and soft or sonant. Surd are, all the tenues, with their corresponding aspirates; and in fact, according to the order given above, the first two letters in each of the first five rows, also the three sibilants. Soft are, the medials, with their aspirates, the z, the nasals, semi-vowels, and all vowels. Another division also appears to us convenient—that of the consonants into strong and weak; in which the nasals and semi-vowels come under the denomination of weak; the remaining consonants under that of the strong. The weak consonants and vowels exercise no influence, as initial letters of inflections and suffixes, in the formation of words, on the terminating [G. Ed. p. 25.] letters of a root; while they themselves are compelled to accommodate themselves to a following strong consonant.

26. With regard to the vowels, it is of consequence to direct the observation to two affections of them, of frequent occurrence in the development of forms of Sanskrit; of which the one is called Guna, or virtue; the other Vriddhi, increase o augmentation. My predecessors in grammatical inquiry have given no information as to the essence, but have only expounded the effects of these vowel alterations; and it was only in my critical labours upon Grimm's German Grammar\* that I came upon the trace of the true nature and distinctive qualities of these affections, as also of the law by which Guna is usually produced and governed, and at the same time of its hitherto undetected existence in the Greek and Germanic, and, most conspicuously, in the Gothic. My views in this particular have since derived remarkable confirmation from the Zend, with relation to which I refer to §. 2., in which, as I flatter myself, I have dealt successfully with an apparent contradiction to my explanation. Guna consists in prefixing short a, and Vriddhi in prefixing a long one: in both, however, the a melts into a diphthong with the primitive vowel,

<sup>\*</sup> Berlin Journal, Feb. 1827, p. 254.

according to certain euphonic laws. 3 i, namely, and \$, melt with the अ a of Guna into ए e; उ u, अ û, into ओ b. These diphthongs, however, dissolve again before vowels into wa au and खन av; ज्ञ ri and ज्ञा ri become, in virtue of the action of Guna, we ar; by that of Vriddhi, we ar. As in Greek the [G. Ed. p. 26.] short Sanskrit a is frequently replaced by e; so we find the Guna here, when a radical i or v is prolonged by prefixing an e. As in the Sanskrit the root 3 i, "to go," forms, by the Guna modification, eff êmi (from a-imi), "I go," in contrast to imas, "we go;" thus in Greek also we have eîm in contrast to mer. As the root gu budh, in several tenses in the three numbers, rises, in virtue of Guna, into बोध bodh (from baudh), for instance, बोधामि bodhami, "I know;" so in the Greek\* the root φυγ (ἔφυγον), in the present becomes φεύγω. In the Gothic, in the strong form of Grimm's 8th and 9th conjugations, the radical vowel, strengthened by a in the singular of the preterite, stands in the same contrast to the i and u of the plural, as is the case in the corresponding tense of the Sanskrit. Compare baug, "I bent," in contrast to bugum, "we bent," with the Sanskrit form of the same signification, singular बुभोज bubhoja, plural बुभजिम bubhujima, of the root my bhuj; compare vait, "I know," in contrast with vi/um, "we know," with the Sanskrit forms of the same signification, वेद vêda (from vaïda), विदिम vidima, from the root विद् vid, "know," which, like the corresponding Gothic and Greek root, employs the terminations of the preterite with a present signification.

27. We have, however, the Sanskrit Guna in yet another form in the Gothic—a form which I have but lately discovered, but of which the historical connection with the Sanskrit modification appears to me not the less certain. I once thought that I had accounted in a different manner for the relation existing between biuga, "I bend," and its root

<sup>\*</sup> Regarding Greek of as Guna of t, see §. 491.; and as to Guna in Old Sclavonic and Lithuanian, see §§. 255.b) f), 741., 746.

bug, and I conceived myself bound to ascribe generally, in the present tense, to the prevalent *i* of terminations a retro-active influence. It now, however, seems to me indisputable that Grimm's 8th and 9th conjugations of the [G. Ed. p. 27.] first class correspond to my first Sanskrit conjugation (r. 326.); so that the Guna *a* of the special tenses has been weakened to *i*, while the monosyllabic preterite maintains the Guna vowel in the more important shape of *a*; just as in the 10th, 11th, and 12th conjugations, according to Grimm's division, the radical *a*, which has remained in the preterite singular, is, in the present and other tenses, weakened to *i*; so that, for instance, *at*, "I" and "he eat," corresponds to the root was ad, "to eat," but in the present, *ita* stands in place of the form with admi, "I eat."

28. The Zend possesses, besides the Sanskrit Guna, which has remained everywhere where it stands in Sanskrit, a vowel application peculiar to itself, which likewise consists in & a, and which was first observed by M. E. Burnouf. The vowels which admit this addition in the interior, but not at the end of words, are, first, the short si, bu, bo; 2dly, the Guna diphthongs to & and & d. The two latter are the most usually befriended by this addition, and re ê takes it in all cases where the opportunity occurs, both as an initial letter, and even at the end of words wherever the dependent particle wo cha, "and," is appended to it; hence, for example, wish naire, "homini," withre, "igni"; but אנות מאות "hominique," אולעסאע athraecha, "ignique." Also where an é stands in two consecutive syllables, an a is placed before each. Hence, for instance, by war war aetaeibyo, from स्तेभ्यम् शिक्षेbhyas. The only case in which, ex-

<sup>\*</sup> It would be difficult to adduce a better instance of the phonetic deficiencies of our English alphabet than this sentence, in which I am forced to translate the present and past tenses of essen by the same characters. What foreign student could guess or remember that the one is pronounced eet, the other ett? The preterite "ate" is obsolete.—Translator.

<sup>†</sup> N. Journ. Asiat., T. III. p. 327.

cepting at the actual end of the word, re ê remains without the preceding & a, is when it is produced by the influence of a שי y, out of א a or א d. We say, indeed, טיענמנונליט אין [G. Ed. p. 28.] yaeibyo, "quibus," from येभ्यस yebhyas; but not howners and agaese, but howners agese, "I glorify," from the Sanskrit root, which has been lost, for the verb un ya's, from which comes यज्ञस yaśas, "glory." Yet we find, for अद्राष्ट्र yêzi, "if" (cf. यदि yadi), sometimes, though perhaps erroneously, also sour yaêzi. The addition of the wa before & 6 is just as unlimited, but the occasion is far less frequent. Examples of it are, \$5\psi a \piz\theta, "strength," from जोजस ojas; क्ष्रेश्वर्श्व kerenaot, "he made," from क kri, according to the fifth class, for अक्णोत् akrinôt; pour mraôt "he spoke," from अज्ञोत् abrôt, which would be the regular form, instead of अन्नवीत abravit (Gramm. Crit. r. 352.). We also find ६५७% mraôm, "I spoke," for अन्नोम् abrôm, which would be the form used were, in the Sanskrit adjunct tenses, as in the Greek, a mere nasal, and not wa am, the suffix of the first person. The vowels si and u are much more sparing in their attraction of the wa now in question: they refuse it always at the beginning of words, and in the middle before two consonants; and if transferred from the end of a word to its middle, by an adventitious termination or word, they do not acquire the capacity of being wedded to an wa. We say, for example, GEGS imem, "this" (accus.), not fefs aimem; winds mithwana, "a pair," not winds suf maithwana; ourless, " montibus," not אמנלענצלע gairaibyô. The > u also, according to set rules, very frequently abstains from the wa; for instance, \$1,000 uruno, (anima,) not \$1,000 urauno, from ענאין urvan; on the contrary, און tauruna, "young," from new taruna. Where, however, the Sanskrit 3 u is replaced by  $\psi_0$  (§. 32.), an  $\omega_0$  is placed before it, as well at the beginning as before two consonants; and in this case do stands in this respect in the same category as no e and [G. Ed. p. 20.] & o. Compare what rauch, "light," with

হব ruch; দুখ্যালুখ্যাজ্য saochantain (lucentium) with মুন্দানান suchyatam; মহতাট্য aocta, "he spoke," with বন্ধ ukta, which I form, by theory, after the analogy of আল্লিম akshipta (Gram. Crit. r. 389.), leaving out the augment.

29. In the Vriddhi modification, the vowels  $\xi$  i,  $\hat{\xi}$  i, melt with the preceding  $\xi$  i into  $\hat{\xi}$  ii.  $\xi$  u,  $\xi$  u,  $\xi$  u, into  $\hat{\xi}$  ii.  $\xi$  ri, into  $\hat{\xi}$  ii. The simple vowel  $\xi$  a, as also the diphthongs  $\xi$  e and  $\hat{\xi}$  o, which would produce the same effect by Guna as by Vriddhi—for a+a, like a+a, makes a:  $a+\hat{\xi}$ , like  $a+\hat{\xi}$ , makes a:  $a+\hat{\xi}$ , like  $a+\hat{\xi}$ , makes a: and reserve this one for cases where grammatical laws demand the highest stepnamely, Vriddhi, and remain in the cases of Guna unaltered, unless extraordinary grounds of exception occur. It may be convenient here to give a connected summary of the results produced by Guna and Vriddhi.

Vṛiddhi . . . . आर ar, रे ai, . . जी au,

30. We now proceed to the exposition of the Zend writing, which, like the Semitic, proceeds from right to left, and towards the comprehension of which Rask has contributed valuable corrections, which give the language an appearance more natural and more in consonance with the Sanskrit than it assumed in the hands of former commentators, Anquetil's pronunciation having admitted much that was heterogeneous, especially in the vowels. We follow the order of the Sanskrit

<sup>\*</sup> According to original Grammars the Guna letters are a, e, o; the Vriddhi,  $\hat{a}$ , ai, au; the two first, a and  $\hat{a}$ , being severally substituted for the vowel sounds of ri, lri, in combination with the semi-vowels r and l, as ar, al, ar, al.—Editor

alphabet in giving the corresponding value of each letter in [G. Ed. p. 30.] the Zend. The Sanskrit short wa has two, or rather three, representatives; the first is w, which Anquetil pronounces as a or e, but Rask, certainly with truth, limits to a. The second is s, which Rask pronounces like the short æ of the Danish, or like the short German ä, as in Hände, or as a in cane in English, and e in the French après. I consider this & as the shortest vowel, and write it e. We often find it inserted between two consonants which form a double consonant in the Sanskrit; for instance, שני בער פער dadaresa (pret. redupl.), for the Sanskrit ददशे dadarsa, "he" or "I saw;" אַנעשּג dadĕmahi (V. S. p. 102), " we give," for the Vêda form दसिस dadmasi. This shortest e is also always appended to an originally terminating r. Thus, for instance, באונים antarč, "between," באונים dâtarč, "giver," "creator," Sune hvare, "sun," stand for the corresponding Sanskrit forms अन्तर् antar, दातर् dâtar, खर् swar, "heaven." It is worthy also of remark, that always before a final  $\xi$  m, and generally before a final in, and frequently before an intermediate vowelless y n, the older च a becomes ¿ ě. Compare, for instance, \$27600 puthre-m, "filium" with पुत्रम् putra-m; १८७७ anh-ĕn, "they were," with जासन् dsan, ησαν; ระดุพูรุษ hent-em, "the existing one," with सन्तम् sant-am, præ-sentem, ab-sentem. This retro-active influence of the nasal reminds us of the shortening power of the Latin termination m; as, for instance, stem, stemus (Sanskrit fagur tishthêy-am, fagu tishthêma),

31. Anquetil entirely refuses to admit into his alphabet a letter differing but little from the  $\xi$   $\check{e}$  above discussed, but yet distinct from it by rule in practice, namely,  $\xi$ , which Rask teaches us to pronounce like a long Danish  $\alpha$ . We find this letter usually in connection with a following > u, and this vowel appears to admit, with the excep- [G. Ed. p. 31.] tion of the long u a, no vowel but this  $\xi$  before it. We write this  $\xi$  e without the diacritic sign, inasmuch as we represent the u, like the Sanskrit u, by  $\ell$ .  $Eu > \xi$  corresponds etymo-

logically to the Sanskrit  $\Re \delta$ , or diphthong formed by  $\Re a$  and  $\Im u$ ; thus, for example, the nominal bases in u, which in the Sanskrit genitive, by the influence of Guna, i.e. by the prefixing of a short a, make  $\delta$ -s, form, in Zend, which compare, for instance, which pases with  $\Im a$  pases, from pasu, "pecus." And yet the Sanskrit  $\delta$  does not universally become eu in Zend, but often remains as it is, and specially in cases where it arises out of the termination as, by the solution of the s into u. According to its pronunciation, g g g would appear to be a diphthong, and to form but one syllable, as in our German words heute, Leute, &c. The long a g is written g.

33. The Sanskrit diphthong  $\ell$ , formed out of a+i, is represented by n, which, especially as a terminating letter, is also written n, and which we, as in Sanskrit, represent by  $\ell$ . We must here, however, observe, that the Sanskrit n  $\ell$  is not always preserved as n  $\ell$  in the Zend, but is sometimes replaced by n  $\ell$   $\ell$ , which appears to prevail particularly after a preceding 33 n, especially at the end of [G. Ed. p. 32.] words. The Vriddhi diphthong n  $\ell$   $\ell$  (out of  $\ell$  +  $\ell$ ) is always represented by n  $\ell$  n  $\ell$  n either by the equivalent n for which we often find n n substituted by the neglect of copyists—or by the above-mentioned n n n which, according to rule, before a terminating n n replaces the Indian n n n

<sup>\*</sup> But see §. 447. Note.

For the Vriddhi diphthong  $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$  we generally find  $\frac{1}{2}$  o, for which there is a special character  $\frac{1}{2}$  with  $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1$ 

34. Anuswâra and Visarga do not exist in Zend, unless we admit the nasal specified in § 61. as answering to the sound of the Sanskrit Anuswâra. We proceed meanwhile, for the present, to the proper consonants. The first letter of the Sanskrit guttural class has divided itself into two characters bearing reference to different functions, and os; of which the first, which we represent by k, only appears before vowels and » v; the other, which we write c, precedes especially consonants, excepting » v. Compare, for instance, by kô, eus, γυας kat. (quis, quæ, quid), τος ζενων hakeret, " once," का ka, किम kim, सकृत् sakrit, करोति karôti, and क्क kwa: on the other hand, word csathra, "king," with मा kshatra; אינט hicti, " pouring out" (V. S. p. 198), with fafa sikti (from सिन् sich). In what manner the pronunciation of this of c differs from that of the 9 k can indeed hardly be defined with certainty: it is probably softer, weaker than that of the  $\frac{1}{2}k$ , which latter is fenced in by no strong consonants. Rask selects for it the character q, without observing that this letter prefers only to precede consonants, and in this position [G. Ed. p. 33.] always corresponds to the Sanskrit & k.

[G. Ed. p. 33.] always corresponds to the Sanskrit  $\mathbf{z}$  k. Burnouf considers  $\mathbf{z}$  as an aspirate, and writes were takhmahê. He writes, on the other hand, the letter  $\mathbf{z}$ , which Rask treats as an aspirate, with q. Burnouf has not yet given his reason, which I think, however, I can guess, namely, that  $\mathbf{z}$   $\mathbf{z}$  is found before  $\mathbf{z}$ , which, according to Burnouf's just

remark, generally confers an aspirate upon a preceding consonant. I consider this reason, however, as insufficient; and think that & c stands before r, because, as we have before remarked, all consonants, v excepted, only admit before them that modification of the k sound which is expressed by . It would be impossible for ? r, and the other letters of similar agency, to convey aspiration to the preceding hard guttural if a kh be not extant in Zend; so that, for instance, the root कन khan, " to dig," sounds פאן kan in Zend. There are, however, some words in which a kh is represented by ன். From सर khara, "ass," we find the accusative နော်လ carem; and we find, also, the e kh of afa sakhi, "friend," replaced by c; the accusative, for instance, सखायम् sakhåyam transformed into שעלשענל hacâim. It may therefore remain a question whether 9 k or & c, in respect of their sounds, have the better right to be referred to R kh; but this much is certain, that a k before vowels and before q v is only represented by a in Zend; before other consonants only by &; which latter we shall, till better advised, continue to render by c.

35. Anquetil ascribes to of the value of w, and to both the pronunciation kh; while Rask considers the latter alone, by reason of the aspiration stroke which he recognises, as aspirated, and compares it to the Spanish x and the Arabic , and our German ch. Burnouf renders [G. Ed. p. 34.] w by q; and observes (l. c. p. 345) that the Sanskrit syllable ख swa becomes qa in Zend, namely, in खप्र swapna, "sleep," written, according to Burnouf, qafna, and in \ swa (suus), "his." We are inclined to add to these examples, שַעבשע khanha, (nom.) accus. קבלעבעל khanhrem, from שמו swash, "sister" (soror); समारम् swasaram (sororem); and पृष्टीया khareno, "splendour," as related to est swar, "heaven," and HT sur, "to shine." We must, however, at the same time, remark, that \ sw does not universally become w kh, and that \ swa in particular, in an isolated position and with a possessive signification, much oftener appears in the shape of www hva,

or that of www. We render w by kh, and support our view of its aspiration more on the fact, that in modern Persian it corresponds frequently to -, our ch, than on the circumstance that Rask has marked it as aspirated. This modern Persian - is pronounced, indeed, at present, without aspiration, like an Italian c before a, o, u; but its value in Arabic, and the choice of this letter, so powerfully aspirated in the Arabic to designate a special guttural sound, in true Persian words, seems to indicate an intrinsic stronger or milder aspiration. As we kh is derived from the Sanskrit swa, it was not applied to replace the a k before letters, which would without it produce an aspiration. It may also be here convenient to remember that either u or v ( $\bullet$ ) accompanies the Persian - when the latter replaces at the beginning of a [G. Ed. p. 35.] word the Sanskrit esw. It is true that, v is no longer sounded before long vowels, but it must originally have had its influence on the pronunciation, and cannot have been introduced into writing entirely without object, and for the mere employment of the copyist. Compare خدا khuda, "God," with खदत swadatta, "self-given;" for which, in Zend, we have, under a more regular participial form (see Gramın. Crit. r. 608), момумы khadata\*; which Anquetil, or his Parsî teacher, always understands in the sense of, "given through God," deceived, probably, by the resemblance of sound to خدا while Neriosengh properly translates it by खयन्द्रज्ञ swayandatta. The Persian र्रे khudâ is, however, as Burnouf correctly assumes, actually related to the Zend שעששעש khadata, so as to have its name based in the idea, "created by itself," while in its form it has been mutilated of one syllable. In Sanskrit we find both অসু swabhû, "selfexistent," and also the more common खयम्भ swayambhû, as appellations of Brahma and Vishnu. That, however, as has often been maintained, our word "God" is really related to

<sup>•</sup> This word comes from the root dhâ, "to place," not from da, "to give," see §. 637.

khuda, and that its primal signification has thus been discovered through the Zend, we are forced still to doubt. will here only call to mind that the Germanic forms, especially in the older dialects, in general approximate much more to the Sanskrit than to the modern Persian. sw, in particular, in the Gothic, either remains unaltered, or becomes sl (§. 20.). The pronominal syllable swa exhibits itself in the Gothic as a pronominal adverb, sva (so) "thus;" and with an instrumental form, svě (wie) "how." The neuter substantive svês (Theme svêsa) means Eigenthum, "property," as in Sanskrit the neuter a swa. I know of no certain form in which a Germanic g or k corresponds to a Sanskrit so sw or a Persian  $\dot{\tau}$  kh. To return, however, to the [G. Ed. p. 36.] Persian عند khuftan, " to sleep," خفتن khuftan, " to sleep," with खप swap; خواب kh(w)ab, "sleep," with खाप swapa; خواندن kh(w)andan, "to sing," with खन् swan, "to sound;" خواهر kh(w)ahar, "sister," with अम swasri, Gothic svistar; khur-shid, "sun," Zend والمنه hvare, with सर swar, "heaven." In some words - kh corresponds to a Sanskrit k before r, in which position the Zend loves an aspiration; in the modern Persian, however, a vowel intrudes between the guttural and the r; thus, فراميدري khiram-idan, " to proceed with pomp," corresponds to the Sanskrit an kram, "to go," "to step;" and خريد khiridan, "to buy," to the Sanskrit equivalent root की krî. The Persian & kh answers to the Sanskrit aspirated a kh, in the word & khar, "ass" (Sanskrit at khara).

36. The guttural η, and its aspirate η, are represented by o g and g gh. The Sanskrit η gh has, however, sometimes dismissed the aspiration in Zend; at least μερλωρ garema, "heat" (θέρμη and Wärme), answers to the Sanskrit η gharma: on the other hand, the μρο ghna in μρομοεργός νένετ thraghna, "victorious," corresponds to the Sanskrit η ghna at the end of compounds; for instance, in η η κατυ-ghna, "enemy slayer." The Zend μρομοεργός νένετ thraghna properly signi-

fies, like the word so often used in the same sense passed verethra-zan, "killer of Vritra," and proves a connection between the Zendish and Indian mythologies, which, however, in consequence of the obscuration of meanings in Zend, and the oblivion of the old Myths, now only exists in affinities of speech. "Killer of Vritra" is one of the most usual titles of honour of the prince of the lesser gods, or Indra, who, from his slaughter of the dæmon Vritra, of the race of the Dâ-G. Ed. p. 37.] nawas, bears this name.

We shall discuss the nasals apart in §. 60.

 dtars, makes, after rejection of the a which preceded r, which åthrê, "igni," pulle åthrat, "ab igne," &c. If, however, the t be protected by a preceding consonant, excepting  $\dot{n}$ , the succeeding semi-vowel is thereby de- [G. Ed. p. 38.] prived of its retro-active power. We find, for instance, ענעסלע vastra, not אל vasthra, "garment," "vest;" but we have with manthra, "speech," not work mantra, from the root pur man. At the end of a word, and, which rarely occurs, before strong consonants, (§. 25.) at the beginning also, and middle of a word, the Sanskrit t (7) is represented by a special letter, namely, by &, which we, with Burnouf, write t, but formerly wrote with a simple t undotted below, because no change is possible with o or 6. Rask represents it by th, because he recognises the sign of aspiration. I am unable, however, to assent to the universal validity of this sign of Rask's, and I incline to rejecting the aspirate, as in Sanskrit, from the end of words. We should also remember that the diphthong & is written no as well as w; the last, which prevails at the end of words, with a stroke similar to that which distinguishes our p from p. Before consonants, for instance, in the word yourse tkuêshô, the sounding of th would be more precarious than that of t, in case this th did not somewhat partake of a sibilant sound. I think, however, that p ! has merely a feebler pronunciation than po t, and is, so to say, the last breathing of t; as, in Sanskrit, s and r, at the end of words, are diluted to Visarga (§. 11.); and as 7 t, in Prâkrit, and also in Greek, is, at the end of words, altogether suppressed.

39. 4 is the ordinary d z, and o according to Rask's just remark, its aspirate dh. This represents the Sanskrit y dh, for instance, in the imperative ending fu. The Zend, moreover, favours o dh for 4 d in the middle of words between two vowels. We find, for instance, wowed dâta, "given," but sewe as dadhâmi, Sanskrit zzīfu dadâmi, "I give"; and wowe sague mazda-dhâta, [G. Ed. p. 39.]

"given by Ormusd," "created"; איני yêdhi, "if," Sanskṛit पद् yadi; איני pâdha, "foot," Sansk. עוב pâda.

40. The labial class embraces the letters & p, & f, s, b, and the nasal of this organ & m, of which more hereafter. of p answers to the Sanskrit q p, and is transformed into If by the retro-active aspirative power of a following r, w s, and in; whence, for instance, the preposition m pra (pro, πρό) becomes, in Zend, ωθ fra; and the primitive words δω ap, "water" (aqua, and perhaps ἀφρός ), δείερ kerep, "body," form in the nominative, who afs, wolfe kerefs; on the other hand, in the accusative, Godw apem, Geogles kerepem, or Geologs kehrpem. In regard to the power which resides in n of aspirating a p, compare t fnu, "burning," from the root dup tap, with the derivative from the same root אמששלשננסענט dtapayeiti, "he shines" (See Vendidâd Sâde, p. 333), and the plural צישעלקע csafna, "nights," with the ablative singular pulled with the ablative singular csaparût (Vendidâd Sâde, p. 330), in which, even in the root, the interchange between n and r is observable, as the same takes place in the Sanskrit between अहन ahan and अहर ahar, "day." (Gramm. Crit. r. 228. annot.) Originallyi.e. standing for itself, and not proceeding from the & p by the influence described—\( \) f is of very rare occurrence. In some instances known to me it corresponds to the Sanskrit & bh, which, however, for the most part, in the Zend has rejected the aspiration. In Anquetil's Vocabulary we find nafo, "navel," which in Sanskrit is written नाभि nabhi; and in the fem. accus. plural, of frequent occurrence in the Zend-Avesta, wo so so hufedhris, we recognise the Sanskrit सभद subhadra "very fortunate," "very excellent," also a title of Vishnu.

41. We come now to the semi-vowels, and must, in order to follow the order of the Sanskrit alphabet, discuss y in the [G. Ed. p. 40.] next place, by which we express the sound of the German and Italian j, the English consonantal y. This

semi-vowel is written at the beginning of words by or and in the middle by the duplication of the u ss, as in the Old High German we find w expressed. This semi-vowel, and the vowels which correspond to it, si and si, introduce into the preceding syllable an si; an interesting phenomenon, first observed by Burnouf (l. c. pp. 340, 341), and which in its principle is connected with the German vowel modification (§. 73.). We are obliged to ascribe a similar influence also to the diphthong ro & where it stands at the end of a word. Frequent occasion for this presents itself in the dat. sing, and the third pers. pres. of the middle verb. For instance, אנצלש nairê, "homini," for אנגלש narê, is frequent; but אנגשאט naraêcha, "hominique," is an exception. The vowels after which, by the attractive power of the letters mentioned, an si is placed, are si a, as to which we must also observe, that u, in the case of a succeeding i, is lengthened. Examples are: מובסגנע maidhya (אשן madhya) "middle"; מעלננע nairya, "man"; אני שני bavaiti, "he is"; אני שני dadhâiti, "he gives"; אפארנסעט dtapayeiti, "he shines"; אפאר kerenditi, "he makes"; אפנים stûidhi, "praise," instead of אפנים שויים אויים אויים וויים אויים אויים אויים וויים אויים studhi, from the root الله stu (स्त); الله عرد دويد tûirya, " the fourth," from चत्र chatur, with the च cha suppressed \*; ענט אלענע ahuirya, an adjective, derived from איש ahura. With regard to the influence of 33 y we must observe, that it does not mix up an si with a vowel immediately preceding, but only with one separated from it by one consonant; for if there be two, unless the first be w n, the retroactive power of y, i, or i, is neutralized; thus www asti, not אבעספ aisti, stands for "he is"; on the other hand we have איי bavainti, Sansk. אשריש bhavanti, " they are." Several other consonants also resist simply [G. Ed. p. 41.] this power of attraction; thus we have >>>> dakhyu, not

<sup>\*</sup> Or more immediately from the Sansk rit ordinal तुर्धी turyya or तुरीय turiya, "fourth."—Editor,

אפניטניני and the i of the personal terminations או and איי hi, or איי shi, obtain no influence over the preceding syllable. In the same manner, in the first person plural, איי mahi, not איי mahi, not איי mahi, not איי mahi, not איי mahi, corresponds to the Veda termination איי mahi, and in the genitive of the stems, or inflective bases, in איי שיי mahê, not איי ahê, stands for איי maha.

42. If y sometimes also exerts that disturbing influence on a following u a or u d, which is equivalent to the insertion of a vowel, or of i, and consequently effects their transmutation into v  $\ell^*$ ; thus the bases of nouns in

<sup>\*</sup> The expression of the text is "aufsert umlautenden Einfluss." It is hardly possible to render into English without circumlocution certain terms which the philologers of Germany have invented and adopted to express the various modifications of the Indo-Germanic vowel; such as, Ablaut, Auflaut, Inlaut, Umlaut. Whether these terms have in themselves the virtue of suggesting to a Teutonic ear the particular modification of the vowel to which they are respectively applied may be doubted; but if to the student and the teacher they answer the purpose of a memoria technica, their use is fully justified by the necessity of the case, and the practice of a language which possesses a singular and inexhaustible power of progress and adaptation to exigencies. In our language, it seems to us that the uncouthness of such compounds as Upsound, Offsound, and Insound, could hardly be compensated by any advantage to be derived from their use; and we therefore purpose, in the course of this work, where any of these terms occur in the original, to retain them in their German shape. Of these terms, Ablaut and Umlaut are those which chiefly, if not alone are used by our author. Inlaut is, we believe, merely the Sanskiit Guna. The meaning of the two former, and their distinction from each other, may best be explained by the following extract from our author's excellent work the Vocalismus, p. 10.

<sup>&</sup>quot;I designate," he says, "by the term Ablaut, a change of the root vowel, which is distinguished from the Umlaut by the fact that it is not produced by the influence of the vowel of the termination; for Umlaut is a mere affection, disturbance (Trübung) of the primary sound, through which that sound becomes more homogeneous with the vowel of the termination; while in the Ablaut, without any recognised external cause, it makes room for another, and, in general, totally different sound; as in Gothic, nima, 'I take'; nam, 'I took.' I say, without any recognised ex-

עיע ya form, in the genitive, שיששע yê-hê, instead of שעששש ya-hé; and, with the verb, the old Sanskrit עינששש or Tryd of the fourth and tenth classes, in the present singular becomes ການ yê. Compare ລະດາງເພດພາດພາ âtâpayêmi, swossowow dlapayêhi, sossossowow alapayêiti, with the Sanskrit आतापयामि वीapayami, आतापयसि वीapayasi, सातापयित dlapayati. In the last syllable, الله before & m. according to rule, becomes & i; and after the same analogy, Gas vam becomes Go um. We find, therefore, for instance, & Dogo tûirîm, "quartum," from word tûirya; and ട്രോഗ് thrishûm, "tertiam partem," ട്രോഗ് chathrushum, "quartam partem," from www. 36 thrishva, עם אואר chathrushva. This appearance is to be thus understood, that the antecedent semi-vowel, after the suppression of the a, passes into its corresponding vowel, which, however, according to the rule of §. 64., must be a long one. The y, after its influence has transformed x a into re, is often itself suppressed; thus we find fraunaud fraduêsaêm, "I shewed," from प्रादेशयम् pradesayam, which

ternal cause; because I think I can shew that the Ablaut also is produced by the particular quality and condition of the termination. Whether, however, we seek for the radical vowel in the present or the preterite, the change is equally one quite different from that of the Indian Guna or Vriddhi, and in this respect, that it is a positive change; while in Sanskrit the root vowel is not in fact changed, but only receives an increment, and that increment always one and the same, with which it diphthongizes itself, as in Greek, ι and υ with ε, λειπω, φευγω. In respect of signification, likewise, there is a difference between the Indian Guna and Vriddhi and Germanic Ablaut, for the Ablaut has acquired for itself a significatory power for grammatical purposes, even if, as I conjecture, it did not originally possess such: the contrast between the present and the past seems to rest upon it, and there are indications that the latter is expressed by this change. In Sanskrit, Guna and Vriddhi present no indication of this significatory power, but, merely in the character of diphthongizing modifications, accompany those inflections which do signify grammatical relations."

Further illustrations of these latter remarks are to be found in the Note 4, which Professor B pp has appended to the above passage of the Vocalismus. — Trans.

<sup>\*</sup> Cf. p. 963, Note.

according to the rule of the tenth class, would be formed from fan diś. The genitive termination a sya appears everywhere reduced into we hê. The semi-vowels 33 y and » v are generally suppressed after preceding conso-[G. Ed. p. 42.] nants\*; and thus, also, the imperative ending a swa gives up its w.

44. We have already remarked (§. 30.) with respect to ? r, that at the end of a word an se is always appended to it; for instance, Dupung datare, "Creator," "Giver"; באשש hvare, "Sun," instead of שמעש dâtar; איש hvar. In the middle of a word, where an w h is not introduced according to §. 48., the union of ? r with a following consonant is mostly avoided; so, indeed, that to the originally vowelless r an e is appended: thence, for instance, was hard dadaresa, from दहाँ dadarsa, "vidi," "vidit"; or the r is transposed, in the same manner as is usual in the Sanskrit for the avoidance of the union of Tr with two following consonants. (Gram. Crit. r. 34b.) Hence, for instance, www. athrava, "priests" (nominative), accus. 65,000 athravanem, from the theme מגים dtarvan, which in the weak cases (§. 129.) contracts itself into phow athurun or phower athaurun. (§. 28.) To this, also, pertains the fact that polysyllabic stems (or uninflected bases) in & ar, at the beginning of compounded forms, transpose this syllable into ra; and thus withra, "fire," stands instead of

<sup>\*</sup> Bu see § 721.

45. It is worthy of remark, that in the Zend the l is wanting, as in Chinese the r, while, nevertheless, it exists in the modern Persian, and shews itself in words which are not of Semitic origin. The Sanskrit 7 v has three representatives in the Zend, b, », and of. The two first are so far distinguished from each other in their use, that & corresponds to the Sanskrit v only at the beginning, and » only in the middle of words; for instance, द्राप्ट्री vuêm, "we," = वयम vayam, אשע tava (tui) = तव tava. This distinction, as Rask justly assumes, is only graphic. of, which I, with Burnouf, render by w, most frequently occurs after 6th, so that » never accompanies an antecedent 6th. On the other hand we find » much oftener than coafter the aspirated medials of this class. Perhaps the law here obtains that the and, which, according to §. 39., stands for 4 d (3), is only followed by », while an original odh, corresponding to a Sanskrit u dh, only appears in conjunction with of. Thus sway dadhido, "having created," "given," from the root wy dat, answers to the Sanskrit nom. दहान् dadwan; while the accusative, of frequent occurrence in the Vendidad, friend adhwanem, seems to be identical with the Sanskrit अध्यानम् adhwanam, "viam." (Vend. Olsh. p. 18.) After other consonants than

<sup>\*</sup> By Stämme, the author here evidently means the crude derivative words which serve as Stems or Bases to inflected words, or those in combination with inflectional terminations; thus âthra for âthar, forms âthrava, âthravanem, not âtharva, âtharvanam, &c.—Editor.

<sup>†</sup> The root corresponds to the Sanskrit dha, see §. 637.

6th and o\_dh, of w appears not to be admitted, but only » v; on the other hand, of w much prevails between two i's or s i and ss y, in which position » v is not allowed. [G. Ed. p. 44.] Thus we read in the Vendidâd (Olsh. p. 23), the nominatives שנצשפעה driwis, " beggar," (?) and בעצשפעם daiwis, "a worshipper of Daêva." אנכ שני daiwis however, as derived from daeva through the suffix s i, seems to me dubious, and I prefer the variation אנמארנע daevis. Or is it between & and i also that of w only can be allowed? Another instance is, ψυνος aiwyo, "aquis," as dative and ablative plural; an interesting form which long remained a mystery to me, but which I am now in condition to explain. It springs from the root du ap, "water" in such a manner, that after suppression of the p,\* the Sanskrit termination भ्यस bhyas, which elsewhere, in the Zend, appears only as byt, has weakened itself to \$1500 wy6, and, according to §. 41., has introduced an s i into the base. Another instance in which Hy bh has weakened itself in the Zend into a semi-vowel, and obtained the form of w in virtue of its position between two s i's, is the very common preposition אנצ aiwi, for which, however, אנצנ aibi is sometimes substituted. It may be appropriate here to remark that y bh appears in the Zend, in other company, in the enfeebled shape of » v. We find, namely, the base 34 ubha, "both," not only in the shape אינע uba, but also in that of אינע aova (§. 28.), the neuter dual form of which I think I recognise in the Vend. S. p. 88., where popular powers from the word acre yasno ameshe spente, can hardly signify any thing else than "ambos † venerans Amschaspantos" (non conniventes Sanctos, see Nalus, vv. 25, 26.) Anguetil interprets (T. 3, p. 472.) ove, by "tous deux." We have still another position to mention, in which [G. Ed. p. 45.] the semi-vowel of w appears, namely, before ? r, in which connection the softer w is more appro-

<sup>\*</sup> Compare, in this respect, was abhra, "cloud," for way ab-bhra, "water-bearing," and the Zend word bereta, nom. "water-bearer."

<sup>†</sup> Burnouf readsaôi (i.e. "over") and makes yasne, signify "reverence."

priate than the harder » v. The only example of this case is the feminine who w suwra, "sword," "dagger," in which we believe we recognise the Sanskrit yr subhra, "shining," As to the pronunciation of the w w, I think, with Burnouf, that it accords with the English w, which also is akin to the Sanskrit v after consonants. Rask reverses the powers, pronouncing the Zend w as the English v, and the letters by and w as the English w.

46. I have not detected in the v and w a power of attraction similar to that which belongs to the 33 y, as described in §. 41., unless the term where have, "all," which often occurs, as well as what is vispa, is derived from the Sanskrit to sarwa, "all." I have, however, already elsewhere ascribed to the corresponding vowel > u a power of attraction, howbeit sparingly exerted; in virtue of which, for instance, the base μωλωρω âtarvan, "priests," in the weak cases (see §. 129.), after that μως van has contracted itself into μ, by the influence of this u, also converts the a of the preceding syllable into u; hence, for instance, in the dative, μηλλωρω âtarvanê for μηλωρω âtarvanê. The Sanskrit του taruna, "young," is, in Zend, ωρλλο turuna or ωρλλωρ taruna (§. 28.); and τη vasu, "thing," "riches,"

[G. Ed. p. 46.] has, by the influence of the concluding u, converted itself into supply volu.

47. Burnouf was the first to remark on the fact, peculiar to the Zend, that the semi-vowels are fond of communicating an aspiration to a preceding consonant; and we (§. 40.) have ascribed a similar influence to we s and n, and find ourselves compelled to assign the same also to the

<sup>\*</sup> The accusative for sister since in Olshausen, p. 13, with the variation for surrant. (§. 40.) Then we often find the instrumental surrant. (§. 40.) Then we often find the instrumental surrant. (§. 40.) Then we often find the instrumental surrant. (§. 40.) Then we often find the instrumental surrant. (§. 40.) Then we often find the instrumental surrant. (§. 40.) Then we often find the instrumental surrant. (§. 40.) Then we often find the instrumental surrant. (§. 40.) Then we often find the instrumental surrant. (§. 40.) Then we often find the instrumental surrant. (§. 40.) Then we often find the instrumental surrant. (§. 40.) Then we often find the instrumental surrant. (§. 40.) Then we often find the instrumental surrant. (§. 40.) Then we often find the instrumental surrant. (§. 40.) Then we often find the instrumental surrant. (§. 40.) Then we often find the instrumental surrant. (§. 40.) Then we often find the instrumental surrant. (§. 40.) Surrant. (§. 40.) Then we often find the instrumental surrant. (§. 40.) Surran

49. We come now to the sibilants. The first, a palatal, pronounced in Sanskrit with a gentle aspiration,  $\mathfrak{F}_{\mathfrak{I}}$ , which we express by s in Sanskrit, and s in Zend, is written s in the latter. Its exact pronunciation is scarcely ascertainable. Anquetil assigns it that of the ordinary s. It in general occurs in those positions in which the Sanskrit in corresponding words has its  $\mathfrak{F}_{\mathfrak{I}}$ ; thus, for instance, dasa, 'ten," sata, "hundred." pasu, "beast," are common to both languages. In this respect s s has spread itself wider in Zend than in Sanskrit; that before several consonants,

namely, ot, ot, oh, and in, as well at the beginning as in the middle of words-in the latter place, however, only after wa, wa, and wan-it corresponds to the Sanskrit dental or ordinary s #. Compare Jupus stars," the stars," with स्तारम staras; अद्ग्रेम्प्रिक staomi, "I praise," with स्तीमि stáumi; அல்ல ašti, "he is," with स्नि asti; சல்லைய astanm, "ossium," with सिंख asthi; אפענעשט shanda, " shoulder," (?) with saw skandha; www sna. " to purify," with an snd, "to bathe." We might infer from this circumstance that s' w was pronounced as a simple s, yet it may have to do with a dialectical preference for the sound sh, as happens with the German s in the Suabian dialect, and pretty universally at the beginning of words before t and p. It is further to be remarked, that i w occurs also at the end of words after wan. The occasion for this presents itself in the nom. sing. masc. of bases in pw nt.

50. The semi-vowel » v is regularly hardened into d p after s i; hence, for instance, มอง spā, "canis." ระบบอง รักลักษัท "canem," มองมุรุ่ง vispa, "all," [G. Ed. p. 48.] มองม aspa, "horse," corresponding to the Sanskrit ซาร์งเล. ซาละร์งเลิกสุด, "holy," is not corresponded to by a Sanskrit ซาละร์งเลิกสุด, which must have originally been in use, and which the Lithuanian szanta-s indicates. From the Zend มองม aspa, the transition is easy to the Greek ἐππος, which is less obvious in the case of the Indian asva.

51. For the Sanskrit lingual sibilant  $\Psi$  sh, the Zend supplies two letters,  $\omega$  and  $\omega$ . The first, according to Rask, is pronounced like the ordinary s, and therefore like the Sanskrit dental s  $\Psi$ ; while  $\omega$  has the sound of  $\Psi = sh$ , and marks this by a stroke of aspiration. We therefore write it sh.\* Rask observes that these two letters are often interchanged in MSS.; which he accounts for by the circumstance

<sup>\*</sup> It is in this Translation given sh without any mark. Sh denotes the Sansk. 4.

that we is used in the Pehlevi for sh, and that the Parsî copyists have been long better acquainted with the Pehlevi than the Zend. We find, also, in the Codex edited by Burnouf, almost everywhere corresponding to \ sh. We recognise, however, from the text edited by Olshausen of a part of the Vendidåd, and the variations appended, that although in etymological respects as as well as to corresponds to the Sanskrit \( \forall sh\), the principal position of w is before strong consonants (§. 25.) and at the end of words; a position of much importance in the Zend, and which requires attention in the cases of other classes of letters. In this respect we resembles, among the dentals, po t, among the gutturals of c, and among the nasals principally w n. At the end of words, indeed, as s corresponds to the Sanskrit # s, but yet [G. Ed. p. 49.] only after such letters as, in the middle of a word, would, according to Rule 101(a) of my Sanskrit Grammar, change an original स s into म sh; namely, after vowels other than a and a, and after the consonants of c and ? r. Hence, for instance, the nominative paitis, "Lord," שנע אינטע pasus, "beast," שנאטע atars, "fire," שנאילן drucs, "dæmon," from the theme ey drug. On the other hand, ארשי barans, "bearing," from אונע barant.\* In the word www. csvas, "six," it is true a terminating w s stands after a; but it does not here replace a Sanskrit # s, but the original \( \pi \) sh of \( \pi \) shash. As evidence of the use of ws for \$\foresign sh\$ before strong consonants, we may adduce the very usual superlative suffix μομω ista (i.e. ιστος), corresponding to the Sanskrit 38 ishtha. Other examples are בעלשיטע karsta, "ploughed," for אָנ krishta. In the word שענעוע sayana "camp," ש stands irregularly for s s, which latter was to be anticipated from the Sanskrit ज्ञयन sayana (cf. saêtê, §. 54.) In the fem. numeral

<sup>\*</sup> I retain here the original t, since the theme of the word does not appear in use. v t must otherwise have been changed for v t.

The stisars, "three" (Olsh. p. 26), the we might seem questionable, for the Sanskrit form is fast tisras, and taccording to §. 53., becomes we h. The ta, however, is here in a position (after to in which the Sanskrit favours the conversion of to sinto to the sanskrit favours the conversion of to tisrars. That it does not, however, stand as for tisrars, as we might expect from §. 52., is certainly not to be ascribed to the original existence of we a, for through tisrars stands for through tisrs,

52. m stands for the Sanskrit 4 sh be- [G. Ed. p. 50] fore vowels and the semi-vowels sy and » v; compare சுலுமைறைய aétaéshanm and புறையுமைய aétaéshva, with स्तेषाम êtêshâm, "horum," and स्तेष êtêshu, "in his"; अर्राष्ट्राधि mashya, "man," with मनुष manushya. Yet क्रा sh does not unite itself with an antecedent & c; but for the Sanskrit a ksh we find almost everywhere in Olshausen's text, and without variation, www cs; hence, for instance, whoww csathra, "king," Sanskrit बद kshatra, "a man of the warlike or royal caste." The word of frequent occurrence, שליאנגע cshnaoma, and the third person connected with it, ລຸດເຄວາມເປັນເປັນ cshnaômayêiti, we must, on a double ground, reject, and prefer the variation given at p. 33, since s here is prolonged, as well by the preceding c as by the following n. It is, however, worthy of remark, that the Sanskrit & ksh in many Zend words abandons the guttural, and appears as w sh. For instance, दिश्य dakshina, " dexter," becomes פענשטן dashina (Lithuan. dészinè, "the right hand"), and आंख akshi, "eye," becomes अक्षेत्र ashi, which, however, seems only to occur at the end of possessive compounds (Bahuvrîhi).

53. w h is never, in etymological respects, the representative of the Sanskrit  $\overline{s}$  h, but of the pure and dental sibilant  $\overline{s}$ . Before vowels, semi-vowels, and m, in Zend, this letter invariably becomes w, possibly because  $\overline{s}$  sw (§ 35.) takes the shape w kh; while before n, and such consonants as cannot unite with a preceding h, (§ 49.) it is to be looked for in the shape of w s. The [G. Ed. p. 51.]

roots which begin with स्प sp and स्प sph have not yet been detected by me in the Zend; but I am convinced that स्पृज्ञ spris, for instance, "to touch," could not begin otherwise in Zend than with & sp. Compare, for instance—

ZEND. SANSKRIT. שעג hâ, "they," 8â. אפטשש hapta, "seven," sapta. persone hakeret, "once," सकत sakrit. עשנ ahi, "thou art," च्रांस asi. ahmâi, " to this," सम्मे asmāi. באש hvare, " sun," swar, "heaven." עא שא hva, "his,"

The word whizva, "tongue," from fact jihwa, deserves mention, because the sibilant quality of the  $\pi$  j is treated as  $\pi$  s, and replaced by w h (§. 58.).

54. I do not remember to have met with an instance of

the combination by hr; the Sanskrit word use sahasra, "thousand," which might give occasion for it, has rejected the sibilant in the last syllable, and taken the shape ישנגיער נא hazanra. If, in the word שלשפע huska, "dry," Sansk. शुक्त śushka, छ replaces the Sansk. शु ś, we must remember that the Latin siccus indicates a Sansk. # s, because c regularly answers to si s. In many instances of Sanskrit roots beginning with # s, the corresponding Zend form may be grounded on the change which is effected on an initial us by the influence of certain prepositions. (Gram. Crit. r. 80.) [G. Ed. p. 52.] Thus I believe I have clearly ascertained the existence of the Sanskrit participle fas siddha, "perfected," in the term of frequent occurrence in the Vendidâd אוניענסט shâistem; after the analogy of איניענעסט irista, "deceased," from 65% irith (see §. 99.) Olshausen notifies (p. 29) as variations of קבשענעס shâistěm — קבשענעס šáištěm, Growe sháistím, Growe sháistím, and free shaistem. In all these forms, the long a presents a difficulty; for, according to §. 28., fun shidh would give the form osum shaidh; and this, with the suffix ta,

shāištēm. What Anquetil (vol. II. p. 279) translates, Juste juge du monde qui existe par votre puissance, vous qui êtes la pureté même, quelle est la premiere chose qui plaise à cette terre (que nous habitons), et la rende favorable, runs in the criginal (Olsh., p. 29, Burnouf, p. 137), -ມມະຕາມ ເພາງມາ ເພາມ ເພາງມາ ເພາງມາ ເພາງມາ ເພາງມາ ເພາງມາ ເພາງມາ ເພາງມາ ເພາງມາ ເພາງມາ

55. The nominative pronominal base R sya (Gramm. Crit. r. 268), in the Veda dialect, is under the influence of the preceding word; and we see in Rosen's specimen, p. 6, this pronoun, when it follows the particle 3 u, converted into wshya, after the analogy of rule 101° of my Grammar. I have detected a similar phenomenon in the Zend pronouns; for we find now hé, "ejus," "ei," which is founded on a lost Sanskrit से sê (cf. ने mê, "mei," "mihi," and ते tê, "tui," "tibi"), when it follows איט yêzi, "if," taking the form யை se (more correctly, perhaps, மய she); for instance, at p. 37 of Olshausen: while on the same page we find עשאטע שיפ yêzicha hê, (und wenn ihm,) [G. Ed. p. 53.] "and if to him." In the following page we find a similar phenomenon, if, as I can hardly doubt, sweet shao (thus I read it with the variation), corresponds to the Sanskrit समी asau ("ille," "illa"): अठ्टीमा आद्र हमाद्रा हमाद्र हर उद क्रा क्री ພາຍາງໃນຊຸມ, Nôit zi îm zâo shâo yâ (text, ເພຼ yâo) daregha akarsta (text, שפעלעשטן adarsta), "For not this earth which lies long unploughed."

instance, געיט ahi, "thou art," אנעיט bacsahi, "thou givest," not עניט anhi, עניט bacsanhi.

56b). The termination as, which in Sanskrit only before sonant consonants (§. 25.) and # a, dissolves its # into # u, and contracts the latter together with the preceding a into  $\Re \delta$  (compare the French au, from al): this ancient termination as appears in Zend, as also in Prâkrit and Pali, always under the shape of  $\delta$ On the other hand, the termination as, which in Sanskrit before all sonant letters entirely abandons the s, in Zend has never allowed the concluding sibilant entirely to expire, but everywhere preserves its fusion in the shape of bo (for [G. Ed. p. 54.] u); and I consider myself thereby strongly supported in a conjecture I enounced before my acquaintance with Zend,\* that in Sanskrit the suppression of a terminating s after á had preceded the vocalization of this s into u. It is remarkable that where, in Zend, as above observed, an an precedes the wh which springs out of the s of the syllable ds, or where, before the enclitic particle wo cha, the s above mentioned is changed into w s, together with these substantial representatives of the s, its evaporation into bo is also retained, and the sibilant thus appears in a double form, albeit torpid and evanescent. To illustrate this by some examples, the Sanskrit मास mas, "luna"an uninflected nominative, for the s belongs to the rootreceives in Zend the form swe mao, in which o represents maoscha, and मासम् masam, "lunam," ६२७३६७६ maonhem; so that in the two last examples the Sanskrit sibilant is represented by a vowel and a consonant. The analogy of maonhem, "lunam," is followed in all similar instances; for example, for बास dsa "fuit," we find weegew donha, and for जामान asam, "earum," f www.zew aonhanmt.

<sup>\*</sup> Observations, rule 78 of the Latin edition of Sanskrit Grammar.

<sup>†</sup> Burnouf is of a different opinion as to the matter in question, for in

57. Two sibilants remain to be mentioned, namely,  $\underline{s}$  and  $\underline{w}$ , of which the former was probably pronounced like the French z, and may therefore be replaced [G. Ed. p. 55.] by that letter. Etymologically this letter answers to the Sanskrit  $\xi$  h for the most part, which never corresponds to the Zend  $\underline{w}$  h. Compare, for example,

SANSKRIT. खहम् aham, "I," GE (N azem. इस hasta, "hand," wown zasia. אדם sahasra, "thousand," אינאשניש hazanra. हन्ति hanti, "he strikes," spowsus zainti. वहित vahati, "he carries," vazaiti. " bears." hi, " for," s zi. जिहा jihwd, "tongue," ມະວຸເອນ hizva, (§. 53.) महत mahat, " great," Gent mazo (from mazas. acc. Gewyusus mazanhem.)

the Nouveau Journ. Asiatique, tom. iii. p. 342, speaking of the relation of māonho to mananhô, without noticing the analogies which occur in cases of repetition, māosh-cha, "lunaque," urvāraosh-cha, "arboresque," he says, "In māenghô, there is perhaps this difference, that the ngh does not replace the Sanskrit s, for this letter has already become o in consequence of a change of frequent occurrence which we have lately noticed.

signification has maintained itself in Zend, but in Greek has given way to the labial; and βοῦς and κομων gâos, or κολων gâus, correspond to the Sanskrit nom. The gâus. [G. Ed. p. 56.] For the signification "earth" the Greek has preserved the guttural, which in Zend is replaced by z. The nom. εως zāo supposes an Indian form πη gâs, for πη gâus; in the accusative, εχις zaim agrees, in respect of inflection, as closely as possible with πη gâm and γῆν.

59. & is of less frequent use, and was probably pronounced like the French j: we write it zh. It is observable, that as the French j in many words corresponds to the Latin semi-vowel j, and derives from it its own developement, so also sometimes, in Zend, & zh has arisen out of the Sanskrit ע y. Thus, for instance, עשע yûyam, "you," (vos), becomes & & yûyam. Sometimes, also, & zh has sprung from the sound of the English j, and corresponds to the Sanskrit & j, as in > / Ew zhěnu, Sanskrit & Janu, "knee." Finally, it stands as a terminating letter in some prefixes, in the place of the Sanskrit dental & s after i and u; thus, sould be j nizhbaraiti, "he carries out"; & & & duzh-ûctěm, "ill spoken": on the other hand, & & & & dus-matěm, "ill thought."

60. We have still to elucidate the nasals, which we have postponed till now, because for them a knowledge of the system of the other sounds is indispensable. We must first of all mention a difference from the Sanskrit, that in Zend every organ has not its particular nasal; but that here, in respect of n, two main distinctions are established, and that these mainly depend on the circumstance whether n precedes a vowel or a consonant. In this manner j and we are so contrasted, that the first finds its place chiefly before whole and half vowels, and also at the end of words; the latter only [G. Ed. p. 57.] in the middle of strong consonants. We find, for instance, serossal way was hankarayêmi, "I glorify"; where pancha, "five"; feromasses bûshyantêm: on the

other hand, w, ná (nom.) "man"; phy nôit, "not"; pessalus barayen, "they might bear"; with anya, "the other." Concerning the difference between , and w—a difference not recognised in European alphabets—it is probable that w, being always fenced in by strong consonants, must have had a duller and more suppressed sound than the freer ,; and by reason of this weak and undecided character of its pronunciation, would appear to have applied itself more easily to every organ of the following letter.

61. Still feebler and more undecided than w, perhaps an equivalent to the Indian Anuswâra, we conjecture to have been the nasal w, which is always involved with wa, and which seems from its form to have been a fusion of and . We find this letter, which we write an, first, before sibilants, before wh, like the Anuswâra, and before the aspirates of the and of; for instance, www.csayans, "regnans," accus. ธุรุคุมมงงมมา csayantem; มามธมงษายร zanhyamana, a part of the middle future of the root jug zan, "to beget," but, as it seems to me, with a passive signification ("qui nascetur," Vend. S. pp. 28 and 103.); 2506 manthra, "speech," from the root ואל man; janfnu, "mouth," probably from the Sanskrit ज्य jap, "to pray," §. 40., and with the nasal inserted. Secondly, before a terminating & m and in. We have here to observe that the Sanskrit termination आम् am is always changed to For aim in Zend; for intance, Freeze dadhaim, "I gave," Sanskrit सददाम् adadam; ६ आप्राच्याचे padhananm, "pedum," Sans. पादानाम् pådånåm; and that the ter- [G. Ed. p. 58.] mination of the third person plural, अन an, provided the a do not pass into e, always appears as a double nasal on ain.

62. For the nasal, which, according to §. 56., is placed as an euphonic addition before the  $\omega h$ , which springs from  $\kappa$  s, the Zend has two characters,  $\varepsilon$  and  $\varepsilon$ , to both which

<sup>\*</sup> The termination ann from an belongs to the potential, precative, and subjunctive.

Anquetil assigns the sound ng.\* We write them n, in order to avoid giving the appearance of a g preceded by a guttural n to this guttural, which is only a nasal precursor of the following w h. As to the difference in the use of these two letters, g always follows a and do;  $\mathcal{L}$ , on the contrary, comes after i and e, for which the occasion is rare. For instance, in the relative plural nom. We  $\mathcal{L}$   $\mathcal{$ 

63. The labial nasal ξ m does not differ from the Sanskrit  $\pi$ : it must, however, be remarked, that it sometimes takes the place of b. At least the root  $\pi$  brû, "speak," in Zend becomes  $\mathfrak{Z} \in mrû$ ; as  $\mathfrak{S} = mra6m$ , "I spoke,"  $\mathfrak{S} = mra6t$ , "he spoke": in a similar manner is the Indian  $\mathfrak{R} = mukha$ , "mouth," related to the Latin bucca; and not [G. Ed. p. 59.] much otherwise the Latin mare to the Sanskrit  $\mathfrak{R} = mukha$ , "water." I consider, also, multus related to  $\mathfrak{R} = mukha$ , the Greek  $\mathfrak{R} = mukha$ , and the Gothic filu.

64. A concluding & m operates in a double manner on a preceding vowel. It weakens (see §. 30.) the א a to ¿ ĕ; and, on the other hand, lengthens the vowels i and u; thus, for instance, לאנאסט paitim, "the Lord," לא שניין tanûm, "the body," from the bases א paiti, א pap tanûm. In contradiction to this rule we find the vocative of frequent occurrence, א as a diphthong, answers to the Sanskrit א âu, the last element of which is not capable of further lengthening

<sup>\*</sup> Burnouf also writes the first of these ng. I have done the same in my reviews in the Journal of Lit. Crit.

The form in question is a contraction of the theme function ashavan; with an irregular conversion of the concluding in into  $\xi$  m.

65. We give here a complete summary of the Zend

characters.

Simple Vowels: wa, & ě, & e; wd; si, \$i; > u, bo, 9 û

Diphthongs: w, ro ê, sh ôi; sw di; h ô, & do, sw du.

Gutturals: 9 k (before vowels and v),  $oldsymbol{o} c$  (principally before consonants),  $oldsymbol{o} kh$  (from  $oldsymbol{o} sw$ , before vowels and  $oldsymbol{o} sy$ );  $oldsymbol{o} g$ ,  $oldsymbol{o} g$ ,  $oldsymbol{o} h$ .

Palatals: pch, uj.

Labials:  $\delta p$ ,  $\delta f$  (the latter before vowels, semi-vowels, nasals, and  $\omega s$ ),  $\Delta b$ .

Sibilants and  $h: \omega \hat{s}$ ,  $p \otimes sh$ ,  $w \otimes sh$  (or like the French j),  $g \otimes sh$ .

Nasals: f n (before vowels, semi-vowels, and at the end of words), w n (before strong consonants), w an (before sibilants, w h,  $oldsymbol{c} th$ ,  $oldsymbol{d} f$ ,  $oldsymbol{e} m$ , and  $oldsymbol{e} f$ ,  $oldsymbol{e} n$ ,  $oldsymbol{e}$ 

Remark also the Compounds erw for erw ah, and gen for ow st.

66. We refrain from treating specially of the Greek, Latin, and Lithuanian systems of sounds, but must here devote a closer consideration to the Germanic. The Gothic a, which, according to Grimm, is always short, answers

<sup>\*</sup> E.g. שעצשני hazanra, "a thousand."

completely to the Sanskrit a; and the sounds of the Greek e and o are wanting, in their character of degeneration from a, in Gothic as well as in Sanskrit. The ancient a has not, however, always been retained in Gothic; but in radical syllables, as well as in terminations, has often been weakened to i, or has undergone suppression; often, also, by the influence of a following liquid, has been converted into u. Compare, for instance, sibun, "seven," with and saptan; taihun, "ten," with and daśan.

67. We believe ourselves authorized to lay down as a law, that a in polysyllabic words before a terminating s is everywhere weakened into i, or suppressed; but before a terminating th generally appears as i. A concluding a in the Gothic either remains unaltered, or disappears: it never becomes i.

68. In the Old High German the Gothic a either remains [G. Ed. p. 61.] unaltered, or is weakened to e, or is changed by the influence of a liquid to u = perhaps o. According to this, the relation of the unorganic e to the Gothic a is the same as that of the Gothic i (§. 66.) to wa; compare, for instance, in the genitive of the bases in a नुकस्य vrika-sya, Gothic vulfi-s, Old High German wolfe-s. In the dative plural wolfu-m stands to vulfa-m in the same relation as above (§. 66.), sibun to saptan. The precedence of a liquid has also, in Old High German, sometimes converted this a into u or o; compare plinte-mu(mo), cœco, with the Gothic blindamma. after the German j or y, which in Sanskrit ( y y) belongs as a semi-vowel to the same class as r, the Old High German seems to prefer u to a; thence plintju, without j also plintu, "cœca," as a fem. nom. sing., and neuter nom. acc. voc. plural; plinta "cæcam." The u of the first person present, as kipu, "I give," Gothic giba, I ascribe to the influence of the dropped personal letter m. Respecting the degeneration of the original a sound to u compare also §. 66. In the Old High German inseparable preposition ki (our German ge) = Gothic ga, Sanskrit स sa or सम् sam, we

have an example in which the Gothic-Sanskrit a has become i.

69, For the Sanskrit and, the Gothic, which has no long a, almost always substitutes  $\delta$  (§. 4.), and this  $\delta$ , in cases of abbreviation, falls back into the short a. Thus, for instance, in Grimm's first fem. declension of the strong form, the nom. and accus. sing. o is softened to a, whence giba, gibô-s (§. 118.). Generally in the Gothic polysyllabic forms, the concluding and is shortened to a; and where & stands at the termination, an originally succeeding consonant has been dropped; for instance, in the gen. plur. fem. ô stands for win Am. Sometimes, also, in the Gothic, & corresponds to the Sanskrit a, as in the gen. plur. masc. and neuter. In the Old High German the Gothic & either [G. Ed. p. 62.] remains ô, as in the gen. plur., or divides itself into two short vowels; and, according to differences of origin, into oa, ua, or uo; of which, in the Middle High German, uo prevails; while in the Modern High German the two divided vowels are contracted into i. For the Gothic &= with a, the Old, Middle, and Modern High German have preserved the old â, except in the gen. plural.

70. For  $\xi$  i and  $\hat{\xi}$  i the Gothic has i and ei; which latter, as Grimm has sufficiently shewn, is everywhere to be considered as long i, and also in Old and Middle High German is so represented. We, together with Grimm, as in the case of the other vowels, designate its prolongation by a circumflex. In the Modern High German the long i appears mostly as ei; compare, for instance, mein with the Gothic genitive meina, and the Old and Middle High German mîn. Sometimes a short i is substituted, as in lich, answering to the Gothic leiks, "like," at the end of compounds. On the long i, in wîr, "nos," Gothic veis, we can lay no stress, as we match the dat. sing. mîr also with the Gothic mis. It is scarcely worth remarking that we usually, in writing, designate the elongation of the i and other vowels by the addition of an h.

71. While the original **a** has undergone many alterations in the Germanic languages, and has produced both *i* and *u*, I have been able to detect no other alterations in *i* and *i'* than that *i* is as often suppressed as *a*; but it never happens, unless some rare exceptions have escaped me, that *i* is replaced by a heavier vowel *a* or *u*.\* We may lay [G. Ed. p. 63.] it down as a rule, that final *i* has given way in German everywhere, as it has generally in Lativ-Compare.

SANSKRIT.	GREEK.	LATIN.	COTHIC.
परि pari,	περί,	per,	fair. (§. 82.)
उपरि upari,	ύπέρ,	super,	ufar.
स्ति asti,	ἐστί,	est,	ist.
सन्ति santi,	èντί,	sunt,	sind.

72. Where a concluding i occurs in Gothic and Old High German it is always a mutilation of the German j (or y) together with the following vowel; so that j, after the suppression of this vowel, has vocalized itself. Thus the uninflected Gothic accus. hari, "exercitum," is a mutilation of harya.† The Sanskrit would require harya-m; and the Zend, after §. 42., meeting the Germanic half way, hari-m. Before a concluding s also, in the Gothic,  $\mathbf{x}i$  is usually suppressed; and the Gothic terminating syllable is, is mostly a weakening of as, §. 67. In Old High German, and still more in Middle and Modern High German, the Gothic i has often degenerated into e, which, where it occurs in the accented syllable, is expressed in Grimm by  $\ddot{e}$ . We retain this character. We have also to observe of the Gothic, that, in the old text, i

<sup>\*</sup> The Sanskrit fun pitri, "father," probably stands for un patri, "ruler"; and the European languages have adhered to the true original. (Gramm. Crit. r. 178, Annot.)

<sup>†</sup> In the text harja; but in order to shew more exactly the connection with the Sanscrit  $\mathbf{u}$  y, vide §. 68. 1. 12.; and as the j is simply and universally pronounced y, the German j will be represented by y in this translation.

at the beginning of a syllable is distinguished by two dots above, which Grimm retains.

73. As in Zend (§. 41.), by the attractive force of i, i, or y, an i is introduced into the antecedent syllable; so also, in Old High German, the corresponding sounds have obtained an assimilating power; and frequently an [G. Ed. p. 64.] a of the preceding syllable is converted into e, without any power of prevention on the part of either a single or double consonant. Thus, for instance, we find from ast, "branch," the plural esti; from anst, "grace," the plural ensti; and from vallu, "I fall," the second and third persons vellis, vellit. This law, however, has not prevaded the Old High German universally: we find, for instance, arpi, "hereditas," not erpi; zahari, "lacrymæ," not zaheri.

74. In the Middle High German, the e, which springs from the older i, has both retained and extended the power of modification and assimilation; inasmuch as, with few limitations, (Grimm, p. 332,) not only every a by its retrospective action becomes e, but generally, also, d, u, and o are modified into æ, ü, and ö; b into æ, and uo into ue. Thus the plural geste, dræte, brüche, köche, læne, gruese, from gast, dråt, bruch, koch, lån, gruoz. On the other hand, in the Old High German, the e which has degenerated from i or a obtains no such power; and we find in the genitive singular of the above words, gaste-s, drate-s, &c., because the Old High German has already, in the declension of the masculine i class, reduced to e the i belonging to the class, and which in Gothic remains unaltered.

75. The e produced in Old and Middle High German by the modification of a, is retained in the Modern High German, in cases where the trace of the original vowel is either extinguished or searcely felt; as, Ende, Engel, setzen, netzen, nennen, brennen; Goth. andi, aggilus, satyan, natyan, namnyan, brannyan. Where, however, the original vowel is distinctly opposed to the change, we place ä, short or

[G. Ed. p. 65.] long, from short or long a; and in the same relation,  $\ddot{u}$  from u,  $\ddot{o}$  from o,  $\ddot{a}u$  from au; for instance, Brände, Pfüle, Dünste, Flüge, Köche, Töne, Bäume, from Brand, Pfül, &c.

76. For v., sû, the Gothic has u, which is generally short. Among the few examples cited by Grimm, p. 41, of long u, we particularize the comparative sûtizô, the essential part of which corresponds to the Sansk. sats swâdu, "sweet," (ἡδύ-ς), and in which the long u may stand as a compensation for the absence of the w(v), which becomes vocalized. In Old High German it seems to me that pûam, "to dwell," and trûên, "to trust," correspond to the Sanskrit roots u bhû, "to be." u dhrû "to stand fast"—from which comes u dhruva, "fast," "constant," "certain" (Gramm. Crit. r. 51.)—with the Guna form of which (§. 26.) the Goth. bauan, trauan, is connected; cf. utan bhav-itum, "to be," utan dhrav-itum, "to stand fast." The Middle High German continues the Gothic Old High German û, but the Modern High German substitutes au, whence bauen, trauen, Taube (Gothic dûbô).

77. As out of the Sanskrit  $\exists u$ , in Zend, the sound of a short  $b^*$  has developed itself (§. 32.), thus, also, the Gothic u shews itself, in the more recent dialects, oftener in the form of o than in its own. Thus have the Verbs in the Old and Middle High German (Grimm's 9th conjug.) preserved a radical u in the plur. of the pret., but replaced it by o in the passive part. Compare, for instance, bugum, "we bend," bugans, "bent," with Old High German pukumës, pokanër, Middle High German bugen, bogen. The example adduced shews, also, the softening of the old u to e, in unaccented syllabes, in Middle High German as in Modern High German; so that this unaccented e may represent all original vowels—a, i, u; and we may lay it down as a rule, that all long and short vowels in the last syllable of poly-

<sup>\*</sup> Cf. §. 447. Note.

syllabic words, are either worn away or softened down to a mute e.

78. For the diphthongs  $e \,\ell \, (a+i)$  and [G. Ed. p. 66.]  $extbf{n} \, \delta \, (a+u)$ , the Gothic has ai and au, which are also monosyllabic, and were perhaps pronounced like  $e \,\ell \, and \, \delta$ . Compare bavaima, "adificemus" with was bhavema, "simus"; sunau-s, "of a son," with its equivalent  $extbf{n} = and \, \delta$ . Where these Gothic diphthongs ai and au have maintained themselves unaltered in value, they then appear, in writing, as  $\ell \, and \, \delta$ , which must be considered as contractions of  $extbf{n} = a + i$  and  $extbf{n}$ 

SANSKRIT. GOTHIC. OLD HIGH GERMAN.
चोन charêma (eamus), faraima, varêmês.
चोत charêta (eatis), faraith, varêt.
तेथ्यस têbhyas (his), thaim dêm.

79. In like manner, in all subjunctives, and in the pronominal declension in which the adjective bases in a take part, an Old High German & corresponds to the Sanskrit & & and Gothic ai. The Middle High [G. Ed. p. 67.] German has shortened this &, as standing in an unaccented terminating syllable (varen, varet). Besides this, the Middle High German has, in common with the Old High German,

If, however, the Gothic diphthongs in question were not pronounced like their etymological equivalents  $\mathbf{v} \in \mathbf{and} \quad \hat{\mathbf{v}} = \hat{\mathbf{o}}$ , but, as Grimm conceives, approximate to the Vriddhi-change (§. 26.)  $\hat{\mathbf{v}} = ai$  and  $\hat{\mathbf{v}} = ai$  are not merely continuations of these Gothic diphthongs: but the pronunciation assigned by the Sanskrit to the union of a with i or u, must have been first introduced into the Germanic, under certain conditions, in the eighth century.

preserved the diphthong  $\ell$  where it stood in radical syllables under the protection of a following u, r (out of the older s), or h (ch), even in cases where one of these letters had been dropped, or where u had vocalized itself into v or o. (Grimm. pp. 90. 343). Compare,

GOTHIC.	OLD HIGH GERMAN.	MIDDLE HIGH GERMAN.
aiv, "ævum,"	<b>ย</b> ิพ <b>เก.</b>	
snaivs, "nix,"	snêo,	snê.
mais, "magis,"	mêr,	mê.
laisyan, "docere,"	lêran,	lêren.
laihv, "commodavit,"	lêh	lêch.

In the Modern High German this ê is partly preserved, partly replaced; for instance, mêr (mehr), Schnê (Schnee), Sêle (Gothic saivala); but ich lieh, gedieh. (Grimm. p. 983.).

80. As the  $\ell$  for the Gothic ai, so the  $\delta$  for au, in the Old and Middle High German, is favoured by certain consonants; and those which favour the  $\delta$  are the more numerous. They consist of the dentals (according to the Sanskrit division, §. 16.) t, d, z, together with their nasal and sibilant (n, s); further, the semi-vowel r; and h, which, as a termination in Middle High German, becomes ch (See Grimm, pp. 94. 345). The roots, which in the Gothic admit the Guna modification of the radical u by a, in the preterite singular, oppose to the Gothic au, in Middle and Old High German, a double form; namely,  $\delta$  under the condition above mentioned, and next ou, §. 34., in the absence [G. Ed. p. 68.] of the letter which protects  $\delta$ . For instance,

Old High German zôh, Middle High German zôch (traxi, traxit) Gothic tauh, Sanskrit दुदोह dudôha (mulxi, mulsi,); but pouc, bouc, flexi, flexit, Gothic baug, Sanskrit दुरोह bu-bhôja. The Modern High German exhibits the Gothic diphthong au, either, like the Middle and Old High German, as ô, and in a more extended degree, and subject to the modification of §. 75; or next, shortened to o,

the particulars of which will be explained under the verb, or, thirdly, as au; for instance, daupya, "I baptize," hlaupa, "I run"; or, fourthly, as eu, §. 83.

81. As Ulfilas, in proper names, represents both e and au by ai, and likewise o and av by au (Paitrus, Galeilaia, apaustaulus, Paulus); and as, in the next place, not every Gothic ai and au in the cognate dialects is represented in like manner, but in some cases the Gothic ai is replaced in Old High German by a simple i or  $\tilde{e}$ , and au by u or o (§. 77.); but in the others, ai is replaced by ê, or (§. 85.) by ei, and au by o or (§. 84.) ou; therefore Grimm deduces from these facts a double value of the diphthongs ai and au; one with the accent on the last element (aí, aú), another with the accent on the a (ái, áu). We cannot, however, give implicit belief to this deduction of the acute author of the German system of sounds, and prefer assuming an equal value in all cases of the Gothic ai and au, although we might support Grimm's view by the fact, that, in Sanskrit, र है, जो है, never replace his ai and au; but everywhere, where occasion occurs, do replace ái and áu. We think, however, that the difference is rather phonetic than etymological. As concerns the ai and au in proper names, it may be accounted for, inasmuch as the Gothic was [G. Ed. p. 69.] deficient in equivalents for these non-primitive vowels, which have degenerated from the original wa. Could Ulfilas have looked back into the early ages of his language, and have recognised the original idenity of e and o with his a, he would perhaps have used the latter as their substitutes. From his point of sight, however, he embraced the ai and au, probably because these mixed diphthongs passed with him as weaker than the long ê and ô, ejusdem generis,= ( आ d). It is important here to observe, that in Greek also  $\alpha i$  is felt as weaker than  $\eta$  and  $\omega$ , as is proved by the fact that αι does not attract the accent towards itself (τύπτομαι not τυπτόμαι. The expression of the Greek αι and αυ by

the Gothic ai and au requires the less justification, because even if ai was pronounced like v, and au like v, yet the written character presents these diphthongs as a still perceptible fusion of a with a following i or u.

82. As to the other statement, namely, that not every Gothic ai and au produces the same effect in the younger dialects, nor has the same foundation in the older Sanskrit, it might be sufficient to observe upon one feature of dialect peculiar to the Gothic, that h and r do not content themselves with a pure preceding i, but require it to be affected by Guna ( $\S$ . 26.); thus, ai for i, and au for u; while other dialects exhibit the i and u before h and r in the same form as before every other consonant. The relation of the Gothic to their Sanskrit equivalents,

gothic
saihs, "six,"
taihun, "ten,"
faihu, "cattle,"
svaihra "father-in-law,"
taihsvô, "dextera,"
hairtô, "heart,"
bairan, "to bear,"
distairan, "to tear,"
stairnô, "star,"

sanskrit.

पम् shash,
दशन् dasan,
पशु pasu,
पशु swasura,
दिख्या dakshina,
हद् hrid (from hard §. 1.),
भतुम् bhartum,
दरितुम् dar-i-tum,
तारा tara,

is not so to be understood as though an *i* had been placed after the old *a*, but that, by the softening down of the *a* to *i* (§. 66.), the forms sihs, tihun, had been produced; out of which, afterwards, the Guna power arising from *h* and *r* had produced saihs, taihun, bairan. The High German has, however, remained at the earlier stage; for Old High German sëhs, (Anglo-Saxon, "six,") and tëhan or tëhun, &c., rest upon an earlier Gothic sihs, tihun. Thus, tohtar rests on an earlier Gothic duhtar, for the Guna form dauhtar, Sanskrit after duhitar, (after duhitri, §. 1.) "daughter." Where the

Sanskrit wa has preserved itself in the Gothic unaltered, that is, not weakened to i, the occasion is absent for the development of the diphthong ai, since it is not the a before h and r which demands a subsequent addition, but the i which demands a precedent one; compare ahtau, "eight," with we ashidu.\*

83. The alterations to which the simple vowels have been subjected appear again in the simple elements of the diphthongs, as well in the relation of the Gothic to the Sanskrit, as in that of the younger Germanic dialects to Thus the a element of the diphthong wild the Gothic. shews itself often in the Gothic, and in certain places in a regular manner, as i (§. 27.); and in the same places the a contained in  $\mathbf{z} \notin (a+i)$  becomes i, which, with the second element of the diphthong, generates a long i (written as ei, §. 70.). The Gothic iu has either retained that form in Old High German, or has altered sometimes one, sometimes both of its constituents. Thus have arisen io, ëo. [G. Ed. p. 71.] There is a greater distance to be passed in Otfrid's theory of the substitution of ia for iu, which cannot fail to surprise, as we know that a simple u never become at In Middle High German iu has either remained unaltered, or has been changed to ie, which is as old as the latest Old High German, as it is found in Notker. In Modern High German the substitution of ie for the old iu is that which princi-

<sup>\*</sup> Ahtau=ashtâu is perhaps the only case in which the Gothic au corresponds to the Sanskrit Vriddhi diphthong  $\hat{u}$  âu; on the other hand, au often answers to  $\hat{u}$   $\hat{o}=(a+u)$ .

<sup>†</sup> There is yet another ia in Old High German, namely, that which Grimm (p. 103) very acutely represents as the result of a contraction, and formerly dissyllable, to which, therefore, there is no counterpart diphthong in Gothic. The most important case will be discussed under the head of the verb, in preterites, such as hialt, "I held," Gothic haihald. After this analogy fiar, "four," (according to Otfrid), arose out of the Gothic fidvor, in this way, that, after the extrusion of the dt, the ô passed into its corresponding short vowel — Grimm, p. 198.

pally prevails, in which, however, the e is only visibly retained, for phonetically it is absorbed by the i. Compare ich biete with the Gothic biuda, giesse with giuta. Besides this form, we also find eu in place of the old iu or still older au, in cases, namely, where e can be accounted for as the result of a no longer perceptible modification (Grimm, p. 523, §. 75.); compare Leute with the Gothic laudeis, Old High German liuti, "people"; Heu, "hay," with Goth, havi, "grass." Usually, however, the Gothic has already acquired an iu in place of this eu, and the original au (which becomes av before vowels) is to be sought in the Sanskrit; for instance, Neune, "nine," Old High German niuni, Gothic niuneis, Sanskrit नवन navan (as theme); neu, "new," Old High German niwi (indeclinable), Gothic nivi-s, Sanskrit नवस nava-s. This e, however, is difficult to account for, in as far as it is connected with the Umlaut, because it corresponds to an i in Middle and Old High German; and this vowel, of itself answering to an i or y in the following syllable, is capable of no alteration through their power of attraction. Long u for iu, equivalent to a transposition of the diphthong, is found in lügen, "to lie," trügen, "to deceive," Middle High German liugen, triugen.

[G. Ed. p. 72.] 84. Where the a element of the Sanskrit  $\Re$   $\delta$  retains its existence in the Gothic, making au the equivalent of  $\delta$ , the Middle High German, and a part of the Old High German authorities, have ou in the place of au, although, as has been remarked in §. 80, under the influence of certain consonants  $\delta$  prevails. Compare Old High German pouc, Middle High German bouc, with the Gothic preterite baug, "flexi." The o of the High German ou has the same relation to the corresponding Gothic a in au, as the Greek o in  $\beta o \hat{v}_{\delta}$  bears to the Sanskrit  $\mathcal{R}$  a, which undergoes a fusion with  $\mathcal{R}$  u in the  $\mathcal{R}$   $\delta$  of the cognate word  $\mathcal{R}$   $g\delta$ . The oldest Old High German authorities (Gl. Hrab. Ker. Is.) have au for the ou of the later (Grimm. p. 99); and as,

nnder the conditions specified in §. 80., they also exhibit  $\theta$ , this tells in favour of Grimm's assumption, that au in the Gothic and oldest High German was pronounced like our German au, and thus not like the Sanskrit  $\Re \delta$  (out of a+u). In this case, in the Gothic ai, also, both the letters must have been sounded, and this diphthong must be only an etymological, and not a phonetic equivalent of the Sanskrit  $\mathbf{v} \cdot \mathbf{\ell}$ .

85. In the Gothic diphthong ai the a alone is susceptible of alteration, and appears in High German softened down to e, in the cases in which the é, contracted from ai (§. 78.), does not occur. In Modern High German, however, ei, in pronunciation, = ai. Compare

GOTHIC. HIGH GERMAN. HIGH GERMAN. HIGH GERMAN. haita, "voco," heizu, heize, heisse. skaida, "separo," skeidu, scheide, scheide.

86. (1.) Let us now consider the consonants, preserving the Indian arrangement, and thus examining [G. Ed. p. 73.] the gutturals first. Of these, the Gothic has merely the tenuis and the medial (k, g); and Ulfilas, in imitation of the Greek, places the latter as a nasal before gutturals; for instance, drigkan, "to drink"; briggan, "to bring"; tuggo, "tongue"; yuggs, "young"; gaggs, "a going" (subst.). For the compound kv the old writing has a special character, which we, like Grimm, render by qv, although q does not appear elsewhere, and v also combines with q; so that qv (=kv) plainly bears the same relation to gv that k bears to g; compare siggvan, "to sink," with siggvan, "to read," "to sing." Halso, in Gothic, willingly combines with v; and for this combination, also, the original text has a special character; compare saihvan, leihvan, with our sehen, leihen. In respect to h by itself we have to observe that it often appears in relations in which the dentals place their th and the labials their f, so that in this case it takes the place of

(2.) The palatals and linguals are wanting in Gothic, as in Greek and Latin; the dentals are, in Gothic, t, th, d. [G. Ed. p. 74.] together with their nasal n. For th the Gothic alphabet has a special character. In the High German z (=ts) fills the place of the aspiration of the t, so that the breathing is replaced by the sibilation. By the side of this z in the Old High German, the old Gothic th also maintains its existence.\* There are two species of z, which, in Middle High German, do not agree with each other. the one, t has the preponderance, in the other, s; and this latter is written by Isidor zs, and its reduplication zss, while the reduplication of the former he writes tz. In the Modern High German the second species has only retained the sibilant, but in writing is distinguished, though not universally, from a proper. Etymologically, both species of the Old and Middle High German z fall under the same head, and correspond to the Gothic t.

(3.) The labials are, in Gothic, p, f, b, with their nasal

<sup>\*</sup> Our Modern High German th is, according to Grimm (p. 525), inorganic, and to be rejected. "It is, neither in pronunciation nor origin, properly aspirated, and nothing but a mere tenuis."

m. The High German supplies this organ, as the Sanskrit does all, with a double aspiration, a surd  $(f = \nabla_{h} ph)$  (see §. 25.) and a sonant, which is written v, and comes nearer to the Sanskrit w bh. In Modern High German we perceive no longer any phonetic difference between f and v; but in Middle High German v shews itself in this manner softer than f, in that, first, at the end of words it is transformed into f, on the same principle by which, in such a position, the medials are converted into tenues; for instance, wolf not wolv, but genitive wolves; second, that in the middle before surd consonants it becomes f, hence zwelve becomes zwelfte, funve becomes funfte, funfzic. At the beginning of words f and v, in Middle High German, seem of equal signification, and their use in the MSS. is precarious, [G. Ed. p. 75.] but v preponderates (Grimm, pp. 339. 400). It is the same in Old High German; yet Notker uses f as the original primarily existing breathing-sound, and v as the softer or sonant aspiration, and therefore employs the latter in cases where the preceding word concludes with one of those letters, which otherwise (§. 93.) soften down a tenuis to its medial (Grimm, pp. 135, 136); for instance, demo vater, den vater, but not des vater but des fater. So far the rule is less stringent (observes Grimm), that in all cases f may stand for v, but the converse does not hold. Many Old High German authorities abandon altogether the initiatory v, and write f for it constantly, namely, Kero, Otfrid, Tatian. The aspiration of the p is sometimes, in Old High German, also rendered by ph, but, in general, only at the beginning of words of foreign origin, phorta, phenning; in the middle, and at the end occasionally, in true Germanic forms, such as wërphan, warph, wurphumes, in Tatian; limphan in Otfrid and Tatian. According to Grimm, ph, in many cases, has had the mere sound of f. "In monumental inscriptions, however, which usually employ f, the ph of many words had indisputably the sound of pf; for example, if Otfrid

writes kuphar, "cuprum," scepheri, "Creator," we are not to

assume that these words were pronounced kufar, sceferi" (p. 132). In Middle High German the initial ph of foreign words of the Old High German has become pf (Grimm, p. 326). In the middle and at the end we find pf, first, always after m, kampf, "pugna," tampf, "vapor," krempfen, "contrahere," in which case p is an euphonic appendage to f, in order to facilitate a union with m. Secondly, in compounds with the inseparable prefix ent, which, before the labial aspirates, lays aside its t, or, as seems to me the sounder supposition, converts that letter, by assimilation, into the labial tenuis. Hence, for [G. Ed. p. 76.] instance, enp-finden, later and more harmonious emp-finden, for ent-finden. Standing alone, nevertheless, it appears, in Middle High German, vinden, but v does not combine with p, for after the surd p (§. 25.) the surd aspirate is necessary (see Grimm, p. 398). Thirdly, after short vowels the labial aspirates are apt to be preceded by their tenues, as well in the middle as at the end of words: just as in Sanskrit (Gramm. Crit. r. 88.) the palatal surd aspirate between a short and another vowel or semi-vowel is preceded by its tenuis; and, for instance, पञ्चित prichchhati is said for पञ्चित prichhati. "interrogat," from the root up prachh. In this light I view the Middle High German forms kopf, kropf, tropfe, klopfen, kripfen, kapfen (Grimm, p, 398). In the same words we sometimes find ff, as kaffen, schuffen. Here, also, p has assimilated itself to the following f; for f, even though it be the aspirate of p, is not pronounced like the Sanskrit to ph, that is, like p with a clearly perceptible h; but the sounds p and h are compounded into a third simple sound lying between the two, which is therefore capable of reduplication, as in Greek  $\phi$  unites itself with  $\theta$ , while ph + th would be impossible.

(4.) The Sanskrit semi-vowels are represented in Gothic by j (=y), r, l, v; the same in High German; only in Old High German Manuscripts the sound of the Indo-Gothic v

(our w) is most usually represented by uu, in Middle High German by vv: j (or y) in both is written i. We agree with Grimm in using j (or y) and w for all periods of the High German. After an initial consonant in Old High German, the semi-vowel w in most authorities is expressed by u; for instance, zuelif, "twelve," Gothic tvalif. As in the Sanskrit and Zend the semi-vowels y and v often arise out of the corresponding vowels i and u, so also in the [G. Ed. p. 77.] Germanic; for instance, Gothic suniv-ê, "filiorum," from the base sunu, with u affected by Guna (iu, §. 27.). More usually, however, in the Germanic, the converse occurs, namely, that y and v, at terminations and before consonants, have become vocalised (see §. 73.), and have only retained their original form before terminations beginning with a vowel; for if, for instance, thius, "servant," forms thivis in the genitive, we know, from the history of the word, that this v has not sprung from the u of the nominative, but that thius is a mutilation of thivas (§. 116.); so that after the lapse of the a the preceding semi-vowel has become a whole one. In like manner is thivi, "maid-servant," a mutilation of the base thivyô (§. 120.), whose nominative, like the accusative, probably was thivya, for which, however, in the accusative, after the v had become vocalized, thinya was substituted.

(5.) Of the Sanskrit sibilants, the Germanic has only the last, namely, the pure dental x s. Out of this, however, springs another, peculiar, at least in use, to the Gothic, which is written z, and had probably a softer pronunciation than s. This z is most usually found between two vowels, as an euphonic alteration of s, but sometimes also between a vowel and v, l, or n; and between liquids (l, r, n) and a vowel, y or n, in some words also before d; finally, before the guttural medial, in the single instance,  $azy\delta$ , "ashes"; everywhere thus before sonants, and it must therefore itself be considered as a sonant sibilant ( $\S$ . 25.), while

s is the surd. It is remarkable, in a grammatical point of view, that a concluding s before the enclitic particles ei and uh, and before the passive addition a, passes into z; hence, for instance, thizei "cujus," from this "hujus," thanzei "quos," from thans "hos," vileizuh "visne" from vileis "vis," haitaza "vocaris," from haitis "vocas," or rather from its earlier form [G. Ed. p. 78.] haitas. The root sleep, "to sleep," forms, by a reduplication, in the preterite, saizlep, "I or he slept. Other examples are, izvis, "vobis," "vos," razn "house," talzyan, "to teach," marzyan, "to provoke," fairzna, "heel." The High German loves the softening of s into r, especially between two vowels (see §. 22.); but this change has not established itself as a pervading law, and does not extend over all parts of the Grammar. For instance, in Old High German, the final s of several roots has changed itself into r before the preterite terminations which commence with a vowel; on the other hand, it has remained unaltered in the uninflected first and third pers. sing. indicative, and also before the vowels of the present. For example, from the root lus, comes liusu, "I lose," los, "I or he lost," lurumes "we lost." While in these cases the termination takes s under its protection, yet the s of the nominative singular. where it has not been altogether dropped, is everywhere softened down to r; and, on the other hand, the concluding s of the genitive has, down to our time, remained unaltered, and thus an organic difference has arisen between two cases originally distinguished by a similar suffix. For instance,

	1 1 1	· · · OLD	MODERN
GOTHIC.		HIGH GERMAN.	HIGH GERMAN.
Nominative Genitive		plintê-r, plinte-s,	blinde-r. blinde-s.

87. The Germanic tongues exhibit, in respect of consonants, a remarkable law of displacement, which has been first recognised and developed with great ability by Grimm. According to this law, the Gothic, and the other dialects

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with the exception of the High German, in relation to the Greek, Latin, and, with certain limits, also [G. Ed. p. 79.] to the Sanskrit and Zend, substitute aspirates for the original tenues, h for k, th for t, and f for p; tenues for medials, t for d, p for b, and k for q; finally, medials for aspirates, q for  $\gamma$ , d for  $\theta$ , and b for f. The High German bears the same regular relation to the Gothic as the latter to the Greek, and substitutes its aspirates for the Gothic tenues and Greek medials; its tenues for the Gothic medials and Greek aspirates; and its medials for the Gothic aspirates and Greek tenues. Yet the Gothic labial and guttural medial exhibits itself unaltered in most of the Old High German authorities, as in the Middle and Modern High German; for instance, Gothic biuga, "flecto," Old High German biuga and piuka, Middle High German biuge, Modern High German biege. For the Gothic f, the Old High German substitutes v, especially as a first letter (§. 86. 3.). In the t sounds, z in High German (=ts) replaces an aspirate. The Gothic has no aspiration of the k, and either replaces the Greek k by the simple aspiration h, in which case it sometimes coincides with the Sanskrit & h, or it falls to the level of the High German, and, in the middle or end of words, usually gives g instead of k, the High German adhering, as regards the beginning of words, to the Gothic practice, and participating with that dialect in the use of the h. We give here Grimm's table, illustrating the law of these substitutions, p. 584.

Greek . . . . . . P B F T D Th K G Ch Gothic . . . . . F P B Th T D K G Old High German, B(V) F P D Z T G Ch K

[G. Ed. p. 80.] EXAMPLES.				
SANSERIT.	GREEK.	LATIN.	сотніс.	DLTI HIGH GERM.
पादस् påda-s,	πούς, ποδ-ός,		fôtus,	vuoz.
पचन panchan,	πέμπε,	quinque,	fimf,	vinf.
yð pûrna,	πλέος,	plenus,	fulls,	vol.
पित pitri,	πατήρ,	pater,	fadreint,	
उपरि upari,	ύπέρ,	super,	ufar,	ubar.
o tit apara,	κάνναβις,	cannabis,	<i>ay ar</i> ,	hanaf.
भच्च bhanj,		frangere,	brikan,	prëchan.
भुज bhuj,		frui, fructus,	brûkôn,	prûchôn.
भात bhråtri		frater,	brôthar,	pruoder.
y bhri,	φέρω,	fero,	baira,	piru.
y bhrû,	ὀφρύς,			prawa.
कपाल kapála, m. n.,	κεφαλή,	caput,	haubith,	houpit.
त्वम् twam (nom.),	τύ,		thu,	du.
तम् tam (acc.),	τόν,	is-tum,	thana,	dën.
चयस् trayas (n. pl.),		tres,	threis,	drî.
खनार antara,	έτερος,	alter,	anthar.	andar.
दनाम् danta-m(acc.),		dentem.	thuntu-s.	zand.
ही dwau (n. du),	δύο,	duo,	tvai,	zuênê.
दिखणा dakshina,	δεξία,	dextra,	taihsvo.	zësawa.
उद uda,	ύδωρ,	unda,	vatô,	wazar.
दृहिन् duhitri,	θυγάτηρ,		dauhtar,	tohtar.
हार् dwar,	θύρα,	fores,	daur,	tor.
निष् madhu,	μέθυ,			mëto.
म्यन् śwan,	κύων,	canis,	hunths,	hund.
क हृदय hridaya,	καρδία,	cor,	hairto,	hërza.
्र जहा aksha,	ὄκος,	oculus,	augô,	ouga.
चश्रु aśru,	δάκρυ,	lacrima,	tagr m.,	zahar.
पशु рачи,	• •	pecus,	faihu,	vihu.

<sup>\*</sup> The Sanskrit words here stand, where the termination is not separated from the base, or the case not indicated, in their crude or simple form (theme); of the verb, we give only the bare root.

<sup>† &</sup>quot; Parents."

SANSKRIT.	GREEK.	LATON.	GOTHIC.	HIGH GERY.
चज्रार 'swasura,	εκυρός,	socer,	svaihra,	suehur.
दशन् dasan,	δέκα,	decem,	taihun,	zëhan.
ज्ञा jnd,	γνῶμι,	gnosco,	kan,	chan.
जाति jâti,*	γένος,	genus,	kuni,	chuni.
जान janu,	γόνυ,	genu,	kniu,	chniu.
महत् mahat,	μέγαλος,	magnus,	mikils,	mihil.
हंस hansa,	χήν,	anser,	gans,	kans.
द्यस् hyas,	χθές,	heri,	gistra,	këstar.
तिह् lih,	λέιχω,	lingo,	laigô,	lêkôm.

88. The Lithuanian has left the consonants without displacement in their old situations, only, from its deficiency in aspirates, substituting simple tenues for the Sanskrit aspirated tenues, and medials for the aspirated medials. Compare,

LITHUANIAN.	SANSERIT.
rata-s, "wheel,"	रपस ratha-s, "waggon."
búsu, "I would be,"	भविष्यामि bhavishyami.
ka-s, " who,"	जस् ka-s.
důmi, "I give,"	ददामि dadâmi. [G. Ed. p. 82.]
pats, "husband," "mas	ster," पनिस् pati-s.
penki, "five,"	पचन् panchan.
trys, "three,"	चयम् trayas (n. pl. m.)
keturi, "four,"	चारस् chatwaras (n. pl. m.
ketwirtas, "the fourth,"	
szaká, f. "bough,"	शासा sakha.

Irregular deviations occur, as might be expected, in individual cases. Thus, for instance, naga-s, "nail" (of the foot or finger), not naka-s, answers to the Sanskrit नस्य nakhas. The Zend stands, as we have before remarked, in the same rank, in all essential respects, as the Sanskrit,

<sup>\*</sup> From jan, "to be born."

Greek, and Latin. As, however, according to §. 47., certain consonants convey an aspiration to the letter which precedes them, this may occasion an accidental coincidence between the Zend and the Gothic; and both languages may, in like manner and in the same words, depart from the original tenuis. Compare,

GOTHIC.	ZEND.	11 119 1	BANSKRIT.
thir (theme), "three,"	so thri	i, चि	tri.
thus, "to thee,"	spood thu		wê.*
fra, (inseparable prep.			
	afri melestuse	lnámi,† ulv	nfa prinami.
ahva‡, "a river,"	wolm afs	स्रप्	ap (theme).

[G. Ed. p. 83.] I pronounce this coincidence between the Gothic and the Zend aspirates accidental, because the causes of it are distinct; as, on the one side, the Gothic accords no aspirating influence to the letters v and r (truda, trauan, trimpan, tvai), and, in the examples given above, th and f stand, only because, according to rule, Gothic aspirates are to be expected in the place of original tenues; on the other side, the Zend everywhere retains the original tenues, where the letters named in §. 47. do not exhibit an influence, which is unknown to the Gothic; so that, quite according to order, in by far the majority of forms which admit of comparison, either Gothic aspirates are met with in the place of Zend tenues, or, according to another appointment of the Germanic law of substitution, Gothic tenues in that of Zend medials. Compare,

<sup>\*</sup> Twê occurs as an uninflected genitive in Rosen's Veda-Specimen, p. 26, and may, like the mutilated # tê, be also used as a dative.

<sup>† &</sup>quot;I bless," from the Sanskrit root pri, "to love," united with the prep. 2.

<sup>†</sup> Ahva. The Sanskrit-Zend expression signifies "water"; and the Gothic form developes itself through the transition, of frequent occurrence, of p to k, for which the law of substitution requires h (see also aqua).

thu, "thou," Goo tûm. fidvor, (ind.) "four," Lower Gun chathward (n. pl. m.) ::: มอนุมมช pancha. bieles pereno (n. m.) fulls, "full," fadrein, "parents," 65 Just paitar-em (patrem). faths, "master," wspsud paili-s. faihu, "beast," www.s.vo pasu-s. faryith, "he wanders," spoulup charaiti. fitu-s, "foot," nows padha (§. 39.) אפעענקנ pěrěšaiti. frailith, "he asks," ufar, "over," שנעלע upairi, (§. 41.) af, "from," мым ара. thai, "these," : 1000 18. hvas, "who," 49 kô. [G. Ed. p. 84.] tvai, "two," way dva. taihun, "ten," www dasa. tail.svô, "right hand," אנשמענוע dashina, "dexter."

In the Sanskrit and Zend the sonant aspirates, not the surd, as in Greek, ( $\bar{\epsilon}$  h too is sonant, see §. 25.) correspond, according to rule, to the Gothic medials: as, however, in the Zend the bh is not found,  $\Delta b$  answers to the Gothic b. Compare,

bairith, "he carries," அல்ல திது baraiti, विभित्ते bibharti.
brôthar, "brother," ह्रीक्ष्मी brûtarëm (acc.) जातरम् bhrûtaram (acc.)
bai, "both," ஆல் uba, उभी ubhûu (n. ac. v. du.)
brûkan, "to use," भूज bhuj, "to eat."
bi (prep.) ஆல் கம், ஊல்லவ்ய், जाभ abhi.
midya, "middling," லல்லை അய்குவ, मध्य madhya.
bindan, "bind," உலுது bandh, जन्म bandh.

89. Violations of the law of displacement of sounds, both by persistence in the same original sound, or the substitution of irregular sounds, are frequent in the middle and at the end of

words. Thus, in the Old High German vatar, the t of the Greek πατήρ remains; in the Gothic fadrein, "parentes," d is substituted irregularly for th. The same phenomenon occurs in the cases of the Old High German olpenta, and the Gothic ulbandus, contrasted with the τ of ἐλεφαντ-; thus, also, the t of चतुर chatur, "quatuor," has become d in the Gothic fidvôr instead of th; but in High German has entirely disappeared. The p of the Sanskrit root चर् swap, (Latin sopio,) "sleep," has been preserved in the Gothic slepa, and [G. Ed. p. 85.] the Old High German slafu stands in the Gothic category, but the Sanskrit root is more faithfully preserved in the Old High German in in-suepyu (sopio, see §. 86. 4.)

90. Nor have the inflexions or grammatical appendages everywhere submitted\* to the law of displacement, but have, in many instances, either remained faithful to the primary sound, or have, at least, rejected the particular change prescribed by §. 87. Thus the Old High German has, in the third person, as well singular as plural, retained the original t; compare hapet, "he has," hapent, "they have," with habet, habent: the Gothic, on the contrary, says habaith, haband; the first in accordance with the law, the last in violation of it, for habanth. Thus, also, in the part. pres., the t of the old languages has become, under the influence of the preceding n, not th but d; the t of the part. pass., however, is changed before the s of the nom. into th, but before yowel termina-

<sup>\*</sup> It would be better to regard the phenomenon here discussed by assuming d as the proper character of the third person in Gothic; and viewing the Old High German t as the regular substitute for it. The d has been retained in the Gothic passive also (bair-a-da), and the active form bairith is derivable from bairid, in that the Gothic prefers the aspirates to the medials at the end of a word. The same is the case with the part. pass., the suffix of which is, in Gothic, da, whence, in Old High German, in consequence of the second law for the permutation of sounds, comes ta; so that the old form recurs again, re-introduced by a fresh corruption.

tions, by an anomalous process, into d; after the same principle by which the th of the third person before the vowel increment of the passive is softened to d; so that  $da^*$ , instead of tha, corresponds to the Greek  $\tau o$ , of  $\dot{e}\tau \dot{v}\pi\tau e\tau - o$ , and to the Sanskrit  $\pi$  ta, of where abhavata. The Old High German, on the other hand, has preserved the original t in both participles:  $hap ent e\tau$ ,  $hap et e\tau$ , Gothic habands, genitive habandins; habaiths, gen. habaidis.

91. Special notice is due to the fact, that in the middle of words under the protection of a preceding consonant, the old consonant often remains without displacement, sometimes because it chimes in well with the preceding sound, sometimes because, through regard for the preceding letters, alterations have been admitted other than those which the usual practice as to displacement would lead us to expect. Mute consonants (§. 25.), among which, in [G. Ed. p. 86.] the Germanic, the h must be reckoned, where it is to be pronounced like our ch, protect a succeeding original t. Thus, wel ashtau, "eight," окты, "octo," is in Goth. ahtau, in Old High German ahto: नजन naktam (adverbial accusative), "night," νύξ, νυκτός, "nox," "noctis," is in Gothic nahts, Old High German naht. The liquids, on the other hand, like the vowels, which they approach nearest of all consonants, affect a d or th after themselves. From these euphonic causes, for instance, the feminine suffix fa ti in Sanskrit, in Greek σις, as ποίησις, which designates abstract substantives, appears in Gothic in three forms, ti, di, and thi. The original form ti shews itself after f, into which p and b mostly resolve themselves, and also after s and h; for instance, anst(i)s (§. 117.), "grace," from the root an, Old High German unnan, "to be gracious," with the insertion of an euphonics: fralust(i)s, "loss," (from lus, pres. liusu): maht(i)s, "strength," (from magan): fra-gifl(i)s," betrothment," (from gib, gaf), also fragibts, perhaps erroneously, as b has little

Da is an abbreviation of dai = G. ται Sansk. tê, see §. 466.

affinity with t: ga-skaft(i)s, "creation," (from skap-an). The form di finds its place after vowels, but is able, where the vowel of the suffix falls away, i. e. in the nom. and accus. sing., to convert d into th, because th can, more easily than d, dispense with a following vowel, and is a favourite letter at the end of words and before consonants, though d also is tolerated in such a position. Hence the root bud, "to bid," (pres. biuda, §. 27.) forms, in the uninflected condition of the pret., bauth, in the plur. bud-um; and the nominal base, mana-sê-di, "world," (according to Grimm's well-founded interpretation, "seed, not seat, of man,") forms in the nom. and accus. mana-sêths, mana-sêth, or mana-sêds, mana-sêd; but in the dat. mana-sêdai not -sêthai. On the other hand, after liquids the suffix is usually thi, and after n, di: the dental, however, once chosen, remains afterwards in every position, either without a vowel or before vowels; for instance, gabaurths, "birth," dat. gabaurthai; gafaurds, "gathering" [G. Ed. p. 87.] (from far-yan, "to go"), gen. gafaurdais: gakunths, "esteem," gen. gakunthais; gamunds, "memory," gen. gamundais; gaqvumths, "meeting," dat. gaqvumthai, dat. plur. gagvumthim. From the union with m, d is excluded. On the whole, however, the law here discussed accords remarkably with a similar phenomenon in modern Persian, where the original t of grammatical terminations and suffixes is maintained only after mute consonants, but after vowels and liquids is changed into d: hence, for instance, girif-tan, "to take," bas-tan, "to bind," dåsh-tan, "to have," pukh-tan, "to cook": on the other hand, da-dan, "to give," bur-dan, "to bear." Am-dun, "to come." I do not, therefore, hesitate to release the Germanic suffix ti, and all other suffixes originally commencing with t, from the general law of substitution of sounds, and to assign the lot of this t entirely to the controll of the preceding letter. The Old High German, in the case of our suffix ti, as in that of other suffixes and terminations originally commencing with t, accords to the original t a

far more extensive prevalence, than does the Gothic; inasmuch as it retains that letter, not only when protected by s, h, and f, but also after vowels and liquids—after m an euphonic f is inserted;—and the t is only after l changed into d. Hence, for instance, ans-t, "grace," hlouft, "course," mah-t, "might," sâ-t, "seed," kipurt, "birth," var-t, "journey," mun-t, "protection," ki-wal-t, "force," scul-t, schuld, "guilt," chumft, "arrival."

92. The law of substitution shews the greatest pertinacity at the beginning of words, and I have found it everywhere observed in the relation of the Gothic to the Greek and Latin. On the other hand, in some roots which are either deficient or disfigured in the Old European languages, but which are common to the Germanic and the Sanskrit, the Gothic stands on the same footing with [G. Ed. p. 88.] the Sanskrit, especially in respect of initial medials. Thus, बन्ध bandh, "to bind," is also band in Gothic, not pand; यह grah, in the Vedas un grabh, "to take," "seize," is grip (pres. greipa with Guna, §. 27.) not krip;\* to m gå and मम् gam, "to go," correspond gagga, "I go," and ga-tvô, "street;" दह dah, "to burn," is, in Old High German, dahan (δαιω), "to burn," "to light." I can detect, however, no instance in which Gothic tenues correspond to Sanskrit as initial letters.

93(a). We return now to the Sanskrit, in order, with relation to the most essential laws of sound, to notice one adverted to in our theory of single letters; where it was said of several concurrent consonants that they were tolerated neither at the end of words, nor in the middle before strong consonants, and how their places were supplied in such situations. It is besides to be observed, that, properly, tenues alone can terminate a Sanskrit word; but medials, only before sonants, (§. 25,) may either be retained, if they originally terminate an inflective base, or take the place of a tenuis

<sup>\*</sup> The Latin prehendo is probably related to the Sanskrit root uf grah, through the usual interchange between gutturals and labials.

or an aspirate, if these happen to precede sonants in a As examples, we select हरित harit, (viridis), 'green," वेद्विद् vêda-vid, "skilled in the Vêda," धनलभ् dhanalubh, "acquiring wealth." These words are, according to §. 94., without a nominative sign. We find, also, श्रीस हरित asti harit, "he is green," स्रास्त वेदवित asti veda-vit, स्रास्त धनलप asti dhana-lap; on the other hand, हरिद् अस्ति harid asti, वेदिवद श्रम्ति vedavid asti, धनलव श्रम्ति dhana-lab asti; also, हरिद भवति harid bhavati, &c. With this Sanskrit law the Middle High [G. Ed. p. 89.] German is very nearly in accordance, which indeed tolerates aspirates at the end of words, contrary to the custom of the Sanskrit, only with a conversion of the sonant v into the surd f, see §. 86. 3.; but, like the Sanskrit, and independent of the law of displacement explained in §. 87., supplies the place of medials at the end of words regularly by tenues. As, for example, in the genitives tages, eides, wibes, of which the nom. and accus. sing., deprived of the inflexion and the terminating vowel of the base, take the forms tac, (§. 86. 1.) eit, wip. So also as to the verb; for instance, the roots trag, lad, grab, form, in the uninflected 1st and 3d pers. sing. pret., truoc, luot, gruop, plur. truogen, luoden, gruoben. Where, on the other hand, the tenuis or aspirate (v excepted) is radical, there no alteration of sound occurs in declension or in conjugation. For instance, work, gen. wortes, not wordes, as in Sansk. दहत् dadat, "the giver," gen. ददतम् dadatas, not दददम् dadadas, but वित् vit, "knowing," gen. विदस् vidas, from the base विद् vid. In Old High German different authorities of the language are at variance with respect to the strict observance of this law. Isidor is in accordance with it, insomuch that he converts d at the end into t, and g into c; for instance, wort, wordes; dac, dages. The Gothic excludes only the labial medials from terminations, but replaces them, not by tenues, but by aspirates. Hence gaf, "I gave," in contrast to gebum, and the accusatives hlaif, lauf, thiuf, opposed to the nominatives hlaibs, laubs, thiubs, gen. hlaibis, &c. The guttural and dental

medials (g, d) are tolerated by the Gothic in terminations; yet even in these, in individual cases, a preference appears for the terminating aspirates. Compare bauth, "I or he offered," with budum, "we offered," from the root bud; haitad-a "nominatur" with haitith (§. 67.) "nominat; aih, "I have," "he has," with aigum, "we have."

[G. Ed. p. 90.] 93(b), In a sense also opposed to that of the above-mentioned Sanskrit law, we find, in Old High German yet only in Notker, an euphonic relation between terminating and initial letters of two words which come together. (Grimm, pp. 130, 138, 181). As in Sanskrit the tenuis appears as an essential consonant, fit for the conclusion of a sentence, but exchangeable, under the influence of a word following in a sentence, for the medials; so with Notker the tenuis ranks as a true initial; stands therefore at the beginning of a sentence, and after strong consonants; but after vowels and the weakest consonants the liquid is turned into a medial. Thus, for instance, ih pin, "I am," but ih ne bin; ter dag, "the day," but tes tages; mit kote, "with God," but minan got, "my God."

94. Two consonants are no longer, in the existing condition of the Sanskrit, tolerated at the end of a word, but the latter of the two is rejected. This emasculation, which must date from an epoch subsequent to the division of the language, as this law is not recognised either by the Zend or by any of the European branches of the family, has had, in many respects, a disadvantageous operation on the Grammar, and has mutilated many forms of antiquity required by theory. In the High German we may view, as in some degree connected with this phenomenon, the circumstance that roots with double liquids-ll, mm, nn, rrin forms which are indeclinable (and before the consonants of inflexions) reject the latter of the pair. In the case, also, of terminations in double h or t, one is rejected. Hence, for instance, from stihhu (pungo) ar-prittu (stringo), the 1st and 3d pers. pret. stah, ar-prat. In Middle High German,

in declensions in ck, ff, the last is rejected; for instance, boc, gen. bockes; grif, griffes: tz loses the t; for instance, schaz, schatzes.

95. Between a final  $\pi$  and a suc- [G. Ed. p. 91.] ceeding t sound — as which the palatals also must be reckoned, for \(\frac{1}{2}\) ch is equivalent to tsh—in the Sanskrit an euphonic sibilant is interposed, from the operation of the following t; and  $\overline{q}$ , by this sibilant, is converted,  $\S$ . 9., into Anuswâra; for instance, सभवंस तत्र abhavans tatra, (abhavans-tatra), "they were there." With this coincides the circumstance, that, in High German, between a radical n and the t of an affix, an s, in certain cases, is inserted; for instance, from the root ann, "to favour," comes, in Old High German, an-s-t, "thou favourest," on-s-ta or onda, "I favoured," an-s-t, "favour"; from prann comes prun-s-t, "ardour"; from chan is derived chun-s-t, "knowledge," our German Kunst, in which, as in Brunst and Gunst, (from gönnen, probably formed from the ann before noticed, and the preposite g(e), the euphonic s has stood fast. The Gothic exhibits this phenomenon nowhere, perhaps, but in an-s-ts and allbrun-s-ts 'holocaustum.' In Old High German we find still an s inserted after r, in the root tarr; hence, tar-s-t, "thou darest," tor-s-ta, I dared." (Cf. §. 616. 2d Note:)

96. In Sanskrit the interposed euphonic s has extended itself further only among the prefixed prepositions, which generally enter into most intimate and facile connection with the following root. In this manner the euphonic s steps in between the prepositions and sam, and ava, aft pari, aft prati, and certain words which begin with a k. With this the Latin s between ab or ob and c, q, and p, remarkably accords\*, [G. Ed. p. 92.] which s, ab retains even in an isolated position, when the above-mentioned letters follow. To this we also refer the cosmittere of Festus, instead of committere

<sup>\*</sup> We scarcely think it necessary to defend ourselves for dividing, with Vossius, ob-solesco, rather than with Schneider (p. 571) obs-olesco.

(Schneider, p. 475), unless an original smitto, for mitto, is involved in this compound. In the Greek, 5 shews an inclination for connection with  $\tau$ ,  $\theta$ , and  $\mu$ , and precedes these letters as an euphonic link, especially after short vowels, in cases which require no special mention. In compounds like σακες-πάλος I reckon the ς, in opposition to the common theory, as belonging to the base of the first member (§. 128.). We have yet to consider a case of the interpolation of an euphonic labial, which is common to the Old Latin and Germanic, and serves to facilitate the union of the labial nasal with a dental. The Latin places p between m and a following t or s; the Gothic and Old High German f between m and t. Thus, sumpsi, prompsi, dempsi, sumptus, promptus, demptus; Gothic andanum-f-ts, "acceptance"; Old High German chum-f-t, "arrival." In Greek we find also the interpolation of an euphonic  $\beta$  after  $\mu$ , of a  $\delta$  after  $\nu$ , of a  $\theta$  after  $\sigma$ , in order to facilitate the union of  $\mu$ ,  $\nu$ , and  $\sigma$  with  $\rho$  and  $\lambda$ (μεσημβρία, μέμβλεται, ἀνδρός, ἱμάσθλη—see Buttman, p. 80); while the Modern Persian places an euphonic d between the vowel of a prefixed preposition and that of the following word, as be-d-û, " to him."

97. The Greek affords few specimens of variability at the end of words, excepting from peculiarities of dialect, as the substitution of  $\rho$  for  $\varsigma$ . The alteration of the  $\nu$  in the article in old inscriptions, and in the prefixes  $\sigma'\nu$ ,  $\dot{e}\nu$ , and  $\pi\dot{a}\lambda\nu$ , seems analogous to the changes which, according to  $\S$ . 18., the terminating  $\pi$  m, in Sanskrit, undergoes in all cases, with reference to the letter which follows. [G. Ed. p. 93.] The concluding  $\nu$  in Greek is also generally a derivative from  $\mu$ , and corresponds to this letter, which the Greek never admits as a termination in analogous forms of the Sanskrit, Zend, and Latin. N frequently springs from a final  $\varsigma$ ; thus, for instance,  $\mu e \nu$  (Doric  $\mu e \varsigma$ ) and the dual  $\tau o \nu$  answer to the Sanskrit personal terminations  $\pi \pi$  mas,  $\pi \pi$  tas. I have found this explanation, which I have given elsewhere, of the origin of the  $\nu$  from  $\varsigma$ 

subsequently confirmed by the Prâkrit, in which, in like manner, the concluding s of the instrumental termination plural fine bhis has passed into the dull in (Anuswâra, §. 9.). and fe hin is said for bhis. An operation, which has a prejudicial effect on many Greek terminations, and disturbs the relation to cognate languages, is the suppression of the t sound at the end of words, where, in Sanskrit, Zend, and Latin it plays an essential part. In respect of the vowels, it is also worthy of notice, that in Sanskrit, but not in Zend, at the meeting of vowel terminations and commencements, a hiatus is guarded against, either by the fusion of the two vowels, or, in cases where the vowel has a cognate semi-vowel at its command, by its transition into this latter, provided the vowel following be unlike. We find, for instance, अस्तीदम् astidam, "est hoc," and अस्य स्यम asty ayam, "est hir." For the sake of clearness, and because the junction of two vowels might too often give the appearance of two or more words to one, I write in my most recent text अस्ती 'दम, in order, by an apostrophe which I employ as a sign of fusion, to indicate that the vowel which appears wanting in the दम dam is contained in the final vowel of the preceding word. We might, perhaps, still better write चली 'दम, in order directly [G. Ed. p. 94.] at the close of the first word to shew that its final vowel has arisen out of a contraction, and that the following word participates in it.\*

98. We have now to consider the alterations in the middle of words, i.e. those of the final letters of the roots and nominal bases before grammatical endings, and we find, with respect to these, most life, strength, and consciousness in the Sanskrit; and this language is

<sup>\*</sup> We cannot guide ourselves here by the original MSS., as these exhibit no separation of words, and entire verses are written together without interruption, as though they were only a series of senseless syllables, and not words of independent place and meaning. As we must depart from Indian practice, the more complete the more rational the separation.

placed on the highest point of antiquity, insomuch as the signification of every radical portion is still so strongly felt, that while it admits of moderate changes, for the avoiding of harshness, it never, if we except some vowel elisions, permits the radical sense to be obliterated, or rendered irrecognisable by concessions too great, or transitions too daring. Yet does the Sanskrit, more than any of its kindred, afford a field for the conflict of unsociable consonants, a conflict, however, which is honourably and strenuously maintained. The Vowels and weak consonants, (§. 25.) of grammatical endings and suffixes exert no influence over preceding consonants; but strong consonants, if surd (§. 25.), require a tenuis, and if sonant a medial, before them. Thus, at and with allow only of which, not स् hh, म g, प gh preceding them; only त्t, not प th, द् d, ष dh; while on the other hand, ष dh allows only म g, not क k, ख kh, घ gh; only द d, not त् t, प th, घ dh; only च b, not प p, प, ph, भ bh to precede it. The [G. Ed. p. 95] roots and the nominal bases have to regulate their final letters by this law; and the occasion frequently presents itself, since, in comparison with the cognate languages, a far greater proportion of the roots connect the personal terminations immediately with the root; and also among the case terminations there are many which begin with consonants (भ्याम bhyam, भिस् bhis, भ्यस् bhyas, स su). To cite instances, the root खद ad, "to eat," forms खिन्न admi, "I eat"; but not खद्मि adsi (for s is surd), nor खद्ति ad-ti, खद्य ad-tha, but स्रात्म at-si, साम at-ti, सन्य at-tha: on the other hand, in the imperative, जांद्व ad-dhi, "eat." The base पर pad, "foot," forms, in the locative plural, पत्म pat-su, not पदम pad-su; on the other hand, महत mahat, " great," forms, in the instrumental plural, महद्भिम् mahad-bhis not महत्भिम् mahat-bhis.

99. The Greek and Latin, as they have come down to us, have either altogether evaded this conflict of consonants, or exhibit, in most cases, with regard to the first of any two contiguous consonants, a disposition to surrender it, or

at least an indifference to its assistance towards the signi-

fication of the word, since they either abandon it altogether, or violently alter it, i.e. convey it beyond the limits of its proper organ. These two languages afford fewer occasions for harsh unions of consonants than the Sanskrit, principally because, with the exception of  $E\Sigma$  and  $I\Delta$  in Greek, and ES, FER, VEL, ED, in Latin, as ἐσ-τί, ἐσ-μέν, ἐσ-τέ, ίδ-μεν, ἴσ-τε, est, estis, fer-t, fer-tis, vul-t, vul-tis, no root, terminated by a consonant, joins on its personal terminations, or any of them, without the aid of a connecting vowel. The Greek perf. pass. makes an exception, and requires euphonic alterations, which, in part, come within the natural limits recognised by the Sanskrit, and, in part, overstep them. [G. Ed. p. 96.] The gutturals and labials remain on the ancient footing, and before  $\sigma$  and  $\tau$  observe the Sanskrit law of sound cited in §. 98.; according to which  $\kappa - \sigma(\xi)$ ,  $\kappa - \tau$ ,  $\pi - \sigma$ ,  $\pi$ - $\tau$ , are applied to roots ending in  $\kappa$ ,  $\gamma$ ,  $\chi$ , or  $\pi$ ,  $\beta$ ,  $\phi$ , because the surd  $\sigma$  or  $\tau$  suffers neither medials nor aspirates before it; hence τέτριπ-σαι, τέτριπ-ται, from TPIB, τέτυκ-σαι, τέτυκται, from TYX. The Greek, however, diverges from the Sanskrit in this, that  $\mu$  does not leave the consonant which precedes it unaltered, but assimilates labials to itself, and converts the guttural, tenuis and aspirate into medials. τέτυμ-μαι, τέτριμ-μαι, πέπλεγ-μαι, τέτυγ-μαι, we should, on Sanskrit principles, write (§. 98.) τέτυπ-μαι, τέτριβ-μαι, πεπλεκμαι, τετυχ-μαι. The t sounds carry concession too far, and abandon the Sanskrit, or original principle, as regards the gutturals; inasmuch as  $\delta$ ,  $\theta$ , and  $\zeta(\delta\sigma)$ , instead of passing into  $\tau$  before  $\sigma$  and  $\tau$ , are extinguished before  $\sigma$ , and before  $\tau$  and μ become σ (πέπεισ-ται, πέπει-σαι, πέπεισ-μαι, instead of πέπειτ-ται, πέπειτ-σαι, πεπειθ-μαι, or πεπειδ-μαι. The Greek declension affords occasion for the alteration of consonants only through the g of the nominative and the dative plural termination in oi; and here the same principle holds good as in the case of the verb, and in the formation of words: kh and q become, as in Sanskrit,  $k (\xi = \kappa - \varsigma)$ , and b and ph become p.

The t sounds, on the other hand, contrary to the Sanskrit, and in accordance with the enfeebled condition, in this respect, of the Greek, vanish entirely. We find  $\pi o \acute{\upsilon} - \varsigma$  for  $\pi \acute{\upsilon} \tau - \varsigma$ ,  $\pi o \upsilon - \sigma \acute{\iota}$  for  $\pi o \tau - \sigma \acute{\iota}$ , which latter naturally and originally must have stood for  $\pi o \acute{\upsilon} - \sigma$ ,  $\pi o \acute{\upsilon} - \sigma \iota$ .

100. In Latin the principal occasion for the alteration of consonants presents itself before the s of the perfect and the t of the supine, or other verbal substantive or adjective (participles) beginning with t; and it is in [G. Ed. p. 97.] accordance with the Sanskrit law cited §. 98., and the original condition of the language, that the sonant guttural passes, before s and t, into c, the sonant labial into p, as in rec-si (rexi), rectum from reg, scripsi, scriptum from scrib. It is also in accordance with the Sanskrit that h, as a sonant (§. 25.) and incompatible with a tenuis, becomes c before s and t; compare vec-sit (vexit), with the word of like signification अवासीत a-vâk-shût. If of the two final consonants of a root the last vanishes before the s of the perfect tense (mulsi from mulc and mulg, sparsi from sparg), this accords with the Sanskrit law of sounds, by which, of two terminating consonants of a nominal base, the last vanishes before consonants of the case terminations. Dought to become t before s; and then the form, so theoretically created, claut-sit from claud, would accord with the Sanskrit forms, such as अतौत्सीत a-taut-sit, "he tormented," from तद tud. Instead, however, of this, the d allows itself to be extinguished; so, however, that, in compensation, a short vowel of the root is made long, as di-vi-si; or, which is less frequent, the d assimilates itself to the following s, as cessi from ced. With roots in t, which are rarer, assimilation usually takes place, as con-cus-si from cut; on the other hand, mi-si, not mis-si, for mit-si, from mit or mitt. B, m, and r also afford instances of assimilation in jus-si, pres-si, ges-si, us-si.\* A third resource, for the avoidance

<sup>\*</sup> Compared with the Sanskrit, in which 34 ush signifies "burn"; the sibilant must here pass for the original form.

of an union, very natural, but not endurable in this weakened state of the language, ts, is the suppression of the latter of these two letters, which is also compensated by the lengthening of a short radical vowel; thus,\* sēdi from [G. Ed. p. 98.] sed, vidi from vid. I believe, at least, that these forms are not derivable from sedui, vidui, and I class them with forms like fodi from fod, legi, for lec-si, from ley, fuqi, for fuc-si, from fuq. To these probably also belong cāvi, favi, fovi, for pavi, vovi, from car, &c. A cavui, &c. is hardly conceivable; cavi could never have had such an origin. I conjecture forms such as cau-si, fau-si, after the analogy of cautum, fautum; or moc-si (moxi), after the analogy of vic-si, con-nic-si. (§. 19.) Possibly a moc-si form might derive probability from the adverb mox, since the latter is probably derived from mov, as cito is from another root of motion. The c of fluc-si, struc-si, (fluxi, &c.) fluxum, structum, must, in the same manner, be considered as a hardening of v; and a flu-vo, stru-vo, be presupposed, with regard to which it is to be remembered, that, in Sanskrit also, uv often developes itself out of **3** u before vowels (Gram. Crit. r. 50.<sup>b</sup>); on which principle, out of flu, stru, before vowels, we might obtain fluv, struv, and thence before consonants fluc, struc. Thus, also, fructus out of fruv-or for fru-or. In cases of t preceded by consonants, the suppression of s is the rule, and ar-si for ard-i an exception. Prandi, frendi, pandi, verti, &c., are in contrast to ar-si and other forms, like mulsi above mentioned, in their preserving the radical letter in preference to the auxiliary verb; and they accord in this with the Sanskrit rule of sound, by which the s of अतौत्सम् atdut-sam, अश्वेष्यम् akshaip-sam, &c., for the avoidance of hardness, is suppressed before strong consonants, and we find, for instance, अतीन ataut-ta, instead of अतीलन atautsta. The perfects scidi, fidi, are rendered doubtful by their short vowel, and in their origin probably belong to the reduplicated preterites, their first syllable having

<sup>\*</sup> Cf. §. 547., and for the whole §. cf. §§. 547. 576. 579.

perished in the lapse of time: in other [G. Ed. p. 99.] respects, fidi, scidi, correspond to tutŭdi, pupŭgi, not to speak of tetigi, the i of which latter is not original.

101. The suffixes employed in the formation of words and beginning with t, for the representation of which the supine may stand, deserve special consideration, in regard to the relations of sound generated by the conflict between t and the preceding consonant. According to the original law observed in the Sanskrit, a radical t ought to remain unaltered before tum, and d should pass into t; as, भेतुन् bhêttum, "to cleave," from जिंद bhid. According to the degenerated practice of the Greek, a radical d or t before t would become s. Of this second gradation we find a remnant in comes-tus, comes-tura, analogous to es-t, es-tis, &c. from edo: we find, however, no comes-tum, comes-tor, but in their place comesum, comesor. We might question whether, in comesum, the s belonged to the root or to the suffix; whether the d of ed, or the t of tum, had been changed into s. The form com-es-tus might argue the radicality of the s; but it is hard to suppose that the language should have jumped at once from estus to esus, between which two an essus probably intervened, analogous to cessum, fissum, quassum, &c., while the t of tum, tus, &c., assimilated itself to the preceding s. Out of essum has arisen esum, by the suppression of an s, probably the first; for where of a pair of consonants the one is removed, it is generally the first, (εἰμί from ἐσμί, πο-σί from ποδ-σί,) possibly because, as in §. 100., an auxiliary verb is abandoned in preference to a letter of the main verb. After that the language had, through such forms as ē-sum, cā-sum, divī-sum, fis-sum, quas-sum, habituated itself to an s in suffixes properly beginning with a t, s might easily insinuate itself into forms where it did not owe its origin to assimilation. Cs (x) is a [G. Ed. p. 100.] favourite combination; hence, fic-sum, nec-sum, &c. for fictum, nec-tum. The liquids, m excepted, evince special inclination for a succeeding s, most of all the r; hence, ter-sum, mer-sum, cur-sum, par-sum, ver-sum, in contrast to par-tum, tor-tum: there are also cases in which r, by a conversion into s, accommodates itself to t, as in ges-tum, us-tum, tos-tum.\* This answers to the Sanskrit obligatory conversion of a concluding r into s before an initial t; as, आतम् तार्यमाम् bhrâtas târaya mâm, "brother save me," instead of आतर् bhrâtar: on the other hand, in the middle of words r remains unaltered before t; hence, for instance, अतम् bhartum, not अस्तम् bhastum, "to bear." L exhibits in the Latin the forms fal-sum, pul-sum, vul-sum, in contrast to cul-tum; n exhibits ten-tum, can-tum, opposed to man-sum. The other forms in n-sum, except cen-sum, have been mulcted of a radical d, as ton-sum, pen-sum.

102. In the Germanic languages, t alone gives occasion for an euphonic conversion of a preceding radical consonant; for instance, in the 2d pers. sing. of the strong preterit. where, however, the t in the Old High German is retained only in a few verbs, which associate a present signification with the form of the preterite. In the weak preterites, also, which spring from these verbs, the auxiliary t, where it remains unaltered, generates the same euphonic relations. We find in these forms the Germanic on the same footing as the Greek, in this respect, that it converts radical t sounds (t, th, d, and in Old and Middle High German z also) before a superadded t into s. Hence, for instance, in [G. Ed. p. 101.] Gothic maimais-t (abscidisti), for maimait-t, fui-fals-t (plicavisti), for fai-falth-t, ana-baus-t (imperasti), for ana-baud-t. In Old and Middle High German weis-t, "thou knowest," for weiz-t. The Gothic, in forming out of the root vit, in the weak preterite, vis-sa ("I knew"), instead of

<sup>\*</sup> The obvious relationship of torreo with τέρσομαι, and τε trish from τψ tarsh, argues the derivation of the latter r from s. Upon that of uro from τυ ush, see §. 97.

vista, from vitta, resembles, in respect of assimilation, the Latin forms mentioned in §. 101., such as quas-sum for quastum, from quat-tum. The Old High German, however, which also adopts wis-sa, but from muoz makes not muos-sa, but muo-sa, corresponds, in the latter case, to such Latin forms, as ca-sum, clau-sum. The case is different in Old High German with those verbs of the first weak conjugation, which, having their syllables made long generally through two terminating consonants in the preterite, apply the t of the auxiliary verb directly to the root. Here the transition of t into s does not occur, but t, z, and even d, remain unaltered; and only when another consonant precedes them t and d are extinguished, z on the contrary remains; for instance, leit-ta, "DUXI," ki-neiz-ta, "AFFLIXI," ar-od-ta, "VASTAVI," walz-ta, "volvi," liuh-ta, "LUXI," for liuht-ta; hul-ta, "PLACAVI," for huld-ta. Of double consonants one only is retained, and of ch or cch only h; other consonantal combinations remain, however, undisturbed, as ran-ta, "cucurri," for rann-ta; wanh-ta, "vacillavi," for wanch-ta; dah-ta, "TEXI," for dacch-ta. The Middle High German follows essentially the same principles, only a simple radical t gives way before the auxiliary verb, and thus lei-te is opposed to the Old High German leit-ta; on the other hand, in roots in ld and rd the d may be maintained, and the t of the auxiliary be surrendered—as dulde, "TOLERAVI" —unless we admit a division of dul-de, and consider the d as a softened t. The change of q into c (§. 98.) is natural, but not universal; for instance, anc-te, "ARCTAVI," for ang-te; but against this law b remains unaltered. [G. Ed. p. 102.] Before the formative suffixes beginning with t\*, both in Gothic and High German, guttural and labial tenues and medials are changed into their aspirates, although the tenuis accord with a following t. Thus, for instance, in Gothic, vah-tvô,

<sup>\*</sup> With the exception of the High German passive part. of the weaker form, which, in the adjunction of its t to the root, follows the analogy of the pret. above described

"watch," from vak; sauh-t(i)s, "sickness," from suk; mah-t(i)s, "might," from mag; ga-skaf-t(i)s, "creation," from skap; fragif-t(i)s, "betrothment," from qib, softened from gab; Old High German suht, maht, ki-skaft, "creature," kift, "gift." The dentals replace the aspirate th by the sibilant (s), as is the case in Gothic before the pers. character t of the preterite, as th cannot be combined with t. The formation of words, however, affords few examples of this kind: under this head comes our mast, related to the Gothic mats, "food," and matyan, "to eat." In Gothic, the s of bldstreis, "worshipper," springs from the t of bldtan, "to worship": beist, "leaven," comes probably from beit (beitan, "to bite," Grimm, ii. p. 208). The Zend accords, in this respect, with the Germanic\*, but still more with the Greek, in that it converts its t sounds into s, not only before o t, but also before & m; for instance, צלנעטע irista, "dead," from the root לא irith; שנעטע basta, "bound," from www bandh, with the nasal excluded; as in Modern Persian יינט bastah, from אינט band; אקשה bastah, from אינט aêsma, "wood," from उम्म idhma.

103. It is a violation of one of the most natural laws of sound, that, in Gothic, the medial g does not universally pass into k or h (=ch), before the personal character t of [G. Ed. p. 103.] the pret., but generally is retained; and we find, for instance,  $\delta g$ -t, "thou fearest," mag-t, "thou canst†"; and yet, before other inflections formed with t, the g undergoes an euphonic transition into h, as for instance,  $\delta h$ -ta, "I feared," mah-ts, "might."

104. When in Sanskrit, according to §. 98., the aspiration of a medial undergoes a necessary suppression, it falls back, under certain conditions and according to special laws, upon the initial consonant of the root, yet only upon a medial, or throws itself onward on the initial consonant of

<sup>\*</sup> Cf. the Sclavonic and Lithuanian, §. 457.

 $<sup>\</sup>uparrow$  No other roots in g in this person are to be found in Ulfilus.

the following suffix. We find, for instance, भोसामि bhotsyami, "I shall know," for बोध्यामि bodh-syami; वेदभूत् एरेवीवbhut, "knowing the vedas," for qu budh; as bud-dha, "knowing," for and budhta; vizuff dhok-shyami, "I shall milk," for दोइस्पानि doh-syami; दग्ध dug-dha, "milked," for दहत duh-ta. In Greek we find a remarkable relic of the first part of the transposition of the aspirate,\* in the necessary suppression of the aspirate in some roots which begin with t and end with an aspirate before  $\sigma$ ,  $\tau$ , and  $\mu$ , letters which admit of no union with an aspirate, and in its being thrown back on the initial letter, by which process  $\tau$  becomes  $\theta$ . Η επις, τρέφω, θρέπ-σω, (θρέψω), θρεπτήρ, θρέμ-μα; ταφή, θάπτω, ετάφην, τέθαμ-μαι; τρύφος, θρύπ-τω, ετρύφην, θρύμ-μα; τρέχω, θρέξομαι; θρίξ, τριχός, ταχύς, θάσσων. In the spirit of this transposition of the aspirate, ey obtains the spiritus asper when χ is obliged to merge in the tenuis, (ἐκτός, ἔξω, ἔξις).+

<sup>\*</sup> See J. L. Burnouf in the Asiatic Journal, III. 368; and Buttmann, pp. 77, 78.

<sup>†</sup> It is usual to explain this appearance by the supposition of two aspirations in the root of these forms, of which one only is supposed to appear in deference to the euphonic law which forbids the admission of two consecutive aspirated syllables. This one would be the last [G. Ed. p. 104.] of the two, and the other would only shew itself when the latter had been forced to merge in the tenuis. Opposed, however, to this explanation is the fact, that, on account of the inconvenience of accumulated aspirates, the language has guarded itself in the original formation of its roots against the evil, and has never admitted an aspirated consonant at once for the initial and final letter of a root. In Sanskrit, the collection of whose roots is complete, there is no such instance. The forms, however, εθάφθην, τεθάφθαι, τεθάφθω, τεθάφαται, τεθράφθαι, έθρέφθην,, present a difficulty. These, perhaps, are eccentricities of usage, which, once habituated to the initial aspiration by its frequent application to supply the place of the terminating one, began to assume its radicality, and extended it wider than was legitimate. We might also say, that since  $\phi\theta$  (as  $\chi\theta$ ) is so favourite a combination in Greek that it is even substituted for  $\pi\theta$  and  $\beta\theta$ —while, according to §. 98., an original  $\phi\theta$  ought to become  $\pi\theta$ —on this ground the tendency to aspiration of the root remained unsatisfied by ἐτάφθην &c.; and as if the  $\phi$  only existed out of reference to the  $\theta$ , the original terminating aspirate necessarily fell back on the radical initial. This theory, which seems to me sound, would only leave τεθάφαται to be explained.

## OF THE ROOTS.

[G. Ed. p. 105.] 105. There are in Sanskrit, and the languages which are akin to it, two classes of roots: from the one, which is by far the more numerous, spring verbs, and nouns (substantives and adjectives) which stand in fraternal connection with the verbs, not in the relation of descent from them, not begotten by them, but sprung from the same shoot with them. We term them, nevertheless, for the sake of distinction, and according to prevailing custom, Verbal Roots; and the verb, too, stands in close formal connection with them, because from many roots each person of the present is formed by simply adding the requisite personal termination. From the second class spring pronouns, all original prepositions, conjunctions, and particles: we name them Pronominal Roots, because they all express a pronominal idea, which, in the prepositions, conjunctions, and particles, lies more or less concealed. No simple pronouns can be carried back, either according to their meaning or their form, to any thing more general, but their declension-theme (or inflective base) is at the same time their root. The Indian Grammarians, however, derive all words, the pronouns included, from verbal roots, although the majority of pronominal bases, even in a formal respect, are opposed to such a derivation, because they, for the most part, end with a: one, indeed, consists simply of a. Among [G. Ed. p. 106.] the verbal roots, however, there is not a single one in a, although long a, and all other vowels, wi du excepted, occur among the final letters of the verbal roots. Accidental external identity takes place between the

root, "to go," as a pronominal root, "he," "this."

106. The verbal roots, like those of the pronouns, are

verbal and pronominal roots; e.g. \( i \) signifies, as a verbal

monosyllabic; and the polysyllabic forms represented by the grammarians as roots contain either a reduplicatesyllable, as जाग jagri, "to wake," or a preposition which has grown up with the root, as wardt ava-dhir, "to despise"; or they have sprung from a noun, like कुमार् kumar, "to play," which I derive from ant kumara, "a boy." Except the law of their being monosyllabic, the Sanskrit roots are subjected to no further limitation, and their one-syllableness may present itself under all possible forms, in the shortest and most extended, as well as those of a middle degree. This free state of irrestriction was necessary, as the language was to contain within the limits of one-syllableness the whole body of fundamental ideas. The simple vowels and consonants were not sufficient: it was requisite to frame roots also where several consonants, combined in inseparable unity, became, as it were, simple sounds; e.g. स्पा sthå, "to stand," a root in which the age of the co-existence of the s and th is supported by the unanimous testimony of all the members of our race of languages. So also, in स्कन्ट skand, "to go," (Lat. scand-o) the age of the combination of consonants, both in the beginning and ending of the root, is certified by the agreement of the Latin with the Sanskrit. The proposition, that in the earliest period of language a simple vowel is sufficient to express a verbal idea, is supported by the remarkable concurrence of [G. Ed. p. 107.] nearly all the individuals of the Sanskrit family of languages in expressing the idea "to go" by the root i.

107. The nature and peculiarity of the Sanskrit verbal roots explains itself still more by comparison with those of the Semitic languages. These require, as far as we trace back their antiquity, three consonants, which, as I have already elsewhere shewn,\* express the fundamental

<sup>\*</sup> Trans, of the Hist. Phil. Class of the R. A. of Litt. of Berlin for the year 1824, p. 126, &c.

idea by themselves alone, without the aid of vowels; and although they may be momentarily compressed into one syllable, still, in this, the combination of the middle radical with the first or last cannot be recognised as original and belonging to the root, because it is only transitory, and chiefly depends on the mechanism of the construction of the word. Thus, in Hebrew, katul, "slain," in the fem., on account of the addition ah contracts itself to ktûl (ktûl--âh); while kôtêl, "slaying," before the same addition, compresses itself in an opposite manner, and forms kôtlûh. Neither  $kt\hat{u}l$ , therefore, nor  $k\delta tl$ , can be regarded as the root; and just as little can it be looked for in ktôl, as the status constructus of the infinitive; for this is only a shortening of the absolute form katal, produced by a natural tendency to pass hastily to the word governed by the infinitive, which, as it were, has grown to it. In the imperative ktôl the abbreviation is not external, subject to mechanical conditions, but rather dynamic, and occasioned by the hurry with which a command is usually enunciated. In the Semitic languages, in decided opposition to those of the Sanskrit family, the vowels belong, not to the root, but to the grammatical motion, the secondary ideas, and the mechanism of the construction of [G. Ed. p. 108.] the word. By them, for example, is distinguished, in Arabic, katala, "he slew," from kutila, "he was slain"; and in Hebrew, kôtêl, "slaying," from kôtûl, "slain." A Semitic root is unpronounceable, because, in giving it vowels, an advance is made to a special grammatical form, and it then no longer possesses the simple peculiarity of a root raised above all grammar. But in the Sanskrit family of languages, if its oldest state is consulted in the languages which have continued most pure, the root appears as a circumscribed nucleus, which is almost unalterable, and which surrounds itself with foreign syllables, whose origin we must investigate, and whose destination is, to express the secondary ideas of grammar which the root itself cannot express.

The vowel, with one or more consonants, and sometimes without any consonant whatever, belongs to the fundamental meaning: it can be lengthened to the highest degree, or raised by Guna or Vriddhi; and this lengthening or raising, and, more lately, the retention of an original a, opposed to its weakening to i or change to u (§§. 66., 67.), belongs not to the denoting of grammatical relations, which require to be more clearly pointed out, but, as I imagine I can prove, only to the mechanism, the symmetry of construction.

108. As the Semitic roots, on account of their construction, possess the most surprising capacity for indicating the secondary ideas of grammar by the mere internal moulding of the root, of which they also make extensive use, while the Sanskrit roots, at the first grammatical movement, are compelled to assume external additions; so must it appear strange, that F. von Schlegel,\* while he [G. Ed. p. 109.] divides languages in general into two chief races, of which the one denotes the secondary intentions of meaning by an internal alteration of the sound of the root by inflexion, the other always by the addition of a word, which may by itself signify plurality, past time, what is to be in future, or other relative ideas of that kind, allots the Sanskrit and its sisters to the former race, and the Semitic languages to the second. "There may, indeed," he writes, p. 48, "arise an appearance of inflexion, when the annexed particles are melted down with the chief word so as to be no longer distinguishable; but where in a language, as in the Arabic, and in all which are connected with it, the first and most important relations, as those of the person to verbs, are denoted by the addition of particles which have a meaning for themselves individually, and the tendency to which suffixes shews itself deeply seated in the language, it may there be safely assumed that the same may have

<sup>\*</sup> In his work on the language and wisdom of the Indians.

occurred in other positions, where the annexation of particles of a foreign nature no longer admits of such clear discrimination: one may at least safely assume that the language, on the whole, belongs to this chief race, although in this single point, by admixture or artificial adornment, it has adopted another and a higher character." We must here preliminarily observe, that, in Sanskrit and the languages connected with it, the personal terminations of the verls shew at least as great a similarity to isolated pronouns as in Arabic. How should any language, which expresses the pronominal relations of the verbs by syllables annexed either at the beginning or end of the word, in the choice of these syllables avoid, and not rather select, those which, in their isolated state, also express the corresponding [G. Ed. p. 110.] pronominal ideas? By inflexion, F. von Schlegel understands the internal alteration of the sound of the root, or (p. 35) the internal modification of the root, which he (p. 48) opposes to addition from without. But when from δο or δω, in Greek, comes δίδω-μι, δώ-σω, δο-θησόμεθα, what are the forms μι, σω, θησόμεθα, but palpable external additions to the root, which is not at all internally altered, or only in the quantity of the vowel? If, then, by inflexion, an internal modification of the root is to be understood, the Sanskrit and Greek &c. have in that case-except the reduplication, which is supplied by the elements of the root itself-scarce any inflexion at all to shew. If, however, θησόμεθα is an external modification of the root δο, simply because it is combined with it, touches it, with it expresses a whole; then the idea of sea and continent may be represented as an internal modification of the sea, and vice versa. P. 50, F. von Schlegel remarks: "In the Indian or Grecian language every root is truly that which the name says, and like a living germ; for since the ideas of relation are denoted by internal alteration, freer room is given for development, the fulness of which can be indefinitely

extended, and is, in fact, often wondrously rich. All, however, which in this manner proceeds from the simple root, still retains the stamp of its relationship, adheres to it, and thus reciprocally bears and supports itself." I find, however, the inference not established; for from the capability of expressing ideas of relation by internal alteration of the root, how can the capability be deduced of surrounding the (internally unalterable) root indefinitely, with foreign syllables externally added? What kind of stamp of relationship is there between μι, σω, θησόμεθα, and the [G. Ed. p. 111.] roots to which these significative additions are appended? We therefore recognise in the inflexions of the Sanskrit family of languages no internal involutions of the root, but elements of themselves significative, and the tracing of the origin of which is the task of scientific grammar. But even if the origin of not a single one of these inflexions could be traced with certainty, still the principle of the formation of grammar, by external addition, would not, for that reason, be the less certain, because, at the first glance, in the majority of inflexions, one discovers at least so much, that they do not belong to the root, but have been added from without. A. W. von Schlegel, also, who, in essential points, assents to the above-mentioned division of languages,\* gives us to understand, with regard to the so-called

<sup>\*</sup> Nevertheless, in his work, "Observations sur la langue et la littérature provençales," p. 14, &c., he gives three classes, viz. Les langues sans aucune structure grammaticule, les langues qui emploient des affixes, et les langues à inflexions. Of the latter, he says: "Je pense, cependant, qu'il faut assigner le premier rang aux la gues à inflexions. On pourroit les appeler les langues organiques, parce qu'elles renferment un principe vivant de developpement et d'accroissement, et qu'elles ont seules, si je puis m'expriner ainsi, une végétation abondante et féconde. Le merveilleux artifice de ces langues est, de former une immense variété de mots, et de marquer la liaison des idées que ces mots désignent, moyennant un assez petit nombre de syllabes qui, considérées séparément, n'ont point de signi-

inflexions, that they are not modifications of the root, but foreign additions, whose characteristic lies in this, that [G. Ed. p. 112.] regarded, per se, they have no meaning. In the Semitic, the appended grammatical syllables or inflexions have no meaning, at least in so far that they do not, any more than in Sanskrit, occur isolated in a completely similar state. In Arabic, for instance, antum, and not tum, is said for "ye"; and in Sanskrit ma, ta, and not mi, ti, are the declinable bases of the first and third person; and at-Ti, "he eats," has the same relation to TA-m, "him," that in Gothic IT-a, "I eat," has to the monosyllabic AT, "I ate." The reason for weakening the a of the base to i is probably, in the different cases of the two sister languages, the same, viz. the greater extent of the form of word with i (comp. §. 6.) If, then, the division of languages made by F. von Schlegel is untenable, on the reasons on which it is founded, still there is much ingenuity in the thought of a natural history or classification of languages. We prefer, however, to present, with A. W. von Schlegel (l. c.), three classes, and distinguish them as follows: first, languages with monosyllabic roots, without the capability of composition, and hence without organism, without grammar. This class comprises Chinese, where all is hitherto bare root, and the grammatical categories, and secondary relations after the

fication, mais qui déterminent avec précision le sens du mot auquel elles sont jointes. En modifiant les lettres radicales, et en ajoutant aux racines des syllabes dérivatives, on forme de mots dérivés de diverses espèces, et des dérivés des dérivés. On compose des mots de plusieurs racines pour exprimer les idées complexes. Ensuite on décline les substantifs, les adjectifs, et les pronoms, par genres, par nombres, et par cas; on conjugue les verbes par voix, par modes, par temps, par nombres, et par personnes, en employant de même des désinences et quelquefois des augmens qui, séparément, ne signifient rien. Cette méthode procure l'avantage d'énoncer en un seul mot l'idée principale, souvent déjà très-modifiée et très-complexe, avec tout son cortége d'idées accessoires et de relations variables.

main point, can only be discovered from the position of the roots in the sentence.\* Secondly, languages with monosyllabic roots, which are capable of combination, and obtain their organism and grammar nearly in this way alone. The chief principle of the formation of words, in this class, appears to me to lie in the combination of verbal and pronominal roots, which together represent, [G. Ed. p. 113.] as it were, body and soul (Comp. §. 100.). To this class belongs the Sanskrit family of languages, and moreover all other languages, so far as they are not comprehended under 1. and 3., and have maintained themselves in a condition which renders it possible to trace back their forms of words to the simplest elements. Thirdly, languages with dissyllabic verbal roots, and three necessary consonants as single vehicles of the fundamental meaning. This class comprehends merely the Semitic languages, and produces its grammatical forms, not simply by combination, like the second class, but by a mere internal modification of the roots. We here gladly award to the Sanskrit family of languages a great superiority over the Semitic, which we do not, however, find in the use of inflexions as syllables per se devoid of meaning, but in the copiousness of these grammatical additions, which are really significative, and connected with words used isolated; in the judicious, ingenious selection and application of them, and the accurate and acute defining of various relations, which hereby becomes possible; finally, in the beautiful adjustment of these additions to a harmonious whole, which bears the appearance of an organized body.

109°. The Indian Grammarians divide the roots according to properties, (which extend only to the tenses which

<sup>•</sup> We find this view of the Chinese admirably elucidated in W. von Humboldt's talented pamphlet, "Lettre à M. Abel Remusat, sur la nature des formes grammaticales en général, et sur le génie de la langue chinoise."

I call the special tenses,\* and to the part. pres.,) into ten classes, all of which we have re-discovered in the Zend also, and examples of which are given in the following paragraph.

[G. Ed. p. 114.] We shall here give the characteristics of the Sanskrit classes, and compare with them those which correspond in the European sister languages.

(1.) The first and sixth class add wa to the root; and we reserve the discussion of the origin of this and other conjugational affixes for the disquisition on the verb. The point of difference between the first class of nearly 1000 roots (almost the half of the entire number) and the sixth class, which contains about 130 roots, lies in this, that the former raise the vowel of the root by Guna (§. 26.), while the latter retain it pure; e,g. बोधित bodhati, "he knows," from व्य budh (1.); तुद्रित tudati, "he vexes" (comp. tundit), from netud (6.) As wa has no Guna, no discrimination can take place through this vowel between the classes 1. and 6.: but nearly all the roots which belong to either, having wa as the radical vowel, are reckoned in the first class. In Greek,  $\epsilon$  (before nasals o, §. 3.) corresponds to the affix  $\forall a$ ; and λείπ-ο-μεν,‡ φεύγ-ο-μεν, from ΛΙΠ, ΦΥΓ (ἔλιπον, ἔφυγον), belong to the first class, because they have Guna (§. 26.); while, e.g. θίγ-ο-μεν, θλίβ-ο-μεν, &c., fall under the sixth class. In Latin we recognise, in the third conjugation,

<sup>\*</sup> In Greek, the present (indic. imper. and optat., the form of the Greek subjunct. is wanting in Sanskrit) and imperfect correspond to them; beyond which certain conjugation-signs do not extend. In German, the present of every mood corresponds.

<sup>†</sup> The accent here distinguishes the 1st cl. from the 6th. e.g. for pátati did it belong to the 6th. cl., we should have patáti.

<sup>‡</sup> We give the plural, because the singular, on account of abbreviation, makes the thing less perspicuous.

<sup>||</sup> Sanskrit long vowels admit Guna only when they occur at the end of the root, but in the beginning and middle remain without admixture of the Wa; so do short vowels before double consonants.

which I would raise to the first, the cognate of the Sanskrit first and sixth class, since we regard the addition i as a weakening of the old a (§. 8.); and e. q. legimus has the same relation to λέγ-ο-μεν, that the genitive ped-is has to ποδ-ός where the Sanskrit has likewise a (पदस [G. Ed. p. 115.] pad-as). In leg-u-nt, from leg-a-nti, the old a, through the influence of the liquid, has become u (Comp. §. 66.). In German, all the primitive (strong) verbs, with the exception of some remains of the fourth class (No. 2.), stand in clear connection with the Sanskrit first class, which is here, for the first time, laid down in its full extent.\* The wa which is added to the root has, in Gothict, before some personal terminations, remained unchanged; before others, according to §. 67., and as in Latin, been weakened to i; so, hait-a, "I am called," hait-i-s, hait-i-th, 2d pers. du. huit-a-ts; pl. haita-m, hait-i-th, hait-a-nd. The radical vowels i and u keep the Guna addition, as in Sanskrit, only that the a which gives the Guna is here weakened to i (§. 27.), which, with a radical i, is aggregated into a long i (written ei, §. 70.): hence keina (=kina, from kiina), "I germinate," from KIN; biuya, "I bend," from BUG, Sanskrit भूज bhuj, whence भूग्न bhugna, The diphthongs ai, au, as in Sanskrit v and wi (§. 2.), are incapable of any Guna; as are  $\ell$  (=  $\overline{a}$ , §. 69.) and a. The Sanskrit radical vowel wa has, however, in Gothic, experienced a threefold destiny. It has either remained unaltered in the special tenses, and is lengthened in the preterite, except in reduplicate roots (i.e. to ô, see §. 69.)—

<sup>\*</sup> I have already, in my Review of Grimm's Grammar, expressed the conjecture that the a of forms like haita, haitam, haitaima, &c. does not belong to the personal termination, but is identical with the  $\Xi$  a of the Sanskrit 1st and 6th classes; but I was not then clear regarding the Guna in the present in all roots with vowels capable of Guna. (See Ann. Reg. for Crit. of Litt., Book II. pp. 282 and 259.)

<sup>†</sup> We make frequent mention of the Gothic alone as the true startingpoint and light of German Grammar. The application to the High German will hereafter present itself.

thus, e.g. far-i-th, "he wanders," answers to Tifa charati [G. Ed. p. 116.] (§. 14.), and fôr, "he wandered," to चचार chachara; or, secondly, the old a shews itself in the special tenses weakened to i, but retained in the monosyllabic singular of the preterite: so that here the stronger a (§. 8.) corresponds to the weaker i in the same way that, in the first case, the  $\mathcal{C}(= \text{vol} \ a)$  does to the short a. The root va ad, "to eat," in Gothic, according to §. 87., forms AT; hence, in the present, ita; in the sing. pret., at, as-t, at. The third fate which befalls the a of the root in Gothic is a complete extirpation, and compensation by the weaker i, which is treated like an original i, existing in the Sanskrit; i.e. in the special tenses it receives Guna by i, and in the pret. sing. by a (§. 27.), but in the pret. pl. it is preserved pure. To this class belongs the KIN, "to germinate," mentioned above, pres. keina, pret. sing. kain, pl. kin-um. The corresponding Sanskrit root is जन jan, " to produce," " to be born" (see §. 87.): the same relation, too, has greipa, graip, gripum, from GRIP, "to seize," to क्रम grabh (Vêda form): on the other hand, BIT, "to bite," \* (beita, bait, bitum), has an original i, which exists in Sanskrit (comp. भिद् bhid, "to cleave "); just so, VIT, "to know," Sanskrit विद् vid.

(2.) The fourth class of Sanskrit roots adds to them the syllable \( \frac{1}{2} ya, \) and herein agrees with the special tenses of the passive; and from the roots which belong to it spring chiefly neuter verbs, as e.g. \( \frac{1}{2} \sqrt{16} nasyati, "he perishes," \) Their number amounts altogether to about 130. The German has preserved one unmistakeable remnant of this class, in those strong verbs which again lay aside, in the preterite, the syllable \( ya \) (weakened to \( yi \)), which is added to the root in the [G. Ed. p. 117.] special tenses; e.g. \( vahs-ya \) (Zend \( ya \)) wes-yain, "crescebant," Vendidâd S. p. 257), "cresco," \( vahs-yai-th, "crescit," \) pret. \( v6hs. \)

<sup>\*</sup> Occurs only with the prep. and, and with the meaning "to scold," but corresponds to the Old High German root BIZ, "to bite."

(3.) The second, third, and seventh classes add the personal termination direct to the root; but in the cognate European languages, to facilitate the conjugation, these classes have mainly passed over to the first class; e. g. ed-i-mus, not ed-mus (as a remnant of the old construction es-t, es-tis), Gothic it-a-m, Old High German iz-a-mes not iz-mes, answering to the Sanskrit समस् ad-mas. The second class, to which सद् ad belongs, leaves the root without any characteristic addition, with Guna of the vowels capable of Guna before light terminations, which must be hereafter explained; hence, e.g. एनि êmi, corresponding to इसस् imas, from इ i "to go," as in Greek eim to inev. It contains not more than about seventy roots, partly terminating in consonants, partly in vowels. In this and the third-class, the Greek exhibits roots, almost entirely ending in vowels, as the above mentioned I,  $\Phi A$ ,  $\Gamma N\Omega$  ( $\gamma \nu \hat{\omega} - \theta \iota$ ),  $\Delta \Omega$ ,  $\Sigma TA$ ,  $\Theta H$ ,  $\Phi \Upsilon$  ( $\epsilon \phi \nu \nu$ ),  $\Delta \Upsilon$ , &c. To the consonants the direct combination with the consonants of the termination has become too heavy, and 'EZ alone (because of the facility of  $\sigma\mu$ ,  $\sigma\tau$ ) has remained in the Sanskrit second class, as the corresponding root in Latin, Lithuanian, and German. Hence, afa asti, ἐστί, Lithuan. esti, est, Gothic and High German ist. In the Latin there fall also to the second class, I, DA, STA, FLA, FA, and NA; and also in-quam, whence QUA weakened to QUI, is the root, which, in Gothic, appears as QUAT, weakened to QUIT, with the accretion of a T. FER and VEL (VUL) have preserved some persons of the ancient construction.\* [G. Ed. p. 118.] The third class is distinguished from the second by a syllable of reduplication in the special tenses, and has maintained itself under this form in Greek also, and Lithuanian. In

<sup>\*</sup> Five roots of the second class introduce in Sanskrit, between the consonants of the root and the personal termination, an  $\xi$  i, as  $\widehat{\operatorname{Cl}}_{\xi}$  in  $\widehat{\operatorname{Frod}}_{i}$  in it. I weep," from  $\xi \xi$  rud. I can, however, no longer believe that the i of the Latin third conjug. is connected with this  $\xi$  i, as there is scarce any doubt of its relationship with the  $\Xi$  a of the very copious first class.

Sanskrit it comprehends about twenty roots; e.g. द्दाप्ति dadāmi, δίδωμι, Lithūanian dudu; द्पाप्ति dadhāmi, τίθημι (§. 16.); जनिम jajanmi, "I beget," comp. γί-γν-ο-μαι. The seventh class, of about twenty-four roots, introduces, in the special tenses, a nasal into the root, which is extended before the light personal terminations to the syllable na; e.g. भिनिम bhinadmi, "I cleave," भिन्मस् bhindmas, "we cleave." The Latin has kept the weaker form of this nasalization, but has further added to the root the affix of the first class (p. 114 G. Ed.); hence findo, find-i-mus. From the Greek come to be here considered roots, like MAΘ, ΛΑΒ, ΘΙΓ, in which the inserted nasal has been repeated further on in the word, with the prefixed a, and, like the Latin find-i-mus, is connected with the affix of the first class; thus, μανθ-άν-ο-μεν, λαμβ-άν-ο-μεν, θιγγ-άν-ο-μεν.

- (4.) The fifth class, of about thirty roots, has nu; and the eighth, with ten roots, which, excepting a kri, "to make," all terminate in  $\exists n$  or  $\exists n$ , has u for its characteristic addition: the u, however, of these two classes is lengthened before the light terminations by Guna, which in the corresponding Greek appended syllables, vu and v, is supplied by lengthening the υ; thus, e.g. δείκνυμι, δείκνυμεν, as in Sanskrit जाप्रोमि ap-no-mi, "ad-ip-is-cor," जाप्रमस ap-nu-mas, "adipiscimur." An example of the eighth class is na tan, "to extend," whence तनोनि tan- $\delta$ -mi= $\tau \acute{a}v$ - $\bar{v}$ - $\mu \iota$ , तन्मस् tan-u-mas= $\tau \acute{a}v$ - $\check{v}$ - $\mu \varepsilon \varsigma$ . With the 3 u, v, of the eighth class, is probably connected [G. Ed. p. 119.] the v in some Gothic strong verbs, where, however, it adheres so firmly to the root, that, in a German point of view, it must be regarded as a radical. Hence it is not dropped in the preterite, and receives, in the special tenses, like all strong verbs, the affix of the Sanskrit first class; e.g. saihva,\* "I see," sahv, "I saw."
- (5.) The ninth class adds an na to the root, which syllable, before heavy terminations, instead of being shortened

<sup>\*</sup> I now consider the v of saihva and similar verbs as purely euphonic, cf. §. 86. and Latin forms like cogno, linguo, stinguo.

to  $\pi$  na, replaces the heavy  $\Xi$ 1 å by the lighter  $\Xi$ 2 ( $\S$ 6.), and is thus weakened to  $\pi$ 1 nî. E.g. from  $\Xi$ 2 mrid, "to crush," (comp. mordeo) comes  $\Xi$ 2  $\Xi$ 1 if mridnami,  $\Xi$ 2  $\Xi$ 3 if mridnami. In this is easily perceived the relationship with Greek formations in νημι (ν̄αμι) νᾶμεν; e.g. δάμνημι, δάμναμεν. As  $\Xi$ 6, and o, are originally one, formations like τέμ-νομεν belong to this class, only that they have wandered into the more modern ω-conjugation at a remote period of antiquity; for more lately νεω would not have become νω from νημι.

(6.) The tenth class adds at aya to the root, but is distinguished from the other classes in this farther important point, that this affix is not limited to the special tenses: the final a of ख्रम aya is peculiar to them, but ख्रम ay extends, with very few exceptions, to all the other formations of the root. All causals, and many denominatives, follow this class, and, indeed, from every root a causal can be formed by the addition खय ay, which is always accompanied by Guna of the middle vowel of the root capable of Guna, or by Vriddhi of every radical final vowel and of a n.iddle a belonging to the root; e.g. बेदपित vêd-aya-ti "he makes to know," from विदु vid; आवयति ईrâv-aya-ti, "he makes to hear," from y sru. We recognise, in German, the affix खप aya at least in two shapes: in the one [G. Ed. p. 120.] the first a, in the other the last, is lost, and in the latter case y has become i; so that I have no longer any scruple in tracing back Grimm's first and third conjugation of the weak form to a common origin. According to all probability, however, the verbs with the affix & also (as Old High German manon, "to mention," "to make to think,") belong to this class, regarding which we will speak further under the verb. The Old High German gives  $\ell$  as the contraction of a+i, (see §. 78.), but retains its & more firmly than the Gothic its ai, which, in several persons, sinks into a simple a. Compare Gothic haba, habam, haband, with Old High German hapêm, hapêmes, hapênt. Very remarkable, however, is the concurrence of the Prâkrit with the Old High German and the Latin of the 2d conj. in this point, that it in like manner has contracted the affix अय aya to ए ê. Compare Sanskrit मानयामि mānayāmi, "I honour," Prākrit मारोनि mānēmi, \* Old High German, var-manēm, "I despise," Latin moneo:

[G. Ed. p. 121.] SANSKRIT.	PRÂKŖIT.	OLD HIGH GERMAN.	LATIN.
मानयामि månayåmi	माणेमि manemi	var-manêm	moneo
मानयसि månayasi	माणेसि manêsi	manês	mon 's
मानयित månayati	माणेदि manêdi	manêt	monet
मानयामस् månayåmas	माणेम्ह manêmha	manêmes	monêmus
मानयथ månayatha	मागोध månêdha	manêt	monêtis
मानयन्ति månayanti	माणेनि manenti	manênt	monent

In regard to those weak verbs, which have suppressed the first vowel of the Sanskrit अब aya, and give therefore ya as affix, we will here further recall attention to the forms iya (iye), which occasionally occur in Old High German and Anglo Saxon, whose connection with अब aya is to be traced thus, that the semi-vowel y has become hardened to g, (comp. §. 19.), and the preceding a weakened to i. In Greek, the cognate verbs to the Sanskrit of the tenth class are to

<sup>\*</sup> I am not at present able to adduce this verb from the edited texts: it is, however, certain, that manayami in this dialect can have no other sound but mânêmi. The conjugation is supported by other examples of this class, as chintêmi, "I think" (from chintayâmi), nivêdêmi (from nivêdayami). In the plural the termination mha is nothing else than the appended verb substantive (Sansk. smas, "we are"). In the third pers. pl., together with manenti the forms manaanti and mananti are also admissible. The Indian Grammarians assume for the Sanscrit a root man, "to honour": more probably, however, the verb, for which this root is supplied, is only a denominative from mana, "honour"; and this substantive itself a derivation from man, "to think," whence ava-man, "to despise," as in Old High German var-MAN (by Otfrid, fir-MON). The root, therefore, which is contained in varmanem is identical with the Gothic MAN (man, "I mean," "I think," pl. munum see §. 66.). To this class belongs, also, the Latin monere, as, "to make to think" (Old High German manôn), the radical o for a of which we explain by the principle of  $\delta$ . 66. (see, also, §. 3.); while the i of memin-i is a weakening of the original a, explained by 6.6.

be looked for in those in  $\alpha\omega$ ,  $\epsilon\omega$ ,  $\epsilon\omega$ ; in Latin, besides the 2d conjugation compared above, most verbs of the 1st and 4th also belong to this affinity. We shall recur to them when speaking of the verb.

109b. In order to adduce single examples of the multiform construction of the roots, let us examine the order of the final letters; but we will select only such examples as are common to the Sanskrit and several sister languages. The greatest forbearance, however, is requisite, as an authenticated comparison of all that admits of comparison would easily swell to a book, which shall hereafter be devoted to this subject.\*

(1.) Roots ending with a vowel: - [G. Ed. p. 122.]

"There are, as has been already remarked (§. 105.), no roots in ख a; but roots in खा å are numerous. Thus मा ad, t "to go," contained in the Latin navi-ga-re; also, perhaps, in fati-gare, the first member of which belongs to fatiscor, fessus; in Greek, βίβημι answers to जगान jagâmi, and rests on the frequent interchange of gutturals and labials; Gothic ga-thvô, "a street," (see p. 102. G. Ed.); Zend κρωφ gâ-tu, "a place," (nom. wypwo gâtus; Old High German gâ-m, "I go," = जगामि ja-gå-mi; not therefore, as Grimm conjectures (p. 868), by syncope from gangu, but, with a more ancient and regular foundation, only with a suppression of the Sanskrit syllable of reduplication, introduced, therefore from the third into the second class (see p. 117. G. Ed.), as in Latin, da-mus answering to δίδο-μεν. Thus, also, sla-m, stâ-s, stâ-t, in like manner, with suppressed reduplication, corresponds to ί-στη-μι (for σίστημι), and to the Sanskrit root खा sthâ, which is irregularly inflected, fतष्टाम tishthâmi. fasfa tishthasi, fasfa tishthati, for tasthami, tasthasi, tasthati.

<sup>\*</sup> Somewhat that pertains to this subject I have already put together very concisely at the end of my Sanserit Glossary.

<sup>†</sup> The attached cyphers denote the classes described in §. 109a.

which will be more closely considered hereafter. The Latin, in root and inflexion, most resembles the Old High German: the Zend, however, in its squage histami\* (for sistâmi, see §. 53.), appears in a genuine Greek dress. Observe, also, the בשפטשטעל rathaestao, "warrior," which occurs so often in the Zend-Avesta, properly "chariot stander," with o for s as the sign of the nominative. How, then, in Old High German, comes from STA the extended form of the root STANT, whence the present stantu, "I stand," and preterite stuont, "I or he stood"; for which the Gothic has standa, stoth? We will here only preliminarily remark, that we have observed in Zend also, in some roots terminating in a, an inclination to connect themselves with a t-sound. Thus we find, from מן אי sna, "to wash," "to purify," (Sansk. द्वा sna, "to bathe,") whence snâta, "purified," in Vend. S. p. 233, frequently וְכָּנְנְענִישְׁנְענּיִע fra-snadhayen " lavent"; from שַּ da, "to lay," (Sans. עו dha, p. 118 G. Ed.), we find ינפענטננאן nidaithyann, "deponant" (as Vendidâd S. pp. 205 and 206, terra deponant"): from the same root we find the imperative [G. Ed. p. 123.] form, wewsum ni-da-thama, "deponamus" (Vend. S. p. 208, we way for up for wow 2/2 for up 400 tanûm barâma Ahura mazda kva nidâthâma, "Quo hominum mortuorum corpus feramus, ubi deponamus"?). Of the Germanic we will further remark, that the root # ma, "to measure" (cf. μέ-τρον), has connected itself with a t-sound, and forms, in Gothic, MAT, present mita (§. 1098. 1.). 319 ind, "to be acquainted with," "to know," ΓΝΩ, GNA (gnarus) Old High German CHNA (§. 87.); whence chnâ-ta, "Iknew," annexing the auxiliary verb direct, as in Latin (g)no-vi. To

<sup>\*</sup> I believe I may deduce this form from the 3d pers. pl. אינטישון אינטישן אינטיען אינטיען אינטיען אינטיען אינטיען אינ

the special form, जानानि júnámi, for ज्ञानानि jná-ná-mi, may belong the Gothic root KANN, Old High German CHANN (kann. chan, "I know," see §. 94., kunnum, chunnum, "we know," see §.66.). un' dhma, "to blow," alters itself in the special forms to un dham, Latin FLA, according to the second class (§. 109a 3.), Old High German PLA (§§. 12. 20.), whence pla-ta, "flavi." As in Sanskrit, from the above-mentioned पम dham, comes the nominal base पमनी dhamani. "a vein"; so may the Gothic base BLOTHA (nom. acc. blôth, "blood") come here also under consideration. We pass on to roots in i, and have to remark that the root mentioned at p. 107. G. Ed., \\$ i, "to go," is not unknown in German. We find it in the Gothic imperative hir-i, "come here"; du. hir-yats; pl. hir-yith. I believe, too, that in the irregular preterite iddya, "I went," the i alone can be assumed as the root. In Zend occurs ממעסג ali-ti, "he goes" (from efa êti, according to §§. 28. 41.), Lithuan. ei-ti. sri, "to go," with the prep. उत् ut, "to raise itself"; hence, राजित uchchhrita, "raised," "high"; compare cre-sco, cre-vi (see §. 21.), Old High German SCRIT, "to step," with the addition of a t, as in the case of mat, from मा ma: perhaps the Latin gradior, as well as cresco, might be here included, the Guna form of the vowel, as in wafa śray-a-ti, "he goes," being observed. fer smi, "to smile," Old High German SMIL; \$\frac{1}{2}\text{pri, "to love," Zend , I fri (\s. 47.), Goth. friyô, "I love" (§. 87.), compare fut priya, " dear." भो bhi, "to fear," विभेषि bibhé-mi, "I fear"; Lithuan. biyau; Gothic fiya, "I hate" (fiyais, fiyaith), fiyands, "foe"; Old High German viêm or fiêm, "I hate": the Greek φέβ-ο-μαι answers to the Sanskrit reduplication of bibhêmi; so that, contrary to the common rule, the aspirates have remained in the prefix, but in the base itself have become medials, and this has left only  $\beta$  as the whole root, as in Sanskrit da-d-mus, "we give," for da-da-mas, δί-δο-μες. Perhaps, also, [G. Ed. p. 124.] ΦΙΔ, φέιδομαι, is to be referred to the roots in i, so that an

unorganic dental affix would be to be assumed. "to lie," "to sleep," with irregular Guna in the middle; hence śe-te=κει-ται. 👔 hri, "to be ashamed"; Old High German HRU, "to repent" (hriw-u, hrou, hru-umês, see p. 115. G. Ed.). Of roots in u, दू dru, " to run," दूर्वात drava-ti, "he runs" may furnish, through the Guna form, the Greek δρά-σκω, δι-δρά-σκω, which appears hence to derive its α with suppression of the digamma: the μ of δρέμω, however, might pass as a hardening of the v (§. 63.), and δρέμ-ο-μεν, δρέμ-ε-τε, &c., therefore represent most truly the forms drav-a-mas, drav-a-tha. 3 plu, "to go," "to swim," "to float" (ya plava, "a ship"), Latin FLU. The Greek  $\pi\lambda\epsilon\omega$ ,  $\pi\lambda\delta\omega$  is again not to be so regarded as if the old u had been corrupted to  $\epsilon$  or o, but  $\pi \lambda \dot{\epsilon}(F)\omega$ ,  $\pi \lambda o(F)\omega$  supply the place of the Guna form in plav-ê (of the middle voice), 3d pers. plav-a-te: the future  $\pi\lambda \acute{\epsilon}\nu\sigma\omega$ , the  $\nu$  having the Guna (§. 26.), answers to प्रोचे plô-shyê; Lithuan. plaukiu, "I swim," with a guttural added, as in Latin fluc-si from fluv (p. 98. G. Ed.). Old High German VLUZ, "to flow," pre-supposes the Gothic FLUT (§. 87.); with the favourite dental addition, with which all final vowels are so commonly invested. \(\frac{1}{2}\) sru, "to hear," KAY (\(\xi\)\\. 20., 21.), Gothic HLIU-MAN (nominative hliuma), "ear," as "hearer," with weakened Guna (§. 27.); with regard to the kl for śr, compare, also, clunis with श्रोणी śrôni, f. "hip.") Lithuan. klausau, "I hear." Perhaps erudio, as "to make hear," is to be referred to this class: the derivation from e and rudis is little satisfactory. Anquetil introduces a Zend erode, célebre, (κλυτός), which I have not yet found in the original text, but I meet with the causal form sewellength डेरवेvayêmi (Sansk. श्रावयामि इंरवेvayami), "I speak," "recite" (V. S. p. 38). The Old High German, scrirumes, "we have exclaimed," gives SCRIR as the root, and rests probably on the form irav (§. 20.), with a thinning of the a to i (§. 66.); the present and sing. preterite, however, have lost the r (scriu

for scriru, screi for screir), like the Greek κλή-σω, κέκλη-κα, &c. The Latin clamo, however, has the same relation to आर śrûv that mare has to affe vari, "water" (§. 63.), and δρεμ to दूर् drav, from दू dru, "to run." > hu," "to extol," "to glorify" (שף hunuta, "he celebrated," V. S. p. 39.), is probably the root of the Greek υμνος (υμ(ε)νος), which I do not like to regard as an irregular derivative from ບໍ່ວັພ. This root is the verbal parent of the wind and fire, which are both represented as pure. प्रम pavana (with Guna and ana [G. Ed. p. 125.] as suffix) is "the wind," and the corresponding Gothic FONA (neut. nom. acc. fon, see §. 116.) is "fire," which in Sanskrit is called पानक påv-a-ka, with Vriddhi and aka as suffix. The relation of FONA to पवन pavana resembles that of the Latin malo from mavolo; the loss of the syllable qua is replaced by the lengthening of the a (§. 69.). The Greek πυρ and Old High German VIURA (nom. acc. viur), the latter with weakened Guna (§. 27.), and ra as suffix, both fall to the root, \( \mu p\hat{u} \). \( \mathbf{q}^2 \text{br\$u\$}, "to speak," Zend \( \sigma^2 \text{mr\$u\$} \) (e.g. 6 42) mras-m, "I spoke," V. S. p. 123.); the Greek ρέ(F)ω rests on the Guna form बनीन brav-i-mi, and has, as often happens, lost the former of two initial consonants (cf. also ρέω, ρεύω, and ruo, with # sru, "to flow"). The Old High German SPRAH, or SPRAHH (sprihhu, "I speak," sprah, "I spoke") appears to have proceeded from बर् brav, by hardening the र् v (see §. 19.), and prefixing an s akin to the p. w bhû, "to be," Zend 21 bû, Lithuan. BU (future basu, "I will be"), Latin FU, Greek ΦΥ. Probably, also, BY, in πρέσ-βυ-ς, πρεσβύτης, &c., is only another form of this root (cf. §. 18.); so that πρές would have to be regarded as a preposition from πρό ( π pra,) essentially distinguished only by a euphonic  $\Sigma$  (cf. §. 96.). Moreover, the base πρέσβυ has a striking resemblance to ny prabhu (excelsus, augustus), literally, "being before." In Old High German pim or bim corresponds to the

Sanskrit भवानि bhavami: more exact, however, is the correspondence in the plural of pir-u-mês, pir-u-t, to bhav-d-mas, "sumus," bhav-a-tha, "estis" (see §. 19.). To this class belongs, also, PU, "to dwell" (pu-ta, "I dwelt"), as the Sanskrit TH vas "to dwell," in German VAS, WAS, has become seyn. In Sanskrit, too, from \( \mathre{\pi} \) bhû, "to be," comes the substantive bhav-ana "house," as place of being. The Gothic baua, "I build," may be regarded as the causal of the idea "to be," like the Latin facio (§. 19.): its conjugation answers also to भावयामि bhâvayâmi, "I make to be," which, in Prâkrit, may sound bhâvêmi, bhâvêsi, bhâvêti (Gothic baua, bauais, bauait). See p. 121 G. Ed. Sanskrit roots ending in diphthongs (ए दे, जो ते, ऐ di; there are no roots in जो du) follow in their formations, in many respects, the analogy of roots in w d. We abstain from adducing examples of them, as they also offer little occasion for comparison.

(2.) Roots terminating with a consonant. We shall give [G. Ed. p. 126.] only a few examples, in which we compare roots with the same vowel, and proceed in the order, a, i, u. According to §. 1. we do not allow the vowel  $\forall ri$  and  $\forall ri$  to belong to the root. Long radical vowels before a final consonant are rare; and the majority of them are probably not original.

The most numerous class of roots ending with a consonant has a medial \( \mathbf{u} \) a. So \( \frac{1}{2} \) vach, Zend \( \mathbf{v} \) vach (\( \mathbf{v} \) \sigma \text{\text{\text{off}}} \) \( \text{\text{off}} \) \( \text{off} \) \( \text{off

that, in Greek, πίπτω, πετάω, πετάομαι, πέτομαι, πτημι, &c. belong to a common root HET; Latin PET, peto, im-peto, præpetes, penna by assimilation for pet-na. In Gothic FATH, or, with the vowel weakened, FITH, might be looked for. To the latter corresponds, according to §. 87., Old High German VED, in ved-ara, "feather," वद 1. 10. vad, "to speak," Latin VAD, contained in vas, vad-is. From बर vad proceeds the abbreviated form बद ud, to which pertains 'ΥΔ (νόω, ὑδέω, ὑδης). The Old High German gives WAZ (var-wazu "maledico"), with z for d, according to §. 87., and the vowel of the base lengthened, as in वाद्यामि vådayami, according to the tenth class. सर् sad, " to sink, with the prep. fa ni, "to set oneself down"; Latin SED, SID, sido, sedeo; Greek ΈΔ, ΊΖ, έδος, έδρα, ίζομαι; Gothic SAT (§. 87.), sita, "I sit" (p. 116 G. Ed.). 펌국 an, "to blow," "to breathe," सनिल anila, "wind," Gothic AN, usana, "I expire," ef. а́veµos, "animus." जन³ jan, "to beget," Zend jug zan (§. 58.), seway zazámi, "I beget," Sanskrit जनिम jajanmi, Greek ΓΕΝ, Latin GEN (γίγνομαι, γένος, gigno, genus), Gothic KIN, "to germinate," (p. 116 G. Ed.); kuni, "gender" (§. 66.). कर्8 kar (कृ kri), e.g. करोति karôti, "facit": this root, in Zend, follows the fifth class; e.g. κετεπαδίτί (§. 4L), "facit," ρφωρείες κετεπαδί, "fecil," دوري kerenûidhi, "fac"; Old High German karawan or garawan, "to prepare"; Latin creo, cura (cf. कुर kuru, "fac"), ceremonia, and with p for c (§. 14.), paro; Greek κραίνω, κρά-τος; with π, πράσσω, πρακ-σω, [G. Ed. p. 127.] πράγ-μα, where the guttural appears to be a hardening of the व् v (§. 19.), e.g. of कुर्वनित kurvanti, "faciunt" (from kur-u--anti). عوا vah, "to drive," "to carry," Zend إلى vaz (§. 57.), Latin VEH, Greek oxos, "wagon," as bearer, carrier, for Fόχος. য়য়<sup>2</sup> śvas, "to breathe," cf. spiro, according to §§. 50. and 22. ue 9. 10. grah, "to take": the original form, occurring in the Vedas, is an grabh. To this the Zend form belongs, according to the tenth class, and,

indeed, so that the w bh appears before vowels as » v, but before p t as  $\vartheta$  p. Thus we read in the Vend. S. p. 155:  $\xi = p \vartheta \xi^2 = p \vartheta \xi^$ של ashaum; yezi noit שמאל מענמנסמס בע שמ עננסג מנטע uzvarezyat yo narem agereptem ageurvayeite, ka he asti chitha? "Pure! si non dimittit, qui hominem captum capit (i. e. tenet), quænam ei est pæna"?\* In the European sister languages I believe I recognise this root in three forms: the Gothic GRIP has been already mentioned (p. 116 G. Ed.), likewise prehendo (§. 92. note): by changing the medials into their tenues, KAEII also seems to belong to this class, Gothic HLIF, "to steal," hliftus, "thief." Finally, also, in Greek, γριπος, γρίφος, "the net," stands quite isolated, and appears to me to be related to the Indian wy grabh, by changing the a into i. STR As, "to sit," Greek 'HY a remnant of tne second class, terminating in a consonant to be supplied at §. 109°. 3.; ησ-ται answers exactly to with ds-te (middle voice), and hence ημαι stands for ησμαι, as εἰμί for ἐσμί (Sanskrit asmi). भान् 1 bhrāj, "to shine," Zend १२ berez (§. 58). ort 52/21 barëz, whence the part. pres. pungeles berëzant, nom. m. wwsze berezańs, "splendens," "altus," very frequently occurs. This Zend form prepares the way for the Old High German root PERAH, whence PERAH-TAt, nom. perah-t, "fulgidus." To this root belongs, also, our Pracht. The Greek language gives ΦΛΕΓ (§. 20.) a cognate root, and thus [G. Ed. p. 128.] points to a Sanskrit short a for the long The cognate root in Latin is FLAG, flagro. विद् chhid, "to cleave," SCID, scind-i-mus = chhindmas (§. 14.): ΣΧΙΖ, perhaps also ΣΚΙΔ, σκίδνημι, &c. belong to this place; the form is more genuine, and the ideas, too, of

<sup>\*</sup> Anquetil translates, "Si celui qui a commis l'Aguerefté ne reconnoit pas sa faute quelle sera sa punition."

<sup>+</sup> Cf. p. 1281. Note \*

<sup>‡</sup> The h (in the sense of ch) corresponding to the j,  $\gamma$ , accords with §. 87., but is moreover favoured by the following t.

clearing, dispersing, separating, are kindred ones. The Gothic SKAID, "to separate," if the relationship is certain, has a stiffened Guna, so that ai appears to belong to the root. According to §. 87., however, the Gothic form should be SKAIT and the Old High German SKEIZ for SKEID. fat vid, "to know," Zend gib vid, 'IA; Gothic VID, Old High German, VIZ; in the Latin VID, and in είδω, "I see," the seeing is regarded as something. which "makes to know," and the conjugation of video is causal, according to p. 121 G. Ed. Thus, also, another root, signifying "to know," namely any budh, has, in Zend, gained the meaning "to see." According to the tenth class, and with the prep. ni, VID, in Zend, signifies "to summon" ( sexssages) nivaldhayêmi, "invoco," see §. 28.) In Gothic, VIT receives through the prep. in the meaning "to adore" (inveita, invait, invitum). לְּבָּאִן diś, "to shew," Zend אַנ diś to hence לּנְענעטעטעטלל fradaêśayô, "thou shewest" (Vend. S. p. 123), Greek ΔIK, with Guna δείκνυμι, according to the fifth class; Latin DIC, in dico, as it were, "to point out," and dicis (dicis causa). In Gothic, the rule laid down in §. 87. requires the form TIH, and this root, combined with ga, signifies "to announce" (ga-teiha, gataih, ga-taihum, for ga-tihum, according to §. 82.). On the other hand, in taikus, "sign," the law for the transposition of letters is violated. जीव् 1 jiv, "life;" Lithuanian gywa-s, "alive," gywenú "I live," gywata "life;" Gothic QUIVA, nom. quivs, "alive"; Latin VIV, as it appears from QUIV, as bis from duis (Sansk. fgq dwis), viginti from tviginti. The Zend has dropped either the vowel or the v of this root. Hence, e q. www jva, nom. ψω jvô, "living," (V. S. p. 189); and שישנאטענל hu-jitayô, "bonam vitam habentes" (l. c. p. 222), from שישביסג hu-jiti. From ji, the root, would become. with Guna, jayâmi, on which rests the Greek ζάω, the j having

<sup>\*</sup> Vide Gram. Crit. p. 328.

fallen out (§. 14.); but Bios also belongs to this root, and finds a medium of comparison with जीव jiv, in the Latin vivo. Of roots with u, हद ruch, "to shine," and हद rud, "to weep," may serve as examples; the former, in Zend, is what ratch, [G. Ed. p. 129.] raochayêiti, "splendet." In Latin correspond LUC, luc-s, luceo (§. 20.) and RUD: the Greek has, in both roots, replaced the r by l, and presents, for comparison, AYK (ἀμφιλύκη, λυκόφως) and ΛΥΖ; to the former, λύγνος, λυγνένω, &c., has the same relation that, in Zend, ων νένο tafnu-s, "burning," has to the root due tap (§. 40.) We must assign λευκός also, with Guna, to the root ΛΥΚ. The Gothic gives LUH for LUK, according to §. 87.; whence, with the original, or with weakened Guna (§§. 26., 27.), spring forms like lauhmoni, "lightning," lauhatyan, "to lighten," liuhath, "light." Without Guna, and preserving the old smooth letter, stands lukarn (theme, lukarna, neut.), "lamp," rather isolated. A root corresponding to हद rud is wanting in Gothic, but the Old High German has for it, quite regularly according to §. 87., RUZ, " to weep" (riuzu, roz for rauz, according to §. 80., ruzumes). 44 bhûsh, "to adorn," is perhaps contained in the Latin or-no, with loss of the initial letter, as amo in relation to जामयानि kamayami, "I love." With regard to the r for \ sh, advert to the relation of uro to 34 ush, "to burn," सेव sev, "to honour," नेष mêdh, "to think"(?). The latter cannot hitherto be quoted as a verb: it springs, however, from मेधम mêdhas and मेधा mêdhâ, "understanding," unless it should be preferred to assume for these words a root midh, which, however, the Grammarians do not exhibit. The Gothic has, for comparison, MIT, whence mitô, "I think": the Greek furnishes an analogous word to sev, viz.  $\Sigma EB$ ,  $\sigma \in \beta \omega$ . (§. 4.)

110. From the monosyllabic roots proceed nouns, substantive and adjective, by the annexation of syllables,

which we should not, without examination, regard as not, per se, significative and, as it were, supernatural mystic beings; to a passive belief in whose undiscoverable nature we are not willing to surrender ourselves. It is more natural to suppose that they have or had meaning, and that the organism of language connects that which has a meaning with what is likewise significative. Why should not language denote accessory ideas, by accessory words appended to the root? Language, which possesses both sense and body, infuses sense and imparts form to every word. The object of nouns is to represent [G. Ed. p. 130.] persons or things, to which that which the abstract root expresses adheres; and hence it is most natural to look for pronouns in the elements used in the formation of words, as the bearers of qualities, actions, and conditions, which the root expresses in abstracto. There appears, too, in reality, as we shall develope in the chapter on the pronouns, a complete\* identity between the most important elements in the formation of words and some pronominal bases which are declined even in an isolated state. But it is not surprising that several of the elements of verbal formation, in the class of independent words, should not admit of more certain explanation; for these affixes have their origin in the most obscure and early epoch of language, and subsequently they have themselves lost all consciousness as to whence they have been taken, on which account the appended suffix does not always keep equal pace with the alterations which, in the course of time, occur in the corresponding isolated word; or it has been altered while the other remains unchanged. Still, in individual cases, we may remark the admirable exactitude with which the appended grammatical syllables have maintained them-

<sup>\*</sup> I direct attention preliminarily to my treatise "On the Influence of Pronouns in the Formation of Words" (Berlin, by F. Dümmler).

selves through thousands of years in an unaltered form; I say, we may remark this from the perfect accordance which exists between various individuals of the Sanskrit family of languages, although these languages have been removed, as it were, from each other's eyes since time immemorial, and every sister dialect has, since that removal, been left to its own fate and experience.

111. There are also pure radical words, i.e. those of which the theme, without suffix of derivation or personality, repre-G. Ed. p. 131.] sents the naked root, which are then united in declension with the syllables which denote the relations of case. Except at the end of compounds, such radical words are, in Sanskrit, few in number, and are all feminine abstracts; as, भी bhi, "fear," युध yudh, "contest," मुद mud, "joy." In Greek and Latin the pure root is the most rare form of the word; but it does not always appear as an abstract substantive. As, for instance, e.g. φλογ (φλόκ-ς), όπ (ὅπ-ς). νιφ (νίπ-ς), leg (lec-s), pac (pac-s), duc (duc-s), pel-lic (pel-lec-s). In German, commencing even with the Gothic, no pure radical words exist, although, by reason of the abbreviation of the base of the word in the singular, many words have assumed that appearance; for from the abbreviation of these verbal bases, which has been constantly extending during the lapse of time, it is precisely the most modern dialects which appear to exhibit the greatest number of naked roots as nouns. (cf. §. 116.) Naked roots seem most generally used at the end of compounds, on account of the clogging of the preceding part of the word. According to this principle, in Sanskrit, every root can, in this position, designate the agent by itself; as, e.g. unfac dharma-vid. "duty-knowing." In Latin, the use of these compounds is as frequent as in Sanskrit, only that, according to §. 6., a radical a is weakened to i or e; thus, carni-fic (fec-s), tubi-cin (cen). An example in Greek is γερνιβ (for -νιπ from νιπ-τω). Sanskrit roots which end with short vowels,

as fan, "to conquer," are, in compounds of this kind, supported by the addition of a t, which so much the more appears to be a simple phonetic affix without signification. that these weakly-constructed roots appear to support themselves on an auxiliary t before the gerundial suffix ya also. Thus, e.g. खर्गीजत svarga-jit, "conquering the heaven," विजित्र vi-jit-ya, "by conquering." In Latin I find [G. Ed. p. 132.] interesting analogies to these formations in IT and STIT, from the roots I and STA, the latter weakened to STI according to §. 6. Thus, com-it (com-es), "goer with"; equ-it (equ-es), "goer on horseback"; al-it (al-es), "goer with wings"; super-stit (-stes), "standing by." The German has in this way supported throughout with a t several roots terminating with a vowel, and hence given to this letter the character of radicalism, as above mentioned (p. 123 G. Ed.) in MAT, from # ma, "to measure."

## FORMATION OF CASES.

112. The Indian Grammarians take up the declinable word in its primary form, i.e. in its state when destitute of all case-termination; and this bare form of the word is given also in dictionaries. In this we follow their example; and where we give Sanscrit and Zend nouns, they stand, unless it is otherwise specified, or the sign of case is separated from the base, in their primary form. The Indian Grammarians, however, did not arrive at their primary forms by the method of independent analysis, as it were by an anatomical dissection or chemical decomposition of the body of language; but were guided by the practical use of the language itself, which, at the beginning of compounds-and the art of composition is, in Sanscrit, just as necessary as that of conjugation or declensionvequires the pure primary form; naturally with reservation of the slight changes of the adjoining limits of sound, rendered necessary at times by the laws of euphony. As the primary form at the beginning of compounds can represent every relation of case, it is, as it were, the case general, or the most general of cases, which, in the unlimited use of compounds, occurs more frequently than any other. Nevertheless, the Sanskrit language does not everywhere remain true to the strict and logical principle usually

[G. Ed. p. 134.] followed in composition; and as if to vex the Grammarians, and put their logic to the test, it places as the first member of the compounds in the pronouns of the first and second person the ablative plural, and in those of the third person the nom. and acc. sing. of the neuter, instead of the true primary form. The Indian Grammarians, then, in

this point, have applied to the cases furnished to them by the language, and take the augmented want asmat or खरनद asmad, "from us," युक्तत yushmat or युक्तद yushmad, "from you," as the starting-point in the declension, or as the primary form, although in both pronominal forms only wa and wyu belong to the base, which, however, does not extend to the singular. That, however, in spite of this error, the Indian Grammarians understand how to decline the pronouns, and that they are not deficient in external rules for this purpose, is a matter of course. That the interrogative, in its declension, resembles bases in a, cannot escape any one who holds the neuter किन him for the original indeclinable form of the word. Pânini settles the matter here with a very laconic rule, when he says (edit. Calc, p. 969) किम: क: kimah kah, i. e, ka\* is substituted for kim. If this strange method were to be followed in Latin, and the neuter quid in like manner regarded as the theme, then, in order to get at the dative cu-i (after the analogy of fructui), one would have to say "quidis cus," or "quidi cus." In another place (p. 825), Pânini forms from idam, "this" (which in like manner has the honour of passing for a base) and kim, "what?" a copulative compound; and by इट्डिमोर ईइकी idankimor iski, the Grammarian teaches that the putative bases in [G. Ed. p. 135.] the formations under discussion substitute for themselves the forms i and ki.

113. The Sanskrit, and the languages akin to it, which in this respect have still kept upon the old footing, distinguish, besides the two natural genders, another—the neuter, which the Indian Grammarians call Klîva, i.e. eunuch; which appears to be a peculiarity of the San-

<sup>\*</sup> He forms, namely, from kim, regarded as a base, kim-as, which in reality does not occur, and which has, for the sake of enphony, here become kimah.

skrit, or most perfect family of languages. According to its original intention this gender had to represent inanimate nature, but it has not everywhere confined itself to these old limits: the language imparts life to what is inanimate, and, on the other hand, (according to the view then taken,) impairs the personality of what is by nature animate. The feminine in Sanskrit, both in the base and in the case-terminations, loves a luxurious fullness of form; and where it is distinguished from the other genders in the base or in the termination, it marks this distinction by broader, and more sonant vowels. The neuter, on the other hand, prefers the greatest conciseness, but distinguishes itself from the masculine, not in the base, but only, in the most conspicuous cases, in the nominative and its perfect counterpart the accusative; in the vocative also, when this is the same as the nominative.

114. Number, in Sanskrit and its sister languages, is distinguished, not by a particular affix denoting the number. but by the selection or modification of the case-syllable, so that, with the case-suffix, the number is at once known; e. q. bhyam, bhyam, and bhyas are cognate syllables, and, among other relations, express that of the dative; the first in the singular (only in the pronoun of the 2d person, तुम्बं tubhyam, "to thee"), the second in the dual, the third in the plural. The dual, like the neuter, in course of time is the first to be lost with the weakening of the vitality [G. Ed. p. 136.] of the view taken by the senses, or is more and more straitened in its use, and then replaced by the abstract plural expressive of infinite number. The Sanskrit possesses the dual most fully, both in the noun and in the verb, and employs it everywhere where its use could be expected. In the Zend, which otherwise approximates so closely to the Sanskrit, it is found very rarely in the verb, more frequently in the noun. The Pali has only as much left of it as the Latin, viz. a remnant of it in two words, which signify "two"

and "both"; in the Pråkrit it is entirely wanting. Of the German languages, only the eldest dialect, the Gothic, possesses it, but merely in the verb; while, on the contrary, in the Hebrew (speaking here of the Semitic languages) it is retained only in the noun, in disadvantageous contrast with the Arabic, which, in many other respects also, is a more perfect language, and which maintains the dual in equal fulness in the verb also; while in the Syriac it has been almost entirely lost in the noun as well as in the verb.\*

115. The case-terminations express the reciprocal relations of nouns, i.e. the relations of the persons spoken of, to one another, which principally and originally referred only to space, but from space were extended also to time and cause. According to their origin, they are, at least for the most part, pronouns, as will be more clearly developed hereafter. Whence could the exponents of the relations of space, which have grown up with the primary words into a whole, have better been taken, than from those words which express personality, with their inherent secondary idea of room, of that which is nearer or more distant, 7 of that which is on this or that side? [G. Ed. p. 137.] As also in verbs the personal terminations, i.e. the pronominal suffixes-although, in the course of time, they are no longer recognised and felt to be that which, by their demonstrable origin, they imply and are—are replaced, or, if we may use the expression, commented on by the isolated pronouns prefixed to the verb; so, in the more sunken, insensible state of the language, the spiritually dead case-terminations are, in their signification of space, replaced, supported, or ex-



<sup>\*</sup> Regarding the character, the natural foundation, and the finer gradations in the use of the dual, and its diffusion into the different provinces of language, we possess a talented inquiry, by W. von Humboldt, in the Transactions of the Academy for the year 1827; and some which have been published by Dümmler.

plained by prepositions, and in their personal signification by the article.

116. Before we describe the formation of cases in the order in which the Sanskrit Grammarians dispose them, it appears desirable to give the different final sounds of the nominal bases with which the case-suffixes unite themselves, as well as to point out the mode in which the cognate languages are in this respect related to one another. The three primary vowels (a, i, u) occur in Sanskrit, both short and long, at the end of nominal bases; thus,  $\forall a, \exists i, \exists u$ ; षा a, ई i, ज û. To the short a, always masculine or neuter, never feminine, a, corresponds in Zend and Lithuanian, and also in German, where, however, even in the Gothic (in / Grimm's first strong declension), especially in substantives, it is only sparingly retained: in more modern dialects it i commonly supplanted by a more recent u or e. In Greek, the corresponding termination is the o of the second declension (e.q. in  $\lambda \delta \gamma o - \varsigma$ ): and o was also the termination of the Latin noun in ancient times; but in the classic period, although sometimes retained, it was commonly changed to u in the nom. and accus. sing. (of the second declension). An old a, however, is still left in cola, gena, cida, at the end of compounds, where, however, from the want of other analogies, it is used in declension similarly to the feminine [G. Ed. p. 138.] originally long a, on which account the nominative is written, not colas, genas, cidas, but cola, &c. The Grecian masculines of the first declension in a-c.\* with the n-5 which has proceeded therefrom, must likewise, according to their origin, be compared with the Sanskrit masculine short a, to which, in regard of quality and preservation of the nominative sign, they have remained faithful, while the o of the second declension has preserved its old original brevity. Their identity with bases in o is excellently shewn by the genitive in ou, which does not at all

<sup>\*</sup> Cf. p. 1294, l. 20. G. Ed.

suit a theme in  $\alpha$  or  $\eta$ ; and further, from such compounds as  $\mu\nu\rho\sigma\pi\omega\lambda\eta$ - $\varsigma$ ,  $\pi\alpha\iota\partial\sigma\tau\rhoi\beta\eta$ - $\varsigma$ , in which the vowel that has been added to the roots  $\Pi\Omega\Lambda$  and TPIB supplies the place of the Sanskrit a in similar compounds for which, in Greek, o usually stands.

117. To the short i, which occurs in the three genders, the same vowel corresponds in the cognate languages. In German it is to be looked for in Grimm's fourth strong declension, which I shall make the second; where, however, from the destructive alterations of time, it becomes nearly as hard as the a of the first declension. In Latin, i is interchanged with e; hence facile for facili, mare for mari, Sanskrit  $\overline{uft}$  vari, "water." In Greek, before vowels the i is generally weakened to the unorganic  $\epsilon$ . The short u also shews itself in Sanskrit in the three genders, as in Greek v, and u in Gothic, where it distinguishes itself from the a and i in that it is retained as well before the s of the nominative as in the uninflected accusative. In Latin the corresponding letter is the u of the fourth declension.

118. The long vowels (d, i, d) belong, in Sanskrit, principally to the feminine (see §. 113.), are never found in the neuter, and occur in the masculine very rarely. In Zend the long final a has generally been shortened in polysyllabic words; as it has in Gothic, in which bases [G. Ed. p. 139.] in & correspond (§. 69.) to the Sanskrit feminine bases in a, and the ô in the uninflected nom, and accus. sing. is shortened to a, with the exception of the monosvilabic forms so, "she," "this," Sanskrit # sa, Zend ha; hvo, "which?" Sanskrit and Zend kå. The Latin, also, in the uninflected nom, and voc., has shortened the old feminine long a; but the Lithuanian has, in the nom., maintained the original length. In Greek, the Doric a approaches most nearly to the Sanskrit feminine with d, which the common dialect has sometimes preserved, sometimes shortened, sometimes transformed into n.

119. The long & appears, in Sanskrit, most frequently as a characteristic addition in the formation of feminine bases, thus, the feminine base महती mahati (magna) springs from महत् mahat. The same holds good in Zend. Moreover, the feminine character i has been preserved most strictly in Lithuanian, where, for example, in the part. pres. and fut. an i is added to the old participial suffix ant, and esant-i, "the existing," bu-sent-i, "that that shall be," correspond to the Sanskrit सती sat-i (for asati or asanti), भविष्यनी bhav-i-shyanti. In Greek and Latin this feminine long i has become incapable of declension; and where it has still left traces, there a later unorganic affix has become the bearer of the case-terminations. This affix is, in Greek, either a or d; in Latin, c. Thus, ήδεία corresponds to the Sanskrit साद्वी swadw-i, from বাহ swadu, "sweet"; -τρια, -τριδ, e.g. ὀρχήστρια, Ληστρίς, ληστρίδ-ος, to the Sanskrit जी tri, e.g. जिनजी janitri, "genitress," to which the Latin genitri-c-s, genitri-c-is, corresponds; while in the Greek γενέτειρα, and similar formations, the old feminine i is forced back a syllable. This [G. Ed. p. 140.] analogy is followed by μέλαινα, τάλαινα, τέρεινα, and substantive derivations, as τέκταινα, Λάκαινα. In θεράπαινα, λέαινα, the base of the primitive is, as in the nom. masc., shortened by a τ. In θέαινα, λύκαινα, it is to be assumed that the proper primitive in v or vt has been lost, or that these are formations of a different kind, and correspond to the rather isolated word in Sanskrit इन्हाणी Indrani, as the wife of Indra, as derived from इन्द्र Indra, is termed. The cases where the feminine i is solely represented by α are essentially limited to feminine derivatives from forms in  $\nu\tau$ , where  $\tau$  passes into  $\sigma$ : the preceding  $\nu$ , however, is replaced by v or i, or the mere lengthening of the preceding vowel, or it is assimilated to the  $\sigma$ :

hence, oug- $\alpha$ ,  $\epsilon \iota \sigma$ - $\alpha$ ,  $\epsilon \sigma \sigma$ - $\alpha$ ,  $\bar{\alpha} \sigma$ - $\alpha$ ,  $\bar{\nu} \sigma$ - $\alpha$  for ov- $\alpha$ ,  $\epsilon \nu \tau$ - $\alpha$ ,  $\epsilon \nu \tau$ - $\alpha$ ,  $\epsilon \nu \tau$ - $\alpha$ ,  $\alpha \nu \tau$ - $\alpha$ ,  $\nu \nu \tau$ - $\alpha$ .

<sup>\*</sup> In Deric subsequent and original aur-a.

To this analogy belong, moreover, the feminine substantives, like  $\theta \acute{a} \lambda \alpha \sigma \sigma \alpha$ ,  $\beta \alpha \sigma i \lambda \iota \sigma \sigma \alpha$ ,  $\mu \acute{e} \lambda \iota \sigma \sigma \alpha$ , which J. Grimm (II. 328.) very correctly, in my opinion, compares with forms like  $\chi \alpha \rho \acute{\iota} - \epsilon \sigma \sigma \alpha$ ,  $\mu \epsilon \lambda \iota \tau \acute{e} - \epsilon \sigma \sigma \alpha$ , and explains the double  $\sigma$  by gemination or assimilation. The feminine formations by a simple  $\alpha$  instead of the original  $\iota$  are most corrupt, and, relatively, the most recent; and herein the Greek is not supported by any of the cognate languages. The Latin, its twin-sister, which otherwise runs parallel to it, leaves, in the part. pres. and other adjective bases terminating with a consonant, the feminine undistinguished from the masculine through all the cases, since it has no longer the power of declining the old  $\bar{\iota}$ .

120. The German, too, can no longer fully decline the old feminine i; and the Gothic, by a foreign affix, introduces it into the i declension, but in the singular of substantives shortens the syllable yi in the [G. Ed. p. 141.] uninflected nominative and vocative to i, in the adjective to ya. More commonly, however, the old bases in i are introduced, by the frequently employed affix of an n, into the so-called weak declension; and as i in Gothic is denoted by ei, so to the Sanskrit feminine participial bases in wall anti, and to the fem. comparative bases in function is gual iyasi, correspond the forms ndein, izein, regarding the nominative of which refer to § 142.

121 The long u ( $\hat{u}$ ) appears, in Sanskrit, rather seldom at the end of primary forms, and is for the most part feminine. The words most in use are  $\overline{u}vadh\hat{u}$ , "a wife,"  $\underline{u}bh\hat{u}$ , "earth,"  $\underline{u}\underline{u}$  swaśr $\hat{u}$ , "mother-in-law" (socrus),  $\underline{u}bhr\hat{u}$ , "eyebrow." To the latter corresponds  $\partial \phi \rho \hat{v}$ , likewise with the long v, the declension of which, however, is not different from that of the short v; while in Sanskrit the long u is distinguished from the short feminine u in the same way as  $\frac{1}{2}\hat{u}$  from  $\frac{1}{2}\hat{u}$ . But few monosyllabic primary forms end, in Sanskrit, with diphthongs, not any at all with  $\frac{1}{2}\hat{u}$ ; with  $\frac{1}{2}\hat{u}$  (from  $\hat{u} + i$ , see §. 2.) only  $\frac{1}{2}$  rai, masc. "thing," "riches"; in

the nom. irregularly रास् rd-s for रस rdi-s. In this is recognised the Latin re-s. Still I do not believe that Latin bases in  $\bar{e}$  should therefore be looked upon as corresponding to the Sanskrit & di; for, in the first place, the Latin ē corresponds elsewhere to the Sanskrit  $\mathbf{r} \in (\text{from } \ddot{a} + i)$ , never to di; secondly, the connection of the  $\bar{e}$  of the fifth declension with the originally long a of the first is not to be mistaken (to which it bears the same relation that the Ionic  $\eta$  does to the Doric  $\tilde{a}$ ), for many words with the same meaning belong to the A and E declension; and, for example, a suffix which is employed for the formation of abstracts from adjectives is sounded as well tie as tia (planitie-s, [G. Ed. p. 142.] planitia, canitie-s, canitia); and ie-s, and ia, in the formation of primitive and derivative words-like effigie-s, effigia, pauperie-s, pauperia-are clearly one and the same suffix, identical with the Sanskrit u ya, which is used for the same purpose, and the Greek ία, Ionic ίη. Let us now consider the objections which are opposed to the original identity of the feminine  $\bar{e}$  and a. The most weighty is the s in the nom. sing. and pl.: ē-s, ē-s for ē, ei, as musa, musæ (musai), κεφαλή, κεφαλαί. As regards the s in the singular, it is, if the identity with the first declension be authentic, very remarkable; and forms like species, canities, seem to be true lingual patriarchs: for the Sanskrit, like the Zend, Greek, Gothic, Lithuanian, exhibits the absence of the nominative sign in the corresponding feminine bases in a. I have, however, never considered as original the abandonment of the nominative sign, and the complete equalization with the primary form in सता sutâ, "daughter," and similar words, although it has appeared to me as losing itself very deeply in far-distant ages. The Latin, however, in some other points of Grammar, shews greater antiquity than the Sanskrit and Greek, as, for example (to confine the present instance to the nominative case), participial nominatives, like amans, legens, are better and

older forms than the Sanskrit and Greek, like तुदन् tudan, λέγων, τιθείς, because they have preserved the nominative s together with the nasal, and therein stand on the same footing with Zend forms, like www. bavans, "being." I cannot, therefore, find, in the retention of the nominative sign in the fifth declension, any decisive argument against its original identity with the first. We will treat hereafter of the s of the nominative plural. In the genitive singular the common form ei answers to deae (deai), the more rare, however, and better, in es to familias. Schneider searches, but fortunately without [G. Ed. p. 143.] success, for genitives like die-is: we require them as little, perhaps, as a familia-is, Let dies be written with Greek letters din-s, and then, perhaps, a die-is will be as little required as a diky-oc. Although a few bases of the third declension, by rejecting a consonant or an entire syllable, have passed into the fifth declension, we will not therefore infer that all bases in e have arisen from such an abbreviation. QUIET, after rejecting the t, could be declined according to the fifth declension, then must there necessarily have formerly been a fifth, i.e. there must have been bases in ē, otherwise from QUIET could only have come QUII (quies, quiis, like cædes); i.e. in spite of the rejection of the t it must have continued in the third declension. The connection between re-s and the abovementioned Sanskrit ? rdi is. in my opinion, to be arrived at through the irregular nominative TH ra-s; and according to this re-s would be supported on an old a: it answers to रास् ra-s as re-bus to राज्यस ra-bhyas, and as in Greek  $\gamma \hat{\eta}$ -v to the Sanskrit गाम ्वैm, "terram," which, in the remaining cases, has गो go for its base. In Lithuanian there are feminine primary forms in e (Ruhig's third declension) which resemble the Greek n in the suppression of the singular nominative sign, but in the nominative plural in e-s approach more closely the Latin in ē.

122. Primary forms in wit are rare in Sanskrit: the only ones known to me are द्यों dyb, "heaven," and मो gb: the former is feminine, and properly proceeds from feq div (a radical word from feq div, "to shine") by the vocalization of the q v, after which the vowel \ i becomes its semi-vowel  $\mathbf{q}$  y. In the accusative the  $\delta$  bases change this diphthong into d. To the d thus obtained in द्याम् dya-m, [G. Ed. p. 144.] गाम् gå-m, corresponds the Latin e of die-m, the Greek  $\eta$ , Doric  $\alpha$ , of  $\gamma \hat{\eta} - \nu$ ,  $\gamma \hat{\alpha} - \nu$ : the Latin e, however, is rendered short by the influence of the final m: the original language requires die-m. In Sanskrit, also, from feq div, "to shine," are derived appellations of day; as on the other side, in Latin, those for the heaven-divum, sub divo, sub dio -viz. दिवा diva, as an adverb, "by day," and used as a primary form at the beginning of compounds; and also दिवस divasa, masc., and द्य dyu, neuter (a contraction from div), which latter signifies both "day" and "heaven." To a dyu answers, after rejecting the d (as viginti for dviginti), the Latin Ju of Ju-piter, "heavens-lord or father": the oblique cases Jov-is, Jov-i, Jov-em answer better to the broader theme and dyo, whence the dative द्यवे dyav-é, and the locat. द्वाचि dyav-i. The Djovis, moreover, furnished by Varro, deserves mention, as that which keeps most faithfully to the ancient form. The Grecian Zeús signifies, therefore, in accordance with its origin primarily, "heaven": I form its relation to all dyd thus, that after dropping the  $\xi$  d the following semi-vowel  $\psi$  became ζ(§. 19.). The oblique cases, on the contrary (Διός, Διί, &c.), belong to the Sanskrit a dyu, and must originally have had a digamma, proceeding by the natural law of sound from u, after which change the semi-vowel j must have become a vowel.  $\Delta \iota \acute{o}_{\varsigma}$  has the same relation to  $\Delta \iota F \acute{o}_{\varsigma}$ , that, in Latin, sub dio has to sub divo.

123. Let us now consider the second of the abovementioned primary forms in  $\theta$ , viz.  $\vec{n}$   $g\theta$ . It has several

meanings; but the most common are "bull," as masculine, and "cow" and "earth" as feminine. Both significations have in Zend, as in Greek, divided themselves into two forms. The Greek has preserved for the meaning "earth" the old guttural. With regard to the vowel, γη, γα follows the example of the Indian accusative, where, as has been already remarked, माम् gâm (үүр) stands for gô-m [G. Ed. p. 145.] or gav-am. For the meaning "ox" the Greek has preserved the old diphthong—(for, for will  $\delta = a \times u$  may very well be expected, according to §. 4., ov) -but has exchanged the guttural medials for labials, as, p. 122 G. Ed., βίβημι for जगाजि jayami. The base BOY before vowels must originally have become BOF; thus, in the dative, BoF-i would answer to the Sanskrit locat. गिंव gav-i, and the Latin dative bov-i; but in the present state of the language the middle digamma between two vowels has always been dropped; and there is not, as with the initial digamma, the medium of metre for replacing it in the oldest writings. Only theory and comparative grammar can decide here. The Latin has, in the word  $b\bar{o}$ -s, changed the vowels (a+u)—(which were originally of different kinds, but have been united into a diphthong)—into a homogeneous mass (cf. §. 4.), the nature of whose contraction, however, discloses itself before vowel inflexions, since the u-half of  $B\bar{O}$  becomes v, and the short ais resolved into the form of a short o; thus, bov-i answers to the Sanskrit locat. 11fa gav-i. The Zend for the meaning "earth" has changed the guttural of the word under discussion into z, and gives in the nominative sws zão for www zds (§. 56h.), in the accusative fre zaim (§. 61.): I am not able to adduce other cases. For the meaning "ox" the guttural has remained in Zend, and the nominative is then wow gau-s or wewp gan-s.

124. I know only two words in Sanskrit which terminate in सौ âu—नो nâu, "ship," and उली glâu, "moon": the former has navigated very far on the ocean of our wide province of

language, without, however, in Sanskrit, having arrived at a secure etymological haven. I believe नौ nau to be an abbreviation of snau (cf. ρέω, ρεύω, ruo, with z sru, p. 125 G. ed.), [G. Ed. p. 146.] and that it therefore proceeds from the root जा sna, "to bathe," which originally, perhaps, may also have meant "to swim," and with which νάω, νέω, na-to, appear to be connected. नी nau would consequently be a radical word; and in regard to the vowel would stand for na, according to the analogy of दही dadau (dedi, dedit) for dada, from dada-a. As a, according to §. 6., is a grave vowel, the Greek cannot represent the Sanskrit Vriddhi-diphthong सो du better than by  $\alpha v$ , while  $\forall i \ \delta$  (from short a+u) is commonly represented by ευ or ου. Hence नौस् ndu-s and ναῦ-ς correspond as exactly as possible; the v of NAY, however, like that of BOY, has maintained itself only before consonants; and the digamma, which replaces it, is lost before vowel inflexions; νη̂-ες, νᾱ-ες, are from νᾱF-ες (Sansk. नावस nᾱν-as), as βό-ες from βόF-ες. The Latin has given this word a foreign addition, and uses navi-s, navi-bus, for nau-s, nau-bus.\* As the semi-vowel v is easily hardened to a guttural (§. 19.), we have here also, for nau, nav-am, a sister form in our Nachen, Old High German naccho, "ship," gen. dat. nacchin.

125. We pass over to the consonants: of these, n, t, s, and r appear in Sanskrit most frequently at the end of primary forms; all other consonants occur only in radical words, which are rare, and in some nominal bases of uncertain origin. We consider next the more rare or radical consonants. Of gutturals (k, kh, g, gh) we find none at

<sup>\*</sup> Thus in German an i has been added to the above-mentioned  $\hat{\eta}$   $g\hat{\vartheta}$ , which, however, according to  $\S$ . 117., is suppressed, together with the case sign in Old High German; hence chuo, "cow," gen. chuoi, where the i does not belong to the case designation, but to the here uninflected base.

the end of the nominal bases most in use; in Greek and Latin, on the contrary, they are of frequent occurrence; c is in Latin both radical and derivative, [G. Ed. p. 147.] g only radical-DUC, VORAC, EDAC, LEG. In Greek,  $\kappa$ ,  $\chi$ , and  $\gamma$  are only radical, or occur in words of unknown origin, as ΦΡΙΚ, ΚΟΡΑΚ, 'ONYX (Sanskrit nakha), ΦΛΟΓ. Of the palatals, ch and j in Sanskrit occur most frequently in वाच् våch, "speech, voice" (VOC, 'OП); राच् råj, "king," the latter only at the end of compounds; असन् asrij, "blood" (sanguis): in Zend we have 2, 2 druj, f., as name of an evil demon, probably from the Sanskrit root दृह druh, " to hate." Of the two classes of the T-sound, the first, or lingual (z t, &c.), is not used at the end of nominal bases; and therefore the second, dental, or proper T-class, is so much the more frequently employed. Still & d, u dh, occur only in radical words, and therefore seldom; with perhaps only in पच path, as the secondary theme of ufun, pathin, "way"; nom. पन्यास panthâs, from पन्यस panthas, which I think I again recognise in the Latin PONT, pons. Other examples are, सद् ad, "eating," at the end of compounds, and any yudh, f., "strife." The letter at is so much the more common, that several of the most frequently employed suffixes end with it, as that of the part. pres. in अत् at or un ant, Greek and Latin nt. The Greek, besides T, exhibits also  $\delta$  and  $\theta$  at the end of primary forms which are not radical; still KOPYO and 'OPNIO appear to me to be properly compounds, and to contain the roots OH, OE (the vowel being dropped) as their last member; and according to this, KOPYO would properly mean "what is placed on the head"; so in Sanskrit, ज्ञारद् sarad, "autumn," "rainy season," which Grammarians explain by a suffix ad, in my opinion means nothing but "water giving," and contains the root दा dâ, "to give," with a suppressed. 'OPNIO finds in Greek itself no etymology: the Sanskrit offers for its explanation अरिए arani (according to the pronunciation of Bengal, oroni), "wood"; and if opu is con- [G. Ed. p. 148.]

nected therewith, we may refer to  $\theta \acute{e}\omega$ , "to run," in respect to the  $\theta$ : "bird" therefore would derive its name from its going in the wood; while in Sanskrit, from its passage through the air, it is called, among other names, विहम viha-qa. Regarding the later origin of the δ in feminine bases in 18, an account is given in §. 119.; that is to say, patronymics in 18 may be compared with Sanskrit ones in 1, e.g. भेमी bhaimi, "the daughter of Bhîma. Probably, too, the  $\delta$  in feminine patronymics in  $\alpha\delta$  is a later addition; they spring, like those in id, not from their masculines, but directly from the primary word of the masculine, and, in my opinion, stand in sisterly, not in filial connection with them. In Latin, d appears as a more modern affix in the base PECUD, which the Sanskrit, Zend, and Gothic terminate with u (Sans.-Zend, pasu, Goth. faihu). In Gothic, primary forms with a final T-sound are chiefly limited to the part. pres., where the old t appears changed into d, which remains without extraneous addition: there only, however, where the form stands substantively; otherwise, with the exception of the nominative, it is conducted by the affix an into a more current province of declension. The more modern German dialects under no circumstances leave the old T-sound without a foreign addition commixed with the base. In Lithuanian the participial suffix ant, in regard of the nom. sing. ans for ants, rests exactly upon the Latin and Zend step, which extends beyond the Sanskrit; but in most of the remaining cases the Lithuanian cannot decline any more consonants, i.e. cannot unite them with pure case terminations, but transports them always, by a more modern affix, into a vowel-declension; and, indeed, to the participial suffix ant is added the [G. Ed. p. 149.] syllable ia, by the influence of which

[G. Ed. p. 149.] syllable ia, by the influence of which the t experiences the euphonic transformation into ch (= tsch\*). The nasal of this dental T-class, viz. the

<sup>\*</sup> This sound is expressed by cz, as in Mielcke's edition of Ruhig's Grammar.

proper n, belongs to those consonants which occur most frequently at the end of nominal bases. In the German all the words of Grimm's weak declension like the Sanskrit, and the masculine and feminine in Latin, reject in the nominative the n of the base, and thereby have a vowel termination. The Lithuanian presents the same appearance in the nominative, but in most of the oblique cases adds to a base in en sometimes ia, sometimes a simple i.

126. Primary forms with a final labial, including the nasal (m) of this organ, appear in Sanskrit only in naked roots, as the last member of compounds, and here, too, but seldom. In isolated use, however, we have any ap (probably from the root siq ap, "to take in," "to comprehend"), "water," which is used only in the plural; in Zend, however, in the singular also.\* In Greek and Latin, also, bases in p, b,  $\phi$ , are either evidently radical, or of unknown origin, with probably radical letters at the end; or in Latin they have suppressed, in the nominative, a vowel belonging to the base; and so, as in [G. Ed. p. 150.] German, the first and fourth strong declensions, according to Grimm, have only the appearance of a base terminating with a consonant. Of this kind is plebs, from plebis; to explain which it is not requisite to turn, with Voss, to the Greek πλήθος: one must keep to the Latin root PLE. The derivative bis, bes, I explain like bus, bundus, bilis, bam,

bo (amabam, -bo), as from the root FU. "to be," which, like FER, often changes the B in its middle into F (§. 18.). Without appealing to the cognate languages, it is difficult, in Latin, to distinguish those bases which truly and originally terminate in a consonant from those which only appear to do so; for the declension in i has clearly operated on the consonantal declension, and introduced an i into different places in which it is impossible it could have stood originally. In the dative and ablative plural, the i of forms like amantibus, vocibus, admits of being explained as a conjunctive vowel, for facilitating the affix; it is, however in my opinion, more correct to say that the bases VOC, AMANT, &c., because they could not unite with bus, have, in the present state of the Latin language, been lengthened to VOCI, AMANTI; so that we ought to divide voci-bus, amanti-bus, just as at §. 125. it was said of the Lithuanian, that in most cases it extends its participial bases in ant to anchia (euphonic for antia). This view of forms like amanti--bus is proved to be the more probable, in that in the genitive plural also before um, as before the a of neuters, an i frequently finds its place, without its being possible to say that in amanti-um, amanti-a, the i would be necessary to facilitate the annexation of the ending. On the other hand, juveni-s, cani-s, forming the genitives canu-m, juven--um, remind us of older bases in n; as in Sanskrit भान śwan, "a dog" (abbreviated ज्ञन śun), and प्वन yuvan, "young" (abbreviated यून yûn), in Greek κύων, abbreviated . [G. Ed. p. 151.] KYN, really close their theme with n. The German resembles the Latin in this point, that for the convenience of declension it has added an i to several numerals, whose theme originally terminated with a consonant; thus, in Gothic, from FIDVORI (Sanskrit चत्र chatur, in the strong cases §. 129. चनार chatwâr) comes the dative fidvôri-m. The themes समन् saptan, "seven," नवन् navan, "nine," द्शन् dasan, "ten," by the addition of an i

in Old High German mould themselves to SIBUNI, NIUNI, ZEHANI; which forms, at the same time, pass as masculine nominatives, as these cases, in Old High German, have lost the case-suffix s. The corresponding Gothic nominatives, if they occurred, would be sibunei-s, niunei-s, taihunei-s. More on this point hereafter.

127. Of the semi-vowels (y, r, l, v), I have never found in Sanskrit y y and to l at the end of bases, and व v only in the word दिव div, before mentioned, which contracts itself in several cases to and dys and a dyu. On the other hand, to occurs very frequently, especially in words which are formed by the suffix my tar,\* to which, in the cognate languages, likewise correspond bases in r. Moreover, r in Latin appears frequently as an alteration of an original s, as, in the comparative suffix ior (Sanskrit ईयम् iyas); and, further, as an abbreviation of ri-s, re, as l for li-s, le; or, in the second declension, as abbreviated from ru-s; as in Gothic, vair, "man," for vair(a)s, belongs to bases in a (§. 116.). In Greek 'AA appears as a consonantal base; but in contrast with the [G. Ed. p. 152.] Sanskrit महिल salila, "water," άλ-ς appears abbreviated exactly in the same manner as μέγα-ς from μεγαλος.

128. Of the Sanskrit sibilants, the two first (भू s, प् sh), as also the ह h, are found only in radical words, and therefore seldom; स s, on the contrary, concludes some very common suffixes used in the formation of words, as सम as, which forms principally neuters, e.g. तेनस एंग्रंड, "splendour," "strength," from तिन् tij, "to sharpen." The Greek appears to be without bases in  $\Sigma$ ; this, however, proceeds from the following reason, that this sibilant between two

<sup>\*</sup> Bases in  $\forall q$  ar in several cases, and in the primary form also at the beginning of compounds, contract the syllable  $\forall q$  ar to  $\forall q$  ri; and this  $\forall q$  ri is regarded by the Grammarians as their proper final sound. (§. 1.)

vowels, especially in the last syllable, is usually rejected. hence, neuters like μένος, γένος (from MENEZ. ΓΕΝΕΣ. with change of the ε into o), form in the genitive μένεος, γένεος, for μένεσος, γένεσος. The s of the nominative, however, belongs, as I have already elsewhere remarked, to the base, and not to the case designation, as neuters have no s in the nominative. In the dative plural, however, in the old epic language, the Z, as it did not stand between two vowels, maintained itself; hence τεύγεσ-σι, όρεσ-σι; so likewise in compounds, like σακές-παλος, τελεςφόρος, in which it would be wrong to assume the annexation of a Σ to the vowel of the base. In γηρας, γήρα-ος, for γήρασ-ος, after restoring the Σ of the base, the form of word answers exactly to the Sanskrit जास jaras, "age," although the Indian form is not neuter, but feminine. In Lithuanian, another remarkable remnant of the Sanskrit suffixes terminating with s has been preserved, viz. in the partic. perf., in the oblique cases of which us corresponds to the Sanskrit उप ush (euphonic for उस us) of the weakest cases (§. 130.); still, in Lithuanian, on account of the abovenoticed incapacity for the declension of the consonants, the old us is conducted, as in other similar cases, by the subsequent addition of ia, a or i, partly into the a, partly into the [G. Ed. p. 153] i declension; and only the nominative and the vocative, which is the same with it, belong, in the singular, to the consonantal declension.

129. The Sanskrit and Zend have eight cases, viz. besides those which exist in Latin, an instrumental and a locative. These two cases exist also in Lithuanian; Ruhig calls the former the instrumental ablative, the latter the local ablative; in Lithuanian, however, the proper ablative—which in Sanskrit expresses the relation "whence?"—is wanting. With reference to the primary form, which in Sanskrit does not remain the same in all words, or

suffixes used in the formation of words through all the cases, a division of the cases into strong and weak is desirable for this language. The strong cases are the nominative. accusative, and vocative of the three numbers, with exception of the accusative plural, which, together with all the other cases, is weak. Where a double or triple formation of the primary form exists, there, with surprising regularity, the cases which have been designated as strong always exhibit the fullest form of the theme, which, from a comparison of languages, is proved to be the original one; while the other cases exhibit a weakened form of it, which appears also in the beginning of compounds, and hence is represented by the native Grammarians, according to §. 122., as the proper primary form. The pres. part. may serve as an example: it forms the strong cases with the suffix ant, but in the weak cases and in the beginning of compounds rejects n, which is retained by the cognate European languages, as also, for the most part, by Zend; so that wa at is given as the suffix of this participle in preference to wan ant. The root at tud, "to vex," e.g. exhibits in the participle mentioned the form तदन्त tu--dant as the strong and original theme (cf. tundent-em). and aga tudut as the weak theme; hence the masculine is declined. [G. Ed. p. 154.]

		STRONG CASES.	WEAK CASES.
Singular: 1	Nom. Voc.	तुदन् tudan	
1	Acc.	तुदन्तम् tudantam	
1	nstr.		तुद्ता tudatā.
1	Dat.	* * * * * * *	तुदते tudatê.
I	Abl.		तदतम् tudatas.
(	Gen.		तदतम् tudatas.
	.0C.		तद्ति tudati.
Dual: Nom.		तुदन्ती tudantau	
Instr.	Dat. Abl.		तुद्धाम् tudadbhyam.
Gen.	Loc.		नुदतीस tudatos.

	STRONG CASES.	WEAK CASES.
Plural: Nom. Voc	नुदन्तस् tudantas	
Instr.		तृदद्भिम् tudadbhis.
Dat. Abl.		तुदझस् tudadbhyas.
Gen.		तदताम् tudatam.
Loc.		तुद्रास tudatsu.

130. Where three formations of the primary form pervade the declension of a word or a suffix, the weakest form of the theme there occurs in those weak cases whose terminations begin with a vowel, the middle form before those case-suffixes which commence with a consonant. This rule makes a division of the cases into strong, weaker or middle, and weakest, desirable. (See Gramm. Crit. r. 185.)

131. In suffixes used in the formation of words, which in Sanskrit separate into different forms, the Zend usually carries the strong form through all the cases; for instance, the part. pres. retains the nasal in most of the cases, which in Sanskrit [G. Ed. p. 155.] proceed from the weakened theme. Words, however, are not wanting which follow the theory of the Sanskrit gradations of form. Thus, the Sanskrit base भन swan, "hound," which in the weakest cases is contracted to जान sun, appears in Zend likewise in a double form, and presents the weak genitive sûn-ô over against the strong nominative and accusative spa, span-em, Sanskrit मा śwa, मानम śwanam (§. 50.). The base ap, "water," which, in Sanskrit, in the strong cases has a long d, but is not used in the singular, forms in the Zend the strong sing. nom. who afs (§. 40.), accus. Godw apem; on the other hand, ap-0, "of the water," ap-at, "from the water," &c.\*

This word occurs in the Codex of the V. S., edited by Burnouf, very frequently, and mostly with that quantity of the initial a which is required by the theory; so that where that is not the case it can only be imputed to an error in writing.

In the plural, where the Zend very frequently makes the nominative and accusative the same, confusion has, for this reason, crept in; and the weak \$\frac{1}{2}\text{300} \cdot \cdo

132. The Greek, in the declension of κύων, has limited the strong form to the nom. and voc. sing.: in [G. Ed. p. 156.] some cognate words in ρ, however, in accordance with the Sanskrit, it has given the accusative also the strong form, in which the Gothic agrees with it. Compare πατήρ, πατέρα, πάτερ, πατρί, with funt pitâ, funt pitaram, funt pitar, fufz pitar (locat.); and the Gothic brôthar, as nom., accus., and vocat., opposed to brôthrs, "of the brother," brôthr, "to the brother," with the Sanskrit had bhrâtâ, had bhrâtaram, hhrâtar, dative had bhrâtrê, locat. had bhrâtar. According to the same principle in bases in an, in Gothic, the a in the genitive and dative sing. is weakened to i (§. 140.); while the nominative, accus., and vocat. retain the original a; e.g. ahma, ahmin-s, ahmin, ahman, ahma, from AHMAN, "spirit" (§. 140.).

133. As regards the mode of combining the final vowels of the primary forms with case-suffixes beginning with a vowel, we must first draw attention to a phenomenon, which is almost limited to the Sanskrit, and the dialects which

<sup>\*</sup> I have, however, found also but apo in the accusative; and am therefore in doubt, whether in this word, owing to the facile exchange of it a and it a, the confusion has not originated in nicre graphical oversights. Thus, V. S. p. 21, we find: curomiserally activity but the page of the accusative; and an incre graphical oversights. Thus, V. S. p. 21, we find: curomiserally activity of the various much accelebro, and accelebro, accelebro, and accelebro, accelebro, accelebro, accelebro, accelebro, accelebro, acc

approximate most nearly to it, as Pâli and Prâkrit, through which, to avoid a hiatus, and to maintain pure the vowels of the base and of the termination, a euphonic n is introduced. This euphonic expedient cannot, in the extent in which it exists in Sanskrit, belong to the original state of the language; otherwise it would not be almost entirely lost in the cognate European dialects, and even in the Zend. We therefore regard it as a peculiarity of the dialect, which, after the period of the division of languages, became the prevailing one in India, and has raised itself to be the universal written language in that country. It is necessary here to remark, that the Vêda language did not use the euphonic n so universally as the common Sanskrit; and together with var ena, इना ina, उना una, occur also खया aya, इया iya, उया uya. The euphonic n is most frequently employed by the neuter [G. Ed. p. 157.] gender, less so by the masculine, and most rarely by the feminine: the latter limits its use to the plural genitive termination with âm, in which place it is introduced by the Zend also, although not as indispensably requisite. And it is remarkable, that precisely in this place in Old High German, and other Old German dialects, an n has been retained before the case-suffix; thus in Old High German, ahô-n-ô, " aquarum," from the feminine theme AHŌ (nom. aha). Besides the use of the euphonic n, there is further to be remarked, in Sanskrit and Zend, the attachment of Guna to the vowels of the base (§. 26.) in certain cases, to which also the Gothic presents analogies.

## SINGULAR.

134. Bases, of the masculine and feminine genders, ending with a vowel have, in the Sanskrit family of languages, (under the limitation of §. 137.) s as nominative suffix, which in Zend, after an a preceding it, always melts into u, and is then contracted with the a to  $\delta$  (§. 2.), while this in Sanskrit

takes place only before sonant letters (§. 25.)\* Examples are given at §. 148. I find the origin of this case-designation in the pronominal base  $\pi$  sa, "he," "this," fem.  $\pi$  sā; and a convincing proof of this assertion is the fact, that the said pronoun does not extend beyond the limits of the nom. masc. and fem., but is replaced in the nom. neuter, and in the oblique cases of the masculine, by  $\pi$  ta, and feminine  $\pi$  tā regarding which more hereafter.

135. The Gothic suppresses a and i be- [G. Ed. p. 158.] fore the case-suffix s, except in monosyllabic bases, where this suppression is impossible. Hva-s, "who?" i-s, "he," are used, but vulf-s, "wolf," gast-s, "stranger," for vulfa-s, gasti-s (cf hosti-s, according to §. 87.). In masculine substantive bases in ja (ya), however, the final vowel is retained, only weakened to i (§. 66.); e.g. haryi-s, "army." If, however, as is generally the case, the final syllable is preceded by a long syllable, or by more than one, the ji (yi) is contracted to ei (=î, §. 70.); e.g. ondei-s, "end," raginei-s, "counsel," for andyi-s, raginyi-s. This contraction extends also to the genitive, which is in like manner denoted by s. To the Gothic nominatives in yi-s correspond the Lithuanian, like Atpirktoyi-s, "Saviour," the i of which has likewise arisen from an elder a.+ I deduce this from the majority of the oblique cases, which agree with those of the a bases. Where, however, in Lithuanian, a consonant precedes the final syllable ya, which is the more common case, there the y is changed into the vowel i, and the following i, which had arisen from a, is suppressed: hence, yaunikki-s, "young man," for yaunikkyi-s from yaunikkyu-s. Hereto correspond in Gothic all adjective bases in ya,

<sup>\*</sup> E g. सुतो मम sutô mama, "filius meus," सुतम् तव sutas tava, "fi-lius tuus" (j. 22.).

<sup>†</sup> Through the influence of the y, in accordance with a Zend law of euphony (§. 42.).

<sup>;</sup> Respecting the nom. e.g. of Gothic bases in ya, see p. 1309 G. Ed., Remark.

as midi-s "the middle" (man), for midyi-s from midya-s, Sanskrit muu madhya-s, The Zend also, in the vocalization\* of the syllable ya, presents a remarkable analogy to the Lithuanian and Gothic in contracting the syllable ya ya before a final x ya regularly to x y ya to x y ya (§. 42.).

136. The High German has, up to our time, preserved the old nominative sign in the changed form of r; nevertheless, as early as in the Old High German, in pronouns and adjectives only, with a vowel termination of the base.

[G. Ed. p. 159.] The High German is, however, in this point, superior to the Gothic in fulness, that in its a bases—to which belong all strong adjectives—it has not suppressed the vowel before the case-sign, but preserved it in the form of e, which, in Old High German—as it appears through the influence of the r—is long, but only in polysyllabic, not in monosyllabic forms. Thus, e.g. plint-êr, "cœcus," completes the Gothic blind-s for blinda-s; as to the Gothic i-s, "he," corresponds i-r; Middle and New High German e-r. The Old Northern has likewise r as the nominative sign, and, in fact, everywhere where, in Gothic, s stands. In the other dialects the nominative character is entirely lost.

137. Feminine Sanskrit bases in  $\overline{\mathfrak{A}}$ , and, with very few exceptions, polysyllables in  $\frac{1}{2}$ , together with  $\overline{\mathfrak{A}}$  stri, "wife," like the corresponding forms of the cognate languages, have lost the old nominative sign (with the exception of the Latin  $\ell$  bases, see §. 121.), and give the pure base: the cognate languages do the same, the base having been weakened by the abbreviation of the final vowel. In Gothic,  $\delta$  becomes a (§. 69.); only  $s\delta$ , "this," and  $hw\delta$  "which?" remain unshortened, on account of their being monosyllabic, as in Zend we  $h\delta$  and we  $\delta$  while in polysyllabic forms the

<sup>\*</sup> I have used vocalization and vocalize to express the change of a semi-vowel to its corresponding vowel.—Trans.

w & is shortened. In Zend, ; i also is shortened, even in the monosyllabic Jos stri, "wife," see V. S. par. 136, (by Olshausen), p. 28, where we read works stri-cha, "feminaque"; whilst elsewhere the appended we cha preserves the original length of the vowel. Here, too, the Zend nominatives in no é deserve to be mentioned, which seem very similar to the Greek in η; as roje of perene, "plena," which in the Vendidad occurs very often in relation to sug zão, "earth," without my being able to remember that I have found another case from mysta perene. But from the nom. १८३३ kaine, "maid" (Sanskrit क्या [G. Ed. p. 160.] kanya), which is of frequent occurrence, I find the accus. א פען ננאס kanyanm (V. S. p. 420); this furnishes the proof that the me in the nominative is generated by the euphonic influence of the suppressed אין (§. 42.). In אינעסילנגש braturye, "cousin," and restraye, "a relation in the fourth degree" (V. S. p. 380), the sy y has remained; on the other hand, in roywys nyake "grandmother," the dropping of a sy y must be again assumed. We cannot here refrain from conjecturing that the ē also of the Latin fifth declension, as with very few exceptions it is everywhere preceded by an i, is likewise produced from ā by the influence of this i; so that the Latin here stands in reversed relation to the Greek, where i rejects the combination with  $\eta$ , and preserves the original  $\alpha$  ( $\sigma \circ \phi / \alpha$ ).

138. Bases of the masculine and feminine genders which terminate with a consonant, lose, in Sanskrit, according to §. 94., the nominative sign s; and if two consonants terminate the base, then, according to the same law, the latter of these also is lost. Hence, विभाग bibhrat, for विभाग bibhrat-s, "the bearer"; तुद्न tudan, for तुद्नम tudant-s "the vexer"; वाक vâk (from वाच vâch, f.), for वाझ vâk-sh, "speech." The Zend, Greek, and Latin, in preserving the nominative sign after consonants, stand in an older position than the Sanskrit; Zend was âf-s (for âp-s, §. 40.), "water";

where k refs, "body"; where the final consonant of the base will not combine with the s of the nominative, prefer abandoning a portion of the base, as χάρις for χάριτ-ς, comes for comit-s (cf. §. 6.). The Latin, Æolic, and Lithuanian agree remarkably with the Zend in this point, [G. Ed. p. 161.] that nt, in combination with s, gives the form ns; thus amans, τιθένς, Lith. sukans (§. 10.), correspond to the Zend was sravayans, "the speaking" (man).

139. A final n after a short vowel is, in Sanskrit, no favourite combination of sound, although one not prohibited. It is expelled from the theme in the first member of a compound, e.g. राजपुत्र raja-putra, "king's son," for राजन्युत्र rajan-putra; and it is rejected in the nominative also, and a preceding short vowel is lengthened in masculines; e.g. राजा rājā, "king," from राजन् rājan, m.; नाम nāma, "name," from नामन naman, n.; धनी dhani, m., धनि dhani, n., from धनिन dhanin, "rich." The Zend in this agrees exactly with the Sanskrit; but from the dislike to a long a at the end, which has been before mentioned, omits the lengthening of the vowel; e.g. אטאמעגע ashava, "the pure" (man), from www. ashavan, m.; worden chashma, "eye," from ງມຣຸຊາມທ chashman, n. The Latin follows the Sanskrit in the suppression of the n in the nominative, in the masculine, and feminine, but not in the neuter: sermo, sermon-is, actio, action-is; but nomen, not nome or nomo. The root can at the end of compounds, refrains from rejecting the n, probably in order not to weaken still more this weak radical syllable; thus tubi-cen, fidi-cen, os-cen (see §. 6.). Lien-is an abbreviation of lieni-s; hence the retention of the n is not surprising. Pecten stands rather isolated. In Sanskrit the naked roots also follow the principle of the rejection of n; इन "slaying," "smiting," nom. I ha, is, however, the only root in n which I have met with so used. अन swan "hound," nom. भा swa, which, in the weakest cases, contracts its theme to sign sun, is of obscure origin. The Latin has extended the base श्वन śwan, in the nominative, by an unorganic addition, to cani; so युवन yuvan, "young," has become juveni (cf. §. 126.). As regards the opposition [G. Ed. p. 162.] between o and i, by which, in several words-as homo, homin--is, arundo, arundin-is—the nominative is distinguished from the oblique cases, this o appears to me a stronger vowel,\* which compensates for the loss of the n, and therefore is substituted for the weaker i; according to the same principle by which, in Sanskrit, the nom. पनी dhani, comes from धनिन dhanin; and, in Lithuanian, bases in en and un give, in the nominative,  $\mathring{u}$  (=uo) for e or u. Thus, from the bases AKMEN, "stone," SZUN, "hound," come the nominatives akmu, szu; as in Sanskrit, from the primary forms of the same signification, अइमन् usman, श्वन् swan, have arisen with asma and w swa. It does not follow that homin-is has come from homon-is, t because the old language had hemo, hemonis, for homo, hominis; but mon and min are cognate suffixes, signifying the same, and were originally one, and therefore may be simultaneously affixed to one and the same word.

140. The German language also rejects a final n of the base in the nominative and in the neuter, in the accu-

<sup>\*</sup> Although its quantity in the actual condition of the language is arbitrary, still it appears to have been originally long, and to imply a similar contrast to the Greek  $\eta\nu$ ,  $\epsilon\nu$ -os;  $\omega\nu$ , o $\nu$ -os. For the rest it has been already remarked, that between short vowels also exists a difference of gravity (§. 6.).

t In bases in अन् an the lengthening extends to all the strong cases, with the exception of the vocat. sing.; thus, not merely राजा rájâ, "rex," but also राजानम् rájân-am, "regem," राजानम् rájânas, "reges."

<sup>‡</sup> I now prefer taking the i of homin-is, &c., as the weakening of the o of homo. The relation resembles that of Gothic forms like ahmin-is, ahmin, to the nom. and acc. ahma, ahman, which preserve the original vowel.

sative also, like Sanskrit. In Gothic, in the masculine and neuter—where alone, in my opinion, the n has an old and original position—an a always precedes the n. There are, that is to say, only bases in an, none in in and un; the latter termination is foreign to the Sanskrit also. [G. Ed. p. 163.] The a, however, is weakened to i in the

genitive and dative (see §. 132.); while in Sanskrit, in these cases, as especially in the weakest cases (§. 130.), it is entirely dropped.\* Among masculine bases in an, in Gothic, exist several words, in which an is the whole derivative-suffix, and which therefore correspond to the Sansk. राजन raj-an, "king," as "ruler." Thus AH-AN, "spirit," as "thinker" (ah-ya, "I think"), STAU-AN, "Judge" (stau-ya, "I judge"). whence the nominatives aha, staua. There are also, as in Sanskrit, some masculine formations in man; as, AHMAN, "spirit," nom. ahma, with which perhaps the Sansk. आत्मन âtman, "soul," nom. जाना âtmâ, is connected; in case this stands for ah-man, and comes from a lost root wie ah, "to think," where it is to be remembered that also the root नह nah, "to bind," has, in several places, changed its h into t. The Gothic MILH-MAN, nom. milh-ma, "cloud," appears to have sprung from the Sanskrit root mih, by the addition of an l, whence, remarkably enough, by the suffix a, and by exchanging the  $\xi$  h for  $\eta$  gh, arises the nominal base मेच mêgha, "cloud." In Latin ming-o answers to fag mih, and in Greek ὀ-μιχ-έω; the meaning is in the three languages the same.

141. Neuter bases in an, after rejecting the n, lengthen, in Gothic, the preceding a to  $\delta$ , in the nominative, accusa-

<sup>\*</sup> In case two consonants do not precede the termination सन an; e.g. सात्मनम् âtman-as, not âtmn-as, but नाम्रम् nâmn-as, not nâman-as, "nominis."

<sup>†</sup> Perhaps identical with the actually-occurring चाह âh, "to speak," as मन man, "to think," in Zend means also "to speak"; whence was manthra, "speech," and in Gothic MUN-THA, nom. munths, "mouth" §. 66...

tive, and vocative, which sound the same; [G. Ed. p. 164.] so that in these cases the Gothic neuter follows the theory of the strong cases (§. 129.), which the Sanskrit neuter obeys only in the nom., accus., and vocat. plural, where, for example, चनारि chatwar-i, "four," with a strong theme, is opposed to the weak cases like चत्रिम् chaturbhis (instr.), चत्रभैस chaturbhyas. The a, also, of neuter bases in an is lengthened in the nominative, accusative, and vocative plural in Sanskrit, and in Gothic; and hence नामानि naman-i, Gothic namon-a, run parallel to one another. However, in Gothic namn-a also exists, according to the theory of the Sanskrit weakest cases (§. 130.), whence proceeds the plural genitive नाम्रान् namn-am, "nominum"; while the Gothic namon-é has permitted itself to be led astray by the example of the strong cases, and would be better written namn-ê or namin-&.

142. In the feminine declension in German I can find no original bases in n, as also in Sanskrit there exist no feminines in an or in; but feminine bases are first formed by the addition of the usual feminine character \$ i; as, राज्ञी rajni, "queen," from राजन rajan; धनिनी dhanini, "the rich" (fem.), from धनिन dhanin, m. n. "rich." Gothic feminine substantive bases in n exhibit, before this consonant, either an & (= जा, §. 69.) or ei: these are genuine feminine final vowels, to which the addition of an n can have been only subsequently made. And already, at §. 120., a close connection of bases in ein (=in) with the Sanskrit in \$ i. and Lithuanian in i, has been pointed out. Most substantive bases in ein are feminine derivatives from masculineneuter adjective bases in a, under the same relation, excluding the modern n, as in Sanskrit that of सन्दरी sundari, "the fair" (woman), from सन्दर sundara m. n. "beautiful" Gothic substantive bases in ein for the most part raise the adjective, whence they are derived, to an abstract;

<sup>\*</sup> Vide p. 1083, Note.

[G. Ed. p. 165.] e.g. MANAGEIN, "crowd, nom. managei, from the adjective base MANAGA (nominative masc. manag-s, neut. managa-ta); MIKILEIN, nom. mikilei, "greatness," from MIKILA (mikil-s, mikila-ta), "great." As to feminine bases in  $\delta n$ , they have arisen from feminine bases in  $\delta$ ; and I have already observed that feminine adjective bases in ôn-as BLINDON, nom. blindô, gen. blindôn-s-must be derived, not from their masculine bases in an, but from the primitive feminine bases in & (nom. a, Grimm's strong adjectives). Substantive bases with the genitive feminine in on presuppose older ones in  $\theta$ ; and correspond, where comparison is made with old languages connected in their bases, to Sanskrit feminines in a, Greek in  $\alpha$ ,  $\eta$ , Latin in a; and in these old languages never lead to bases with a final n. Thus,  $TUGG\bar{O}N$  (pronounced  $tung\delta n$ ), nom.  $tugg\delta$ , answers to the Latin lingua, and to the Sanskrit fast jihwa, (= dschihwa, see §. 17.); and  $DAUR\bar{O}N$ , nom. daura, to the Greek θύρα; VIDÕVÕN, nom. vidôvô, " widow," to the Sanskrit fava vidhava, "the without man" (from the prep. वि vi and भव dhava, "man"), and the Latin vidua. It is true that, in MITATHYON, "measure," nom. mitathyô, the suffix thyon completely answers to the Latin tion, e.g. in ACTION; but here in Latin, too, the on is a later addition, as is evinced from the connection of ti-on with the Sanskrit suffix for ti, of the same import, and Greek  $\sigma_{i-\varsigma}$  (old  $\tau_{i\varsigma}$ ), Gothic ti, thi, di (see §. 91.). And in Gothic, together with the base MITATHYON exists one signifying the same, MI-TATHI, nom. mitaths. In RATHYON, nom. rathyô, "account," a relationship with RATION, at least in respect of the suffix, is only a seeming one; for in Gothic the word is [G. Ed. p. 166.] to be divided thus, rath-yon: the th belongs, in the Gothic soil, to the root, whence the strong part. rathan(a)-s has been preserved. The suffix  $y \partial n$ , of RATHYONtherefore corresponds to the Sanskrit ya; e.g. in faut vid-ya, "knowledge." Of the same origin is GA-RUN-YON, nom. garunyô, "inundation."

143. If a few members of a great family of languages have suffered a loss in one and the same place, this may be accident, and may be explained on the general ground, that all sounds, in all languages, especially when final, are subject to abrasion; but the concurrence of so many languages in a loss in one and the same place points to relationship, or to the high antiquity of such a loss; and in the case before us, refers the rejection of an n of the base in the nominative to a period before the migration of languages, and to the position of the original site of the human races, which were afterwards separated. It is surprising, therefore, that the Greek, in this respect, shews no agreement with its sisters; and in its v bases, according to the measure of the preceding vowel, abandons either merely the nominative sign, or the v alone, never both together. It is a question whether this is a remnant of the oldest period of language, or whether the v bases, carried away by the stream of analogies in the other consonantal declensions, and by the example of their own oblique cases, which do not permit the remembrance of the v to be lost, again returned, at a comparatively later period, into the common and oldest path, after they had experienced a similar loss to the Sanskrit, Zend, &c., by which we should be conducted to nominative forms like εὐδαίμω, εὕδαιμο, τέρη, τέρε, τάλα, τάλα? I do not venture to decide with positiveness on this point, but the latter view appears to be the more probable. It here deserves to be [G. Ed. p. 167.] remarked, that, in German, the n, which in Gothic, in the nominative, is always suppressed, has in more modern dialects made its way in many words from the oblique cases again into the nominative. So early as the Old High German this was the case; and, in fact, in feminine bases in in (Gothic ein, §. 70.), which, in the nominative, oppose to the Gothic ei the full base in: as guotlihhin, "glory" (see Grimm, p. 628). In our New High

German the phenomenon is worthy of notice, that many original n bases of the masculine gender, through a confusion in the use of language, are, in the singular, treated as if they originally terminated in na; i.e. as if they belonged to Grimm's first strong declension. Hence the n makes its appearance in the nominative, and the genitive regains the sign s, which, indeed, in Gothic, is not wanting in the n bases, but in High German was withdrawn from them more than a thousand years since. Thus, Brunnen, Brunnens, is used instead of the Old High German prunno, prunnin, and the Gothic brunna, brunnin-s. In some words, together with the restored n there occurs in the nominative, also, the ancient form with n suppressed, as Backe or Backen, Same or Samen; but the genitive has in these words also introduced the s of the strong declension. Among neuters the word Herz deserves consideration. The base is, in Old High German, HERZAN, in Middle High German HERZEN; the nominatives are, herza, herze; the New German suppresses, together with the n of Herzen, the vowel also, as is done by many masculine n bases; as, e.g. Bär for Bäre. As this is not a transition into the strong declension, but rather a greater weakening of the weak nominative, the form Herzens, therefore, in the genitive, for an uninflected Herzen, is sur-

[G. Ed. p. 168.] prising. With this assumed or newly-restored inflection s would be to be compared, in Greek, the nominative s, as of  $\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi$ i-s,  $\mu\epsilon\lambda\alpha$ -s; and with the n of Brunnen for Brunne, the  $\nu$  of  $\delta\alpha$ i $\mu\omega\nu$ ,  $\tau\epsilon\rho\eta\nu$ ; in case, as is rendered probable by the cognate languages, these old forms have been obtained from still older, as  $\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi$ i,  $\mu\epsilon\lambda\alpha$ ,  $\delta\alpha$ i $\mu\omega$ ,  $\tau\epsilon\rho\eta$ , by an unorganic retrogade step into the stronger declension.\*

<sup>\*</sup> That, in Greek, the renunciation of a  $\nu$  of the base is not entirely unknown may be here shewn by an interesting example. Several cardinal numbers in Sanskrit conclude their base with 7n; viz.

144. Bases in at ar (a ri, §. 1.) in Sanskrit reject the r in the nominative, and, like those in  $\pi$  n, lengthen the preceding vowel; e.g. from पितर pitar, "father," भातर bhråtar, "brother," मानर् matar, "mother," दुहिनर् duhitar, "daughter," come पिता pita, भाता bhrata, माता mata, दहिता duhita. lengthening of the a serves, I believe, as a compensation for the rejected r. As to the retention, however, through all the strong cases, excepting the vocative, of the long a of the agent, which corresponds to Greek formations in  $\tau \eta \rho$ ,  $\tau \omega \rho$ , and to Latin in  $t \bar{o} r$ , this takes place because, in all probability, in these words are tar, and not are tar, is the original form of the suffix; and this is also supported by the length of the suffix being retained in Greek and Latin through all the cases—τηρ, τωρ, tor; only [G. Ed. p. 169.] that in Latin a final r, in polysyllabic words, shortens an originally long vowel. Compare

SANS	GREEK.	LATIN.	
Nom. sing.	दाता विवेधके,	δοτήρ,	datōr,
Acc. sing.	दातारम् dâtâr-am,	δοτήρ-α,	datōr-em,
N. A. V. dual,	दातारी dâtâr-au,	δοτήρ-ε,	
Nom. Voc. pl.	दातार्स dâtâr-as,	δοτήρ-ες,	datōr-es.

The Zend follows the analogy of the Sanskrit, both in the rejection of the r in the nominative, and in the length

nanchan, "five," saptan, "seven," ashtan with ashtau, "eight," navan, "nine," daśan, "ten." These numerals are, indeed, used adjectively, when they are not governed by the gender of their substantive, but display always a neuter form, and indeed, which is surprising, in the nominative, accusative, and vocative sing. terminations, but in the other cases the suitable plural endings; e.g. पच राजानस pancha (not panchânas) râjânas "quinque reges"; on the other hand, पचस राजस panchasu râjasu "in quinque regibus." To the neuter nominatives and accusative of the singular पच pancha, सप्त sapta, नच nava, and द्र्या daśa—which rest on the regular suppression of the n—answer the Greek πέντε, ἐπτά, ἐννέα, δέκα, with the distinction that they have become quite indeclinable, and retain the old uninflected nominative through all the cases.

of the preceding a of the noun agent, in the same places as in the Sanrkrit, with the exception of the nominative singular, where the long a, as always when final, is shortened; e g אפאטע paita, "father," אפאטע dâta, "giver," "Creator;" ace ξελικικου paitar-em, ξελικοιμο dâtâr-em. In Lithuanian there are some interesting remains, but only of feminine bases in er, which drop this letter in the nominative, but in most of the oblique cases extend the old er base by the later addition of an i. Thus mote, "wife," dukte "daughter," answer to the abovementioned माता mûtâ, zfeni duhitâ; and, in the plural, moter-es, dukter-es, to मातरस् matar-as, दुहितरस् duhitar-as. In the genitive singular I regard the form moter-s, dukter-s, as the elder and more genuine, and moteries, dukteries, as corruptions belonging to the i bases. In the genitive plural the base has kept clear of this unorganic i; hence, moter-û, dukter-û, not moteri-û, dukteri-û. Besides the words just mentioned, the base SESSER, "sister," belongs to this place: it answers to the Sanskrit खसर swasar, nom. खसा swasa; but distinguishes itself in the nominative from mote and dukte, in that the e, after the analogy of bases in en, passes into u, thus sessû.

[G. Ed. p. 170.] 145. The German languages agree in their r bases (to which but a few words belong denoting affinity) with the Greek and Latin in this point, that, contrary to the analogy just described, they retain the r in the nominative. As  $\pi\alpha\tau\acute{\eta}\rho$ ,  $\mu\eta\tau\acute{\eta}\rho$ ,  $\theta\nu\gamma\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\rho$ ,  $\delta\alpha\acute{\eta}\rho$  (Sanskrit,  $\overline{\xi}$  at  $d\acute{v}$  ar,  $\overline{\xi}$   $\overline{q}$   $d\acute{v}$  vi, nom.  $\overline{\xi}$   $\overline{q}$   $d\acute{v}$  vi, frater, soror; so in Gothic,  $br\acute{v}$  thar, svistar, dauhtar; in Old High German, vatar, pruodar,  $su\'{e}$  sar to than 1 is a question whether this r in the nominative is a remnant of the original language, or, after being anciently suppressed, whether it has not again made its way in the actual condition of the language from the oblique cases into the nominative. I think the latter more probable; for the Sanskrit, Zend, and Lithuanian are three witnesses

for the antiquity of the suppression of the r; and the Greek words like  $\pi\alpha\tau\eta\rho$ ,  $\mu\eta\tau\eta\rho$ ,  $\sigma\omega\tau\eta\rho$ ,  $\delta\eta\tau\omega\rho$ , exhibit something peculiar and surprising in the consonantal declension, in that  $\rho$  and  $\varsigma$  not combining, they have not rather preferred giving up the base-consonant than the case-sign (as  $\pi\alpha\hat{u}\varsigma$ ,  $\pi\hat{v}\hat{v}\varsigma$ , &c.). It would appear that the form  $\tau\eta\varsigma$  is of later origin, for this reason, that the  $\rho$  having given place to the nominative  $\varsigma$ , the form  $\tau\eta$ - $\varsigma$ , whence  $\tau\eta\rho$ - $\sigma$  should come, was, by an error of language, made to correspond to the  $\eta$ - $\varsigma$  of the first declension. The want of a cognate form in Latin, as in Zend and Sanskrit, as also the, in other respects, cognate form and similarity of meaning with  $\pi \tau$   $t\hat{\sigma}$ -t,  $\tau\eta\rho$  and  $\tau\omega\rho$ , speak at least plainly enough for the spuriousness and comparative youth of the nouns of agency in  $\tau\eta\varsigma$ .

146. Masculine and feminine primary forms in TH as in Sanskrit lengthen the a in the nominative singular. They are, for the most part, compounded, and contain, as the last member, a neuter substantive in अस् as, as दुमैनस् durmanas, " evil-minded," from दुस् dus [G. Ed. p. 171.] (before sonant letters-\$, 25.- दर dur) and मनस manas. " mind," whence the nom. masc. and fem. दुमैनास् durmands, neut. दुमेनस durmanas. A remarkable agreement is here shewn by the Greek, in δυσμενής, δ, ή opposed to τὸ δυσμενές. The स् s of दुमैनास् durmanas, however, belongs, though unrecognised, to the base; and the nominative character is, wanting, according to §. 94. In Greek, on the other hand, the ς of δυσμενής has the appearance of an inflexion, because the genitive, &c., is not δυσμενέσ-ος, like the Sanskrit दमनसस durmanas-as, but δυσμενέος. If, however, what was said at §. 128 is admitted, that the ς of μένος belongs to the base, and μένεος is abbreviated from μένεσ-ος, then in the compound δυσμενής also, and all similar adjectives, a Σ belonging to the base must be recognised, and the form δυσμενέσος must lie at the bottom of the genitive δυσμενέος. In the

nominative, therefore, either the 5 belongs to the base, and

then the agreement with दुनैनास durmands would be complete; or the c of the base has been dropped before the casesign s. The latter is, in my opinion, least probable; for the former is supported by the Latin also, where the forms which answer to the Sanskrit as bases are in the nom. masc. and fem. in like manner without the case-sign. Thus the Sanskrit comparative suffix is ईयस iyas—the last a but one of which is lengthened in the strong cases, and invested with a dull nasal (Anuswâra, §. 9.)—in Latin, iōr, with the s changed into r, which so frequently happens; and the nominative in both genders is without the case-sign: the originally long o, however, is shortened by the influence of the final r. In the neuter us corresponds to the Sanskrit अस as, because u is favourable to a final s, and prevents its transition into r; hence gravius has the same relation to the Sanskrit गरीयस gariyas (irregular from ne guru, "heavy,") as lupus to [G. Ed. p. 172.] नुकस vrikas, only that the s of the nominative character in the latter belongs in the former to the base. The final syllable or, though short, must nevertheless be held, in Latin, as graver than us, and hence gravior forms a similar antithesis to gravius that in Greek δυσμενής does to δυσμενές, and in Sanskrit दुमैनास् durmanas to दुमैनस् durmanas. 147. In Lithuanian a nominative, which stands quite isolated, mėnů (= mėnuo), "moon" and "month," deserves here to be mentioned: it proceeds from the primary form MENES\*, and, in regard to the suppression of the final

consonant and the transformation of the preceding vowel, has the same relation to it that, as above (§. 139.), akmû has

<sup>\*</sup> The relation of this to HIR mâs, which signifies the same—from HIR mâs, "to measure," without a derivative suffix—is remarkable; for the interposed nasal syllable ne answers to the Sanskrit Ana in roots of the seventh class (see p. 118); and in this respect MENES bears the same relation to the Latin MENSI that l. c. HARIR bhinadmi does to findo.

to AKMEN, sessû to SESSER: in the oblique cases, also, the s of the base again re-appears, but receives, as in the er and en bases, an unorganic increase: thus the genitive is menesio, whence MENESIA is the theme; as wilko, "lupi," from WILKA, nom. wilka-s.

148. In neuters, throughout the whole Sanskrit family of languages the nominative is identical with the accusative, which subject is treated of at §. 152. &c. We here give a general view of the nominative formation, and select for the several terminations and gender of the primary forms, both for these cases and for all others which suit our purpose, the following examples: Sanskrit नक vrika, m. "wolf;" क ka, "who?" दान dana, n. "gift;" त ta, n. "this;" निहा jihwa, f. "tongue;" का kâ, "which?" पित pati, m. "lord," "husband;" भीति prîti,f. "love;" वार्थिंगां, n. "water;" भविष्यनी bhavishyantî, "who is about to be;" सूनु sûnu, m. "son;" [G. Ed. p 173.] तन् tanu, f. "body;" मधु madhu, n. "honey," "wine;" पध vadhû, f. "wife;" मो gô, m. f. "bullock," "cow;" नौ nâu, f. "ship." Of the consonantal declension we select only such final consonants as occur most frequently, whether in single words or in entire classes of words: वाच vach, f. " speech '\*; भरन bharant, in the weakened form, भरत bharat (§. 129.) m. n. "bearing," "receiving," from भर् bhar (भू bhri) cl. 1.; सात्मन् âtman, m. "soul;" नामन् nâman, n. "name;" भातर् bl.ratar, m. "brother;" दृहितर् duhitar, f. "daughter;" दातर dâtar, m. "giver;" वचस vachas, n. "speech," Greek, EПЕХ, έπος (§§. 14. 128.), for FEΠΕΣ, Feπoς. Zend, ωρθυρφ verhka, m. "wolf;" ng ka, m. "who?" no datum; no datum; no ta, n. "this;" we hized, f. "tongue;" wy ka, "which?"

<sup>\*</sup> Masculines and feminines in the consonantal declension agree in all cases: hence an example of one of the two genders is sufficient. The only exception is the accusative plural of words denoting relationship in  $\Re x$  ar  $\Re$ , §. 114.), which form this case from the abbreviated theme in

<sup>\*</sup> It has been remarked at §. 123 of the cognate nom. suc zão, "earth," accus. & zanm, that I have only met with these two cases. The very common form &s ( zem, which is found only in the other oblique cases, is nevertheless represented by Burnouf, in a very interesting article in the Journal des Savans (Aug. 1832), which I only met with after that page had been printed, as belonging to the same theme. I agree with him on this point at present, so much the rather as I believe I can account for the relationship of roff ( zeme, "terræ," (dat.) sfe प्टॅलां, "in terra," &c. to the Sanskrit मचे gavê, मिन gavi. I do not doubt, that is to say, that, in accordance with what has been remarked at 6.63. and p. 114, the Zend & m is to be regarded as nothing else than the hardening of the original v. The Indian  $\vec{m} g\hat{o}$ , before vowel terminations gav, would consequently have made itself almost unintelligible in the meaning "earth," in Zend, by a double alteration; first by the transition of g to z, in which j must be assumed as the middle step-in which e.g. קשנא jam, "to go," from אָק gam, has remained; secondly, by the hardening of the v to m. Advert, also, to the Greek δη, for γη, in δημήτηρ; since  $\delta$  and  $\langle z,$  from  $\exists j \ (=dsch)$ , have so divided themselves in the sound whence they have sprung, that the Greek has retained the T-sound, the Zend the sibilant.

<sup>‡</sup> In the theme we drop, intentionally, the ε ĕ required by §. 44, as it is clear that λωρωλ brâtar, not ελωρωλ brâtarĕ, must be the base word; λωρωλ baratar also occurs, with ω a interposed.

m. "brother;" 2009 dughdhar, f. "daughter;" how datar, m. "giver," "creator;" your vacho, n. (§. 56°.) "word." It is not requisite to give here examples in Greek and Latin: from Lithuanian and Gothic we select the bases, Lith. WILKA, Goth. VULFA, m. "wolf;" Lith. KA, Goth. HVA, m. "who?" Lith, GERA, n. "good;" TA, n. "the;" Goth. DAURA, n. "gate," (Sanskrit, ER dwara, n.); THA, n. "this:" Lith. RANKA, f. "hand;" Goth, GIBO, f. "gift" (§. 69.); HVO, f. " which?"; Lith. PATI, m. "Lord"\*; Goth. GASTI, m. "stranger;" I, m. "he," n. [G. Ed. p. 175.] "it;" Lith. AWI, f. "sheep," (Sansk. चाच avi, m. cf. ovis, öis); Goth. ANSTI, f. "mercy;" Lith. Goth. SUNU, m. "son; Goth. HANDU, f. "hand;" Lith. DARKU, n. "ugly;" Goth. FAIHU, n. "beast;" Lith. SUKANT, m.t "turning; Goth. FIYAND, m. "foe;" Lith. AKMEN, m. "stone;" Goth. AHMAN, m. "spirit;" NAMAN, n. "name;" BROTHAR, m. "brother;" DAUHTAR, Lith. DUKTER, f. "daughter."

Sanskrit. Zend. Greek. Latin. Lithuan. Gothic. m. vrika-s,  $v\ddot{e}hrk\dot{0}$ ,  $\uparrow$   $\lambda \dot{\nu} \kappa o$ -s, lupu-s, wilka-s, vulf s. m. ka-s,  $k\dot{0}$ ,  $\uparrow$  . . . . ka-s, hva-s.

<sup>\*</sup> In the comp. wiess-pati-s, "landlord"; isolated pat-s, "husband," with i in the nominative suppressed, as is the case in Gothic in all bases in i. Compare the Zend vis-paiti, "lord of the region."

<sup>+</sup> These and other bases ending with a consonant are given only in those cases which have remained free from a subsequent vowel addition.

SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN-	LITHUAN.	GOTHIC.
n, dâna-m,	dâtĕ-m,	δῶρο-ν,	donum,	géra,	daur'.
n. ta-t,	ta-t,	τό,	is-tu-d,	ta-i,	tha-ta.
f. jihwā,	hizva,*	χώρα,	terra,	rankà,	giba.
f. kå,	kå,		****		hvő.
m. pati-s,	paiti-s,	πόσι-ς,	hosti-s,	pati-s,	gast'-s.
m	*****		i-s,		i-s.
f. prîti-s,	âfrîti-s	πόρτι-ς,	siti-s,	awi-s,	anst-s.
n. vâri,	vairi,	ίδρι,	mare,		• • • •
ρ n			i-d,		i-ta.
Ef. bhavishyantî,	bûshyainti*			búsenti,	
m.sûnu-s,	pašu-s,	ὶχθύ-ς,	pecu-s,	sunù-s,	sunu-s.
5 f. tanu-s,	tanu-s,	πίτυ-ς,	socru-s,		handu-s
n. madhu,	madhu,	μέθυ,	pecu,	darkù,	faihu.
f. vadhû-s,					
m. f. gâu-s,+	gau-s,‡	βοῦ-ς,	bō-s,		
f. nâu-s,		ναῦ-ς,		• • • •	
f. våk,	vâc-s,	όπ-ς,	voc-s;		
m. bharan,	baran-s,	φέρων,	feren-s,	sukan-s,	fiyand-s
m. âtmâ',	asma,*	δαίμων,	sermo',	akmů',	ahma'.
n, nâma',	nâma',	τάλαν,	nomen,		namo.
m. bhrâtâ',	brâta',*	πατήρ,	frater,		brôthar.
f. duhita',	dughdha,*,	θυγάτηρ,	mater,	duktė,'	dauhtar
m, dâtâ,	dâta',*	δοτήρ,	dator,		
n. vachas,	vachô,*	έπος,	opus,		

## ACCUSATIVE.

## SINGULAR.

149. The character of the accusative is m in Sanskrit, Zend, and Latin; in Greek  $\nu$ , for the sake of euphony. In Lithuanian the old m has become still more weakened to

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<sup>\*</sup> See the marginal note marked (‡) on the foregoing page.

<sup>†</sup> Irregularly for गोस gô-s.

<sup>1</sup> Or wewp gaos, J. 33.

[G. Ed. p. 177.] swâra, and which we, in both languages, express by n (§. 10.). The German languages have, so early as the Gothic even, lost the accusative mark in substantives entirely, but in pronouns of the 3d person, as also in adjective bases ending with a vowel which follow their declension, they have hitherto retained it; still only in the masculine: the feminine nowhere exhibits an accusative character, and is, like its nominative, devoid of inflexion. The Gothic gives na instead of the old m; the High German, with more correctness, a simple n: hence, Gothic blind-na, "cacum," Old High German plinta-n, Middle and Modern High German blinde-n.

150. Primary forms terminating with a consonant prefix to the case-sign m a short vowel, as otherwise the combination would be, in most cases, impossible: thus, in Sanskrit am, in Zend and Latin em, appears as the accusative termination\*: of the Greek  $a\nu$ , which must originally have existed, the  $\nu$  is, in the present condition of the language, lost: examples are given in §. 157.

151. Monosyllabic words in  $\hat{i}$ ,  $\hat{u}$ , and  $\hat{a}u$ , in Sanskrit, like consonantal bases, give am in place of the mere m, as the accusative termination, probably in order in this way to become polysyllabic. Thus, with  $bh\hat{i}$ , "fear," and  $\hat{n}\hat{u}u$ , "ship," form, not  $bh\hat{i}$ -m and  $n\hat{a}u$ -m, as the Greek  $v\hat{a}v$ -v would

<sup>\*</sup> From the bases 2 > 7a druj and punch vâch, I find besides 6 < 2 < 7a drujem, 6 < 2 < 7a drujem, 6 < 2 < 7a drujem, in the V. S.; also frequently 6 < 7a drujem, 6 < 7a drujem, vâchim: and if these forms are genuine, which I scarcely doubt, they are to be thus explained—that the vowel which stands before m is only a means of conjunction for appending the m; for this purpose, however, the Zend uses, besides the 6 < 7a mentioned at 6 < 7a, not unfrequently 6 < 7a for speniff and dademahî, occurs also speniff dademahî, and many similar forms; as speniff six usi-i-mahî, answering to the Sanskrit 6 < 7a usimas (in the Vêdas 6 < 7a usimas), "we will."

[G. Ed. p. 178.] lead us to expect, but भिषम् bhiy-am, नावम् ndv-am. With this agree the Greek themes in ev, since these give  $\epsilon$ - $\alpha$ , from  $\epsilon$ F- $\alpha$ , for  $\epsilon$  $\nu$ - $\nu$ ; e.g.  $\beta \alpha \sigma \iota \lambda \dot{\epsilon}(F) \alpha$ , for  $\beta \alpha \sigma \iota \lambda \dot{\epsilon} \nu$ - $\nu$ . It is, however, wrong to regard the Latin em as the true, originally sole accusative termination, and for lupu-m, hora-m, fruc-tum, diem, to seek out an older form lupo-em, hora-em, fructu-em, die-em. That the simple nasal suffices to characterize the accusative, and that a precursory vowel was only added out of other necessary reasons, is proved by the history of our entire family of languages, and would be adequately established, without Sanskrit and Zend, by the Greek, Lithuanian, and Gothic. The Latin em in the accusative third declension is of a double kind: in one case the e belongs to the base, and stands, as in innumerable cases, for i; so that e-m, of igne-m (Sanskrit सन्निम agni-m), corresponds to the Indian i-m, Zend i-m, Greek i-v, Lithuanian i-n, Gothic i-na (from ina, "him"); but in the em of consonantal bases the e answers to the Indian a to which it corresponds in many other cases also.

152. The Sanskrit and Zend neuter bases in a, and those akin to them in Greek and Latin, as well as the two natural genders, give a nasal as the sign of the accusative, and introduce into the nominative also this character, which is less personal, less animated, and is hence appropriated to the accusative as well as to the nominative in the neuter: hence, Sansk. state śayana-m, Zend ξερωνων śayanĕ-m, "a bed"; so in Latin and Greek, donu-m, δῶρο-ν All other bases, with but few exceptions, in Latin, remain in the nominative and accusative without any case character, and give the naked base, which in Latin, however, replaces a final i by the cognate e; thus, marĕ for mari corre-

[G. Ed. p. 179.] sponds to the Sanskrit पार्त våri, "water"; the Greek, like the Sanskrit and Zend, leaves the ι unchanged —ἴδρι-ς, ἴδρι, as in Sanskrit पुचिस śuchis, पुचि śuchi. The following are examples of neuter u bases, which supply the

place both of nominative and accusative: in Sanskrit av madhu, "honey," "wine," सञ्च aśru, "tear," स्वाद् swadu, "sweet"; in Zend > vohu, "wealth" (Sanskrit प्र vasu); in Greek μέθυ, δάκρυ, ἡδύ; in Latin pecu, genu. The length of this u is unorganic, and has probably passed into the nominative, accusative, and vocative from the oblique cases, where the length is to be explained from the suppressed case terminations. With regard to the fact that final u is always long in Latin, there is perhaps a reason always at hand for this length: in the ablative, for example, the length of the originally short u is explicable as a compensation for the case sign which has been dropped, by which, too, the o of the second declension becomes long. The original shortness of the u of the fourth declension is perceivable from the dat. pl. ŭ-bus. The X, in Greek words like γένος, μένος, εὐγενές, has been already explained at §. 128. as belonging to the base: the same is the case with the Latin e in neuters like genus, corpus, gravius: it is the other form of the r of the oblique cases, like gener-is, corpor-is, gravior-is (see §. 127.); and corpus appears akin to the Sanskrit neuter of the same meaning, वपस vapus, gen. वपपस vapu-sh-as (see §. 19.), and would consequently have an r too much, or the Sanskrit has lost one.\* The Σ also of neuter bases in T, in τετυφός, τέρας, does not seem to me to be the case sign, but an exchange with T, which is not admissible at the end, but is either rejected (μέλι, πραγμα) or exchanged [G. Ed. p. 180.] for a cognate Σ, as πρός from προτί, Sanskrit win prali †

<sup>\*</sup> Compare, in this respect, brachium, βραχίων, with बाहुस bāhu-s, "arm"; frango, ῥήγνυμι, with अन्डिम bhanajmi, "I break," भञ्जनस् bhanjmas, "we break."

<sup>†</sup> With this view, which I have already developed in my treatise "On some Demonstrative Bases, and their connection with various Prepositions and Conjunctions" (Berlin, by Dümmler), pp. 4-6, corresponds, as to the essential points, what Hartung has since said on this subject

In Latin it is to be regarded as inconsistent with the spirit of the language, that most adjective bases ending with a consonant retain the nominative sign s of the two natural genders in the neuter, and in this gender extend it also to the accusative, as if it belonged to the base, as capac-s felic-s, soler(t)s, aman(t)s. In general, in Latin, in consonantal bases, the perception of the distinction of gender is very much blunted, as, contrary to the principle followed by the Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, and Gothic, the feminine is no longer distinguished from the masculine.

153. In Gothic substantives, as well neuter as masculine, the case sign m is wanting, and hence neuter bases in a stand on the same footing with the i, u, and consonantal bases of the cognate languages in that, in the nominative and accusative, they are devoid of all inflexion. Compare, with regard to the form of this case, daur(a) with graphi dwaram, which has the same meaning. In Gothic there are no neuter substantives in i; on the other hand, the [G. Ed. p. 181.] substantive bases in ya, by suppression of the a in the nominative and accusative singular (cf. §. 135.), gain in these cases the semblance of i bases; e.g. from the base REIKYA, "rich" (Sanskrit Garaffagar

in German is the less surprising, that in the cognate Sanskrit, Zend, and Greek, the corresponding termination in the neuter is not very common. Of neuter u roots the substantive declension has preserved only the single FAIHU. "beast." In Lithuanian the neuter in substantives is entirely lost, and has left traces only in pronouns and adjectives, where the latter relate to pronouns. Adjective bases in u, in this case, have their nominative and accusative singular in accordance with the cognate languages, without case sign; e.g. darkù, "ugly," corresponds as nominative and accusative neuter to the masculine nominative darkù-s, accusative darku-n. This analogy, however, is followed in Lithuanian, by the adjective bases in a also; and thus géra, "good," corresponds as nominative and accusative to the masculine forms géra-s, géra-n,\* which are provided with the sign of the case.

[G. Ed. p. 182.] 154. It is a question whether the m, as the sign of the nominative and accusative neuter (it is excluded from the vocative in Sanskrit and Zend), was originally limited simply to the a bases, and was not joined to the

<sup>\*</sup> The e of neuter forms like dide, "great," from the base DIDYAnom. masc. didi-s for didya-s, as §. 135.\* yaunikkis, "youngling"—I explain through the euphonic influence of the suppressed y. As also the feminine originally long a is changed into e by the same influence, so is the nominative and accusative neuter in such words identical with the nominative feminine, which is likewise, according to §. 137, devoid of inflexion; and dide therefore signifies also "magna," and answers, as feminine, very remarkably to the Zend nominatives explained at §. 137., as το γενευθ, το χολομω bráturyê. In this sense are to be regarded, also, the feminine substantives in Ruhig's third declension, as far as they terminate in the nominative in e, as giesme, "song." As no masculine forms in is correspond to them, the discovery of the true nature of these words becomes more difficult; for the lost y or i has been preserved only in the genitive plural, where giesmy-û is to be taken like rank-û from rankà, i.e. the final vowel of the bases is suppressed before the termination, or has been melted down with it.

i and u bases also; so that, in Sanskrit, for vari we had originally vari-m, for madhu, madhu-m? I should not wish to deny the original existence of such forms; for why should the a bases alone have felt the necessity of not leaving the nominative and accusative neuter without a sign of relation or of personality? It is more probable that the a bases adhered only the more firmly to the termination once assumed, because they are by far the most numerous, and could thus present a stronger opposition to the destructive influence of time by means of the greater force of their analogies; in the same way as the verb substantive, in like manner, on account of its frequent use, has allowed the old inflexion to pass less into oblivion, and in German has continued to our time several of the progeny of the oldest period; as, for instance, the nasal, as characteristic of the 1st person in bi-n, Old High German pi-m Sans. भवामि bhava-mi. In Sanskrit, one example of an m as the nominative and accusative sign of an i base is not wanting, although it stands quite isolated; and indeed this form occurs in the pronominal declension, which everywhere remains longest true to the traditions of bygone ages. I mean the interrogative form किम ki-m, "what"? from the base कि ki, which may perhaps, in Sanskrit, have produced a ki-t, which is contained in the Latin qui-d, and which I recognise again, also, in the enclitic चित chit, weakened from चित्र ki-t. Otherwise i or u-bases of pronouns in the nominative accusative neuter do not occur; for an amu, "that" (man), substitutes wat adas; and & i, "this," combines with [G. Ed. p. 183.] दम् dam (इदम् idam, "this"). Concerning the original procedure of consonantal bases in the nominative and accusative neuters no explanation is afforded by the pronominal declension, as all primary forms of pronouns termi-

155. Pronominal bases in a in Sanskrit give t, in Zend t, as the inflexion of the nominative and accusative neuter. The

nate in vowels, and, indeed, for the most part, in a.

Gothic gives, as in the accusative masculine, na for m or n, so here ta for simple t; and transfers these, like other peculiarities of the pronominal declension, as in the other German dialects, also to the adjective a bases; e.g. blinda-ta, "cæcum," midya-ta, "medium." The High German gives, in the older period, z instead of the Gothic t (§. 87.), in the most modern period, s. The pronominal base I(later E)follows in German, as in Latin, the analogy of the old a bases, and the Latin gives, as in the old ablative, d instead of t. The Greek must abandon all T sounds at the end of words: the difference of the pronominal from the common o declension consists, therefore, in this respect, merely in the absence of all inflexion. From this difference, however, and the testimony of the cognate languages, it is perceived that 76 was originally sounded 707 or 700, for a 70v would have remained unaltered, as in the masculine accusative. Perhaps we have a remnant of a neuter-inflexion  $\tau$  in  $\delta\tau\tau\iota$ , so that we ought to divide or-re; and therefore the double r, in this form, would no more have a mere metrical foundation, than the double  $\sigma$  (§. 128.) in  $\delta \rho \epsilon \sigma - \sigma \iota$ . (Buttmann, p. 85.)

156. We find the origin of the neuter case-sign t in the pronominal base  $\pi$  ta, "he," "this," (Greek TO, Goth, THA, &c.); and a convincing proof of the correctness of this explanation is this, that  $\pi\pi$  ta-t "it" "this," stands, in regard to the base, in the same contrast with  $\pi$  sa, "he,"  $\pi$  sâ, "she," as t, as the neuter case-sign, does to [G. Ed. p. 184.] the nominative s of masculine and feminine nouns (§. 134.). The m of the accusative also is, I doubt not, of pronominal origin; and it is remarkable that the compound pronouns i-ma, "this," and a-mu, "that," occur just as little as ta in the nominative masculine and feminine; but the Sanskrit substitutes for the base amu, in the nominative masculine and feminine singular the form asau, the s of which, therefore, stands in the same relation to the m of  $\pi$  amu- $\pi$ , "illum,"  $\pi$  amu- $\pi$ , "illum," and other oblique cases, as, among

the case-terminations, the sign of the masculine feminine nominative to the m of the accusative and neuter nominative. Moreover, in Zend is used wife imat, "this," (n.) (nom. accus.), but not imô, "this" (m.), but from aêm (from aum ayam), and from from aum iyam), "this" (f.). Observe in Greek the pronominal base MI, which occurs only in the accusative, and, in regard to its vowel, has the same relation to ma (in the compounded base in item) that from "what?" has to ma kas "who"? The Gothic neutermination to a anwers, in respect to the transposition of sound (§. 87.), to the Latin d (id, istud): this Latin d, however, seems to me a descent from the older t; as, e.g., the b of ab has proceeded from the p of the cognate was apa, anó; and in Zend the d of from the p of the cognate was apa, only a weakening of the t of ta, we ta:

[G. Ed. p. 185.] 157. To the Sanskrit ta-t, mentioned above, Zend ta-t, Greek  $\tau \delta$ , &c., corresponds a Lithuanian tai, "the," as the nominative and accusative singular. I do not believe, however, that the i which is here incorporated in the base TA

<sup>\*</sup> The â of â-dèm is the preposition corresponding to the Sansk. â.

<sup>†</sup> See my treatise "On the Origin of the Cases" in the Trans. of the Berlin Academy for the year 1826. As T in Greek easily becomes ∑ (but a final E has in many parts of Grammar become v), Hartung founds on this, in the pamphlet before mentioned, p. 154, the acute conjecture of an original identity of neuters in  $\nu$  (m) with those in t. We cannot, however, agree with him in this, because the m, on account of the origin which we ascribe to this case-sign, is as little surprising in the nominative of the neuter as in the accusative of the more animated genders; and besides, a greater antiquity is proved to belong to the neuter m, through the Sanskrit and Zend, than probably the v sounds can boast, which, in Greek, stand for an older Σ, as μεν for μες (ππ mas), and in the dual τον, Tov for पस thas, तस tas. What is wanting in the Greek, viz. a neuter inflexion s, appears, however, to be possessed by the Sanskrit; and I am inclined to divide the form wat adas, "that" (nom. accus.) into a-da-s, and to explain it as a corruption of a-da-t (cf. Gramm. Crit. Addend. to r. 299.); but to regard the syllable da as weakened from ta, as in the Zend Craw â-de-m, "him." We shall recur to this when treating of the pronouns.

is any way connected with the neuter t, d, of the cognate languages: I should rather turn to a relationship with the i demonstrative in the Greek ( $o\dot{v}\tau \sigma \sigma i$ ,  $\dot{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon iv\sigma\sigma i$ ), and to the  $\bar{\epsilon}\pi$  it, which is, in like manner, used enclitically in the Vêdas—a petrified neuter, which is no longer conscious of any gender or case; and hence, in several cases, combining with masculine pronouns of the third person.\* This  $\bar{\epsilon}\pi$  it, is consequently the sister form of the Latin id and Gothic i-ta, which, in the Greek  $\dot{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon iv\sigma\sigma i$ , has, perhaps only from necessity, dropped the  $\tau$  or  $\delta$ , and which already, ere I was acquainted with the Vêda-dialect, I represented as a consistent part of the conjunctions  $\bar{\epsilon}\pi$   $ch\hat{\epsilon}t$  (from cha+it), "if," and  $\bar{\epsilon}\pi$   $n\hat{\epsilon}t$  (na+it).

The words mentioned at §. 148. form in the accusative:

	SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	LITHUAN.	GOTHIC.
m.	wika-m,	věhrkě-m,	λίικο-ν,	lupu-m,	wilka-n,	vulf'.
m.	ka-m,	kĕ-m,			ka-n,	hwa-na.
n.	dâna-m,	dâtě-m,	δῶρο-ν,	donu-m,	géra,	daur'.
n.	ta-t,	ta-t,	τό,	is-tu-d,	ta-i,	tha-ta.
f.	jihwâ-m,	hizva-nm,	χώρα-ν,	terram,	ranka-n,	giba.
f.	kā-m,	ka-nm,				hvô.+

<sup>†</sup> One would expect  $hv\hat{o}$ -na, or, with abbreviation of the base, hva-na, which would be the same as the masculine. With regard to the lost case-termination, it may be observed, that, in general, the feminines are less constant in handing down the old inflexions. A charge which is incurred by the Sanskrit in the nominative, since it gives  $k\hat{a}$  for  $k\hat{a}$ -s\* (§. 137.), is incurred by the Gothic (for in this manner the corruption spreads) in the accusative also.

<sup>\*</sup> Cf. §. 386. p. 544.

	SANSERIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	LITHUAN.	GOTHIC.
m.	pati-m,	paiti-m,	πόσι-ν,	hostem,	páti-n,	gast'.
m.		* * * * .				i-na.
f.	prîti-m,	âfrîtî-m,	πόρτι-ν,	siti-m,	áwi-n,	anst.
n.	vari,	vairi,	ίδρι,	mare,		
n.				<i>i-d</i> ,		
		tîm,bûshyaintî-m,			*	
Gn	1. <i>sûnu-m</i> ,	paŝû-m,	ὶχθύ-ν,	pecu-m,	sunu-n,	sunu.
f.	tanu-m,	tanû-m,	πίτυ-ν,	socru-m,		handu.
n n	. madhu,	madhu,	μέθυ,	pecu,	darkù,	faihu.
f.	vadhû-m,	****				
Z'n	n.f.ga-m,†	pašû-m, tanû-m, madhu, ga-nm,†	βοῦ-ν,	bov-em,		
f.	nâv-am,		ναῦ-ν,	,		
f.	vach-am,	vách-ĕm,	όπ-α,	voc-em,		

<sup>\*</sup> The feminine participial bases in i, mentioned at §. 119., remain free from foreign commixture only in the nominative and vocative singular: in all other cases, to the old i is further added a more modern a; and the declension then follows RANKA exactly; only that in some cases, through the euphonic influence of the i, and in analogy with the Zend and the Latin fifth declension (§. 137.), the added a becomes, or may become, e: in the latter case the i is suppressed, as l. c. אַנגנן מק kaine for kainye (§. 42.). Thus, from sukanti, "the turning" (f.), sukusi, "the having turned" (f.), and suksenti, "the about to turn," Mielcke gives the accusatives sukanczeń (see. p. 138, Note) or suhancziań, sukuseń, and suksenczeń or suksenczian. And even if, according to Ruhig (by Mielcke, pp. 3, 4), the i before a, e, o, u is scarcely heard, it must not therefore, in this case, as well as in those there enumerated, be the less regarded as etymologically present, and it was originally pronounced so as to be fully audible. From the feminine, where the i, as Sanskrit grammar shews, has an original position, this vowel appears to have made its way, in Lithuanian participial bases, into the oblique cases of the masculine, and to be here invested with a short masculine a. The accusative sukanti-n, "the turning" (masc.), is therefore to be regarded in the same light as yaunikki-n, from the theme YAUNIKYA, i.e. it stands for sukantyi-n from sukantya-n, and hence answers to the Zend accusatives, like 6,300 tûirî-m for tûiryem (6.42.), and to the Gothic, like hari from the base HAPYA (§. 135.). † See 5. 122.

	SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	LITHUAN.	SOTHIC.
m.	bharant-am,	barënt-em,	φέροντ-α,	ferent-em,	fi	yand.
m.	âtmân-am,	asman-ĕm,	δαίμον-α,	sermon-em,	· · · · a	hman.
n.	nâma',	nâma',	τάλαν,	nomen,	n	amő.
m.	bhråtar-am,	brâtar-ĕm,	πατέρ-α,	fratr-em,	b	rôthar.
f.	duhitar-am,	dughdhar-ĕm,	θυγατέρ-α,	matr-em,	de	auhtar.
m.	dâtâr-am,	dâtâr-ĕm,	δοτήρ-α,	datōr-em,		
n.	vachas,	vachô,*	ἔπος,	opus,		

## INSTRUMENTAL, DATIVE.

158. The instrumental is denoted in Sanskrit by WI 4; and this inflexion is, in my opinion, a [G. Ed. p. 188.] lengthening of the pronominal base wa, and identical with the preposition with a, "to," "towards," "up to," which springs from this pronoun, and appears only as a prefix. The Zend & appears still more decidedly in its pronominal nature in the compound mentioned at §. 156. Note \*, 684w å-dem, "him," "this," (m.) fem. 6 % 44 å-danm. As a case-sign, and generally appears abbreviated (see p. 163. Note t), even where this termination has been melted into one with a preceding & a of the base; so that in this case the primary form and the instrumental are completely similar; e.g. wanter zadsha, "voluntarily," wanter azaôsha, "involuntarily," (V. S. p. 12.) אינ skyaôthna, "actione," often occur; אוָט ana, "through this" (m.), אין ana, "through this" (m.), אין paiti-berëta, "allevato."† The long a appears in the instrumental only in monosyllabic bases in wa; thus www khâ, "proprio" V. S. p. 46.), from the base wwo kha (Sanskrit a swa, §. 35.). In Sanskrit a euphonic  $\pi$  n is added to bases ending with short vowels in the masc.

<sup>\*</sup> See §. 56b.

<sup>†</sup> Cf. Gramm. Crit. r. 638. Rem. This interesting instrumental form was not known by Rask when he published his work on the Zend, and it was not easy to discover it, on account of its discrepancy from the Sanskrit and the many other forms with final as a.

and neut. genders;\* a final w a, however, is, as in several other cases, changed into ve; and the wif d of the casesuffix is shortened, as it appears to me, by the influence of this clog of the base; as वृकेण vrike-n-a, but खिनना agnin-a, वारिका vari-n-a, मनना sûnu-n-a, मधना madhu-n-a, from वक vrika, &c. The Vêdas, however, exhibit further remains of formations without the euphonic n, as exu swapnay-å for खमेन swapnê-n-a from खम swapna, m. "sleep" (see §. 133.); उह्या uru-y-d for उह्णा uru-n-a, from उह uru, "great," with a euphonic  $\mathbf{u}$  y( $\S$ . 43.); प्रवाहवा prabahav-a, from प्रवाह prabahu, from बाह bahu, "arm," with the preposition [G. Ed. p. 189.] प्र pra. The Vêda-form खप्रया swapnaya, finds analogies in the common dialect in नपा maya, "through me," and न्या twaya, "through thee," from the bases ma and twa, the a of which in this case, as in the loc., passes into &. And from ufa pati, m. "Lord," and सिंख sakhi, m. " friend," the common dialect forms instrumentals without the interposition of न n, viz. परा paty-å, संस्था sakhy-å. Feminines never admit a euphonic n; but a, as before some other vowel terminations, passes into ve, that is to say, i is blended with it, and it is shortened to अ a; hence, जिन्हमा jihway-d (from jihwê+d). The Zend follows in this the analogy of the Sanskrit.

159. As & in Gothic, according to §. 69., just like &, represents III &, so the forms the, hve, which Grimm (pp. 790. and 798.) regards as instrumentals, from the demonstrative base THA and the interrogative HVA, correspond very remarkably to the Zend instrumentals, as we kha from the base we kha. We must, however, place also sve in the class of genuine Zend instrumental forms, which have been correctly preserved: besides sve from SVA is also,

<sup>\*</sup> The original has "Stämmen gen. masc. und fem.;" but genitives of nouns in a do not take a euphonic n, nor do feminine nouns ending in short vowels use such an augment in the instrumental: here is no doubt some typographic error.— Editor.

in respect of its base, akin to we khâ from kha (§. 35.).\* The meaning of  $sv\delta$  is "as" ( $\omega_s$ ), and the  $s\delta$ , which has arisen in High German from sva or  $sv\delta$ , means both "as" and "so," &c. The case relations, however, which are expressed by "as" and "so" are genuine instrumentals.† [G. Ed. p. 190.] The Anglo-Saxon form for  $sv\delta$  is  $sv\delta$ , in which the colouring of the Zend we khâ is most truly preserved. The Gothic sva, "so," is, according to its form, only the abbreviation of  $sv\delta$ , as a is the short equivalent both of  $\delta$  and of  $\delta$ : through this abbreviation, however, sva has become identical with its theme, just as we ana in Zend is, according to §. 158., not distinguished from its theme.

160. ‡As the dative in Gothic and in Old High German-very frequently expresses the instrumental relation, and the termination also of the dative is identical with the Sanskrit-Zend instrumental character, shortened only, as in polysyllabic words in Zend, it may be proper here to describe at the same time the formation of the German dative. In a bases it is in Gothic, as in Zend, identical with the theme, and from VULFA comes vulfa, as which the theme, and from VULFA comes vulfa, as which are remarkable datives, which have preserved their due length, and answer to the monosyllabic instrumentals the, ve, sve, which have been already explained, viz. hvamme-h, hvaryamme-h, "cuique," and ainumme-hun, "ulli," for ainamme-

<sup>\*</sup> Grimm's conjectures regarding the forms sva and svê (III. 43.) appear to me untenable; and an explanation of these forms, without the intervention of the Sanskrit and Zend, is impossible. More regarding this at the pronouns.

<sup>†</sup> If "as" is regarded as "through which means, in which manner or way," and "so" as "through this means, in this way," it is certain that among the eight cases of the Sanskrit language there is none which would be adapted in the relative and demonstrative to express "as" and "so."

<sup>†</sup> The German dat. sing. is according to §. 356. Rem. 3., to be everywhere identified with the Sanskrit dative; and so, too, the dat. pl. the m of which approaches as closely to the Sansk. bhyas, Latin bus, Lith. mus, as the instrumental termination bhis, Lith. mis.

hun (§. 66.).\* Bases in i reject this vowel before the casesign; hence gast'-a for gasti-a: on the other hand, in the u bases the termination is suppressed, and the base-vowel receives the Guna: hence sunau, which will have been pronounced originally su-nav-a; so that, after suppressing the termination, the v has again returned to its original vowel nature. The form sunav-a would answer to the Vêda form प्रवाहवा pra-båhav-å. In Zend, the bases which terminate with s i and s u, both in the instrumental and before most [G. Ed. p. 191.] of the other vowel terminations, assume Guna or not at pleasure. Thus we find in the Vend. S. p. 469, שאאגעענ bazav-a, "brachio," as analogous to אפונים pra--bahav-a (§. 57.); on the other hand, p. 408, woo zanthwa from zantu, "the slaying," "killing." From pansnu, "dust," we find, l. c. p. 229, the form of panina, which Anquetil translates by "par cette poussiere"; and if the reading is correct, then paisna, in regard of the suppressed termination (compensation for which is made by lengthening the base vowel), would answer to the Gothic sunau.

161. Bases ending with a consonant have lost, in German, the dative character: hence, in Gothic, fiyand, ahmin, brôthr (§. 132.), for fiyand-a, ahmin-a, brôthr-a.† All feminines, too, must be pronounced to have lost the dative sign, paradoxical as it may appear to assert that the Gothic gibai, "dono," and thizai, "huic," izai, "ei," do not contain any dative inflexion, while we formerly believed the ai of gibai to be connected with the Sanskrit feminine dative

<sup>\*</sup> Here the appended particle has preserved the original length of the termination, as is the case in Zend in all instrumentals, if they are combined with ww cha, "and."

<sup>+</sup> The Old High German form fatere (for fatera), "patri," proceeds, as do the genitive fatere-s, and the accusative fatera-n, from a theme FATERA, extended by a. The accusative fatera-n, however, is remarkable, because substantives, so early as in the Gothic, have lost the accusative sign, together with the final vowel of the base. In Old High German a few other substantives and proper names follow the analogy of FATERA.

character à di. But as we have recognised in the masculine and neuter dative the Indo-Zend instrumental, we could not, except from the most urgent necessity, betake ourselves to the Sanskrit dative for explanation of the Gothic feminine dative. This necessity, however, does not exist, for, e.g., hveitai, "albae," from HVEITŌ from HVEITĀ, may be deduced from the instrumental hau śwêtay-â, "albâ," from har śwêtâ, by suppressing the termination, and changing the semi-vowel to a vowel in the same manner as, above, sunau from sunav-a, [G. Ed. p. 192.] or as the fem. handau, "manui," from handav-a. Analogous with sunau, handau, are also the dative feminine i bases; and, e.g., anstai, "gratiæ," has the same relation to its theme ANSTI that handau has to HANDU.

162. In Old High German the forms diu, hviu, correspond to the Gothic instrumentals the, hve; but authorities differ as to the mode of writing them,\* regarding which we shall say more under the pronouns. The form hiu, also, from a demonstrative base HI, has been preserved in the compound hiutu for hiu-tagu, "on this day," "to-day" (see Grimm, p. 794), although the meaning is here properly locative. The Gothic has for it the dative himma--daga. This termination u has maintained itself also in substantive and adjective bases masc. neut. in a and i, although it is only sparingly used, and principally after the preposition mit (see Graff, l. c. pp. 110, 111); mit wortu, "with a word," from WORTA; mit cuatu, "with good," from CUATA; mit kastu, " with a guest," from KASTI. It is here important to remark, that the instrumental in Sanskrit very frequently expresses, per se, the sociative relation. We cannot, however, for this reason look upon this u case as generically different from the common dative, which, we have already remarked, is likewise of instrumental origin

<sup>\*</sup> With reference to their use with various prepositions we refer our readers to Graff's excellent treatise, "The Old High German Prepositions," p. 181, &c.

and meaning: we rather regard the  $u^*$  as a corruption [G. Ed. p. 193.] (although one of very ancient date) of u, just as in the neuter plural of pronouns and adjectives a u corresponds to the short a of the Gothic and the older cognate languages. In Lithuanian the a bases form their instrumental in û, which is long, and in which the final vowel of the base has been melted down. That this ù, also, has arisen from a long a, and thus, e.g. diewù is akin to the Zend www daeva, "deo," for wwwy daeva, appears to me the less doubtful, as also in the plural diewais answers very surprisingly to אנסא daêvâis, देवेस dêvâis. Moreover, in many other parts of grammar, also, the Lithuanian ù corresponds to the Sanskrit wit a; e.q. in the plural genitive. In feminine a bases, also, in Lithuanian, the vowel of the base is melted down with that of the termination, but its quality is not changed; as, e.g. rankà "manu," from RANKA. In all other bases mi stands as the termination, to which the plural instrumental termination mis has the same relation as, in Latin, bis to bi (voBIS, tiBI); and, according to §. 63., I do not doubt that in both numbers the m has arisen from b.

163. The bases given in §. 148. form, in the instrumental and in the Gothic, in the dative,

	SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	LITH"ANIAN.	GOTHIG.
m.	vrikê-n-a,	věhrka,	wilkù,	vu!fa.
f.	jîhway-â.	hizvay-a,	rankà,	gibai.
m.	paty-a,	paithy-a,	pati-mi,	gast'-a.

<sup>\*</sup> Contrary to Grimm's opinion, I cannot let the instrumental u pass as long, even not to notice its derivation from a short a; for, first, it appears, according to Notker, in the pronominal forms diu, &c. without a circumflex (other instrumentals of the kind do not occur in his works); secondly, like the short a, it is exchanged for o (§. 77.); hence, wio, wio, with wiu, wio-lih,  $hu\ddot{v}o$ -lih, "qualis" (properly, "similar to whom"); thirdly, the length of this u cannot be deduced from the Gothic forms  $th\hat{e}$ ,  $hv\hat{e}$ ,  $sv\hat{e}$ , because these, in all probability, owe the retention of their long vowel to their being monosyllabic (cf. §. 137.).

	SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	LITHUANIAN.	GOTHIC.
f.	prîty-â,	âfrîlhy-a,	awi-mi,	anstai. 🛱
f.	bhavishyanty-å,	bûshyainty-a	,	Ed
m.	sûnu-n-d,	pašv-a,	sunu-mi,	sunau.
f.	tanw-â,	tanv-a,		handau. 5
f.	vadhw-â,	73 <b></b>		
m. f.	gav-å.	gav-a,		
f	nav-a.			
f.	vách-á,			
m.	bharat-å,	barent-a,		fiyand.
m.	âtman-1.	asman-a,		ahmin.
n.	nāmn-ā,	nâman-a,		namin.
m.	bhrålr-å.	bråthr-a,		brôthr.
f.	duhitr-1,	dughdher-a,		dauhtr.
m.	14.	dåthr-a,		i i i i i
n.		vacanh-a,		

164. In Sanskrit and Zend,  $\ell$  is the sign of the dative, which, I have scarce any doubt, originally belongs to the demonstrative base  $\ell$ , whence the nom. WHH ayam (from  $\ell+am$ ), "this"; which, however, as it appears, is itself only an extension of the base H a, from which arise most of the cases of this pronoun  $(a-sm\hat{a}i, a-sm\hat{a}t, a-smin, \&c.)$ ; and regarding which it is to be observed, that the common a bases, also, in Sanskrit in many cases extend this vowel to  $\ell$  by the admixture of an i (§. 2.). The dative sign consequently would, in its origin, be most intimately connected with the case, which, as (§. 160.) was explained, denotes, in German, both the dative and instrumental relation, and occurs in Zend also with a dative signification.

<sup>\*</sup> E.g. Vend. S. p. 45: שענאל אראי, אין אראין אראיין אראיין אראין אראין אראין אראין אראיין אראי

[G. Ed. p. 195.] We have here further to remark, that in the pronoun of the 2d person the affix अवम् bhyam (from bhi + am) in तुम्यम् tu-bhyam, "to thee," stands in evident relationship to the instrumental भिष् bhis in the plural. The feminine bases in  $\hat{a}$ ,  $\hat{i}$ ,  $\hat{u}$ , and, at will also, those in i and u, prolong in Sanskrit the dative termination v ê to v di; with the final d of the base an i is blended; hence जिन्हा ये jihwây-âi from jivâi-âi. On the other hand, 3 i and 3 u receive the Guna augment before & ê, but not before the broader रे di; as सूनदे sûnav-ê from sûnu. In Zend, feminine å and i-bases, like the Sanskrit, have åi for their termination: however, hizvdy-di is not used, but שענא אינגענענג hizvay-ai, from the base hizva, as long vowels in the penultimate, in polysyllabic bases, are so frequently shortened. Bases in si have, in combination with the particle we cha, preserved the Sanskrit form most truly, and exhibit, without exception in this case, the form אנגעמעט ay-aê-cha (see §. 28.), e.g. มพมงงมพุธพาในๆ karstayaécha, "and on account of the ploughing," "in order to plough" (Vend. S. p. 198), [G. Ed. p. 196.] from karste. Without cha, however, the form me ed is almost the sole one that occurs, e.g. ρερελυω kharětee, "in order to eat," from speλυω kharěti. This form, I doubt not, has arisen from well ay-e, by rejecting the semi-vowel, after which the preceding & a has become ε e (§. 31.). Forms like κρηλλω afrite\* or εργλλω afrile, which sometimes occur, and are most corrupted, may

<sup>\*</sup> Cf. p. 286 Note †.

165. Bases in wa a add to the case-sign & also an wa; but from  $\mathbf{v} \in (=a+i)$  and a is formed  $\mathbf{v} \mathbf{v} = a \mathbf{v} \mathbf{v} \mathbf{v}$  and this, with the a of the base, gives dya, thus quit vrikaye. Hence may have arisen, by suppressing the final a, the Zendian عرام بالمعرف věhrkái, after which the preceding semivowel must return to its vowel nature. It might, however, be assumed, that the Zend has never added an a to the dative é, and that this is a later appearance in Sanskrit, which arose after the division of languages; for from  $a + \hat{e}$ is formed, quite regularly, di (§. 2.). The Sanskrit forms also, from the particle # sma, which is added to pronouns of the 3d person, the dative was smal; and thus, e.g. कस्मै hasmai, "to whom"? answers to the Zend sugar kahmai. The Sanskrit, in this case, abstains from adding the wa, which is elsewhere appended to the dative ve; since A sma, already encumbered with the preceding principal pronoun, cannot admit any superfluity in its termination, and for this reason gives up its radi- [G. Ed. p. 197.] cal अ a before the termination इन in in the locative case also, and forms sm'-in for smên.

166. The particle ## sma, mentioned in the preceding section, which introduces itself between the base and the termination, not only in the singular, but (and this, in fact, occurs in pronouns of the two first persons) in the plural also, if not separated from both—as I have first attempted to shew

<sup>\*</sup> Epuldus afrite is undoubtedly incorrect: however, & e is often found erroncously for no e in other forms also.

in my Sanskrit Grammar-gives to the pronominal declension the appearance of greater peculiarity than it in fact possesses. As this particle recurs also in the cognate European languages, and there, as I have already elsewhere partly shewn, solves several enigmas of declension, we will therefore here, at its first appearance, pursue all its modifications and corruptions, as far as it is possible. In Zend, sma, according to §. 53., has been changed to hma; and also in Prâkrit and Pâli, in the plural of the two first persons, the s has become h, and besides, by transposition of the two consonants, the syllable hma has been altered to mha; e.g. Prâkrit सम्हे amhê, "we" (ἄμμες), Pâli सम्हाजम amhåkam, Zend ξερωξω ahmåkem, ήμῶν. From the Prâkrit-Pâli mha we arrive at the Gothic nsa in u-nsa-ra, ἡμῶν, u-nsi-s.\* "nobis," "nos." In that the Gothic has left the sibilant unaltered, it stands on an older footing than the Pâli and Prâkrit; and on the other hand, by the change of m into n, for more facile combination with the following s, it rests on a more modern stage. We cannot, therefore, any longer assume the ns of uns, "nos," to be

[G. Ed. p. 198.] the common accusative termination, as we have formerly done in unison with Grimm†—cf. vulfa-ns, gasti-ns, sunu-ns—and thence allow it, as though it had become a property of the base, to enter into some other cases, and connect it with new case-terminations. To this is opposed, also, the 2d person, where izvis (i-zvi-s) stands in the accusative, and yet in essentials the two persons are identical in their declension; uns, "nobis," "nos," stands, therefore, for unsi-s (from unsa-s), and this has s as the case-suffix, and u-nsa (weakened from u-nsi) as the compound base. And we

<sup>\*</sup> The a being changed into s, according to r. 67.

<sup>†</sup> I. 813. "unsura appears to be derived from the accusative uns, as also the dative unsis, which, with izwis, preserves a parallel sound to the dative singular." Cf. I. 813. 34.

cannot, also, any longer regard the u of unsa-ra, "nostri," &c. as the vocalized v of veis, "we," although the i of izvara, "vestri," &c. can be nothing else than the vocalized y of yus, "your"; for in Sanskrit, also, the syllable y yu of yûyam, "ye," (§. 43.) goes through all the oblique cases, while in the 1st person the v of van vayam, "we," is limited to the nominative, but the oblique cases combine a base a with the particle wasa. This a, then, in Gothic, through the influence of the following liquid, has become u; hence, unsa-ra, &c. for ans-ara (§. 66.).

167. As in Zend, the Sanskrit possessive a swa shews itself\* in very different forms in juxta-position with different letters, so I believe I can point out the particle ma in Gothic at least under four forms; namely, as nsa, zva, gka, and mma. The first has been already discussed; the second-zva, and in a weakened form zvioccurs in the pronoun of the 2d person, in the place where the 1st has nsa (nsi); and while in the cognate Asiatic languages (Sanskrit, Zend, Pâli, Prâkrit), as also in Greek and Lithuanian, the two pronouns run quite [G. Ed. p. 199.] parallel in the plural, since they both exhibit the interposed particle under discussion, either in its original form, or similarly modified, in Gothic a discrepancy has arisen between the two persons, in that the syllable sma has in them been doubly transformed. The form zva from sma rests, first, on the not surprising change of the s into z (§. 86. 5.); secondly, on the very common change of m and v (§. 63.).

168. From the Gothic downwards, the particle sma has been still further corrupted in the German dialects, in the pronoun of the 2d person, by the expulsion of the sibilant. The Old High German i-wa-r has nearly the same relation to the Gothic i-zva-ra that the Homeric genitive  $\tau \circ i \circ h$  has

<sup>\*</sup> See Ann. of Lit. Crit. March 1831, p. 376, &c.

to the Sanskrit तस्य tasya, which is older than the Homeric form. Compare, without intervention of the Gothic, the Old High German i-wa-r, i-u, i-wi-h, with the Sanskrit yu-shmâ-kam, yu-shma-bhyam, yu-shmâ-n, and with the Lithuanian yù-sû, yù-mus, yù-s: thus it would be regarded as settled, that the w or u belongs to the base, but is not the corrupted remainder of a far-extended intermediate pronoun; and it would be incorrect to divide iw-ar, iw-ih, iu, for i-wa-r, &c. I, too, formerly entertained that erroneous opinion. A repeated examination, and the enlarged views since then obtained through the Zend, Prâkrit, and Pâli, leave me thoroughly convinced, that the Gothic intermediate syllable zva has not been lost in High German, but that one portion of it has been preserved even to our time (e-ue-r from i-zva-ra, e-u-ch from i-zvi-s, Old High German i-wi-h): on the other hand, the u of the base yu (4 yu), as in Gothic so also in the oldest form of the High [G. Ed. p. 200.] German, is rejected in the oblique cases,

[G. Ed. p. 200.] German, is rejected in the oblique cases, both in the plural and in the dual\*; and the Gothic i zva-ra, Old High German i-wa-r, &c., stand for yu-zva-ra, yu-wa-r. The Old Saxon, however, and Anglo-Saxon, like the Lithuanian, shew themselves, in respect to the preservation of the base, more complete than the Gothic, and carry the u, which in Anglo-Saxon has become o, through all the oblique cases: iu-we-r, ëo-ve-r, "vestri," &c. If merely the two historical extremes of the forms here under discussion—the Sanskrit and New German forms—be contrasted with one another, the assertion must appear very paradoxical, that euer and quantum yushmakam are connected, and, indeed, in such wise, that the u of euer has nothing

<sup>\*</sup> So much the more remarkable is the u, which is still retained in the North Friesian dialect (Grimm, p. 814), where, e.g. yu-nke-r, yu-nk, in regard to the base, distinguishes itself advantageously from the Gothic i-ngva-ra, i-nqvi-s.

in common with the u of y yu, but finds its origin in the m of the syllable was ma.

169. The distinction of the dual and plural in the oblique cases of the two first persons is not organic in German; for the two plural numbers are distinguished originally only by the case-terminations. These, however, in our pronouns are, in Gothic, the same; and the difference between the two plural numbers appears to lie in the base-ugka-ra,\* νῶϊν, unsa-ra, ἡμῶν, igqva-ra, σφῶϊν, izva-ra, ὑμῶν. But from a more close analysis of the forms in the two plural numbers, and from the light afforded us by the cognate Asiatic languages, it appears that the proper base is also identical in the two plural numbers; and it is only the particle sma combined with it which has become doubly corrupted, and then the one form has become fixed in the dual, the other in the plural. The former comes nearest to [G. Ed. p. 201.] the Prâkrit-Pâli form = mha, and between u-nsa-ra and u-gka-ra (=u-nka-ra) an intervening u-nha-ra or u-mha-ra must be assumed. At least I do not think that the old s became k at one spring, but that the latter is a hardened form of an earlier h, which has remained in the Prâkrit and Pâli, as in the singular nominative the k of ik has been developed from the h of war aham. The second person gives, in Gothic,  $qv (=kv \S. 86. 1.)$  for k, while the other dialects leave the guttural the same form in both persons: Old High German, u-ncha-r, i-ncha-r; Old Slavonic, u-nke-r, i-nke-r; Anglo-Saxon, u-nce-r, i-nce-r. It would consequently appear proved that the dual and plural of the two first persons are not organically or originally different, but belong, as distortions and mutilations of different kinds, to one and the same original form; and that therefore these two pronouns have preserved the old dual just as little as

<sup>\*</sup> It must not be overlooked, that here g before k only represents the nasal answering to k (86. 1.).

the other pronouns and all substantive and adjective declensions.

170. The fourth form in which sma appears in Gothic is that which I first remarked, and which I have brought forward already in the "Annals of Oriental Literature" (p. 16). What I have there said, that the datives singular, like thamma, imma, have arisen, by assimilation, from thasma, i-sma, I have since found remarkably confirmed by the Grammar of the Old Prussian published by Vater, a language which is nearly connected with the Lithuanian and Gothic, since here all pronouns of the third person have smu in the dative. Compare, e.g. antar-smu with the Gothic anthara-mma, "to the other": ka-smu with the Gothic hva-mma, "to whom?" We have also shewn in Greek, since then, a remnant of the appended pronoun sma similar to the Gothic, and which rests on assimilation,

[G. Ed. p. 202.] since we deduced the Æolic forms  $\mathring{a}-\mu\mu-\epsilon\varsigma$ ,  $\mathring{v}-\mu\mu-\epsilon\varsigma$ , &c., from  $\mathring{a}-\sigma\mu\epsilon-\epsilon\varsigma$ ,  $\mathring{v}-\sigma\mu\epsilon-\epsilon\varsigma$ , to which the common forms  $\mathring{\eta}\mu\epsilon \hat{\imath}\varsigma$ ,  $\mathring{\nu}\mu\epsilon \hat{\imath}\varsigma$ , have the same relation that the Old High German de-mu has to the Gothic tha-mma, only that  $\mathring{\eta}\mu\epsilon \hat{\imath}\varsigma$ ,  $\mathring{\nu}\mu\epsilon \hat{\imath}\varsigma$ , in respect to the termination  $\epsilon\hat{\imath}\varsigma$ , are more perfect than the Æolic forms, since they have not lost the vowel of the particle  $\sigma\mu\epsilon$ , but have contracted  $\mu\epsilon-\epsilon\varsigma$  to  $\mu\epsilon\hat{\imath}\varsigma$ .

171. The Gothic datives in mma are, as follows from §. 160., by origin, instrumentals,\* although the particle sma in Sanskrit has not made its way into these cases, and e.g. तेन têna, "through him," not tasmêna, or, according to the Zend principle (§. 158.), tasma (for tasmâ), is used;—I say, according to the Zend principle; for though in this

<sup>\*</sup> The difference between the forms the, hve, explained at §.159., and the datives tha-mma, hva-mma, consists first in this, that the latter express the case relation by the affixed particle, the former in the main base; secondly, in this, that thamma, hvamma, for thamme, hvamme, on account of their being polysyllabic, have not preserved the original length of the termination (cf. § 137.)

language hma has entered in to the instrumental mascuine and neuter, this case in the base ta could only be used tahma or were tahma (from ta-hma-a). In the feminine, as we can sufficiently prove, the appended pronoun really occurs in the instrumental; and while e.g. from the masculine and neuter base use ana, "this" (m.), "this" (n.), we have found the instrumental of the same sound use ana not anahma, from the demonstrative base use occurs rather often the feminine instrumental uses a hmy-a, from the fem. base yes ahmi, increased by the appended pronoun.

The Sanskit appended pronoun [G. Ed. p. 203.] In sma should, in the feminine, form either In sma or In smi: on the latter is based the Zend form of hmi, mentioned at §. 171. But in Sanskit the feminine form In smi has been preserved only in such a mutilated condition,\* that before my acquaintance with the Zend I could not recognise it. From ta-smi must come the dative ta-smy-di, the gen. and ablative ta-smy-ds, and the locative ta-smy-dm. These forms, by rejecting the m, have become abbreviated to In ta-sy-di, in the feminine pronoun smi in all similar compounds; so that the forms mentioned appear to have proceeded from the masculine and neuter genitive tasya, by the annexation of new case-terminations. This opinion was the more to be relied on, that in Gothic, also, the feminine forms thi-zos, "hujus,"

<sup>\*</sup> The Zend, too, has not everywhere so fully preserved the feminine  $hm\hat{i}$ , as in the instr. a-hmy-a; but in the genitive, dative, and ablative has gone even farther than the Sanskrit in the demolition of this word, and has therein rejected not only the m but also the  $\hat{i}$ . The feminine zwerze  $a-nh-\hat{a}o$  (§. 56°a.), "hujus," for  $a-hmy-\hat{a}o$ , often occurs; and for it also zwerze  $ainh-\hat{a}o$ , in which the i is, to use the expression, a reflection of the lost y (§. 41.). From another demonstrative base we find the dative zwerze  $ava-nh-\hat{a}i$ , and more than once the ablative zwerze  $ava-nh-\hat{a}i$  for  $ava-hmy-\hat{a}i$ ,  $ava-hmy-\hat{a}i$ .

thi-zai, "huic," might be deduced from the masculine genitive this, by the addition of the terminations ds and ai; and as, too, in Lithuanian, the whole of the oblique cases singular of the 1st and 2d person stand in close connection with the Sanskrit-Zend genitives אא mama, אאנע mama, אאנע tava, and have the same as base. After discovering the Zend fe-

[G. Ed. p. 204.] minine pronominal forms in hmy-a in the instrumental and locative—in the latter for hmy-aim—the above-mentioned forms in Sanskrit cannot be regarded otherwise than as abbreviations of ta-smy-di, &c., as this is far more suited to the nature of the thing. The Gothic forms then, thizos, thizai, will be regarded as abbreviated, and must be divided into thi-zô-s, thi-zai. The masculine and neuter appended pronoun sma must, for instance, in Gothic give the feminine base  $SM\bar{O} = RMI smd$ , as  $BLIND\bar{O}$ , nom. blinda, "cæca," from BLINDA, m. n. (nom. blind'-s, blinda-ta). SMO, however, by the loss of the m, as experienced by the Sanskrit in the feminine, has become  $S\bar{O}$ ; but the s, on account of its position between two vowels (according to §. 86. 5.), has become a. Therefore, thi-zô-s\* has only s as case-sign, and the dative thi-zai, like gibai in §. 161., is without case character. With the masculine and neuter genitive thi-s, therefore, thi-zô-s, thizai, have nothing in common but the demonstrative theme THA, and the weakening of its a to i (§. 66.).

173. Gothic adjective bases in a (Grimm's strong adjectives) which follow the pronominal declension, differ from it, however, in this point, that they do not weaken the final a of the base before the appended pronoun to i, but extend it to ai, and form the feminine dative from the simple theme, according to the analogy of the substantives:† hence blindai-zô-s, blindai, not blindi-zô-s, blindi-zai.

<sup>\*</sup> Cf. §. 356. Rem. 3. p. 501, last line but seven.

<sup>†</sup> With respect to the extension of the a to ai, compare the gen. pl. and Sanskrit forms, as tê-bhyas, "iis, têshâm, "eorum," for ta-bhyas, ta sâm.

174. The Zend introduces our pronominal syllable sma in the form of hmu also into the second, and probably into the first person too: we find repeatedly, in the locative, Jewes 6 thwa-hm'-i, instead of the Sanskrit [G. Ed. p. 205.] raft tway-i, and hence deduce, in the 1st person, ma-him'-i, which we cannot quote as occurring. The Prâkrit, in this respect, follows the analogy of the Zend; and in the 2d person gives the form तमस्म tuma-sm'-i, "in thee," or, with assimilation, तुमस्मि tumammi, with तुमे tume (from tuma-i) and तइ tai; and मनिस्म mama-sm'-i or मनिस्म mama-mmi, "in me," together with the simple मए mae and मइ mai.\* Ought not, therefore, in German also, in the singular of the two first persons, a remnant of the pronominal syllable sma to be looked for? The s in the Gothic mi-s, "to me," thu-s, "to thee," and si-s, "to himself," appears to me in no other way intelligible; for in our Indo-European family of languages there exists no s as the suffix of the instrumental or dative. Of similar origin is the s in the plural u-nsi-s, "nobis," "nos," i-zvi-s, "vobis," "vos"; and its appearance in two otherwise differently denoted cases cannot therefore be surprising, because this s is neither the dative nor accusative character, but belongs to a syllable, which could be declined through all cases, but is here deprived of all case-sign. In u-nsi-s, i-zvi-s, therefore, the Sanskrit m sma is doubly contained, once as the base, and next as the apparent case-suffix. I am inclined, also, to affirm of the above-mentioned Prâkrit forms, tu-ma-sm'i, "in thee," and ma-ma-sm'i, "in me," that they doubly contain the pronominal syllable sma, and that the middle syllable has dropped a preceding s. For there is no more favourite and facile combination in our class of languages! than of a pronoun with a pronoun; and what is omitted by one dialect in this respect is often afterwards supplied by another more modern dialect.

<sup>\*</sup> See Essai sur le Pali, by E. Burnouf and Lassen, pp. 173.175.

[G. Ed. p. 206.] 175. The k in the Gothic accusatives mi-k, thu-k, si-k (me, te, se), may be deduced, as above, in u-gka-ra,  $v\tilde{\omega}$ iv, &c., from s, by the hardening of an intervening h; so that mi-s is altered to mi-h, and thence to mi-k; and therefore, in the singular, as also in the plural, the dative and accusative of the two first persons are, in their origin identical. In Old High German and Anglo-Saxon our particle appears in the accusative singular and plural in the same form: Old High German mi-h "me," di-h, "thee," u-nsi-h, "us," i-wi-h, "you"; Anglo-Saxon me-c, "me," u-si-c, "us," the-c, "thee," ev-vi-c, "you": on the other hand, in the dative singular the old s of the syllable sma has become r in the High German, but has disappeared in the Old Saxon and Anglo-Saxon: Old High German mi-r, di-r; Old Saxon mi, thi; Anglo-Saxon me, the.

176. In Lithuanian # sma appears in the same form as in the middle of the above-mentioned (§. 174.) Prâkrit forms; namely, with s dropped, as ma; and indeed, first, in the dative and locative sing, of the pronouns of the 3d person and adjectives; and, secondly, in the genitive dual of the two first persons: we cannot, however, refer to this the m, which the latter in some cases have in common with the substantive declension. The pronominal base TA, and the adjective base GERA, form, in the dative, tú-mui, "to thee," gerá-mui, "to the good" (shortened tám, gerám), and in the locative ta-mè, gera-mè; and if -mui and -mè are compared with the corresponding cases of the substantive a bases, it is easily seen that mui and me have sprung from ma. The pronouns of the two first persons form, in the genitive dual, mu-mû, yu-mû, according to the analogy of ponû, "of the two lords."

<sup>\*</sup> We have a remnant of a more perfect form of the particle स sma in the locative interrogative form ka-mme, "where"? Sansk. कस्मिन् ka-smin,

177. Lithuanian substantives have i for [G. Ed. p. 207.] the dative character, but i bases have  $ei^*$ ; a final a before this i passes into u; hence wilku-i. Although we must refuse a place in the locative to the dative i of the Greek and Latin. still this Lithuanian dative character appears connected with the Indo-Zend  $\ell$ , so that only the last element of this diphthong, which has grown out of a+i, has been left. For the Lithuanian has, besides the dative, also a real locative, which, indeed, in the a bases corresponds exactly with the Sanskrit and Zend.

178. The nominal bases, Sanskrit, Zend, and Lithuanian, explained at §. 148., excepting the neuters ending with a vowel and pronouns, to the full declension of which we shall return hereafter, form in the dative:

	SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	LITHUANIAN.
m.	vrikâya,	věhrkái,	wilku-i.
f.	jihwây-âi,	hizvay-âi,	ranka-i.
m.	paty-ê,†	paile-ê? ‡	pách-ei.
f.	prîtay-ê,	âfrîte-ê,	áwi-ei.
f.	bhavishyanty-âi,	bûshyainty-âi,	
m.	sûnav-ê,	pasv-ê,	sunu-i.

<sup>&</sup>quot;in whom," which, according to the common declension, would be that kasmé (from kasma-i). Compare the Gothic hvamma, "to whom?" for hvasma.

<sup>\*</sup> The form *áwiui*, with *ńwiei* appears to admit of being explained as arising from the commixture of the final vowel of the a bases.

<sup>†</sup> The form प्रते patyê is, with respect to its want of Guna, irregular, and should be पत्रे patayê.

In combination with אַשְּׁרְבּיּאָם cha we find in V. S., p. 473. אַשְּׁרְבּיּאָם paithyė-cha, and hence deduce for the instrumental (p. 193 G. Ed.) the form paithya, while, according to f. 47., also paitya might be expected. From שענטענע haci, "friend," I find in V. S., p. 162, the instrumental אַשְּׁרְבּיּיִא hacaya with Guna, after the analogy of the אַרְבּיִא bâzava, mentioned at f. 160.

	SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	LITHUANIAN.
	f. tanav-é.	tanu-y-ê,*	
[G.	f. vadhw-åi,		
Ed.	m. f. gav-ê,	gav-ê.	
70	f. nåv-é.		
p. 208.]	f. vàch-e,	vách-ê,	
	m. bharat-ê,	barent-ê,	
	m. âtman-ê,	asmain-ê,	
	n. nâmn-ê,‡	nâmain-ê,	
	m. bhråtr-ê,	bråthr-ê,	
	f. duhitr-ê,	dughdhĕr-ê,†	
	m. dåtr-e,	dâthr-ê,	
	n. vachas-ê,‡	vachanh-ê,	

<sup>\*</sup> I give rossymptomuyê with euphonic y, because I have found this form frequently, which, however, cannot, for this reason, be considered as peculiar to the feminine; and, instead of it, also  $tanv\hat{e}$  and  $tanav\hat{e}$  may be regarded as equally correct. Cf. §. 43., where, however, it is necessary to observe, that the insertion of a euphonic 33 y between u and  $\hat{e}$  is not everywhere necessary; and, for instance, in the dative is the more rare form.

t The & in 10/20 2 > 4 dughdhërë, and in the instr. 20/20 2 > 4 dughdhëra, is placed there merely to avoid the harsh combination of three consonants. I deduce these forms from the plural genitive & 20/20 2 > 4 dughdhër-anm, for & 20/20 2 > 4 dughdhr-anm.

<sup>‡</sup> Respecting הוֹשׁ חמׁשׁחתּל, for הוֹשִה חמׁשׁשׁתּל, and so in the instrumental הוְשִּהְ חמֹשׁשׁתּל, for הוֹשִּה חמׁשׁשׁתּל, see §. 140. In Zend, in this and similar words, I have not met with the rejection of the a in the weakest cases (§. 130.), but examples of its retention, e.g. in the compound aoctô-nâman, whence the genitive aoctô-nâmanô (Vend. S. p. 4, and frequently). I consider the initial a in this compound as the negation, without euphonic n; for in all probability it means "having untold (countless) names." Similar compounds precede, viz. בעשעים של שערים אונים או

#### ABLATIVE.

179. The Ablative in Sanskrit has  $\bar{\eta}$  t [G. Ed. p. 209.] for its character, regarding the origin of which there can no longer be any uncertainty, as soon as the influence of pronouns on the formation of cases has been recognised, as we are conducted at once to the demonstrative base ta, which already, in the neuter nominative, and accusative, has assumed the nature of a case-sign, and which we shall subsequently, under the verb, see receiving the function of a personal termination. This ablative character, however, has remained only in bases in  $\bar{\eta}$  a, which is lengthened before it; a circumstance that induced the Indian Grammarians, who have been followed by the English, to represent  $\bar{\eta}$  as the ablative termination. It would therefore be to be assumed, that in  $\bar{\eta}$  and vrik the a of the base has been melted down with the  $\hat{a}$  of the termination.\*

180. M. E. Burnouf<sup>†</sup> has been the first [G. Ed. p. 210.] to bring home the ablative character to a class of words in Zend which had lost it in Sanskrit, and whence it can be satisfactorily inferred that a simple t, and not dt, is the true ablative character. We mean the declension in u, of which hereafter. As regards bases in a, which in Sanskrit alone have preserved the ablative, we have to observe, that in

<sup>\*</sup> I have drawn attention already, in the first (German) edition of my Sanskrit Grammar, to the arbitrary and unfounded nature of this assumption (). 156. and 264.); and I have deduced from the ablatives of the pronouns of the two first persons (mat, twat) that either at with short a, or, more correctly, a simple t, must be regarded as the ablative termination. This view I supported in the Latin edition of my Grammar, on the ground that in old Latin also a simple d appears as the suffix of the ablative. But since then the justness of my opinion regarding the Sanskrit ablative has been still more emphatically confirmed by the Zend language, because the Zend stands in a closer and more evident connection with the Sanskrit than does the Latin.

<sup>†</sup> Nouveau Journal Asiatique 1829, tom. III. 311

Zend also the short vowel is lengthened, and thus viele vehrkā-t answers to quin vrikā-t. Bases in s i have δi-t in the ablative: whence may be inferred in Sanskrit ablatives like un patē-t, un n pritē-t (§. 33.), which, by adding Guna to the final vowel, would agree with genitives in ê-s. The Zend-Avesta, as far as it is hitherto edited, nevertheless offers but few examples of such ablative forms in which is a passage of the Vendidâd,\* explained elsewhere, which recurs frequently. Examples of masculine bases are perhaps which requestly. S. p. 86), although otherwise which is a masculine: the adjective base zaratustri, however, belongs to the three genders. From show gairi, "moun—[G. Ed. p. 211.] tain," occurs the ablative which in the Yescht-Sâde.† Bases in u have what ao-t‡ in the

\* See Gramm. Crit. add. ad r. 156.

ablative |; and in no class of words, with the exception of

than the ablative garôit, for Anquetil generally expresses by gu, w by e, w by ôe, and w by d. The nominal base squari, however, is treated in Zend as if gari was the original form, and the i which precedes the r was produced by the final i, as remarked by M. Burnouf in the article quoted at p 173, and confirmed by the genitive with respect to the genitive, and of which the Vend. S. p. 64. affords frequent proof in the genitive with respect to the genitive with respect to the genitive, and of which the Vend. S. p. 64. affords frequent proof in the genitive with respect to the genitive with respect to the genitive with respect to the genitive, and of which the Vend. S. p. 64. affords frequent proof in the genitive with respect to th

<sup>!</sup> For this we also find por eut; e.g. pressing mainyeut from mainyu.

Interchanges of b o and b b are particularly common, owing to the slight difference of these letters. Thus, e.g. for whalf mraôt, "he spoke," occurs very frequently whalf mraot; the former, however, is, as we can satisfactorily prove, the right reading; for, first, it is supported

that in a, does the ablative more frequently occur, although these words are in number but five or six, the ablative use of which is very frequent; e.g. phanges addonhaot, "creatione," from ddonhu, in a passage explained elsewhere phange anhaot, "mundo," from regulation and anhaot, "mundo," from regulation anhaot, "corpore," from regulation. Bases ending with consonants are just as little able to annex the [G. Ed. p. 212.] ablative of without the intervention of another letter, as the accusative is to annex m without an intermediate letter; and they have at as their termination, numerous examples of which occur; e.g. pade ap-at, "aqua"; pade at attract, "igne"; pade pade chashman-at, "oculo"; pade attract, "igne"; pade pade chashman-at, "oculo"; pade attract, "igne"; pade pade chashman-at, "damone"; pade to the facile interchange of the a with a d, pade is sometimes erroneously written for pade at; thus, Vendidâd S. p. 338, pade and all as adochant-at for pade and all sadochant-at "lucente." Bases in a sometimes follow the

by the Sanskrit form Anti abrôt, for which the irregular form Anti abrav-ît is used; and secondly, it answers to the 1st pers. mraôm (V. S. p. 123): thirdly, the Sanskrit An ô is, in Zend, never represented by Las ao, but by \$\frac{1}{2}\$ ô, before which, according to \$\frac{1}{2}\$. 28., another as a is placed, hence \$\frac{1}{2}\$ ao: on the other hand, Las ao represents u, in accordance with \$\frac{1}{2}\$. 32 and \$\frac{1}{2}\$. 28. If, then, sand passu formed in the ablative results passus, this would conduct us to a Sanskrit Anti passus; this would conduct us to a Sanskrit Anti passus; while from the ablatives results abraves and fritôi-t, results passus, and from the analogy, in other respects, with the genitive, the Guna form, Anti passo-t must be deduced. Moreover, in the Vend. S. the ablative form respects actually occurs; for at p. 102 (arguer passus) hacha vanheaô-t mananh-at, "from pure spirit") occurs vanheaôt, the ablative of vanhu; and the \$\frac{1}{2}\$ e preceding the \$a\$ is an error in orthography, and vanhaôt is the form intended: p. 245 occurs respects, "mundo," from anhu.

\* Gramm. Crit. \$\frac{1}{2}\$. 640. ann. 2.

consonantal declension in having ou at as the ablative termination instead of a mere t; just as in the genitive, besides a simple s, they exhibit also an ô (from as, §. 56b.), although more rarely. Thus, for the above-mentioned range tanaot, "corpore," occurs also tanv-at (Vend. S. p. 482).\* Feminine bases in w a and & i have pw at in the ablative, as an analogous form to the feminine genitive termination सास ds, whence, in the Zend em do; e.g. क्राज्याहर क dahmay-at, "præclara," from wen g dahma; pwssils ) urvaray-at) "arbore," from אולאים urvara; שנולפל אין שיים מוראים ערים ערים וויים ערים ערים וויים ערים וויים ערים וויים ערים וויים ערים וויים ערים וויים ווי [G. Ed. p. 213.] barethry-at, "genitrice," from Asplus barethri.+ The feminine bases also in u, and perhaps also those in i, may share this feminine termination pow at; thus, from zantu, "begetting," comes the ablative zanthw-at (cf. Gramm. Crit. §. 640. Rem. 2.). Although, then, the ablative has been sufficiently shewn to belong to all declensions in Zend, and the ablative relation is also, for the most part, denoted by the actual ablative, still the genitive not unfrequently occurs in the place of the ablative, and even adjectives in the genitive in construction with substantives in the ablative. Thus we read, Vend S. p. 479, αναηλάι‡ visat yat mázdayasnáis, "ex hac terrá quidem mazdayasnicā."

<sup>\*</sup> Burnouf writes tanavat, probably according to another Codex. I hold both forms to be correct, the rather as in the genitive, also, both tanv-ô and tanav-ô occur; and in general, before all terminations beginning with a vowel, both the simple form and that with Guna are possible.

<sup>†</sup> Vendidad Sade, p. 436: ψλομινυ ελυστουρ ψηθες μους κεγίνου μουν και για το μους για το μους για το μους για το μους για το κατανού μους για νελείο chathware-jangro nishdaredairyat barethryat hacha puthrem, "As a wolf, a four-footed animal, tears a child from its mother." This sentence is also important as an example of the intensive form (cf. Gramm. Crit. §. 363.). The Codex, however, divides incorrectly nishdare dairyat.

Regarding this form, see p. 172. Rem.

181. The Old Roman corresponds with the Zend in regard to the designation of the ablative; and in those two memorials of the language, that on the Columna rostrata, and the S. C. de Bacchanalibus, which are the most important inscriptions that remain, all ablatives end with d; so that it is surprising that the ablative force of this letter could be overlooked, and that the empty name of a paragogic d could be held satisfactory. Bases ending with a consonant use ed as ablative suffix, as in the accusative they have em instead of a simple m: hence, forms like præsent-ed dictator-ed, answer to the Zend saochant-at athr-at (lucente igne); while navale-d\* præda-d, inalto-d mari-d, senatu-d, like the above-mentioned Zend forms pulled garôi-t, "monte," populus tanaô t, "corpore," &c.; and in Sanskrit gana vrika-t, "lupo," have a simple T sound to denote the ablative. The Oscan also takes the ablative sign d through all declensions, as appears from the remarkable inscription of Bantia, e.g. dolu-d [G. Ed p. 214.] mallu-d, cum preivatu-d, touta-d præsenti-d.† It may be preliminarily observed, that, in the 3d person of the imperative, old Latin and Oscan forms like es-tod, es-tud-for es-to, and therefore with a double designation of person-correspond remarkably to similar Vêda forms with which we are hitherto acquainted only from Panini; e.g. जीवतात jiva-tat, which signifies both "vivat" and "vive," but in the latter sense is probably only an error in the use of the language (cf. vivito as 3d and 2d person).

182. In classical Latinity a kind of petrified ablative form appears to be contained in the appended pronoun met, which may be transferred from the 1st person to the others also, and answers to the Sanskrit ablative mat, "from me." But it is possible, also, that met may have

<sup>\*</sup> The e here belongs to the base, which alternates between e and i.

<sup>†</sup> See O. Müller's Etruscans, p. 36.

dropped an initial s, and may stand for smet, and so belong to the appended pronoun # sma, explained in §. 165. &c., corresponding with its ablative smat, to which it stands in the same relation that memor (for mesmor) does to स्त smri-from smar, §. 1.—"to remember." The combination of this syllable, then, with pronouns of the three persons, would require no excuse, for m sma, as has been shewn, unites itself to all persons, though it must itself be regarded as a pronoun of the 3d person.\* The conjunction sed, too, is certainly nothing but the ablative of the reflexive; and sed occurs twice in the S. C. de Bacch. as an evident pronoun, and, in fact, governed by inter; [G. Ed. p. 215.] whence it may be assumed that inter can be used in construction with the ablative, or also that, in the old languages, the accusative is the same with the ablative: the latter view is confirmed by the accusative use of ted and med in Plantus.

† 183. In Sanskrit the ablative expresses distance from a place, the relation "whence;" and this is the true, original destination of this case, to which the Latin remained constant in the names of towns. From the relation "whence," however, the ablative is, in Sanskrit, transferred to the causal relation also; since that on account of which any thing is done is regarded as the place whence an action proceeds. In this manner the confines of the ablative and instrumental touch one another, and not then (§. 158.) and not tasmat, may both express "on account of which." In adverbial use the ablative spreads still further, and in some words denotes relations, which are otherwise foreign to the ablative. In Greek, adverbs in ως may be looked upon as sister forms of the Sanskrit ablative; so that ω-ς, from bases in o, would have the same relation to the Sanskrit

<sup>\*</sup> The reduplication in me-mor, from me-smor, would be of the kind used in Sanskrit, e.g. pasparśa, "he touched," of which hereafter.

<sup>†</sup> Cf. the Gothic ablatives in  $\hat{o}$ , adduced in §. 294. Rem. 1. p. 384.

चात å-t, from bases in a, that, e.g. δίδωσι has to द्दानि dadå-ti Thus, δμω-ς may be akin to the Sanskrit समात् samâ-t, "from the similar," both in termination and in base. In Greek, the transition of the T sounds into g was requisite, if indeed they were not to be entirely suppressed\*; and in §. 152, we have seen neuter bases in  $\tau$ , in the uninflected cases, preserve their final letter from being entirely lost by changing it into c. We deduce, therefore, [G. Ed. p. 216.] adverbs like όμω-ς, ούτω-ς, ω-ς, from όμω-τ, ούτω-τ, ω-τ or όμῶ-δ, &c., and this is the only way of bringing these formations into comparison with the cognate languages; and it is not to be believed that the Greek has created for this adverbial relation an entirely peculiar form, any more than other case-terminations can be shewn to be peculiar to the Greek alone. The relation in adverbs in ω-ς is the same as that of Latin ablative forms like hoc modo, quo modo, raro, perpetuo. In bases ending with a consonant, of for or might be expected as the termination, in accordance with Zend ablatives like payattung chashman-at, "oculo"; but then the ablative adverbial termination would be identical with that of the genitive: this, and the preponderating analogy of adverbs from o bases, may have introduced forms like σωφρόν-ως, which, with respect to their termination, may be compared with Zend feminine ablatives like يداكوكاروسم barethry-at. We must also, with reference to the irregular length of this adverbial termination, advert to the Attic genitives in ws for os.+

<sup>\*</sup> As, in οὖτω, together with οὖτω-s, δδε, ἄφνω, and adverbs from prepositions—ἔξω, ἄνω, κάτω, &c. It is here desirable to remark, that in Sanskrit, also, the ablative termination occurs in adverbs from prepositions, as সমস্রান adhastât, "(from) beneath," पुरस्तान purastât, "(from) before," &c. (Gram. Crit. § 652 p. 279.).

<sup>†</sup> In compounds, remains of ablative forms may exist with the original T sound retained. We will therefore observe, that in  $\Lambda \phi \rho o \delta i \tau \eta$  the first member

#### THE GENITIVE.

[G. Ed. p. 217.] 184. In no case do the different members of the Sanskrit family of languages agree so fully as in the genitive singular; only that in Latin the two first declensions, together with the fifth, as well as the two first persons of the pronouns, have lost their old termination, and have replaced it by that of the old locative. The Sanskrit terminations of the genitive are  $\pi$  s,  $\pi$  sya,  $\pi$  as, and  $\pi$  as: the three first are common to the three genders: as is

member has a genuine ablative meaning; and as the division ἀφρο-δίτη admits of no satisfactory explanation, one may rest satisfied with ἀφροδ-ίτη. In Sanscrit, अभादिता abhradita would mean "the female who proceeded from a cloud," for abhrâ-t must become abhrâd before itâ (\$.933.); and in neuter verbs the otherwise passive participial suffix ta has usually a past active meaning. Of this usage ιτη, in ἀφροδ-ίτη, might be a remnant, and this compound might mean, therefore, "She who arose, who sprang, from foam." The only difficulty here is the short vowel of od for ωδ. As regards the Sanskrit, here also the s of the ablative may in most declensions rest on an exchange with an older t (cf. p. 184 G. ed. Note); and, as the Zend gives us every reason to expect Sanskrit ablatives like jihway-at, prîtê-t, sûnô-t, bhavishyanty-ât, âtman-at; so it will be most natural to refer the existing forms jihwây-âs, prîtê-s, &c., where they have an ablative meaning, to the exchange of t with s, which is more or less in vogue according to the variety of dialects; particularly as it is known, also, that, vice versa, according to certain laws, स s passes into त t (Gramm. Crit. 6. 100.). Consequently the identity between the genitive and ablative, in most declensions, would be only external, and the two cases would vary in their history; so that, e.g. jihwây-âs would be, in one sense, viz. in that of linguæ, independent and original; and in another, that of lingua, a corruption of jihwây-ât. At the time when Sanskrit and Zend were separated from one another, the retention of the original t must have been the prevailing inclination, and, together with it, may also its change into s have arisen, as the Zend also uses, at times, the genitive form with an ablative meaning (e.g. Vend. S. p. 177.).

principally confined to the consonantal bases,\* and hence has the same relation to s that, in the accusative, am has to m, and, in the Zend ablative, at has to t.

vowels इ i and उ u take Guna; and the Zend, and in a more limited degree, also the Lithuanian and Gothic, share this augment. All u bases, for example, in Lithuanian and Gothic, prefix an a to their final vowel: hence the Lithuanian sunaù-s and Gothic sunau-s correspond to the Sanskrit स्नोस् sûnôs (filii) from sunaus (§. 2.). In the i bases in Gothic, Guna is restricted to the feminines; thus anstai-s, "gratiæ," answers to प्रोतेस pritê-s. Respecting Lithuanian genitives of i bases see §. 193. The High German has, from the earliest period, dropped the genitive sign in all feminines: in consonantal bases (§§. 125. 127.) the sign of the genitive is wanting in the other genders also.

186. The form which the Sanskrit genitive termination after consonants assumes, as it were of necessity (§. 94.), viz. as for s, has in Greek, in the form os, passed over also to the vowels  $\iota$  and  $\upsilon$  and diphthongs terminating in  $\upsilon$ ; and genitives like  $\pi o \rho \tau \epsilon \iota - \varsigma$ ,  $i \chi \theta \epsilon \upsilon - \varsigma$ , which would be in accordance with §. 185. are unheard of; but  $\pi o \rho \tau \iota - \circ \varsigma$ ,  $i \chi \theta \delta \upsilon - \circ \varsigma$  answer, like  $\pi o \delta - \delta \varsigma$ , to Sanskrit genitives of consonantal bases, as  $\tau \in \tau$  pad-as, "pedis,"  $\tau \in \tau$  vach-as, "vocis." The Latin, on the other hand, answers more to the other sister languages, but is without Guna: so hosti-s is like the Gothic genitive gasti-s. In the  $\iota$  bases (fourth declension) the lengthening of the  $\iota$  may replace the Guna, or, more correctly, this class of words followed the Greek or consonantal principle, and the vowel dropped before  $\iota$  was compensated for by

<sup>\*</sup> Besides this, it occurs only in monosyllabic bases in  $\hat{\xi}$  i,  $\hat{\pi}$   $\hat{u}$ ,  $\hat{v}$   $\hat{a}i$ , and  $\hat{\pi}$   $\hat{u}$ ; e.g.  $r\hat{a}y$ -as, "rei,"  $r\hat{a}v$ -as, "navis:" and in neuters in  $\hat{\xi}$  i and  $\hat{\tau}$  a, which, by the assumption of an euphonic  $\hat{\tau}$  n, assimilate to the consonantal declension in most cases.

lengthening the u. The S. C. de Bacch. gives the genitive senatu-os in Grecian garb. Otherwise the termination is of consonantal bases is better derived from the Sanskrit at [G. Ed. p. 219.] as than from the Greek os, because the old Sanskrit a in other places in Latin has been weakened to i, as frequently happens in Gothic (§§. 66.67.).

187. With regard to the senatu-os just mentioned, it is important to remark, that, in Zend also, the u bases, instead of annexing a simple s in the genitive, as אַבּעַנְנָבָּיִבְּשׁׁהָּ mainyeu-s, "of the spirit," from mainyu, may, after the manner of consonantal bases, add שְׁ מּ (from as, cf. p. 212, G. Ed.), as אַשְּבָּשׁׁ danhv-ô, or שְׁשִׁשׁׁ danhav-ô, for danheu-s "loci," from מַשְּבָּשׁׁ danhu. This kind of genitive occurs very frequently as a substitute for the locative, as also for the ablative (Vend. S. p. 177), more rarely with a genuine genitive meaning.\*

188. Bases in ख a, and pronouns of the third person, of which only amu ends with a vowel other than a, have, in Sanskrit, the more full genitive sign स्व sya; hence, e. g. वृकस्य vrika-sya, "lupi," तस्य ta-sya, "hujus," &c., अनुष्य amu-shya,

<sup>\*</sup> It might be assumed that as  $\beta a \sigma i \lambda \acute{\epsilon} o s$  clearly stands for  $\beta a s \iota \lambda \acute{\epsilon} F o s$ ,  $\beta o \acute{\epsilon} s$  for  $\beta o F \acute{\epsilon} s$ ,  $\nu a \acute{\epsilon} s$  for  $\nu a F \acute{\epsilon} s$ , (§. 124.), so also  $\Ha \sigma \tau \epsilon o s$  would stand for  $\Ha \sigma \tau \epsilon F o s$ , and that  $\Ha \sigma \tau \epsilon o s$ , therefore, should be compared with the Zend genitives with Guna, as  $\ra \omega \omega \omega \omega d a n h a v - \acute{\epsilon}$ . The  $\ra \varepsilon$ , therefore, in  $\Ha \sigma \tau \epsilon o s$  would not be a corrupted v of the base, but the Guna vowel foreign to the base; but the v of the base, which, according to the original law of sound, must become F before vowels, is, like all other digammas in the actual condition of the language, suppressed. The  $\ra \varepsilon$  is certainly a very heterogeneous vowel to the v, and the corruption of the latter to  $\ra \varepsilon$ , in the middle of a word, would be a greater violation of the old relations of sound than the rejection of a v sound between two vowels. The corruption of  $\ra v$  to  $\ra v$  is less surprising, and occurs also in Old High German (§. 72.). In Greek, also, a consonant v is wanting, but cannot have been originally deficient; and therefore the question might be mooted whether also  $\pi \acute{o} \lambda \epsilon \omega s$ ,  $\sigma \iota \nu \acute{a} \pi \epsilon o s$  may not stand for  $pole-y\^{o}s$ , sinape-yos.

"illius," (§. 21.) In Zend this termination [G. Ed. p. 220.] appears in the form of he, (§. 42.): hence, e. g. ພະນາງໃນເຊັ່ນ věhrkahe, "lupi," ພະນາງໃນເປັນຄາຍ, "dupi," ຄາຍ ເພື່ອກາງຄຳຄໍ. "quarti," for tûrya-he.

189. In Greek and Latin we have already, in another place, pointed out a remnant of the genitive termination स्य sya, and, in fact, precisely in places where it might be most expected. As bases in a a correspond to the Greek bases in o, and as o in Greek at the furthest extremity of words between two vowels is generally dislodged, I do not entertain the smallest doubt that the old epic genitive termination in ιο is an abbreviation of σιο; and that e. q. in τοῦο = πτι ta-sya, the first o belongs to the base, and only to to the case-sign. As regards, however, the loss of the o in roio, the Greek Grammar supplies us with another oio, where a 2 is lost, the necessary and original existence of which no one can doubt: ἐδίδοσο, and the ancient position of the Σ in the second person, testify for διδοισο instead of διδοίο, as for έλεγεσο instead of ἐλέγου, just as the Indian ππα ta-sya for το-σιο instead of τοίο. In the common language the ι, also, has been dropped after the  $\sigma$ , and the o of the termination, which has remained, has been contracted with that of the base to ου; hence τοῦ from το-ο. The Homeric form αο (Βορέαο, Aiνείαο) belongs likewise to this place, and stands for α-ιο, and this for α-σιο (§. 116.). The Latin has transposed our स्य sya to jus, with the change, which is so frequent, of the old a before the final s to u (cf. वृकस vrika-s, "lupu-s," युक्तमस् yunjmas, jungimus); hence, hu jus, cu-jus, e-jus, illius for illi--jus, &c. I cannot, however, believe that the i of the second declension is an abbreviation of o10, of which the 1 alone has been retained; \* for it is clear that lupi and [G. Ed. p. 221.] lupæ from lupai rest on the same principle; and if lupi proceeds from λύκοιο, whence can lupai be derived, as the corresponding Greek feminines nowhere exhibit an alo or no?

<sup>\*</sup> Hartung's Cases, p. 211.

190. In Lithuanian the genitives of the a bases differ remarkably from those of the other decleasions, and denote the case by o, in which vowel, at the same time, the final vowel of the base is contained; thus, wilko, "lupi," for wilka-s. It is probable that this o (ō) has arisen from a-s, according to a contraction similar to that in the Zend (§. 56b.), In old Sclavonic, also, o occurs, answering to the Sanskrit as; and nebo, gen. nebese, corresponds to the Sanskrit नमस nabhas. That, however, the Lithuanian has left the syllable as in the nominative unaltered, but in the genitive has contracted it to o, may induce the remark, that like corruptions do not always find entrance in like places, if they have not raised themselves to a pervading law. In this manner, in Gothic, the old a has remained in the interrogative base HVA in the nominative (hvas), but in the genitive hvi-s the weakening to i has taken place; so that here, as in Lithuanian, only the more worthy powerful nominative has preserved the older more powerful form, and an unorganic difference has found its way into the two cases, which ought to be similar.

191. The Gothic has no more than the Lithuanian preserved a remnant of the more full genitive termination sya, and the Gothic a bases, in this case, resemble the i bases, because a before final s has, according to §. 67., become weakened to i; thus vulfi-s for vulfa-s; as also in Old Saxon the corresponding declension exhibits a-s together with e-s, although more rarely; thus, daga-s, "of the day,"

[G. Ed. p. 222.] answering to the Gothic dagi-s. The consonantal bases have, in Gothic, likewise a simple s for case-sign; hence, ahmin-s, fiyand-s, brôthr-s (§. 132.). The older sister dialects lead us to conjecture that originally an a, more lately an i, preceded this s—ahmin-as, fiyand-as, brôthr-as,—which, as in the nominative of the a bases (vulf-s for vulfa-s), has been suppressed. The Zend exhibits in the r roots an agreement with the Gothic, and forms, e.g. when a greenent with the consonant consonat consonant co

the man," not nar-6, probably on account of the nature of the r bordering on that of a vowel, and of its facile combination with s.\*

192. Feminines in Sanskrit have a fuller genitive termination in bases ending with a vowel, viz. ds for simple s (see §. 113.); and, in fact, so that the [G. Ed. p. 223.] short-ending bases in इi and उu may use at will either simple म s or आस ds; and instead of मीतेम prité-s, तनोस् tanó-s, also मीताम prity-as, तन्याम tanw-as, occur. The long vowels आ d, ईi, ज û,† have always आम ds; hence, जिल्लायाम jihway-as, भविष्णन्याम bhavishyanty-as, याम vadhw-as. This termination आम ds, is, in Zend, according to §. 56b., sounded do; hence, ह्याऽऽऽऽऽऽ hizvay-ao, ह्याऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽऽ bushyainty-ao. In bases in s i and s u I have not mer

<sup>\*</sup> Hence I deduce the genitives whom's brâtar-s, who 9 > 9 dughdhar-s-which cannot be quoted-and the probability that the corresponding Sanskrit forms are properly bhrâtur, duhitur, which cannot be gleaned from the Sanskrit alone, on account of §. 11., and by reason of the elsewhere occurring euphonic interchange of s and r. भात्र bhrátur, and similar forms, would therefore stand for -urs, and this apparently for ars, through the influence of the liquids; and, according to §. 94., they would have lost the genitive sign. The same is the case with the numeral adverb चत्र chatur, "four times," for चत्र chature; for which the Zend, by transposing the r, gives we chathrus (§. 44.). The Indian Grammarians also, in the genitives under discussion, assume the absence of the genitive sign (Laghu-Kaumudî, p. 35). As, however, the Visarga, in क्रोष्ट्र krôshtu (from the theme क्रोष्ट्र krôshtar or क्रोष्ट्र krôshtri, see §. 1.), may evidently stand as well for s as for r; so in such doubtful cases it is of no consequence to which side the Indian Grammarians incline, where arguments are not found in the Sanskrit itself, or in the cognate languages, which either confirm or refute their statements. And it is impossible, if the Visarga, in and bhrâtuh, stands for r, that the preceding u can be a transposition of the final letter of the base (ज्या उत्), for this cannot be both retained in the form of r, and yet changed into u (cf. Colebrook,

<sup>†</sup> Only the few monosyllabic words make an exception. (Gramm. Crit. 5. 130.)

with this termination; together with white affilies. we sup taneu-s, or fram tanv-o, fram tanav-o, I find no ຂພາງປະປາພ afrithy-ao, ຮພາງມາດ tanv-ao. The cognate European languages exhibit no stronger termination in the feminine than in the masculine and neuter: the Gothic, however, shews a disposition to greater fulness in the feminine genitive, inasmuch as the ô bases preserve this vowel in contradistinction to the nominative and accusative; but the i bases, as has been shewn above, attach Guna to this vowel, while the masculines do not strengthen it at all. Compare gibô-s with the uninflected and base-abbreviated nominative and accusative giba, and anstai-s with gasti-s. Respecting the pronominal and adjective genitives, as thi-zô-s, blindaizô-s, see §. 172. The Greek, also, in its feminine first declension preserves the original vowel length in words which have weakened the nominative and accusative—σφύρας, Μούσης, [G. Ed. p. 224.] opposed to σφῦρα, σφύρα-ν, μοῦσαν.\* In Latin, also, ā-s, with the original length of the base escās, terrās, &c. stands opposed to escă, escă-m. It cannot be supposed that these genitives are borrowed from the Greek;

Latin, also,  $\bar{a}$ -s, with the original length of the base esc $\bar{a}$ s, terr $\bar{a}$ s, &c. stands opposed to esc $\bar{a}$ , esc $\bar{a}$ -m. It cannot be supposed that these genitives are borrowed from the Greek; they are exactly what might be expected to belong to a language that has s for the genitive character. That, however, this form, which no doubt extended originally to all a bases, gradually disappeared, leaving nothing but a few remains, and that the language availed itself of other helps, is in accordance with the usual fate of languages which continually lose more and more of their old herediditary possessions.

193. The Lithuanian, in its genitive rank-os for ranka-s,

<sup>\*</sup> The Attic termination ωs is, perhaps, a perfect transmission of the Sanskrit चास âs; so that forms like πόλε-ωs answer to πλιτικ prity âs. Although the Greek ωs is not limited to the feminine, it is nevertheless excluded from the neuter (ἄστεος), and the preponderating number of a bases are feminine.

resembles the Gothic; and in some other cases, also, replaces the feminine ā by a long or short o. It is doubtful how the genitives of i bases, like awies, are to be regarded. As they are, for the most part, feminine, and the few masculines may have followed the analogy of the prevailing gender, the division awi-es might be made; and this might be derived, through the assimilative force of the i, from awi-as (cf. p. 174, note\*), which would answer to the Sanskrit genitives like प्रीत्यास prity-ds. If, however, it be compared with with prites, and the é of awies be looked upon as Guna of the i (§. 26.), then the reading awies for awes is objectionable. Ruhig, indeed, in his Glossary, frequently leaves out the i, and gives ugnes, "of the fire," for ugnies; but in other cases, also, an i is suppressed before the e generated by its influence (p. 174, note\*); and, e.g., all feminine bases in yā have, in the genitive, és for i-és or y-és, as yiesme-s, for giesmyes, from GIESMYA (see p. 169, note). Therefore the division awie-s might also be made, and it might be assumed that the i bases have, in some cases, experienced an extension of the base, similar to those which were explained in the note, p. 174 (cf. §. 120.). This view appears to me the most correct, espe- [G. Ed. p. 225.] cially as in the vocative, also, awie answers to giesme for giesmye, or giesmie.

194. As regards the origin of the form through which, in the genitive, the thing designated is personified, with the secondary notion of the relation of space, the language in this case returns back to the same pronoun, whence, in §. 134., the nominative was derived. And there is a pronoun for the fuller termination also, viz. a sya, which occurs only in the Vêdas (cf. §. 55.), and the s of which is replaced in the oblique cases likewise, as in the neuter, by t (Gramm. Crit. §. 268.); so that a sya stands in the same relation to an tya-m and an tya-t that a sa does to an ta-m, an ta-t. It is evident, therefore, that in a sya, a tya, the bases a sa, a ta, are contained, with the vowel suppressed and united

with the relative base  $\sqrt{y}a$ . Here follows a general view of the genitive formation:\*

		SANSKRIT. WE ON O		GREEK.		LITHUAN. GOTI
	m.	vrika-sya,	věhrku-hê,	λύκο-ιο,		wilkō, vulfi
	m.	ka-sya,	ka-he, Man	ils discuss !	cu-jus,	kō, 8-441 hvi-
1	f.	jihwây-âs,	hizvay-âo,	χώρα-ς,	terrā-s,	rankô-s, gibê
	m.	patê-s,	patôi-s.		hosti-s,	† gasi
		paty-us, if at my	1 weinig engant	πόσι-ος; 🕣	0.5 1 51.	
	f.	prîtê-s,	åfritöi-s,		siti-s,	† ans
		prîty-âs,		φύσε-ως,		
	f.	bhavishyanty-ås,	, bûshyainty-đo,			
	m.	รนิทอิ-s,	paseu-s			sunad-s, sun
			pasv-ô,	ὶχθύ-ος,		
	f.	tanô-s,	taneu-s,		socrū-s,	han
		1.((3) (1) - (1.8)	LUIU-U-U	ACCUTED CACA		
226.]	f.	vadhw. as, i yo	l sign en eigen en	trait enviol	Se dit to	
	m.f	f. gô-s,	geu-s,	βo(F)-óς,	bov-is,	
	f.	nav-as,	ed •she nicial			
			våch-ø,‡			
	m.	bharat-as,				
		Atmon-as,			•	
		nâmn-as,				naı
		4				

<sup>\*</sup> The meanings will be found in §. 148.

<sup>†</sup> See ∮. 193.

<sup>‡</sup> See p. 163. Note ‡.

And ψωνλι baratô also may occur, according to the analogy of ψωνς ε<sup>2</sup>ε ι δετεπατό, "splendentis," V. S. p. 87, and passim. The retention of the nasal in the genitive, however, as in all other cases, is the more common form, and can be abundantly quoted. For ψωνελι barentô, also ψωνελι barantô, is possible, and likewise, in the other cases, the older ν a for ξ ε. In some participles, as in νων fsuyans (nom.), which is of constant recurrence as the usual epithet of agriculture (νην γναιέτηγα) ξ ε never occurs.

Il Vide §. 254. p. 302, Note ‡.

SANSERIT.	ZEND.	GREEK. LA	TIN. LITHUAN	- GOTNIC.
bhråtur,	brâtar-s,*	πατρ-ος, frat	r-is,	brôthr-s.
duhitur,	dughdhar-s,†	θυγατρ-ός, mai	r-is, dugter-	s, dauhtr-s.
dåtur,	dâtar-s,	δοτήρ-os, date	ōr-is,	
vachas-as.	vachanh-6.t	$ \stackrel{"}{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon(\sigma)$ -os, ope	r-is,	

# THE LOCATIVE,

- 195. This case has, in Sanskrit and Zend,§ i for its character, and in Greek and Latin || has received the function of the dative, yet has not suffered its locative [G. Ed. p. 227.] signification to be lost; hence, Δωδῶνι, Μαραθῶνι, Σαλαμῖνι, ἀγρῷ, οἴκοι, χαμαί; and, transferred to time, τῆ αυτῆ ἡμέρα, τῆ αὐτῆ νυκτί. So in Sanskrit, दिवसे divasê, "in the day;" निद्धा niśi, "in the night."

196. With wa of the base preceding it, the locative z i passes into z ê (§. 2.), exactly as in Zend; but here, also, sh ôi stands for ro ê (§. 33.); so that in this the Zend approaches very closely to the Greek datives like οἴκοι, μοί, and σοί, in which i has not yet become subscribed, or been replaced by the extinction of the base vowel. To the forms mentioned answers shows maidhyôi, "in the middle.' One must be careful not to regard this and similar phenomena as shewing a more intimate connexion between Greek and Zend.

197. In Lithuanian, which language possesses a proper locative, bases in a correspond in this case in a remarkable manner with the Sanskrit and Zend, since they con-

<sup>\*</sup> It would be better to read brâthr-ô, after the analogy of dâthr-ô, "creatoris." (Burnouf, "Yaçna," p. 363, Note).

<sup>†</sup> The gen. of dúghdar is probably dughder-ô (see p. 194, Note †).

<sup>1</sup> See p. 163, Note 1.

<sup>§</sup> Few cases admit of being more abundantly quoted in Zend than the locative, with which, nevertheless, Rask appears to have been unacquainted at the time of publishing his treatise, as he does not give it in any or his three paradigms.

I I now refer the Latin dative to the Sanskrit dative, rather than to the locative; see p. 1227 G. Ed., Note †.

tract this a with the old locative i, which appears pure nowhere any more, to è; hence, diewè, "in God," from DIEWA, answers to a dévê, words daêvê. The bases which terminate with other vowels employ, however, in Lithuanian, without exception, ye as the locative termination, without any accent upon the e, a circumstance which must not be overlooked. This e is, perhaps, only an unorganic echo, which has occasioned the change of the old locative i into y, as, in Zend, the plural locative termination su, by adding an a, appears, for the most part, in the form of warrend.

G. Ed. p. 228.] shva, or who hva. To the Lithuanian ye answers also, in old Sclavonic, a locative termination ye, for which several declensions have the original pure i; so that nebes-i, "in Heaven," and imen-i, "in the name," agree most strictly with the Sanskrit नमिस nabhas-i and नामिन nâman-i, from नमस nabhas, नामन nâman.

198. Masculine bases in i and u, and, optionally, feminine bases also, have a different locative termination in Sanskrit, viz. जो du, before which इ'i and उ u are dropped; but in पात pati, "lord," and सांच sakhi, "friend," the i has remained in its euphonic change to प y: hence, पत्यो paty-du, सख्यो sakhy-du. If we consider the vocalization of the s to u, shewn in §. 56b., and that, in all probability, in the dual, also, जो du has proceeded from जास ds (§. 206.); moreover, the circumstance that in the Vêdas the genitive occurs with a locative meaning (दिश्राणास dakshindyds, "in dexterd," for दिश्राणास dakshindydm, Pânini VII. 1. 39.); and, finally, the fact that, in Zend, masculines in i and u likewise employ genitive terminations with a locative signification; we shall be much disposed to recognise in this जो du, from जास ds, a sort of Attic or produced genitive termination.

hoc mundo quidem existente." This Zend termination & (from a+u) has the same relation to the Sanskrit du that a short a has to a long a, and the two locative terminations are distinguished only by the quantity of the first member of the diphthong. On the other hand, we find in the feminine base ) tanu, " body," very often the genuine locative form swapp tanv-i; and we do not doubt that, in Sanskrit also, originally the u bases of the [G. Ed. p. 229.] three genders admitted in the locative the termination i (सन्ति sunw-i, तन्ति tanw-i, मध्य madhw-i, or मध्नि madhu-n-i). Bases in s i employ, in the locative, the usual genitive termination di-s; thus, in the Vend. S. p. 234, we was sea שנצענענענעלינענ ahmi namånê yat måzdaya nõis, " in hac terra quidem mazdayasnica, which Anquetil renders by "dans le pays des mazdeïesnans." In pronouns, also, though they have a locative, the genitive sometimes occurs with a locative meaning; e.g. Vend. S. p. 46, אנצעשט טְנְעטן ainhê vîsê, "in this way," or "place," (cf. the feminine form swers ainhão, §. 172. Note.).

200. From the Zend and Sanskrit we have already been compelled to acknowledge a connexion between the genitive and locative; and as we have seen the locative replaced by the genitive, so must we, in Latin, recognise a replacing of the genitive by the locative. Through the formal agreement of the corresponding Latin and Sanskrit termination, and from the circumstance that the genitive occurs with a locative meaning only in the two first declensions (Romæ, Corinthi, humi), not in the third or in the plural (ruri not ruris), M. Prof. Rosen was first induced to characterize the Latin genitive of the two first declensions as borrowed from the old locative; a view, the correctness of which I do not doubt, and which I have already corroborated elsewhere by the genitives of the two first persons, in which mei tui, agree most surprisingly with wfw mayı (from mê-i, §. 2.), "in me," निष twayi (from twe-i). Or ought, perhaps, a double inflexion i to be assumed as the sign of both a genitive and a locative dative? Should Romæ (from Romai), Corinthi, be on one occasion genitives and on another locatives, and [G. Ed. p. 230.] in their different meaning be also of different origin? And where, then, would the origin of the genitive Romæ be found, as that of the locative has been found already? Should mei, tui, be compared, not with afu mayi, न्दिर्प twayi, μοί, τοί, but with मम mama, तव tava, μοῦ, τοῦ, Goth. meina, theina? As the cases, like their substitutes the prepositions, pass easily from one relation of space to another, and, to use the expression, the highest become the lowest, nothing appears to me more probable, than that, after the first declension had lost its a-s, then the dative, according to its origin a locative, necessarily became substituted for the genitive also.\* In the second declension the form o-i, which belongs to the dative locative, corresponding to the Greek ω, or—and of which examples still remain handed down to us (as populoi Romanoi)—has become doubly altered: either the vowel of the base alone, or only that [G. Ed. p. 231.] of the termination, has been left, and the first form has fixed itself in the dative, and the latter in the

<sup>\*</sup> The assumption that a rejected s lies at the base of the genitives in i, ae (a-i) appears to me inadmissible, because in all other parts of Grammar -numerous as the forms with a final s otherwise are—this letter has in Roman defied all the assaults of time, and appears everywhere where the cognate languages lead us to expect it: no terræ for terras (acc. pl.), no lupi for lupos, no amæ for amas, &c. The question is not here that of an occasional suppression of the s in old poets, before a consonant in the word following. The genitives in e-s and a-s occurring in inscriptions (provincie-s, suæ-s, see Struve, p. 7.) appear to be different modes of writing one and the same form, which corresponds to the Greek  $\eta$ -s for  $\bar{a}$ -s; and I would not therefore derive the common genitive sua-older form suaifrom suæs with the s dropped. The genitives in us, given by Hartung (p. 161.) from inscriptions in Orelli (nomin-us, exercitu-us, Castor-us, &c.), I am not surprised at, for this reason, that generally us is, in Latin, a favourite termination for an as; hence nomin-us has the same relation to नाम्रस namn-as, that nomin-i-bus has to नामध्यस nama'-bhyas, and lupus to चुकस vrika-s.

genitive, which is therefore similar to the nom. plural, where, in like manner, Romani stands for Romanoi. But the dative is not universally represented in Latin by a locative termination; for in the pronouns of the two first persons mihi answers to nan ma-hyam, from ma-bhyam, and tibi to grant tu-bhyam; as, however, the league between the dative and locative had been once concluded, this truly dative termination occurs with a locative meaning (ibi, ubi), while vice versa, in Sanskrit, the locative very frequently supplies the place of the dative, which latter, however, is most usually expressed by the genitive, so that the proper dative is, for the most part, applied to denote the causal relation.

201. Pronouns of the 3d person have, in Sanskrit, τη in instead of i in the locative, and the τ a of the appended pronoun τη sma is elided (see §. 165.); hence, πίτητη tasm'in, "in him"; τη kasm'in, "in whom?" This n, which seems to me to be of later origin, as it were an n ἐφελκυστικόν, does not extend to the two first persons, and is wanting in Zend also in those of the third; hence, sea ahmi, "in this." As to the origin of the i signifying the place or time of continuance, it is easily discovered as soon as i is found as the root of a demonstrative; which, however, like the true form of all other pronominal roots, has escaped the Indian Grammarians.

202. Feminine bases ending with long simple vowels have, in Sanskrit, a peculiar locative termination; viz. आन् dm, in which, also, the feminines in short i and u may at will participate (cf. §. 192.); while the monosyllabic feminine bases in long ई i and ज û, for आम् dm, admit also the common इ i; hence, जियाम् bhiy-dm or जिया bhiy-i, "in fear," from भी bhi.\* In Zend this termi- [G. Ed. p. 232.]

<sup>\*</sup> Perhaps the termination âm is a corruption of the feminine genitive termination âs (cf. §. 198. द्वाणापास dakshinâyâs for dakshinâyâm), where it should be observed that in Prâkrit, as in Greek, a final s has frequently become a nasal.

nation dm has become abbreviated to a (cf. §. 214.); hence, מאנונים yahmy-a, "in which," from yahmi (cf. §. 172.). This termination appears, however, in Zend, to be less diffused than in Sanskrit, and not to be applicable to feminines in s i and > u. The form tanwi is clearly more genuine than the Sanskrit tanāu, although from the earliest period, also, tanwām may have existed.

203. We here give a general view of the locative, and of the cases akin to it in Greek and Latin (see §. 148.):

		SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	LITHUAN.
	m.	vrikê,*	věhrkê,*	λύκω,	lup'-ī,	wilkè.
	f.	jihwây-âm,	hizvay-a,	χώρα,	terra-i,	ranko-ye.
	m.	paty-âu,†		πόσι-ϊ,	hosť-ī,	páti-ye.
	f.	prît'-âu,‡		πόρτι-ϊ,	sit'-ī,	awi-ye.
	f.	bhavishyanty-âm,	bûshyainty-a	,		
	m.	$s\hat{u}n$ '- $\hat{a}u$ ,		ὶχθύ-ι,	pecu-ī,	sunu-ye.
	f.	tan'-âu,§	tanw-i,	πίτυ-ι,	socru-ī,	
	n.	madhu-n-i,	2	μέθυ-ι,		
	f.	vadhw-ām,	10 00 00	10		
	m.f.	gav-i,	gav-i,	$\beta o(F)$ -i,	bov-ī,	
G	f.	nåv-i,	11 .5 .1 .1	$v\bar{\alpha}(F)$ -i,		
Ed	m.	bharat-i,	barĕnt-i,	φέροντ-ι,	ferent-ī,	
P.	m.	âtman-i,	asmain-i,	δαίμον-ι,	sermon-ī,	
238	n.	nāmn-i,	nâmain-i,	τάλαν-ι,	$nomin-\bar{\imath},$	
-	m.	bhråtar-i,	$br ath r-i ? \parallel$	πατρ-ί,	fratr-ī,	
	f.	duhitar-i,	dughdhĕr-i?	θυγατρ-ί,	matr-ī,	
	m.	dåtar-i,	dathr-i?	δοτήρ-ι,		
	n.	vachas-i,	vacanh-i,	$e^{\prime}\pi e(\sigma)$ -ı,	oper-ī,	

<sup>\*</sup> See §. 196. † See §. 198. ‡ Or prity-âm. § Or tanw-âm.

<sup>||</sup> The rejection of the a preceding the r in the theme seems to me more probable than its retention. The i of the termination is guaranteed by the other consonantal declension, which in this case we can abundantly enough exemplify. (Regarding dughdher-i, see p. 194, Note +). That in Sanskrit bhrátar-i, duhitar-i, dátar-i, are used instead of bhrátri, &c. is contrary

#### VOCATIVE.

204. The vocative in the Sanskrit family of languages has either no case-sign at all, or is identical with the nominative: the former is the principle, the latter the practical corruption, and is limited in Sanskrit to monosyllabic bases terminating in a vowel: hence, with bhi-s "fear!" as ki-c. A final a of the nominal [G. Ed. p. 234.] bases remains, in Sanskrit and Zend, unchanged; in Lithuanian it is weakened to e; and the Greek and Latin also, in the uninflected vocative of the corresponding declension, prefer a short e to o or u, which, under the protection of the terminations, appears as the final letter of the base. We must avoid seeing in λύκε, lupě, case terminations: these forms have the same relation to चूक vrika that πέντε, quinque, have to va pancha; and the old a, which appears in λύκος as o, in lupus as ŭ, has assumed the form of ë without any letter following it. In Zend, the consonantal bases, when they have s in the nominative, retain it in the vocative also; thus, in the present participle we have frequently found the form of the nominative in the sense of the vocative.

205. Bases in i and u have, in Sanskrit, Guna; neuters, however, have also the pure vowel: on the other hand,

to the theory of the weakest cases (§. 130.), to which in other respects the locative belongs. As, however, bases in  $\mathbf{w}_i$  ar  $(\mathbf{w}_i, r_i)$ , with respect to the rejection and lengthening of the a, have a very great agreement with bases in an, it must here be further remarked, that these too, in the locative, do not strictly follow the suppression of the a in the weakest cases, which is conditionally prescribed in §. 140., but optionally retain the a, or reject it; so that with  $n\hat{a}mn-i$  also  $n\hat{a}man-i$  is used. With  $br\hat{a}tar-i$ , however, exists no  $bhr\hat{a}tr-i$ , and the form pitr-i, given at §. 132. is an oversight: the Greek  $\pi a \pi p-i$  may therefore, with respect to the shortening of the base, be better compared with the dative  $pitr-\hat{e}$ .

polysyllabic feminines in i and i shorten this final vowel; while a final w d, by the commixture of an i, becomes & (§. 2.). The language, however, both by producing and shortening the final vowel, clearly aims at one and the same end, only by opposite ways; and this end, in fact, is a certain emphasis in the address. To the Guna form  $\delta$ , from a+u, correspond remarkably the Gothic and Lithuanian; as sunau, sunau, resembling the Sanskrit सूनो sûnő,\* Gothic feminine bases in i do not occur in [G. Ed. p. 235.] Ulfilas in the vocative: as, however, they, in other respects, run parallel to the u bases, the vocative anstai, from ANSTI, might be expected as an analogous form to handau. The Lithuanian i bases in the vocative extend their theme in the same manner as in the genitive (§. 193.); so that, properly, there is no vocative of this class of words, and awie answers to zwáke, giesme (Ruhig's third declension), for zwákie, giesmye.† Masculine bases, in Gothic, in i, like the masculine and neuter a bases, have lost their final vowel in the vocative, just as in the accusative and nominative; hence vulf', daur', gast'. In bases in n the Gothic shares with the Latin the suppression of the final consonant, which has passed over from the nominative to the vocative; while only the Sanskrit and Zend again introduce

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+ It follows from this, and from §. 193., that (§. 177.) I have incorrectly assumed ei as the termination in the dative. For áwi-ei, the division should be made thus, áwie-i; and this is analogous with zwáke-i, giesme-i, for zwákie-i, giesmye-i.

<sup>\*</sup> The Zend can at will attach Guna to a final > u, or not; and we find both שׁנבּנְלֵבָּל mainyo and אַנְבְּנְלָבָּל mainyu as the vocative of אָנָבְּנְלָבָּל mainyu, "spirit." On the other hand, we have found a final יש ניסוא, without Guna; and indeed frequently אַנעבאָט paiti, "lord." So Vend S. p. 456, אַנעבאָר שְׁנְעִבּעְלְּבְּנִילְּבְּעָרִילְּבְּעָרִילְּבְּעָרִילְּבְּעָרִילְּבְּעָרִילְּבְּעָרִילְּבְּעָרִילְּבְּעָרִילְּבְּעָרִילְּבְּעָרִילְּבְּעָרִילְּבְּעָרִילְּבְּעָרִילְּבְּעָרִילְּבְּעָרִילְבְּעָרִילְבִּעְרִילְבְּעָרִילְבִּעְרִילְבְּעָרִילְבְּעָרִילְבִּעְרִילְבְּעָרִילְבִּעְרִילְבְּעָרִילְבְּעָרִילְבְּעָרִילְבְּעָרִילְבְּעִרְילְבְּעָרִילְבְּעָרִילְבְּעָרִילְבְּעָרִילְבְּעָרִילְבְּעָרִילְבְּעָרִילְבְּעָרִילְבְּעָרִילְבְּעָרִילְבְּעָרִילְבְּעִרִילְבְּעָרִילְבְּעָרִילְבְּעָרִילְבְּעִרְילִבְּעָרִילְבְּעָרִילְבְּעָרִילְבְּעָרִילְבְּעָרִילְבְּעִרְילִבְּעִרִילְבְּעִרְילִבְּעִרִילְבְּעָרִילְבְּעִרִילְבְּעִרִילְבְּעָרִילְּבְּעָרִילְבְּעִרִּעְרָבְּעָרִילְבְּעִרְילִבְּעִרְילִבְּעִרִּבְעָרִילְבְּעָרִילְּבְּעִרְילְבְּעִרִּבְּעִרְילְבְּעִרְילְבְּעִרִּבְעִרְילְבְּעִרְילְבְּעִרְילְבְּעִרְילְבְּעִרְילְבְּעִרְילְבְּעִרְילְבְּעִרְילְבְּעִרְילְבְּעִרְילְבְּעִרְילְבְּעִרְילְבְּעִרְילְבְּעִּבְּעִרְילְבְּעִרְּלְבְּעִּבְּעִרְבְּעִרְילְבְּעִרְילְבְּעִּבְּעִרְבְּעִרְילְבְּעִּבְּעִרְבְּעִרְבְּעִרְבְּעִרְילְבְּעִּבְּערִילְבְּערִילְבְּערִילְבְּערִילְבְּערִילְבְּערִילְבְּערִילְבְּערִילְבְּערִילְבְּערִילְבְּערִילְבְּערִילְּבְּערִילְבְּערִילְבּערִילְבְּערִילְבּערִילְבּערִילְבּערִילְּבּערִילְבּערִילְּבּערִילְילִילִּערִילְבּערִילְּבְיבּערִּבּערִילְבּיבּילִיבּערִילְבּערִילְבּערִילְבּערִילְבּערִילִיבְּבּערִילּבּערִילְבּערִילְבּערִילְבּיבּערִילְבּערִילְבּערִילְבּערִילְבּערִילּבּערִילְבּערִילְבּערִילְבּבּערִילְבּערִילְבּערִילְבּערִילְבּערִילְבּערִילְבּערִילְבּערִילְבּערִילְבּערִילְבּערּבּערִילְבּערִילְבּערִילְבּערִילְבּערִילְבּבּערִילְבּערְבּערְבּערִילְבּערִּבּערְבּערִילְבּבּערְיבּבּערְבּערּ

into the vocative the nasal which had been dropped in the nominative. Adjectives in German, with respect to the vocative, have departed from the old path, and retain the case-sign of the nominative; hence Gothic blind's, "blind!" In Old Northern, substantives also follow this irregular use of the nominative sign. The Greek has preserved a tolerable number of its vocatives pure from the nominative sign, and in some classes of words uses the bare base, or that abbreviation of it which the laws of euphony or effeminacy rendered requisite; hence, τάλαν opposed to τάλας, χαρίεν for χαρίεντ' opposed to χαρίεις, παί for maid opposed to mais. In guttural and labial bases the language has not got free of the nominative sign in the vocative, because  $\kappa_{\zeta}$  and  $\pi_{\zeta}$  ( $\xi, \psi$ ) are very favourite combinations, to which the alphabet also has paid homage by particular letters to represent them. Still the [G. Ed. p. 236.] vocative ἄνα, together with ἄναξ, is remarkable, and has that sound which might be expected from a theme avakt, to which, in its uninflected state, neither kt, nor, conveniently, even the k, could be left. "For the rest it is easy to imagine (says Buttmann, p. 180), that particularly such things as are not usually addressed, prefer, when they happen to be addressed, to retain the form of the nominative, as ω πους!"\* The Latin has followed still farther the road of corruption in the vocative which was prepared by the Greek, and employs in its place the nominative universally, except in the masculine second declension. The substantive bases mentioned in §. 148. form, in the vocative,

<sup>\*</sup> To this circumstance may also the re-introduction of the case-sign in the neuter be owing, while the Sanskrit employs the bare base. Moreover, this fact also may have co-operated towards the Greek more easily freeing itself in the vocative from the bare primary form, because it appears at the beginning of compounds much more rarely than in Sanskrit. (See §. 112.)

SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN	LITHUAN.	GOTHIĆ.
vrika,	věhrka,	λύκε,	lupe,	wilke,	vulf'.
dâna,	dâta,	δῶρο-ν,	donu-m,		daur'.
· jihwê,	hizvê?	χώρα,	terra,	ranka,	giba?
patê,	paiti,	πόσι,	hosti-s,		gast.
prité,	âfrîti,	πόρτι,	siti-s,		
vāri,	vairi,	ίδρι,	mare,		
bhavishyanti,	bûshyainti,	g • • • • in	155 - 18 12	7* je * * ins	) (#] • • • 3
sunô,	pašu,	ἰχθύ,	pecu-s,	sunad,	sunau.
tanô,	tanu,	πίτυ,	socru-s,		handau.
madhu,	madhu,	μέθυ,	pecu,		
vadhu,					
f. gâu-s,	gåu-s,	βοῦ,	bo-s,	[ - 1 <b>4</b> ] <b>*</b> 3 * * +1	***
nâu-s,	• • • .•,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,	ναῦ,			
vák,	vâc-s?	όπ-ς,	voc-s,		C: *. * * *
bharan,	baran-s,	φέρων,	feren-s,	sukan-s	, fiyand.
. Atman,	asman,	δαῖμον,	sermo',	åkmå',	ahma'.
nåman,	nâman,	τάλαν,	nomen,		namô.
. bhråtar,	brâtarĕ,*	πάτερ,	frater,		brôthar.
duhitar,	dughdharĕ,	* θύγατε	p,mater,	motė,	dauhtar
. dâtar,	dâtare,*	δοτήρ,	dator,		
vachas,	vache,	έπος,†	opus,	: -(* * * F.)	. •(• •/•
	vrika, dåna, jihwe, pate, prite, våri, bhavishyanti, sunô, tanô, madhu, vadhu, f. gåu-s, nåu-s, våk, bharan, åtman, nåman, bhråtar, duhitar,	vrika, věhrka, dåna, dåta, jihwê, hizvê? patê, paiti, prîtê, åfrîti, vâri, vairi, bhaviṣhyanti, bûshyainti, sunô, paśu, tanô, tanu, madhu, madhu, vadhu, f. gâu-s, gâu-s, nâu-s, vûk, vâc-s? bharan, baran-s, åtman, ašman, nâman, nâman, haman, bhrâtar, brâtarě,* duhitar, dughdharě, dâtar, dâtare,*	vrika, νěhrka, λύκε, dåna, dåta, δῶρο-ν, jihwê, hizνê? χώρα, patê, paiti, πόσι, prîtê, dfrîti, πόρτι, vâri, vairi, ἴδρι, bhavishyanti, bûshyainti, sunô, pašu, ἰχθύ, tanô, tanu, πίτυ, madhu, madhu, μέθυ, vadhu, f. gâu-s, gâu-s, βοῦ, nâu-s, ναῦ, vâk, vắc-s? ὅπ-ς, bharan, baran-s, φέρων, atman, asman, δαῖμον, nâman, nâman, τάλαν, bhrâtar, brâtarě,* πάτερ, duhitar, dughdharě,* θύγατε dâtar, dâtare,* δοτήρ,	vrika, věhrka, λύκε, lupe, dåna, dåta, δῶρο-ν, donu-m, jihwê, hizνê? χώρα, terra, patê, paiti, πόσι, hosti-s, prîtê, âfrîti, πόρτι, siti-s, vâri, vairi, ἴδρι, mare, bhavishyanti, bûshyainti, sunô, pašu, ἰχθύ, pecu-s, tanô, tanu, πίτν, socru-s, madhu, madhu, μέθν, pecu, vadhu, f. gâu-s, gâu-s, βοῦ, bo-s, nâu-s, ναῦ, vâk, vâc-s? ὅπ-ς, νοc-s, bharan, baran-s, φέρων, feren-s, atman, ašman, δαῖμον, sermo', nâman, nâman, τάλαν, nomen, bhrâtar, brâtarĕ,* πάτερ, frater, duhitar, dughdharĕ,* θύγατερ,mater, dâtar, dâtare,* δοτήρ, dator,	vrika,         νĕhrka,         λύκε,         lupe,         wilke,           dåna,         dåta,         δῶρο-ν, donu-m,            jihwê,         hizvê?         χώρα, terra, ranka,           patê,         paiti,         πόρτι, siti-s,            prîtê,         âfrîti,         πόρτι, siti-s,            vâri,         vairi,         ἴδρι, mare,            bhavishyanti,         bûshyainti,             sunô,         pašu,         ἰχθύ,         pecu-s,         sunaù,           tanô,         tanu,         πίτυ,         socru-s,            madhu,         madhu,         μέθυ,         pecu,            vadhu,           yaê,         bo-s,            valu-s,         gâu-s,         βοῦ,         bo-s,            vâk,         vâc-s?         ὅπ-ς,         voc-s,            bharan,         baran-s,         φέρων,         feren-s,         sukan-s           âtman,         nâman,         πάλων,         nomen,            bhrâtar,         brâtare,*         πάτερ,         fr

#### DUAL.

## NOMINATIVE, ACCUSATIVE, VOCATIVE.

206. These three cases have, in Sanskrit, in the masculine and feminine, the termination at du, which probably arose from with ds by vocalization of the s (cf. §§. 56<sup>b</sup>. and 198.), and is therefore only a stronger form of the plural termination as. The dual, both in the cases mentioned and in the others, prefers the broadest terminations, because it is based on a more precise intention than the indefinite

plural, and needs, therefore, stronger emphasis, and more lively personification. Compare, also, in the neuter, the long i of the dual with the short i of the plural; as

सत्रणी asruni with सत्र्णि asruni.

207. While the Prâkrit and Pâli have lost [G. Ed. p. 238.] the dual, the Zend has retained it; still, however, so that instead of it the plural often occurs, and in the Vend. S., p. 203, p. p. 102 w & schenubyaschit, "and as far as the knees," is used with a plural termination. In the verb the dual is still more rare; but here, however, it is not entirely lost, and many examples of it can be quoted in the V. S.\* The Sanskrit termination wil du occurs in the corresponding places in Zend in the form of sw do, which, according to §. 56b., stands at the same time for the Sanskrit termination with ds, and gives an emphatic proof that the Sanskrit dual termination will du is nothing else than a corruption of with ds, and, in fact, an occasional one which appears in grammar only once or twice (see §. 198.), while the example herein given by the Sanskrit has been raised to a general principle by the Zend. This principle becomes almost irrefragable matter of fact from the consideration that the Zend has even actually retained, in the dual, the sibilant before the particle and cha, and uses dos-cha, not do-cha, as might have been expected if the dual termination wil du, in Sanskrit, were the original form, and not a corruption of win ds. Thus we read in the Vend. S. p. 225, มหมรมเดิมอุราริสา มหมรมพางษา หามาง มหุด tôi ubaê hurvãos-cha ameretat-ãos-cha, "the two Haurvats and Amertats."† What Anquetil, in his Voca- [G. Ed. p. 239.]

Cf. Gramm. Crit. Add. to r. 137.

<sup>†</sup> Cf. Anguetil II. 175. The two Genii, which Anguetil writes Khordad and Amerdad, appear very frequently in the dual, also with the termination bya (§. 212.); and where they occur with plural terminations, this may be ascribed to the disuse of the dual, and the possibility of replacing

bulary (p. 456), writes naerekeião, and renders by "deux femmes," can be nothing else than εμιχωριδιων nâirikay-do, from the base μοριδιων nâirikā. The form εμιχωριδιων nâirikaydo is, however, evidently more genuine than μοριδιων nâirikê; as, according to the Sanskrit principle (§. 213.), from a feminine base must have been formed nâirikā. From και bâzu, Rask cites the form εμικομι bâzvão, "arms," without remarking that it is a dual: it clearly belongs, however, to this number, which was to be expected referring to the arms; and και bâzu forms, in the nominative plural, ψηκαι bâzvão or ψηκαι bâzavô. Still, in the edited parts of the Zend-Avesta, examples are wanting of bâzvão, regarding the genuineness of which, however, I have no doubt.

208. In the Vêda dialect, the termination जो âu occurs frequently abbreviated to â, so that the last element of the diphthong is suppressed. Several examples of this abbreviated form occur in Rosen's "Specimen"; as, प्राचना aświn-â, "the two Aświns," from aświn, and नरा narâ, "two [G. Ed. p. 240.] men," which can be derived both from nar

replacing the dual in all cases by the plural. Thus we read, l. c. p. 211, haurvatât-ô and ameret-as-cha as accusative, and with the fullest and perhaps sole correct reading of the theme. We will, however, not dwell on this point any longer here, but only remark, that haurvatat is very frequently abbreviated to haurvat, and the a of amerelat is often found shortened; whence, p. 104, אנקונלע אויים haurvathya, אונים אויים aměrětatbya, (see §. 38.); ωρωφεζεςω aměrětata bya is a palpable error. Undoubtedly, in the passage before us, for hurvaoscha, must be read either haurvatäoscha, or haurvatätäoscha, or haurvatatäoscha. Compare l. c. p. 91, און אינעסערעערעער haôrvatatâus-cha with the termination was for was hos (cf. §. 33.), but incorrectly & ô for & ô. The two twin genii are feminine, and mean apparently, "Entireness" and "Immortality." The forms preceding them, therefore, tôi and ubaê, are likewise feminine; the former for a te (§. 33.), the latter for 3 ubhe (cf. 0. 28.). We must also regard the dual form mentioned at 0. 45. of the so-called Amschaspants not as neuter, but as feminine.

(7 nri) and from nara, but which more probably comes from nur. In Zend the abbreviated termination from du is likewise employed, and, in fact, more copiously than the fuller termination; and we rejoice to see, in the Heaven of Ormuzd also, the twin pair called Indian, and celebrated for their youthful beauty. We read, namely, in Vend. S. p. 313, พองมธุรมก ปุ่ม»มา มอนแรงมม aspina-cha yavana yaz (muidhê), "Asvinosque juvenes veneramur," which Anquetil renders by "je fais Jzeschné à l'excellens toujours (subsistant"). The Sanskrit wind asvind however, can, in Zend, give nothing but aspina or aspina (§. 50.): the former we owe here to the protecting particle we cha (see p. 175, Note ! G. Ed.). The plural yavan-ô (from yavanas), referring to the dual aspina, is worthy of remark, however (if the reading be correct), as it furnishes a new proof that, in the received condition of the Zend, the dual was near being lost: the verb being, for the most part, found in the plural when referring to nouns in the dual form.

209. From the Vêda termination â, and the short a,\* which frequently stands for it in Zend, the transition is easy to the Greek ε, as this vowel, at the end of words, is a favourite representative of the old ă; and, as above, in the vocative (§. 204.), λύκε stood for ¬π ντίκα, νορθος νἔμτλα, so here, also, ἄνδρα (with euphonic δ) corresponds to the above-mentioned Vêda ¬τι πατά, and Zend κλαμ πατ-α. Although, according to §. 4., ω also very frequently stands for τη δ, still we must avoid regarding λύκω as the analogous form to ¬π ντίκά, or κρθος νἔμτλά (see §. 211.). That however, the Lithuanian dual û of masculine [G. Ed. p. 241.] bases in a (in the nominative) is connected with the Vêda and Zend dual termination spoken of, i. e. has proceeded from ā, I

<sup>\*</sup> Thus, Vendidâd Sâde, p. 23, ມດຸນທຣາເຄົນ ມດຸນ»າໄພພ haurvata amĕrĕtâta, "the two Haurvats and Amertats"; p. 136, and frequently, ມາມ ພາງ dva nora, "two men." Cf. Gramm. Crit. Add. to r. 137.

have the less doubt, because in the other declensions the Lithuanian dual also agrees in this case most strictly with the Sanskrit, and the Lithuanian u or  $\hat{u}$  (uo) is, in some other places, equally the representative of an old  $\hat{a}$  (see §. 162.), compare, dumi, or dudu, "I give," with ददामि dadami; dusu, "I will give," with दास्यानि dasyami. And the monosyllabic pronominal bases also in a sound in the dual  $\hat{u}$ ; thus  $t\hat{u} = \pi t\hat{a}$ ,  $k\hat{u} = k\hat{a}$ . We hold, therefore, the Vêda form gan vrika, the Zend wall vehrka, and the Lithuanian wilkù, as identical in principle: we are, at least, much more inclined to this view of the matter than to the assumption that the u of wilku is the last portion of the Sanskrit diphthong and du, and that wilku belongs to the form and vrikau. In the vocative the Lithuanian employs a shorter u, and the accent falls on the preceding syllable: thus wilku, opposed to wilku, in which respect may be compared  $\pi \acute{\alpha} \tau \epsilon \rho$  opposed to  $\pi \alpha \tau \mathring{\eta} \rho$ , and §. 205.

210. Masculine and feminine bases in i and u suppress, in Sanskrit, the dual case termination with du, and, in compensation, lengthen the final vowel of the base in its uninflected form; thus, שהוֹ pati, from שה pati; שָּקְ צּעֵּחע, from שֵּקְ צַעַּחע. The בְּעִשְׁאֵבְעָּשׁׁ bâzv-âo, "arms," (from bâzu) mentioned in §. 207., is advantageously distinguished from these abbreviated forms. The curtailed form is not, however, wanting in Zend also, and is even the one most in use. From אַנְאָנְאָנָשׁׁ mainyu, "spirit," we frequently find the dual אַנְאָנִאָּנָשׁׁ mainyu : on the other hand, for אַנְבֶּילְבָּ פַּרַפַּבַע, "two [G. Ed. p. 242.] fingers," we meet with the shortened form אַנְבֶּילְבָּ בַּרַבַּבע, which is identical with the theme (Vend. S. p. 318, אַנְבֵּילְבָּ אַנִאֵּבְ dva ĕrĕzu.

211. The Lithuanian, in its i and u bases, rests on the above-mentioned Sanskrit principle of the suppression of the termination and lengthening of the final vowel: hence, awi, "two sheep" (fem.), answers to सन् avi, from सचि avi; and sunù, "two sons," to सन् sûnû. On this principle rests

also the Greek dual of the two first declensions. If it be not desired entirely to remove the ω of λύκω from a Grecian soil, and banish it completely to India, it may be allowed to seek its origin, not in the long a of an vrika, but in the short o of the base, as the first declension has a long a in the dual, because its bases terminate with a although in the common dialect this letter is very frequently represented by  $\eta$ . Or may it, perhaps, have happened, that, in the dual a of the first declension an a subscribed has been lost, and thus τά for τα would correspond to the Sanskrit  $\vec{n}$  to (from  $t\hat{a}+i$  or i)? Be that as it may, still the dual has always the quality  $\alpha$ , because it is comprehended in the base, and the ω of λύκω may be regarded as merely the lengthening of the o of λύκο; for it must be assumed, that if the Sanskrit a bases had preserved the short a in Greek, and वृक्तम् vrika-s had become λύκα-ς, then the dual too would be λύκα, and not λύκω.

213. The Greek has renounced a termination distinguishing the neuter from the two natural genders; but the Sanskrit appears to have extended the neuter i mentioned above also to the feminine a bases. But the coincidence of the feminine form fax jihwe, "two tongues," from fax jihwa, with the neuter दाने dane, "two gifts," is, as the Zend instructs us, only external, and the two forms

meet in quite different ways, and have such a relation to one another, that in dânê, from dâna+î, a dual termination, and, in fact, the usual one of neuters, is actually contained; but in fac jihwe the masculine-feminine termination du (from ds, §. 206.) is lost, but can, however, be again restored from the Zend form נשנל פעל און nairikay-do, "two I believe, that is to say, that far jihwe has arisen or been corrupted from जिन्न्यो jihway-au\* in such a manner, that after the termination has been dropped, the preceding semi-vowel has returned to its vowel nature, and has become a diphthong with the å of the base (see §. 2. and cf. p. 121 G. ed.). The dual jihwê, therefore, like the Gothic singular dative gibai (§. 161.) would have only an apparent termination, i.e. an extension of the base which originally accompanied the real case termination. In Zend, however, the abbreviated feminine dual form in no & likewise occurs (§. 207. Note<sup>†</sup>), and is, indeed, the prevalent one; but it is [G. Ed. p. 244.] remarkable, and a fair and powerful confirmation of my assertion, that even this abbreviated form in to &, where the appended particle was cha stands beside it, has preserved the ease sign s; and, as above, אים בשמששעטען ameretat-dos-cha, "the two Amertats," so we find, Vend. S. p. 58, popusou upun tustu ameshes-cha spente, "and two Amshaspants" ("non-conniventesque sanctos," cf. अभिष amisha and Nalus V. 25, 26. and see §. 50.).+ The form som as is to be deduced from the full form שבעטאע ay-dos; so that, after dropping the sw do, the preceding ay must have been contracted to ê, just as (p. 121

<sup>\*</sup> Cf. the dual genitive and locative जिन्ह पोस jihway-bs.

<sup>†</sup> The MS. has here ພານລະນະເສນ amesescha, but & frequently occurs in the place of ro, although, as it appears, through an error. Cf. L c. p. 88, ເຄານເວນ ພານະເສນ ຜ່ານມື ພານປາ acord yuanh amese spente; and see §. 51.

G. Ed.) in Prâkrit, र्शन êmi has arisen from the Sanskrit अवानि ayâmi, by rejecting the â. We may support the derivation of निहे jihwê from निहंगी jihway-âu, by this circumstance, also, that in the Vêda dialect the feminine î bases may lose the dual termination âu, and then display the naked base; thus, in the scholia to Pânini, नाराही उपानही क्येंग्वीमें upânahâu, "boar-leather shoes," for नाराही vârâhyâu. It is very remarkable, that even this Vêda form, only one example of which can be quoted, can be referred to the Zend language. We find, frequently, المعاربة والمعاربة والمعا

214. To the Sanskrit-Zend feminine dual [G. Ed. p. 245.] forms in é answer the Lithuanian in ì, as rankì, from  $RANK\bar{A}$ ; so that of the diphthong E é only the last element is left. The Lithuanian forms the accusative dual, in contradistinction to the cognate languages, according to the analogy of the singular, by a ringing nasal, e.g. witkui. The Latin has preserved only in duo and ambo a remnant of the dual corresponding to the Greek, which, however, in the oblique cases, is replaced by plural terminations. Here follows a general view of the nominative, accusative, and vocative dual (see §. 148.).

<sup>\*</sup> It is perhaps a participle of the reduplicated pret., according to the analogy of the Sanskrit तेनियस tênivas, fem. તેનવી tênushî (Gramm. Crit. §. 603.); and indeed, from the root » મારુ tav, "to be able," it may signify "powerful, strong." The ç e for ro ê is explained by the influence of the » v. And મારુ ૧૫ માયુ ૧૫ મારુ ૧૫ માયુ ૧૫ મારુ ૧૫ માય

	SANSERIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LITHUANIAN.
নু m.	vrikāu,	věhrkáo,		
	vrikâ,	věhrká,*	λύκω,	N. wilkù, V. wilku.
Ed. p	dânê,	dâtê,	δώρω,	
		hîzvay-âo,		
246.]	jihwê,	hizvê,	χώρα,	N. rankì, V. ránki.
ිූ m.	patî,	paiti?	πόσι-ε,	N. patì, V. páti.
f.	prîtî,	åfrîtî ?	πόρτι-ε,	N. awi, N. áwi.
p n.	vari-n-î,			
. 247.				
2				

\* While consonantal bases occur in the dual both with a long and a short a, the a bases, contrary to the practice otherwise adopted of shortening a final d, exhibit in the nom. acc. dual, for the most part, the original long vowel. I deduce this, among other words, from the so-called Amshaspants, which, together with the feminine form noticed at 0. 207. Note +., are found also as masculine ; e g. Vend. S. pp. 14. 30, 31, &c.: אבאָבעָאע aměshâ spěntâ แก้งเมื่อเกิดและเล้า เล่ารับการเล้า miliaruch hucsathrâ hudâonhô âyêsê, "I glorify the two Amshaspants (non conniventesque sanctos) the good rulers, who created good." If amesha spentâ and hucsathra were plural forms, the final a would be short, or at least appear much more frequently short than long; while, on the contrary, these repeatedly recurring expressions, if I mistake not, have everywhere a long a, and only in the vocative a short a (Vend. S. p. 67. Cf.  $\emptyset$ . 209.). That the epithet huddonhô is in the plural cannot incur doubt, from the dual nature of the Amshasp (cf. 0, 20%): this resembles, to a certain degree, the use of adjective genitives referring to a substantive in the ablative, which was mentioned in 6.180. We find, also, the forms ameshão spentão (Vend. S. p. 313.), which indeed might also be feminine plural forms, but shew themselves only as masculine duals, in the same meaning as the so frequent amesha spenta. We find also, frequently, אנגןננץ אונצין spěnistá mainyû, "the two most holy spirits" (p. 80), through which the dual form in a of bases in a is likewise confirmed in the most unequivocal manner. The answer to the query, Whether generally only two Amshaspants are to be assumed? whether the genitive plural (ameshananm spentananm), and sometimes also the accusative plural, is only the representative of the dual, which is very uncertain and shaken in its use? whether under the name Amshaspants, perhaps, we should always understand the Genii Haurvat (Khordad) and Ameriat

	SANSERIT.	EEND.	GREEK.	LITHUANIAN.
f.	bhavishyanty-	đu, bûshyaintî,		
m.	sûnû,	pasû,	ὶχθύ-ε,	N. sunu, V. súnu.
f.	tanû, · ·	tanû,	πίτυ-ε,	
m.	madhû-n-í,		μέθυ-ε,	
f.	vadhw-åu, ···	å «		
m. f	. gav-âu,*	ė	$\beta \acute{o}(F)$ - $\epsilon$ ,	6
f.	náv-áu,	*****	$\nu \hat{a}(F)$ - $\epsilon$ ,	
f.	vách-áu,	vách-áo,	****	****

Amertat, and whether these two Genii, according to the principle of the Sanskrit copulative compounds, have the dual termination for this reason alone, that they are usually found together, and are, together, two? whether, in fine, these two twin-genii are identical with the Indian Aswinen, which were referred in §. 208, to the Zend-Avesta? The reply to all these queries lies beyond the aim of this book. We will here only notice that, Vend. S. pp. 80 and 422, the Genii Haurvat and Amertat, although each is in the dual, still are, together, named weeps to a אנגונף אואאר איאראר śpěnistâ mainyû mazdâ tevîshî, &c., "the two most holy spirits, the great, strong." As Genii, and natural objects of great indefinite number, where they are praised, often have the word vispa, "all," before them, it would be important to shew whether "all Amshaspants" are never mentioned; and the utter incompatibility of the Amsh. with the word vispa would then testify the impassable duality of these Genii. If they are identical with the celestial physicians, the Indian Aswinen, then "Entireness" and "Immortality" would be no unsuitable names for them. In Panini we find (p. 803) the expressions मानदिपतरी mâtara-pitarâu and fपत्रामात् pitara-mâtarâ marked as peculiar to the Vedas. They signify "the parents," but, literally, they probably mean "two mothers two fathers," and "two fathers two mothers." For the first member of the compound can here scarcely be aught but the abbreviated dual pitara, matara; and if this is the case, we should here have an analogy to the conjectured signification of haurvat-a and ameretat-a.

\* Bases in  $\overline{an}$  ô form the strong cases (§.129.) from  $\overline{an}$  âu; those in  $\overline{an}$ , and nouns of the agent in  $\overline{an}$ , lengthen in those cases, with the exception of the vocative singular, the last vowel but one (see §.144.).

	SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LITHUANIAN.
	vach-a,*	vách-a,	ŏπ-e,	
₲ m.	bharant-âu,	barant-ão,		••••
<u>F</u>	bharant-å,	barant-a,	φέροντ-ε,	
m.	âtmân-âu,†	ašman-đo,		• • • •
248	åtmån-å,	aşman-a,	δαίμον-ε,	N. V. ákmen-u.
248.) n.	namn-i,	, ;• • • • .	τάλαν-ε,	V
m.	bhråtar-åu,	brâtar-âo,	*,* *,*,	
	bhråtar-å	brâtar-a,	πατέρ-ε,	• • • •
£.	duhitar-āu,	dughdhar-åd	,	
	duhitar-â,	dughdhar-a,	θυγατέρ-ε	
m.	dåtår-åu,†	dâtâr-ao,		, ,
	dâtâr-â,	dâtâr-a,	δοτήρ-ε,	
n.	vachas-î,		$\tilde{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon(\sigma)$ - $\epsilon$ ,	• • • •

### INSTRUMENTAL, DATIVE, ABLATIVE.

215. These three cases have in the Sanskrit and Zend dual a common termination; while in Greek the genitive has joined itself to the dative, and borrowed its termination from it. It is in Sanskrit and bhyam, which in Zend has been abbreviated to was bya. Connected with the same is, first, the termination and bhyam, which, in the pronoun of the two first persons, denotes the dative singular and plural, but in the singular of the first person has become abbreviated to an hyam (§. 23). This abbreviation appears, however, [G. Ed. p. 249.] to be very ancient, as the Latin agrees

<sup>\*</sup> The Vêda duals in â are as yet only cited in bases in a, n, and ar (সু, ়ি.1.); however, the Zend leads us to expect their extension to the other consonantal declensions, as also the circumstance that, in other parts of grammar, in the Vêdas â is occasionally found for âu, and other diphthongs; e.g. নামা nâbhâ, as locative for নামা nâbhâu, from নাম nâbhi, "navel."

<sup>†</sup> See the marginal note marked (\*), p. 229.

remarkably with it; and mi-hi corresponds to मदाम् ma-hyam, as ti-bi does to तुम्बन tu-bhyam. In the second place, भ्यम् bhyas, which expresses the dative and ablative plural, is pronounced in Zend byô (§. 56b.), in Latin bus, suppressing the u, and with the usual change of as into us. The Lithuanian has mus for bus in the dative plural (§. 63.): this more complete form has, however, remained only in the pronoun of the two first persons, where mu-mus, "nobis," yu-mus, "vobis," are used as well as mu-m's, yu-m's; while in all other words we find simply ms as the sign of the dative-wilka-ms, &c. In the dual dative the Lithuanian has only the m of the Sanskrit termination भ्यान् bhyam, as wilka-m. This m is, however, not the final letter of bhyam, but the initial labial, b, in a nasal form (§. 63.)\*: to me, at least, it appears improper to regard this dual termination otherwise than that of the cognate plural case; and I have no doubt of the identity of the m of wilka-m, λύκοιν, with that of wilka-ms (for wilka-mus), λύκοις. According to this explanation, therefore, the German plural dative corresponds to the Lithuanian dual dative, vulfa-m, yasti-m, sunu-m.+

<sup>\*</sup> On the facile transition of v into m (cf. p. 114) rests also, I doubt not, the connexion of the termination y=y=y=0, "ye two," with the common termination  $\hat{a}u$ , before vowels  $\hat{a}r$ , which in the pronouns spoken of has stiffened into  $\hat{a}m$ , and in this form has remained even before consonants. Whether the case is the same with the verbal third dual person  $\pi = t\hat{a}m$  shall be discussed hereafter.

<sup>†</sup> Cf. Grimm, I. 828. 17, where the identity of the Lithuanian-German inflection m with the b (bh of the older languages) was first shewn. When, however, Grimm, l.c., says of the Lithuanian that only the pronouns and adjectives have ms in the dative plural, the substantives simply m, this is perhaps a mistake, or the plural is named instead of the dual; for Ruhig gives ponams, "dominis," akims, "oculis," &cc.

(also נבש bis), has in Latin fixed itself in the dative and ablative,\* which must together supply the place of the instrumental; while in Lithuanian, with the exchange of the labial medial for the nasal of this organ (§. 63.), mis is the property of the instrumental alone, so that puti-mis answers to ufata pati-bhis, שנו בני pati-bhis.

217. I have already elsewhere affirmed, that the Greek termination  $\phi_i$ ,  $\phi_i \nu$ , is to be referred to this place,† and what is there said may be introduced here also. If  $\phi i \nu$ , and not φι, be assumed to be the elder of the two forms, we may offer the conjecture that it has arisen from  $\phi_{i\varsigma}$ , following the analogy of the change of  $\mu\epsilon\varsigma$  into  $\mu\epsilon\nu$  in the 1st person plural, which corresponds to the Sanskrit mas and Latin must; our would correspond to the Sanskrit bhis and Latin bis, in nobis, vobis. Perhaps, also, there originally existed a difference between φι and φιν (which we find used indifferently for the singular and plural), in that the former may have belonged to the singular, the latter to the plural; and they may have had the same relation to one another that, in Latin, bi has to bis in tibi and vobis; and that, in Lithuanian, mi has to mis in akimi, "through the eye," and akimis, "through the eyes." It has escaped notice that the terminations  $\phi_i$  and [G. Ed. p. 251.] our belong principally to the dative: their locative and instrumental use—ἀυτόφι, θύρηφι, βίηφιν—is explained by the fact, that the common dative also has assumed the sign of these relations. The strict genitive use of the termination  $\phi_i$ ,  $\phi_i \nu$ , may perhaps be altogether denied; for if prepositions, which are elsewhere used in construction with the

<sup>\*</sup> In the 1st and 2d pronoun (no-bis, vo-bis), where bis supplies the place of the bus which proceeds from tax bhyas.

<sup>†</sup> Trans. Berlin Academy, 1826. Comparison of Sanskrit with its cognate languages, by Prof. Bopp. Essay III. p. 81.

<sup>‡</sup> Observe, also, that the Sanskrit instrumental termination bhis has been, in Prâkvit, corrupted to fæ hin.

genitive, occur also with the case in  $\phi_l$ ,  $\phi_l \nu$ , we are not compelled, on this account, to regard the latter as the genitive or representative of the genitive. In general, all prepositions, which are used in construction with the genitive, would, according to the sense, be better used with an ablative or a locative, if these cases were particularly represented in Greek. The suffix  $\theta \epsilon \nu$  also, of genuine ablative signification, expressing separation from a place, is incorrectly considered to represent the genitive termination, where the latter, in the common dialect, has received the sign of the lost ablative. In ὄσσε δακρυόφιν πίμπλαντο, δακρυόφιν would, in Sanskrit, be rendered by अञ्चलिम asrubhis: the relation is entirely instrumental, and is not changed because the verb mentioned is more usually, though less suitably, used with the genitive. The same is the case with ὄσσε δακρυόφιν τέρσαντο. In Ἰλιόφι κλυτὰ τείχεα it is not requisite to make Ἰλιόφι governed by τείχεα, but it may be regarded as locative "to Ilium." And in Od. XII. 45. (πολύς δ' άμφ' όστεόφιν θὶς ἀνδρῶν πυθομένων) there is no necessity to look upon ὀστεόφιν as the genitive, for it can be aptly rendered by ossibus. I know no passages besides where a genitive meaning could be given to forms in  $\phi_i$  and  $\phi_i \nu$ . To the accusative, likewise, the form  $\phi_i$ ,  $\phi_i \nu$ , is foreign, and according to its origin does not suit it; nor does it appear in the train of prepositions, which elsewhere occur with the accusative, with the single exception of es even our in Hesiod (cf. Buttmann, p. 205). As to the opinion [G. Ed. p. 252.] of the old Grammarians, that  $\phi_i$ ,  $\phi_i \nu$ , may stand also in the nominative and vocative, and as to the impropriety of the subscribed before this termination in the dative singular of the first declension, we refer the reader to what Buttmann (p. 205) has rightly objected on this head.

18. The neuters in Σ, mentioned in § 128., are nearly the only ones from bases ending with a consonant, which occur in combination with φι, φιν, in forms like ὅχεσ-φι,

ορεσ-φι, στήθεσ-φιν, which have been misunderstood, because the Σ dropped before vowel terminations was not recognised as the property of the base. Of the other consonants, ν is the only one, and ΚΟΤΥΛΗΔΟΝ the only ν base, which occurs in combination with φιν; and since N does not combine with Φ so readily as Σ, it assumes an auxiliary vowel ο-κοτυληδόν-ο-φιν—after the analogy of compound words like κυν-ο-θαρσής. This example is followed, without the necessity for it however, by δάκρυ—δακρυόφιν; while ναῦ-φιν, in an older point of view, resembles exactly the Sanskrit निरम nâubhis; for in compounds, also, the base NAY keeps free from the conjunctive vowel o, on which account ναύσταθμον may be compared with Sanskrit compounds like निरम nâu-stha, "standing (being) in the ship."

219. But to return to the Sanskrit dual termination भाग bhyam, it is further to be remarked, that before it a final ख a is lengthened; hence, जुकाम्याम् vrikâbhyâm for व्याप्त vrikabhyam. It hardly admits of any doubt, that this lengthening extended to the cognate plural termination भिस् bhis; and that hence, from वृक vrika also vrika-bhis would be found. The common dialect has, however, abbreviated this form to वृकेस vrikâis, which is easily derived from vrikabhis by rejecting the bh; for è di is, according [G. Ed. p. 253.] to §. 2., =a+i. This opinion, which I have before expressed,\* I can now support by new arguments. In the first place, which did not then occur to me in discussing this question, the pronouns of the two first persons really form from their appended pronoun # sma, sma-bhis; hence जस्माभिस् asmābhis, युक्माभिस् yushmābhis; which forms stand in the same relation to the quiffer wrika-bhis, assumed by me, that the accusatives जमान asman, युपान yushman, do to चकान vrikan, "lupos." Secondly, the opinion

<sup>\*</sup> Trans. Berlin Academy, 1826. Comparison of Sanskrit with its cognate languages, by Prof. Bopp. Essay III. p. 79.

which I arrived at theoretically has, since then, been so far practically established by the Vêda dialect, that, in it, from a final \ a not \ a-bhis but \ a-bhis, has been formed, according to the analogy of the dative and ablative, as वृकेभ्यस् vrikebhyas; hence, अधेनिस aśvêbhis, "per equos," from अध aśva. In the common dialect the pronominal form efact ê-bhis "per hos," answers to this Vêda form, which must properly be derived from the pronominal base wa, which generally plays the chief part in the declension of इदन् idam. Though, then, on one side, from the pronoun स a springs the form एभिस ê-bhis; on the other side, from आस asma and युम yushma proceed the forms समाभिस asmābhis, यमाभिस yushmābhis; and though the Vêda dialect, in its substantive and adjective bases in a, attaches itself to the former form, still no necessity hence arises for supposing the abbreviated dis to be based on an ê-bhis,\* as that could never lead to dis. Perhaps, however, abhis might become ebhis, either through the assimilative force of the i of bhis, or through analogy to [G. Ed. p. 254.] the dative &-bhyas, the & of which may, in like manner, owe its origin to the re-active influence of the \u03c4 y.+

220. The Prâkrit has fully followed out the path commenced by the Vêda dialect, and changed into vê the & of

<sup>\*</sup> From  $\ell bhis$  would come, after rejecting the bh, not dis, but ayis, for  $\ell$ , =a+i, cannot be combined with a following i into a diphthong, or, as it is itself already a diphthong, into a triphthong.

t I do not regard the Vêda אוני וויינים אונינים אוני וויינים אוניינים אוניים אוני

asmå-bhis, yushmå-bhis, as also, in the locative plural, that of asmåsu, yushmåsu; hence अम्होहं amhå-hin, तुम्होहं tumhå-hin, अम्होत् tumhåsu. Moreover, in Pråkrit, all other a bases, as well pronouns as substantives and adjectives, terminate the instrumental plural with एहिं e-hin; and thus अमुमेहिं kusumå-hin, "floribus," (from kusuma,) answers to the Vêda जुम्मेमिस kusumå-bhis. Before, however, the forms in एमिस ê-bhis, एहिं ê-hin, had arisen, from आमिस âbhis, by the change of å into ê, âis must have proceeded by means of rejection and contraction from that most early form. This form exists also in the oldest hymns of the Vêdas, together with that in एमिस êbhis: thus, in Rosen, p. 14, पत्रेस yajnåis; pp. 15 and 21 अमेस arkâis. In Zend the abbreviated form âis is the only one that occurs, which it does, indeed, extremely often.

<sup>\*</sup> By rejecting the labial, as in चृकेस vrikâis from चृकाभिस vrikâbhis, and by contracting the साम yâm to w, as when, in Sanskrit, for yashta, ishta is said, from yaj, "to sacrifice," and n Zend ६२ îm, "hæc," for इसम iyam (see, also, §. 42.).

above mentioned; where, therefore, the first , would fall to the base, which it lengthens, the other to the termination. The third declension, by its forms like δαιμόν-οιν, might give rise to the conjecture, that our and not uv is the true termination: the latter, however, is shewn to be so from the two first declensions, where w and not ow is attached to the final vowel of the base (Μούσα-ιν, λόγο-ιν). In the third, therefore, we explain the o before w in the same manner as, §. 218. before φιν (κοτυληδον-ό-φιν); viz. as a conjunctive vowel, which has made its way from the bases which necessarily have it, i.e. from those terminating in a consonant into those which might dispense with it (into the bases in and v); as, in general, in the third declension the consonantal bases have given the tone, and have shewn the way to the vowels and v. It might, however, not [G. Ed. p. 256.] have been necessary for the conjunctive vowel o to make its appearance between consonants and the termination, as δαιμον-ιν could very easily be uttered; but the o of δαιμόνοιν comes evidently from a time when the w was still preceded by the consonant, which the corresponding Sanskrit termination bhyâm leads us to expect; in all probability a  $\phi$ ; thus, δαιμόν-ο-ιν, from δαιμον-ο-φιν.\* We should have, therefore, here a different our from that which, in §. 217., we endeavoured to explain from ous, भिस bhis: the nasal in the dual  $(\phi)$  in stands quite regularly for its predecessor m, as, in general, at the end of words. In order to present to our

<sup>\*</sup> The conjunctive vowel o, therefore, before the dual termination w, has an origin exactly similar to that of the possessive suffix  $\epsilon\nu\tau$ , which has been already elsewhere compared with the Sanskrit  $\overline{q}$ - $\overline{q}$  vant. Ev must therefore have been originally pronounced  $F\epsilon\nu\tau$ ; and the conjunctive vowel, which the digamma made requisite or desirable before consonantal bases, and which, from thence, has extended itself to the whole third declension, has remained also after the digamma has been dropped, and thus  $\pi\nu\rho$ - $\delta$ - $\epsilon\iota$ s answers to  $\pi\nu\rho$ o $\hat{\nu}$ , from  $\pi\nu\rho$ - $\delta$ - $\bar{\nu}$ : on the other hand,  $\tau\nu\rho\delta$ - $\epsilon\iota$ s to  $\tau\dot{\nu}\rho$ o $\nu$  ( $\tau\nu\rho$ o $-\bar{\nu}$ ).

view still more clearly how forms quite similar take root in the language as corruptions of preceding dissimilar forms, let the form ἔτυπτον be considered as the first person singular and third person plural; in one case from ἔτυπτομ, in the other from ἔτυπτοντ.

222. If the dual termination w be explained as a contraction of bhyam, we shall have found, also, the origin of the dative plural termination w, which appears to have been changed in this number in the pronouns of one gender as it were by accident  $(\dot{\eta}\mu'-\hat{\iota}\nu, \dot{\nu}\mu'-\hat{\iota}\nu, \sigma\phi'-\dot{\iota}\nu, \text{ together with}$  $\sigma\phi i-\sigma i$ ). The Greek, however, in this respect, is guided or misled by the Sanskrit; or, more correctly, the distinction of the plural dative of the pronouns of one gender is very ancient, and the Sanskrit has in them अवन bhyam as termination (स्राम्यम् asma-bhyam, "nobis," युप्तभ्यम् yushma-bhyam, (G. Ed. p. 257.) "vobis"), opposed to the an bhyas of all other words. From this bhyam, then, we arrive at a quite as easily, or more so, than from the dual termination bhyâm (cf. §. 42.). As, however, স্বৰ্ bhyam, and its abbreviated form सम् hyam, according to §. 215., has also its place in the singular dative of the pronouns of one gender, but occurs nowhere else; as, moreover, the Latin also, in the pronouns referred to, has maintained a genuine dative termination, and to the common i, which is borrowed from the locative, presents in contrast the termination bi or hi (for bhi) (§. 200.); we can, therefore, in the singular ιν also of εμ'-ίν, τε-ίν, τ'-ίν, ἵν, σφ'-ίν, see nothing else than an abbreviation of भ्यम bhyam, a form which the Latin and Greek have shared in such a manner, that the former has retained the beginning and the latter the end. In the i both coincide.\* The occasional accu-

<sup>\*</sup> A short time since, Max. Schmidt, in his excellent treatise "Commentatio de Pronomine Græco et Latino" (p. 77), endeavoured to connect the termination \* here treated of with the Sanskrit in a different way, by designating it as the sister form of the pronominal locative ter-

sative use of this termination, in Theocritus, is to be explained from its original signification being no longer felt, and the exchange of its  $\nu$  with that of the accusative thereby caused. On the other hand, we have in  $\mu'_{i\nu}$  and  $\nu'_{i\nu}$  real accusatives, and should therefore divide them  $\mu'_{i-\nu}$ ,  $\nu'_{i-\nu}$ ; and not assume, with Buttmann (p. 296), a connection between this form and the dative  $-i\nu$ .

223. As to the origin of the case-suffixes [G. Ed. p. 258.] भिम् bhi-s, भ्यम् bhy-am, भ्याम् bhy-am, and भ्यम् bhy-as, which begin with my bhy (from for bhi), we must notice, first, their connection with the preposition with abhi, "to," "towards,""against,"(whence खभितस abhi-tas, "at," cf. "apud"). However, in abhi itself bhi is clearly, in like manner, the termination, and the demonstrative a a the theme; so that this preposition, in respect to its termination, is to be regarded as a sister form to the Latin ti-bi, si-bi, i-bi, u-bi; \* just as another preposition, which springs from the pronominal base a, viz. wiv adhi, "over," finds analogous forms in the Greek locatives, like δ-θι, ἄλλο-θι, οὐρανό-θι (§. 16.). Related to the suffix fy dhi is y dha, which has been retained in the common dialect only in the abbreviation ha, in i-ha, "here," and in the preposition sa-ha, "with"; but in the Vêda dialect exhibits the original form and more extended diffusion, and in the Zend, also, is found in several pro-

mination  $\xi \overline{\gamma}$  in (§. 201.). In this view similar forms would be contrasted, exclusive of the length of the Greek  $\iota\nu$ , which, according to my explanation, may pass as compensation for the a, which has been dropped. Still I lay less stress on the difference of quantity than on this, that it is precisely the pronouns of one gender in the Sanskrit, which exhibit in the locative not in but the common i (§. 201.), but I attach still more weight to what has been said above in support of my opinion.

<sup>\*</sup> In Prâkrit the termination f\(\xi\) hin, which is connected with \(\omega\) hin (cf. \(\omega\). 217.), unites also with other pronominal bases, for the formation of locative adverbs, as \(\omega\) is ta-hin, "there," \(\omega\) is ka-hin, "where?"

nominal bases with a locative signification; e.g. אמעסע ava-dha, "here." In the Greek, compare θα of ένθα, opposed to θεν, from ένθεν, εμέθεν, &c., from чπ dhas, for तस् tas, in जयस् a-dhas, "beneath": in which formations u dh stands as a permutation of t, and occurs in this way, also, in some other formations.\* Th refore dha, dhi, are to be derived from the demonstrative lase # ta: but it is more difficult to trace the origin of the bhi of with abhi (Greek ἀμφί). I suspect that an initial consonant has been [G. Ed. p. 259.] dropped. As in Greek, also, piv is used for σφίν, and as in Sanskrit fasıfa vinsati "twenty," is clearly an abbreviation of final dwinsati, and in Zend wis bis, "twice," sitya, "the second," is used for way dvis, (Sanskrit fan dwis), אנס מענע (Sanskrit fanta dwitiya), so for bhi may be identical with the pronominal base \ swa or fe swi-whence the Greek σφείς, σφίν, φίν, &c.; and so indeed, that after the s has been dropped, the following semi-vowel has been strengthened or hardened, just as in the Zend sis, sis bitya, and the Latin bis, bi. The changed sibilant might also be recognised in the aspiration of the w bh, as, in Prâkrit (§. 166.), we sma has become Fr mha; and, (which comes still closer to the case before us), in Greek for σφίν is found also ψίν. And, in Sanskrit, that \ bh should spring from b+h is not entirely unknown; and in this way is to be explained the relation of भूपस bhûyas, "more," to as bahu, "much," the a being rejected (Gramm. Crit. r. 251. Rem.).

224. The following will serve as a general view of the dual termination under discussion, in Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, and Lithuanian:—

<sup>\*</sup> Among others, in the 2d person plural of the middle and the and the and the and the arm for a twe, and twem.

	SANSERIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATHUANIAN.
ın.	vrikā-bhyām,	věhrkati-bya, or věhrkůi-bya,	λύκο-ιν,	wilka-m.
f.	jihwā-bhyām,	hizvâ-bya,	χώρα-ιν,	ranko-m.
m.	pati-bhyam,	paiti-bya,	ποσί-ο-ιν,	pati-m.
f.	tanu-bhyam,	tanu-bya,	πιτύ-ο-ιν,	
f.	våg-bhyåm,	vách-e-bya,*	όπ-ο-ῖν,	
m.	bharad-bhyam,	baran'-bya,	φερόντ-ο-ιν,	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
m.	âtma'-bhyâm.†	asma'-bya,	δαιμόν-ο-ιν,	Ed
				70
_				200

\* I deduce this form principally from the base www? raoch, "light," which often occurs in the terminations beginning with 1 b, and always interposes ge as conjunctive vowel - way 150 but raoch-e-bis, 433150 but raoch-e-byô. We find, also, باد «ددمع الله vî-vach-e-bis (Vend. S. p. 63.). Bases in r interpose  $\varphi$   $\tilde{e}$ ; those in  $\varphi$  t, when a vowel precedes that letter, conjoin the termination direct (μυλιρωφωρεζεω aměrětátatbya, according to §. 38.): on the other hand, the p t of pow nt is rejected; thus, V. S. p. 9. 9. 25/25 berezen'-bya, "splendentibus," with 1, contrary to 6. 60. The form Gass punil broat-byanm, "superciliis," also deserves notice, because in this solitary word the case termination appears unreduced (§. 61.). The MS., however, as often as this word occurs, always divides the termination from the base (Vend. S. p. 269, twice & 2015 pound breat byain; pp. 321 and 322, pounds 68031 barvat byanm, probably for bravat byanm; so that it would seem that pand breat is the ablative singular of a theme 32, brû (Sansk. 4 bhrû). I have not found this word in any other case: it is not likely, however, that any thing but part broat or params broant is its theme: in the latter case it would be a participial form, and would demonstrate, that instead of the last consonant of nt, the last but one also may be rejected. Or are we to regard broat byaim as a form of that singular kind that unites with the termination of the ablative singular that of the dual, and thus of brû would still be the theme?

† N, in Sanskrit and Zend, is rejected before case terminations beginning with a consonant; thus, in Greek, δαίμο-σι, and in Gothic ahma-m.

	BANSERIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LITHUANIAN
m.	bhratri-bhyam,*	bhråtar-ĕ-bya,	πατέρ-ο-ιν,	
n.	vachô-bhyâm,†	vachô-bya,	$e^{i\pi\epsilon(\sigma)-o-i\nu}$ ,	

## GENITIVE, LOCATIVE.

[G. Ed. p. 261.] 225. These two cases, in Sanskrit, have the common termination सोस् ७s, which may be connected with the singular genitive termination. The following are examples: वृक्सपोस् vrikay-७s, निद्धपोस् jihway-७s (cf. §. 158.), पत्रोस् paty-७s, तन्त्रोस् tanw-७s, वाचोस् vach-७s, भात्रोस् bhrâtr-७s, वचसोस् vachas-७s. In Zend this termination seems to have disappeared, and to be replaced by the plural; likewise in Lithuanian, where, awy-û is both dual and plural genitive.

### PLURAL.

### NOMINATIVE, VOCATIVE.

226. Masculines and feminines have, in Sanskrit, at as for the termination of the nominative plural, with which, as in the cognate languages, the vocative is identical in all declensions. I consider this as to be an extended form of the singular nominative sign s; so that in this extension of the case-suffix lies a symbolical allusion to plurality: and the s, which is too personal for the neuter, is wanting in that gender, in the singular and dual, as well as in the plural. The three numbers, therefore, with regard to their masculine-feminine termination or personal designation, are related to one another, as it were, like positive, comparative, and superlative, and the highest degree belongs to the dual. In Zend at as has, according to §. 56<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>\*</sup> With ar before case terminations beginning with consonants is shortened to William if (§. 127.).

<sup>+</sup> See J. 56b.

become δ or ww as before the appended particles cha and chit; the Greek exhibits ες, under the restriction of §. 228.; the Latin ēs,\* with unorganic length of quantity through the influence of the s; the Lithuanian has ės in bases in r but elsewhere simple s. Thus the words ξίξπιπ duhitar-as, where simple s dughdhar-as-cha, θυγατέρ-ες, dukter-ès, matr-es, correspond with one another.

down with a preceding a of the base to a; thus, qara vrikas, from vrika + as, corresponds to the Gothic vulfos, from VULFAus (§. 69.). In this concretion only, however, with the vowel of the base, the Gothic has preserved the full termination; but elsewhere, both with vowel and consonantal bases, the s alone of the old as is left, as in general the termination as in Gothic polysyllabic forms has everywhere been weakened to is or s (cf. §§. 135. 191.): hence, sunyu-s, ahman-s, for suniv-as, ahman-as. And at a, too, is contracted with the termination as to as; hence, fract jihwas, for jihwa-as. It cannot, however, be shewn with certainty, from what has been just said, that the Gothic gibâs, from GIBŌ, has simple s or as (contracted with the base vowel to b=a) for its case designation.

228. The masculine pronominal bases in a refuse, in Sanskrit, Zend, and Gothic, the full nominative designation, and in place of it extend the base by the addition of an i, which, according to §. 2., with the a of the base forms  $\mathbf{z}$  ê, for which, in Zend, is used  $\mathbf{z}$  ê or  $\mathbf{z}$  6i;

<sup>\*</sup> Vide §. 797. p. 1078.

that in  $\vec{n}$  is lengthened in many other cases to  $\vec{v}$   $\ell$ , and with this the case terminations are then first conjoined, there is good ground to assume that in  $\vec{n}$   $t\dot{\ell}$ , and similar forms, no case designation at all is contained, and that the pronouns, as purely words of personality, find themselves sufficiently personified in this case through themselves alone; as in the singular  $s\iota$  is said for sas, in Sanskrit as in Gothic, and in Greek  $\delta$  for  $\delta s$ ; while in Latin, with is-te also ipse and ille are robbed of the nominative sign. This opinion is remarkably confirmed by the fact that  $\vec{v}$   $\vec{v}$ 

hence, Sanskrit ते tê, Zend 1500 tê, Gothic thai, "this," [G. Ed. p. 263.] answering to the feminine form and tas, swe the (§. 56h.), thes. To this corresponds, in Greek, Toi (Doric for oi). In Greek and Latin, however, this i, which practically replaces the termination as (es, es), has not remained in the masculine pronominal bases in o = a§. 116.); but all other bases of the second, as of the first declension, have, in Greek and Latin, taken example from it; hence, λύκοι, γῶραι, for λυκο-ες, χωρα-ες, lupi (from lupoi), terræ (from terrai), for lupo-es, terra-es. The Latin fifth declension, although in its origin identical with the first (§. 121.), has preserved the old termination; hence, res from re-es, as, in Sanskrit jihwas from jihwa-as. The Lithuanian has fixed narrower restrictions than the Greek and Latin on the misuse of the pronominal inflexion under discussion, or, to speak more correctly, want of inflexion: it gives, indeed, wilkai=λύκοι, lupi, but not rankai, but rankos. Honour, therefore, to the Gothic! that in this respect it has not overstepped by one hair the old Sanskrit-Zend limits; for that the adjective a bases, as they in general follow the pronominal declension, give also ai for ôs (blindai "cœci") is, therefore, no violation of the old law.

229. In Zend, in consonantal bases the dual termination בש לס also (from אום לא \$. 207.) occurs with a plural signification; thus, frequently, בשלשט vâch-do, "voces," בשלשט vâch-do, "voces," בשלשט און

Crit. §. 271.) shews itself clearly through most of the oblique cases, as ami-byas, "illis," ami-shām, "illorum," to be the naked theme. The form which occurs in the Zend-Avesta aras contraction of višpay-as-cha, "omnesque" (V. S. p. 49), considered as a contraction of višpay-as-cha (cf. §. 244.), leads to the conjecture, that to  $\vec{n}$  tê, and similar uninflected forms, the termination as also might attach itself; thus,  $\vec{n}$  ut tay-as. In Zend, the pronominal form in ê occurs, for the most part, in the accusative plural; and thus the abovementioned višpes-cha l. c. stands probably as accusative, although, according to Anquetil's inaccurate translation, it might be regarded as the nominative.

raoch-do, "luces," which forms cannot be regarded, perhaps, as regular plurals of bases in â; for I believe [G. Ed. p. 264.] I can guarantee that there exists no such base as would vachâ and would raochâ. The form ψυγεω âonhô in a bases, as ψυγεωγνες νερτκάοπλο, "lupi," and "lupos," rests on that in the Vêdas, but which only occurs in the nominative, भासस âsas (§. 56<sup>b</sup>.); e.g. स्तोमासस stômâsas, "songs of praise," for स्तोमास stômâs, from स्तोम stômâ."

230. Bases in i and u have, in Sanskrit, Guna; hence unual patay-as, unual sûnaw-as, for paty-as, sûnw-as. The Gothic also has preserved this Guna, but in its weakened form i (§. 27.), which, before u, becomes y; hence, sunyu-s, "sons," (for suniu-s, from sunau-s,) a form which would be unintelligible without the Guna theory, which has been shewn to belong to the German. In i bases the Guna i is melted down with that of the base to long i (written ei, §. 70.); hence, gastei-s, anstei-s, from GASTI, ANSTI (cf. p. 105.). The Zend employs Guna or not at pleasure; hence but paity-ô, or paitay-ô, or paitay-ô, or paitay-ô, or paitay-ô.

231. Neuters have, in Zend, as in the cognate European languages, a short a for their termi- [G. Ed. p. 265.] nation; perhaps the remains of the full as, which belongs to the natural genders, after the s, which is too per-

<sup>\*</sup> This form is, in my opinion, to be so regarded, as that, for greater emphasis, the termination as has been a second time appended to the termination, which had become concrete with the base.

<sup>†</sup> The i, which, according to §. 41., is blended with the base, remains in spite of the a preceding the y.

<sup>†</sup> Simple as this point is, I have nevertheless found it very difficult to come to a firm conclusion regarding it, although, from the first, I have directed my attention towards it. Burnouf has already (Nouv. Journ. Asiat. III. 309, 310) given the plural neuter form, and instituted comparisons with the Gothic and Greek, &c. But from forms like hu-mata, "bene-cogitata," "húcta," "bene-dicta," it cannot be perceived what the neuter plural termination properly is; because, setting out with the Sanskrit, we are tempted to assume that the true termination in these forms

sonal for the dead speechless gender, has been dropped.
[G. Ed. p. 266.] This a remains, then, in the accusative. The masculine and feminine have, in the same case, generally likewise as (Zend שׁ פּ, שִּשְּשֵּׁשׁ ascha). The following are examples: אַרְאָשׁשְׁשׁ aschavan-a, "pura;" שִּשְּׁשִׁשְׁשׁ vach-a, "verba;" אַרְאָשׁשְׁשׁ vach-a, "verba;" אַרְאָשׁיִּשְׁ nar-a, "homines;" אַרְשׁשׁׁשׁ ast-a, "ossa." In nominal bases in a the termination is melted down with the vowel of the base: the å so produced has, however, in the received condition of the language, according to a

has been dropped, and its loss either compensated by lengthening the final vowel, or not. We must therefore direct our attention to bases with a different termination than a, especially to such as terminate with a consonant. The examination of this subject is, however, much embarrassed, in that the Zend, without regard to the gender of the singular, is prone, contrary to natural expectation, to make every noun neuter in the plural; an inclination which goes so far, that the numerous class of a bases have hereby entirely lost the masculine nominative, and but sparingly exhibit the masculine accusative. When, e.g. mashya, "human being," is, in the plural nominative, likewise, mashya (with cha, mashya-cha), here I am nevertheless convinced that this plural mashya, or mashya, is not an abbreviation of mashyan from mashyas (§. 56b.), as in no other part of Zend Grammar & a or & a stands for with as: I am persuaded that this form belongs to the neuter. The replacing, however, of the plural masculine by neuters rests upon a deep internal feeling of the language; for in the plural number it is clear that gender and personality are far in the back ground. The personality of the individual is lost in the abstract infinite and inanimate plurality; and so far we can but praise the Zend for its evitation of gender in the plural. We must blame it, however, in this point, that it does not, in all places, bring the adjectives or pronouns into concord with the substantives to which they refer, and that in this respect it exhibits a downright confusion of gender, and a disorder which has very much impeded the inquiry into this subject. Thus, e.g. vispa anaghra-raochao (not raoch-a), "all lights which have had no beginning"; tisarô (fem.) sata or thrayô (masc.) sata, "three hundred"; chathwârô (masc.) sata "four hundred." In general the numbers "three" and "four" appear to have lost the neuter; hence, also, thrayô csafn-a, "three nights," chathwaro csafn-a, "four nights": in Vend. S. p. 237, on the other hand, stands ta nara ya, "those persons who . . . ." I divide thus nar-s

although

principle often quoted, been again shortened, and remains only in monosyllabic bases and before annexed particles. The Gothic and Zend, in this respect, stand [G. Ed. p. 267.] very remarkably upon one and the same footing; for thô, "hæc," is used (for thô, §. 69.), from THAa; hvô, "quæ," for HVAa; but daura, from DAURA, as, in Zend, wo tô, "hæc," we yô, "quæ," opposed to wow agha, "peccata," from agha. It cannot, therefore, be said of the Gothic that the a of the base has been dropped before that of the termi-

although the form might also belong to a theme nara, which also occurs, but much less frequently than nar; whence also, elsewhere, the masculine nar-ô taê-cha, "and those persons." From the theme vach, "word," "speech," we find frequently vach-a (also, erroneously as it appears, vach-a); e.g. Vend. S. p. 34, wowship wow wowfie would vdeha humata húcta hvarěšta, "verba bene-cogitata, bene-dicta, bene-peracta." From אנטשעגעע ashavan, "pure," occurs very often the neuter plural 'shvana-a: as, however, the theme ashavan sometimes, too, although very rarely, extends itself unorganically to ashavana, this form proves less (though it be incorrect) that the neuter ashavan-a should be derived from the unorganic extremely rare ashavana, than from the genuine and most common ashavan, in the weak cases ashaun or ashaon. Participial forms, too, in nt are very common in the neuter plural; and I have never found any ground for assuming that the Zend, like the Pali and Old High German, has extended the old participial theme by a vowel addition. In the Vend. S., p. 119, we find an accusative agha aiwishitar-a, "peccata corrumpentia (?)." Anquetil renders both expressions together by "la corruption du cœur" (II. 227.); but probably aiwi-sitâra stands for -csitâra, and means literally "the destroying" (cf. fa kshi, intrans. "to be ruined"). So much is certain, that aiwi is a preposition (p. 42), and tar is the suffix used in the formation of the word (§. 144.), which is in the strong cases tar; and from this example it follows, as also from ashavan-a, that where there are more forms of the theme than one, the Zend, like the Sanskrit (see Gramm. Crit. r. 185. c.), forms the nominative, accusative, and vocative plural from the stronger theme. I refrain from adducing other examples for the remarkable and not to have been expected proposition, that the Zend, in variance from the Sanskrit, forms its plural neuters according to the principle of the Latin nomin-a, Greek τάλαν-a, Gothic namon-a or namn-a.

nation, for it could not be dropped, because the base-vowel and termination have been, from the first, concrete. The old length of quantity might, however, be weakened: this is the fate of long vowels especially at the end of words. It cannot, therefore, be said of the Greek τὰ δώρα and the Latin dona, that the a entirely belongs to the termination, This a is an old inheritance of the oldest date, from the time when the second declension, to use the expression, terminated its bases with a. This a has since then become, in Greek, o or e (§. 204.), in Latin, u, o, or e, and has maintained its ancient quality only in the plural neuter, and the  $\bar{a}$ , which has grown out of  $\check{a}+\check{a}$ , has become shortened. This a, however, in contrast with its offspring v, e, u, may even pass for a more weighty ending, which unites base and termination, than if δωρο or δωρε, dono, done, stood as the plural neuter.

<sup>\*</sup> Burnouf's MS. divides thus, and përëtha, which is following Olshausen (p. 6), but with the various reading anaperëtha. I have no ground for assuming that in Zend there exists a preposition and, "without," so that ana përëtha might mean "without a bridge"; and that përëtu would, in the singular instrumental, form përëthwa or përëtava. I suppose, therefore, that përëtu may be conjoined with the preposition d, and then the negative an have been prefixed.

But a final u may also be retained, in the form of a semivowel, either pure or with Guna: the latter form I recognise in www. yatava (Vend. S. p. 120; in Olshausen, p. 7), which can only be the plural accusative of your yatu, for it stands with wow agha, "peccata; and in the same page in Olshausen occurs a derivative of yatu in the accusative singular, viz. fzpwsf, pw yatumentem, "the magician," "gifted with magic" (according to Anquetil, magicien). I render, therefore, agha yatava literally by "the sins of sorcery" (Auquetil, "la magie très mauvaise"); and in Anquetil's Vocabulary is (p. 467) fan Can yathvaim, the regular plural genitive of our base yatu, which means, therefore, "of the sorceries"; while Anquetil faultily gives it the meaning of the derivative (magiciens), and, according to his custom, takes this oblique case for a nominative. An example of a neuter plural form without Guna is at V.S. p. 122, איץ שׁבְשֵּבְשׁ hěndva "the Indies"; with hapta hěndu, "the seven Indies" (Ang. II. p. 270). It has the epithet us-astar-a ("up-starred?") in opposition to 624 year 65 2010 years daus-astarem hendum, "to the ill-starred (?) [G. Ed. p. 269.] Indies." An example, in which the suppressed termination in a u base is replaced by lengthening the final vowel, is the very frequently occurring solly vohu, "goods," from solly vohu. 233. The interrogative base ki (cf. quis, quid), which in

Sanskrit forms only the singular nominative-accusative (neuter) fan ki-m, but is elsewhere replaced by ka; whence, in Zend, pas ka-t, "what": this base, the use of which is very limited, forms in Zend the plural neuter assay ky-a\*; and

<sup>\*</sup> V.S.p. 341. אינוע אינע אינוע אינע אינע אינע אינע אינע אינע

this form is the more important, since we still require examples which can be relied upon, in which the i of the base is not suppressed before the termination a (above, gara for gairy-a), although it may with reason be conjectured, that, in accordance with the abovementioned hëndv-a and yâtav-a, forms also like vairy-a or vairay-a, from vairi, were in use. As in Gothic, neuter substantive and adjective bases in i are wanting, the numeral base THRI, "three," and the pronominal base I, "he," are very important for the neuter cases under discussion, in which they form thriy-a (thriya hunda, "three hundred") and iy-a, according to the principle of the Sanskrit monosyllabic forms, of which the i sound has not passed into its simple semi-vowel, but into iy; thus, in Sanskrit, fra bhiy-â, from with bhi.

234. The Sanskrit gives, in place of the Zend-European neuter a, an इ i, perhaps as the weakening of a former a [G. Ed. p. 270.] (§. 6.); the final vowel of the base is lengthened, and between it and the case termination a euphonic n is placed (§. 133.); hence दानानि dânâ-n-i, चारीिण vârî-n-i,\* मधून madhû-n-i.† The bases which terminate with a single consonant—न n and र r being excepted—prefix to it a nasal,

before the masculine ψ»ωρων ratavô (ψ»ωρων λους kya ratavô, "which are the lords"?).

<sup>\*</sup> According to a euphonic law (Gram. Crit. r.  $84^{3}$ .), an 7 n following after 7 n, and some other letters, is, under certain conditions, changed into 7 n.

<sup>†</sup> In the Vêdas, the ni in a bases is frequently found suppressed; e.g. fart viśwa, "omnia," from viśwa. In this way the Sanskrit is connected with the Zend viśpa, viśpâ-cha: but perhaps this coincidence is only external; for as the Sanskrit nowhere uses a neuter termination a, fart viśwa cannot well be deduced from viśpa+a, but can only be explained as an abbreviation of the â-ni, which likewise occurs in the Vêdas, as also yr purû, "multa," "magna," is used for graft purûni (Rosen's Spec. pp. 9, 10).

and after s and n the preceding vowel is lengthened; hence  $\frac{1}{4}$  arisen vachán-si, first námán-i. Into relation with this i might be brought the neuter inflexion of  $\frac{1}{4}$  (quai) and  $\frac{1}{4}$  (haic) which stand in Latin very isolated; quae is, however, still tolerably distant from the Sanskrit first  $\frac{1}{4}$   $\frac{1}{4}$   $\frac{1}{4}$  -n-i, while it is nearly identical with the neuter dual from  $\frac{1}{4}$   $\frac{1}{4}$   $\frac{1}{4}$  from  $\frac{1}{4}$  -i, while it is supported by the Zend, the plural form  $\frac{1}{4}$   $\frac{1}{4}$  is tands on the other side isolated, and its age is thereby rendered doubtful; as, moreover, the Latin, in the verb also, has introduced a termination originally dual into the plural\*; [G. Ed. p. 271.] we cannot avoid recognising in the Latin plural quae a remnant as true as possible of the Sanskrit dual from  $\frac{1}{4}$   $\frac{1}{4}$   $\frac{1}{4}$ 

235. We give here a general view of the formation of the plural nominative, and of the vocative, identical with it and the neuter accusative:

	SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	LITHUAN.	GOTHIC.
m.	vrikâs,	velirkaonho,†	λύκοι,	lup'-ī,	wilkai,	vulfős.
m.	tê,	tê,	τοί,	is-t'ī,	tie,‡	thai.
n.	dânâ-n-i,	dâta,	δῶρα,	dona,		daura.
f.	jihwās,	hizvão,	χῶραι,	terrae,	rankos,	gibôs.

<sup>\*</sup> The termination tis answers to  $\mathbf{v}_{\overline{i}}$  thas, Greek  $\tau \circ \nu$  from  $\tau \circ s$ , not to  $\mathbf{v}$  that or  $\mathbf{v}$  ta, Greek  $\tau \in s$ . With respect to the otherwise remarkable declension of qui, and of hic, which is akin to it, I would refer preliminarily to my treatise "On the Influence of Pronouns in the formation of Words" (by F. Dümmler), p. 2.

<sup>+</sup> See §. 229.

<sup>†</sup> This form belongs not to the base TA (= $\pi$  ta), whence, in the singular, ta-s, and nearly all the other cases; but to TIA, whence, through the influence of the i, tie has been developed (cf. p. 174, Note\* and §. 193.); and whence, in the dative dual and plural, tie-m, tie-ms. The nominative plural is, however, without a case termination. The original form TIA corresponds to the Vêda  $\pi$  tya, mentioned in §. 194.; while the base  $\pi$  sya ( $\pi$  shya, see §. 55.) is fully declined in Lithuanian in the form of SZIE, and in the plural nominative, likewise without inflexion,

	SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	LITHUAN.	GOTHIC.
f.	tas, the second of	tho,	ταί,	is-tae,	tes,	thôs.
m.	patay-as,	paity-ô,*	πόσι-ες,	host'-ēs,+		gastei-s.
f.	prîtay-as,	âfrîty-ô,*	πόρτι-ες,	mess'-ēs,	áwy-s,	anstei-s.
n.	vârî-n-i,	var'-a,	ίδρι-α,	mari-a,		
n.	* * .*· • ,	ky-a,‡	(10 m je m	(* * * * 1	* * * *	iy-a.
₽f.	bhavishyanty-as,	bûshyainty-ô,				
am.	sûnav-as,	pasv-ô,*	ἰχθύ-ες,	pecū-s,	sùnu-s,	sunyu-s.
	tanav-as,	tanv-ô,*	πίτυ-ες,	socrū-s,		handyu-s.
72 n.	madhû-n-i,	madhv-a,	μέθυ-α,	pecu-a,		
f.	vadhw-as,				*.* * *	
m.	.gâv-as,	geu-s,§	$\beta \delta(F)$ -es,	bov-ēs,+		

is szie. From the pronominal declension the form ie (from ia) has found its way into the declension of the adjective also: so that the base GERA, "good," forms several cases from GERIE; viz. dat. du. gerie-m for gera-m, dat. pl. gerie-ms for gera-ms, and nom. pl. gerì for gerai. This gerì appears to stand in most complete agreement with the Latin nominatives of the corresponding declension (bonī, lupī); but the difference between the two languages is this, that the i of boni (for bono-i) belongs to the termination, while gerì is void of termination, and stands for gerie (analogous with tie), but this latter for gerie-i (cf. yaunikkie-i.)

1 To this ky-a, from ki-a, corresponds surprisingly the Latin qui-a (quianam, quianae), if, as I scarce doubt, it is a plural neuter, as quod is a singular neuter (cf. Max. Schmidt "De pron. Grace et Latino," p. 34). In the meaning "that," quia is clearly shewn to be an accusative: the meaning "because" is less apt for this case, and would be better expressed by an instrumental or an ablative; but in the singular quod we must be content to see the idea "because" expressed by an accusative. On the other hand, quo, among other meanings, signifies "whither," a genuine accusative signification in Sanskrit grammar. Without the support of quod we might conjecture that an instrumental singular had been preserved in quia, after the analogy of association paity-a, for paiti.

§ We might expect gav-ô, gavas-cha, "bovesque;" but we read where geus in the Vend. S. p. 253, L. 9, in combination with the pronominal nenters and tâ, "illa," wyâ, "quæ," which, according to §. 231. Note, cannot surprise us.

<sup>\*</sup> See p. 163, Note ‡.

<sup>†</sup> See p. 1078.

	SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	LITHUAN.	GOTHIC.
f.	nav-as,		$\nu \hat{\alpha}(F)$ - $\epsilon \varsigma$ ,	*****		
f.	vâch-as,	vâch-ô,*	όπ-ες,	vocēs,+	••••	
m.	bharant-as,	barent 6,*	φέροντ-ες,	ferent-es,+		fiyand-s.
m.	âtmân-as,	asman-ô,	δαίμον-ες,	sermon-ēs,	†	ahman-s.
n.	nâmân-i,	nâman-a,	τάλαν-α,	nomin-a,		namôn-a.
m.	bhråtar-as,	brâtar-ô,*	πατέρ-ες,	fratr-es,+		‡
f.	duhitar-as,	dughdhar-ô,*	θυγατέρ-ες,	matr-es, +	dugter-ės,	
m.	dâtâr-as,	dâtâr-ô,*	δοτήρ-ες,	datōr-es,+		[
n.	vachâns-i,	vachanh-a,§	$ \stackrel{\circ}{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon(\sigma)-\alpha, $			

#### THE ACCUSATIVE.

236. The bases which end with a short vowel annex 7 n in Sanskrit, and lengthen the final vowel of the base; hence, वृकान vrikan, पतीन patin, सूनन sunun, &c. We might imagine this n to be related to the m of the singular accusative, as in the verb the termination जानि ani (1st pers. sing. imperative) has clearly proceeded from आमि ami. The cognate dialects speak, however, in favour of Grimm's acute conjecture, that the Sanskrit n is, in the accusative plural masculine, an abbreviation of ns, || which has remained entire in the Gothic-vulfa-ns, gasti-ns, sunu-ns,-but has been divided in the other sister languages; since the Sanskrit, according to §. 94., has given up the latter of the two con-

<sup>\*</sup> See p. 163. Note t

<sup>+</sup> See Note + in preceding page.

The Gothic r bases annex in the plural a u, and can therefore be contrasted no further with the cognate languages. BROTHAR becomes BROTHRU, whence brôthryu-s, &c., according to the analogy of sunyu-s.

of Or werzensky vachenha. Thus we read Vend. S. p. 127, něměnha, which, I think, must be regarded as accusative of nîmô (नमस namas, "adoration"), and as governed by when berethra, "from him who brings," " from him offering."

<sup>||</sup> The Old Prussian, too, exhibits in the acc. pl. ns, e.g. tâva-ns, πατέρας. Respecting the Vêda termination hr, from hs, see §. 517. Remark.

sonants, and has lengthened, as it appears, in compensation for this, the final vowel of the base\*; while the Greek [G. Ed. p. 274.]  $\lambda \dot{\nu} \kappa o \nu_{\varsigma}$  has preserved the sibilant, but has permitted the  $\nu$  to volatilize to  $\nu$ .† In fact,  $\lambda \nu \kappa o - \nu_{\varsigma}$  has the same relation to  $\lambda \nu \kappa o \nu_{\varsigma}$  that  $\tau \dot{\nu} \pi \tau o \nu \sigma \iota$  has to  $\tau \dot{\nu} \pi \tau o \nu \sigma \iota$ , from [G. Ed. p. 275.]  $\tau \dot{\nu} \pi \tau o \nu \tau \iota$ .‡ For  $\pi \dot{\sigma} \sigma \iota - \alpha_{\varsigma}$ ,  $i \chi \theta \dot{\nu} - \alpha_{\varsigma}$ , we could not, however, expect a  $\pi \dot{\sigma} \sigma \iota - \nu_{\varsigma}$ ,  $i \chi \theta \dot{\nu} - \nu_{\varsigma}$ , as the Greek makes the  $\iota$  and  $\nu$  bases in all parts similar to the bases which terminate with a consonant, which, in Sanskrit, have as for a termination; hence  $\mathbf{u}_{\varsigma \varsigma \varsigma}$  padas =  $\pi \dot{\sigma} \partial \alpha_{\varsigma}$ : and even in the most vigorous period of the language ns could not have attached itself to a consonant preceding. This as for ns may be compared with

<sup>\*</sup> Thus vṛikân for vṛikans; as, विद्वांस् vidwâns, whence the accusative विद्वांसम् vidwâns-am, in the uninflected nominative विद्वान् vidwâns, ("sapiens").

<sup>†</sup> As the  $\nu$  also passes into  $\iota$  ( $\tau\iota\theta\epsilon\iota$ 's for  $\tau\iota\theta\iota$ '\u03be'\u03be, Æolic  $\tau\dot{\nu}\psi a\iota s$ ,  $\mu\dot{\epsilon}\lambda a\iota s$  for  $\tau\nu\psi a\nu(\tau)s$ ,  $\mu\dot{\epsilon}\lambda a\nu s$ ), Hartung (l. c p. 263) is correct in explaining in this sense the  $\iota$  in Æolic accusative forms like  $\nu\dot{\epsilon}\mu o\iota s$ ,  $\tau\dot{\epsilon}\iota s$  or  $\tau\dot{\epsilon}\mu\dot{\epsilon}\iota s$ , &c. As regards, however, the feminine accusatives like  $\mu\dot{\epsilon}\gamma\dot{\epsilon}\lambda\dot{\epsilon}\iota s$ ,  $\tau\dot{\epsilon}\iota\dot{\epsilon}\mu\dot{\epsilon}\iota s$ , quoted by him, I believe that they have followed the analogy of the masculines, from which they sufficiently distinguish their gender by the a preceding the  $\iota$ ; we cannot, however, thence infer, that also the first and specially feminine declension had originally accusatives in  $\nu s$ , as neither has the Gothic in the corresponding declension an ns, nor does the Sanskrit exhibit an n (see §. 287., and cf. Rask in Vater's Tables of Comparison, p. 62).

It cannot be said that τύπτουσι proceeded from τύπτοντσι, a truly monstrous form, which never existed in Greek, while the τύπτοντι before us answers to all the requirements of Greek Grammar, as to that of the whole base, since ο-ντι corresponds to the Sansk anti, Zend ĕnti, Goth. nt'; and from the singular τι (Dor.), in the plural nothing else than ντι can be expected. But to arrive at ουσι from οντι it is not requisite to invent first so strange a form as οντσι; for that οντι can become ουσι is proved by the circumstance that the latter has actually arisen from it, by the very usual transition of T into Σ, and the not rare vocalization of the N to Y, as also in Sanskrit, in all probability, TH us has arisen from nt (cf. p. 172, Note\*), of which more hereafter. But if in the dative plural, indeed, ου-σι has arisen from οντ-σι, not from ον-σι (λέουσι not δαίμουσι),

the Ionic αται, ατο, for νται, ντο, a form which has extended from the places where the vocalization of the ν was necessary, to those also where ν might be added (πεπείθαται, τετράφαται; then, also, πεπαύαται, κεκλιάται, &c. for πέπαυνται, κέκλινται). This comparison with the 3d person plural appears to me the more in point, as, in my opinion, the n in the presupposed forms, like τίκ ντίκαις, τίπι patins, λύκονς, has the same object that it has in the 3d person plural; viz. allusion to plurality by extending (nasalizing) the syllable preceding the sign of personality. The introduction of a nasal is an admixture which is least of all foreign, and comes nearest to the mere lengthening of an already existing vowel.

237. Feminine bases with a final vowel follow in Sanskrit the analogy of consonantal bases; but with the suppression of the a,\* thus s for as or is; they may perhaps, too, never have had is, for else hence would have arisen, as in the masculine, a simple n: to the [G. Ed. p. 276.]

we must remember that the abandonment of the n before case terminations beginning with a consonant is a very old and therefore pre-Greek phenomenon, which is not to be accounted for in the Greek, and wherefore no compensation is to be required for the  $\nu$ , which has been dropped. But even if it were so, we must still be satisfied, if the demand for compensation for a lost  $\nu$  remains unfulfilled in several places of grammar; for there are two kinds of euphonic alteration in all languages: the one, which has acquired the force of a general law, makes its appearance under a similar form on each similar occasion, while the other only irregularly and occasionally shews itself.

<sup>\*</sup> Monosyllabic bases only have preserved the a as the case sign in the singular nominative (§. 137.); hence, faut striy-as, "feminas," yellabic bases, "terras," from all stri, yellabic bases also; for besides that this form originally extended to polysyllabic bases also; for besides the Greek, the Zend also partly evinces this (§. 238.), as also the circumstance that in the actual condition of the Sanskrit language the accusative plural shews, in general, an inclination to weaken itself, and thus contrast itself more submissively with the imperious nominative (§. 129.).

feminine gender, too, the well-sounding Ionic a is more suitable than n. In general, the Sanskrit feminines in other parts of grammar cast off the n, which is annexed by masculines and neuters (§. 133.). Moreover, the Gothic also, in feminine  $\theta$  bases, gives no ns, but it appears that  $th\theta s = \pi i \pi t\theta s$  (eas, has) is a pure dowry from the ancestral house; and when the feminine i and u bases in Gothic, by forms like i-ns, u-ns, assimilate themselves to the masculines, this may be regarded as a disguise of gender, or a deviation caused by the example of the masculines. The consonant bases follow the example of the Indian, but have lost the a, as in the nominative (§. 227.); hence, fiyand-s, ahman-s, for fiyand-as, ahman-as.

238. Feminines with a short final vowel lengthen it, to compensate, as it appears, for the suppression of the a: thus प्रीतीस prîtî-s is formed from prîty-as, and तन्स tanû-s The Greek certainly presents, in this refrom tanw-as. spect, only a casual coincidence, through forms in  $\hat{i}_{\varsigma}$ ,  $\hat{v}_{\varsigma}$ , which, however, are not restricted to the feminine, and stand at the same time, in the nominative, for 1-65, v-65. The Zend, like the Greek, follows in its i and u bases the analogy of the consonantal terminations; hence, שנעסננל paity-θ (paity-as-cha,) ψ>> pasv-θ (pasv-as-cha, or, with Guna, paitay-ô, paŝav-ô. In feminine bases in i, u, occur at times also the forms i-s, u-s, corresponding to the Sanskrit; as, مداریس gairi-s, "montes" (Vendidad S. p. 313.), چېږىد erezû-s, "rectas," wooldwotafnû-s, "urentes," wooo fed peretû-s, "pontes."

239. Masculine bases in a a, where they are not replaced by the neuter (§. 231. Note), have, in the accusative, an (cf. §. 61.); as, אָלָּגוֹשׁמּח,\* "hos," often occurs, אָרְעָטֵּעָאָרָ mazistan, "maximos" (Vend. S. p. 65.). The sibilant is retained before the [G. Ed. p. 277.] particle אף cha, and these forms can be copiously quoted; as, איני אַרָּעָבָרָא amĕshans-cha, "non-

<sup>\*</sup> Cf. Vêdic forms in an.

conniventesque"; אין אין manthranis-cha, "sermonesque"; ນທຸນພູປະມາດມ aêsmans-cha, "lignaque"; ນທຸນພູງງາໃດມຸມປຸ vás-tryans-chu, "agricolasque."\* The form ກຸນມູນງາໃດມຸມ athaurun-ans-cha, "presbyterosque" (V. S. p. 65.), is remarkable, as there is no reason elsewhere to assume a theme athauruna: and this form would accordingly shew that consonantal bases also could assume the inflexion ns, with an unavoidable auxiliary vowel however; unless, indeed, we are to suppose that, in the perverted feeling of the language, it has been introduced by the preponderating analogy of the a bases. More important, therefore, than this wow will athaurunans-cha are the accusatives wifle, nareus, "homines," and wiglow streus, "stellas," which occur very frequently; while from Lyon âtar, "fire," we have found, not w> 2/5 w othr-eus, but 476 w athr-ô, in which it is to be remarked that âtar distinguishes itself from other words in r in this point also, that it forms, in the nominative singular, not wow ata, but whow atars. But how is the termination eus to be explained? I believe in no other way but from www ans, by changing the n into a vowel, as in [G. Ed. p. 278.] λόγους; after which, according to §. 31., the ω a has become & e: the sibilant, however, which, after wa and wan, is & s, must, after > u, appear as ws. We actually find, too, in the V.S. p. 311, www ner-an's in the sense of a dative:

<sup>\*</sup> I formerly thought I could, through forms of this kind, quote the introduction of a enphonic s in Zend, according to the analogy of §. 95. But if this introduction cannot be proved by cases, in which no ground exists for the assumption of an original sibilant, preserved merely by the particle and the (cf. §§. 56b. 207. 228.), then the above examples are the more important, in order to supply a fresh proof that is is the original designation of masculine plural accusatives of themes terminating with a vowel. The superlative accusatives of themes terminating with a vowel. The superlative accusatives from a participial nominative. Other cases, which might suggest occasion to assume, in Zend, a euphonic s after n, have been nowhere met with by me.

ארשנים אוינים א

240. As a in Sanskrit occurs the most often of all letters as the termination of masculine bases, and we cannot mistake, in the history of our family of languages, the disposition in the sunken state of a language to introduce, by an unorganic addition, the more inconvenient consonantal declension into that of the vowels, I cannot therefore think that it admits of any doubt, that the New Persian plural termination ân, which is restricted to the designation of animate creatures, is identical with the Sanskrit जान ân in the masculine plural accusative: thus, والما معرفان mardân, "homines," answers to महोतान martyân, "mortales," "homines."\*

241. If, then, the termination (1) an, applied to animate beings, belongs to a living being in the old language, the inanimate neuter will be fitted to give us information regarding that New Persian plural termination which is appended to the appellations of inanimate objects. A suffix, in the formation of words which is peculiarly the property of the neuter, is was as (§. 128.), which is still more frequently used in Zend than in Sanskrit. In the plural, these Zend neuters form anha or ĕnha (§§. 56a. 235.); and with this ha is evidently connected the lengthened & ha in New Persian; thus, روزها, "roz-ha, "days," answers to the Zend עלים עבישע raochanha, "lights." Many New Persian words have been compared with New German words [G. Ed. p. 279.] and often, too, correctly; but, except through the medium of the Sanskrit and Zend, it could not have been conjectured that our "Wörter" is, in respect to its termination, related to the New Persian ha. As, however, the High German has, from its earliest period, repeatedly changed s into r, and a into i (later e), I have no

<sup>\*</sup> Thus in Spanish the whole plural has the termination of the Latin accusative.

doubt the ir—Middle and New High German er—which makes its appearance in the plural in many Old High German neuters, is identical with the Sanskrit neuter suffix as; e. g. hûsir, "houses," chalpir, "calves" (cf. Grimm, pp. 622 and 631).\*

242. Here follows a general view of the accusative for-

SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	LITHUAN.	GOTHIC
vriká-n,	věhrka-n,	λύκο-υς,	lupō-s,	wilkù-s,	vulfa-ns.
dana-n-i,	dåta,	δώρα,	dona,		daura.
jihwā-s,	hizod-o,	χώρα-ς,	terrā-s,	rankà-s,	gibô-s,
tá-s,	tâ-o,	τā-ς,	is-tā-s,	tà-s,	thô-s.
patî-n,	paity-0,†	πόσι-ας,	host'-es,		gasti-ns.
bhiy-as,	âfrîty-ô,†	πόρτι-ας,	mess'-es,		
prîtî-s,	âfrîlî-s,	πόρτι-ς,		áwy-s,	ansti-ns.)
vârî-n-i,	var'-a,	ίδρι-α,	mari-a,		
0.004	kya,				iy-a.
bhavishyantî-s	, bûshyaintî-s,†			[G. E	d. p. 280.]
sûnû-n,	pasv-0,†	ὶχθύ-ας,	pecū-s,	sunù-s,	sunu-ns.
bhuv-as,	tanv-0,†	πίτυ-ας,			
tanû-s,	tanû-s,	πίτυ-ς,	socrū-s,		handu-ns.
madhû-n-i,	madhv-a,‡	μέθυ-α,	pecu-a,		

<sup>\*</sup> This ir, however, is treated in declension as if the theme originally terminated in a, and would thus, in Sanskrit, be asa. Hence, compared with the dative hūsiru-m (from hūsira-m, 6.168.), the nom. accus. hūsir appears an abbreviation. Bu the relation of our ir to the Sanskrit as is not thereby disturbed, because in general, most of the original consonantal terminations in High German have received unorganic vowel additions. Cf. pp. 148 and 191, G. Ed. Note. More regarding this hereafter.

<sup>†</sup> See p. 175, G. Ed. Note. 1.

SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	LITHUAN.	GOTHIO.
vadhû-s,	100000000000000000000000000000000000000	**** · ·	······	****	
yā-s,*	gåu-s,	$\beta \delta(F)$ -as,	bov-ēs,		
nåv-as.		$v\hat{\alpha}(F)$ - $\alpha_S$ ,		A	
våch-as,	vâch-ô,†	όπ-ας,	voc-ēs,	****	
bharat-as,‡	barĕnt-ô,†	φέροντ-ας,	ferent-ēs,		fiyand-s
Atman-as,	ašman-ð,†	δαίμον-ας,	sermon-ēs,		ahman-s
nåmån-i,	nâman-a,	τάλαν-α,	nomin-a,		namôn-a
bhråtri-n,§	brathr-eus?	πατέρ-ας,	fratr-es,		
duhitrī-s,§	dughdher-eus?	θυγατέρ-ας,	matr-es,	dugter-ės	,
dâtrī-n,§	dåthr-eus?	δοτήρ-ας,	datōr-ēs,		
vachâns-i.	vachanh-a,	$e'\pi\epsilon(\sigma)-\alpha$ ,	oper-a,		
	vadhû-s, yû-s,* nûv-as. vûch-as, bharat-as,‡ âtman-as, nâmdn-i, bhrûtrī-n,§ duhitrī-s,§	vadhû-s, yâ-s,* yâu-s, nâv-as. vâch-as, vâch-6,† bharat-as,‡ barĕnt-6,† âtman-as, asman-0,† nâmân-i, nâman-a, bhrâtrī-n,§ brâthr-eus? duhitrī-s,§ dughdhĕr-eus? dâtrī-n,§ dâthr-eus?	vadhû-s,  yâ-s,*  yâu-s,  pâu-s, $\hat{\rho}$ (F)- $\alpha$ S, $\hat{\rho}$	vadhû-s,  yå-s,*  gâu-s,  pâ(F)-as,  va(F)-as,  va(F)-as,  vach-as,  vac-as,  ferent-ēs,  atman-as,  asman-a, $asman-a$ , $a$	vadhû-s, yå-s,* gâu-s, βό(F)-ας, bov-ēs, nâv-as. vâch-as, vâch-6,† ὅπ-ας, voc-ēs, bharat-as,‡ barĕnt-6,† φέροντ-ας, ferent-ēs, âtman-as, asman-0,† δαίμον-ας, sermon-ēs, nâmdn-i, nâman-a, τάλαν-α, nomin-a, bhrâtrī-n, $\S$ brâthr-eus? πατέρ-ας, fratr-es, duhitrī-s, $\S$ dughdhĕr-eus? θυγατέρ-ας, matr-es, dugter-ès dâtrī-n, $\S$ dâthr-eus? δοτ $\eta$ ρ-ας, datōr-ēs,

#### THE INSTRUMENTAL.

[G. Ed. p. 281.] 243. The formation of this case, and what is connected with it, has been already explained in §§. 215—224.; it is therefore sufficient to give here a comparison of the forms which correspond to one another in the cognate languages,

hacha skyaôthnê-varëza atha bavainti pěšô-tanva, "hac pro facti-peractione tum sunt verbera posteriori corpori inflicta" (Anquetil, Celui qui commet cette action sera coupable du tanafour). In regard to the anâpëretha, mentioned at §.232., it is further to be noticed that the 6 th can only be occasioned by a of w that has been dropped (§.47.), for the theme of the concluding substantive is >>> pěřětu, not pěřěthu (Vend. S. pp. 313 and 362, twice).

Firegularly from a theme  $\mathfrak{M}$  gâ (§. 122.), for  $\mathfrak{M}$  gav-as. The Zend which gâus (also were gâos), which often occurs, rests on the strengthened Sanskrit form  $\mathfrak{M}$  gâu; so that in respect of the strong and weak cases (§. 129.), the relation in this word is distorted. In the nominative, for instance, we should expect when gâus, and in the accusative where geus, rather than vice versa.

<sup>+</sup> See p. 163, Note ‡.

<sup>\$</sup> See §. 129.

<sup>§</sup> See §. 127. Note and §. 249. Note 1.

by which a summary view of the subject may be assisted. As the German, in its singular dative,\* is identical with the Sanskrit-Zend instrumental, it is hence deducible that its character m (for b see §. 215.), in the dative plural, must rather be regarded as an abbreviation of set bhis than as belonging to the dative-ablative termination was bhyas; although it approaches equally near to the two old terminations.

SANSKE	ir. z	END.	GREEK.	LATIN.	LITHUAN.	GOTH. DAT.
m. vrikê-b	his, .		θεό-φιν,	vo-bīs,		vulfa-m.
vrika-	is, věh	rkâ-is,			wilka-is,	
f. jihwā-	bhis, hiz	vā-bis,			ranko-mis,	gibô-m.
prîti-b	his, âfr	îti-bîs,			awi-mis,	ansti-m.
m. sûnu-l	his, pas	du-bîs,			sunu-mis,	sunu-m.
f. nau-bl	iis,	1	ναῦ-φιν,	* * * *		·
m. átma'-	bhis, asn	na'-bîs,				ahma'-m.
n. nama'	-bhis, na	ma'-bîs,				namn-am.
n. vachô-	bhis, + vac	chô-bîs,+	όχεσ-φιν, τ		[G. Ed	i. p. 282.]

# THE DATIVE, ABLATIVE.

244. Mention has already been made of the suffix of these two cases in §. 215. Only the s of the Latin bus has been left in the first, second, and (according to Nonius) occasionally, also, in the fourth declension; for the i of lupī-s, terrī-s, specī-s (for speci-bus from specu-bus), must be allotted to the base. Lupi-s stands for lupo-bus, as evinced by ambo-bus, duo-bus. From o-bus (by lightening the final vowel of the base, o, u, from an original a, §. 6.), as occurs in the beginning of compounds (multi-plex for multu-plex or multo-plex, of which hereafter), the language arrived at i-bus, (parvi-bus, amici-bus, dii-bus, cf. Hartung, p. 261). In the first declension a-bus has been retained with tolerable

<sup>•</sup> Vide 9. 160. Note !

<sup>†</sup> See §§. 56b. and 128.

frequency, but the middle step *i*-bus is wanting; yet the language has scarcely made the spring from a-bus at once to  $\bar{i}$ -s, but a-bus has weakened the a of the base to  $\bar{i}$ , which, to compensate for the bu which has been dropped, has been lengthened; thus  $terr\bar{i}$ -s from terri-bus, for terra-bus, as [G. Ed. p. 283.]  $m\bar{a}lo$  from  $m\bar{a}volo$ . Compare,

SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	LATIN.	LITHUANIAN.
m. vrikê-bhyas,	věhrkali-byô,	lupī-s.	wilka-m(u)s.*
f. jihwâ-bhyas,	hizvá-byő,	terrī-s,	ranko-m(u)s.
m. pati-bhyas,	paiti-byå,	hosti-bus,	
f. prîti-bhyas,	âfrîti-byô,	messi-bus,	awi-m(u)s.
m. bhavishyanti-bhy	as, bû shyainti-by	d,	
m. sûnu-bhyas,	pašu-byô,	pecu-bus,‡	sunu-m(u)s,
f. våg-bhyas,	vách-e-byô,	voc-i-bus.	
m. bharad-bhyas,	barĕn-byå,§	ferent-i-bus,	
m. âtma'-bhyas,	asma'-byô,	sermon-i-bu	E,
m. bhrátri-bhyas,	brâtar-ĕ-byô,	fratr-i-bus,	
	0		

#### THE GENITIVE.

245. The genitive plural in Sanskrit, in substantives and adjectives, has the termination win dm, in the Zend anim, according to §. 61. The Greek ων bears the same relation to the original form of the termination that ἐδίδων does to wath addam (§§. 4. 10.). The Latin has, as usual,

<sup>\*</sup> See §. 215.

<sup>†</sup> The masculine i bases pass in the plural, by an unorganic increment, into a different declension. And in the dual and dative singular, also, **PATI** had to be given up (Mielcke, p. 35, Rem. 1.).

<sup>§</sup> See §. 224. Note \*, p. 241.

preserved the labial final nasal in its original form, but by its influence has shortened the preceding vowel; hence, ped-um (=pad-dm), the u of which supplies the place of a short a, as in  $lupum = \sqrt{q} \pi \pi vrikam$ ,  $\lambda \acute{\nu} \kappa o - \nu$ .\* [G. Ed. p. 284.] The German, like the Lithuanian, has dropped the final nasal. In Gothic, however, the varage d, which has been left, shews itself under two forms, and thereby an unorganic difference has been introduced between the feminine genitive termination and that of the masculine-neuter; since the fuller d has remained only to the feminine d and n bases.

246. Bases ending with a vowel, with the exception, partly necessary and partly arbitrary, of monosyllables, place, in Sanskrit, a euphonic n between the termination and the base, the final vowel of which, if short, is lengthened. This interposition appears to be pristine, since the Zend partakes of it, although in a more limited degree; for instance, in all bases in ω a and ω a: hence, εκρωρθυς ψεντλα-n-anm, εκρωνων, jihva-n-anm. To the latter correspond very remarkably the genitives (which occur in Old High German, Old Saxon, and Anglo-Saxon, in the

<sup>\*</sup> Regarding the termination isum in consonantal bases, and, vice versa, respecting um in places where isum might have been expected, we refer the reader to §. 126. In adjectives the feminine character i mentioned in §. 119. may have had its effect, and may have passed over from the feminine to the other genders, according to the analogy of the Lithuanian (p. 174. Note \* §. 157.): thus the i of ferentisum reminds us of the Sanskrit feminine \*\*(\*\*\*)\* bharanti. The same is the case with the i of the neuter form ferentisa; it is bequeathed by the deceased feminine theme FE-RENTI. On the other hand, contrary to the opinion preferred in §. 126., we must now regard the i before bus (e.g. voc-i-bus) as a conjunctive vowel, like the  $\xi$  e in the Zend vâch-e-byô. Here it is to be observed that those consonantal bases, which admit neither i-a nor i-um, must nevertheless proceed before bus to annex an i. In the chapter upon the adjectives we shall recur to the feminine character i; and then treat also of the i for e in the singular ablative of the common dialect.

corresponding class of words) in  $\theta$ -n- $\theta$ , e-n-a; hence, Old High German  $k\ddot{e}p\theta$ -n- $\theta$ , Old Saxon  $g\ddot{e}b\theta$ -n- $\theta$ , Anglo-Saxon

qife-n-a.

247. We find the bases in short and long *i*, in Zend, if [G. Ed. p. 285.] polysyllabic, only with euphonic *n*: on the other hand the monosyllabic *i* bases annex the termination direct, either attaching Guna to the final vowel, or keeping it pure; thus, thry-aim or thray-aim, "trium," from thri; vay-aim, "avium," from vi. Bases in > u admit both of the annexing the termination direct and of the insertion of the euphonic n; but I find from the masculine >>>> paŝu only paŝv-aim: on the other hand, I have found from feminine bases like >>>> tanu, "body," >>>>> naŝu, "corpse" (cf. νέκυς according to \$. 21.), hitherto only u-n-aim. With Guna ξωνων paŝav-aim would serve as a prototype for the Gothic suniv-ê with Guna weakened (§. 27.).

248. Pronouns of the third person have, in Sanskrit, साम sam\* for आम am; and this may be the original and formerly universal form of the case-suffix, so that âm would properly be only the termination of the termination, and the s connected with the genitive singular would be the chief person. If this is the case, the abbreviation of this termination in substantives and adjectives must still be recognised as very ancient; for the Gothic, which in the plural nominative restricts itself so rigorously to the old limits (§. 228.), gives to the sibilant, in the genitive also, no wider scope; hence thi-zê (§. 86. 5.) = te-shâm (for têsâm, according to §. 21.) "horum"; thi-zo = tâ-sâm, "harum." Here the a, like the  $\delta$  of the base THA, THO, appears weakened to i (§. 66.): on the other hand, the adjective a and b bases, which follow the pronominal declension, have ai-zê, ai-zô; and blindai-zê, "cœcorum" (for blinda-ze), answers exactly to the Sanskrit नेपाम te-sham

<sup>\*</sup> Cf. Old Prussian son, e.g. in stei-son, "των."

(from  $tai \cdot sam$ ) from the base  $\pi$  ta. The High German has changed the old sibilant to r, as in many other places; hence, in Old High German,  $d\ddot{e} - r\dot{o}$  for  $thi \cdot z\dot{e}$  and  $thi \cdot z\dot{o}$ , of which termination only the r has remained [G. Ed. p. 286.] to us. To the Latin, in like manner, belongs rum for sum (§. 22.); hence, istorum, istarum.\*

249. We give here a general view of the formation of the genitive:

LITHUAN. SANSERIT. ZEND. GREEK. LATIN. GOTHIC. lupō-rum, wilk'-û, věhrka-n-anm, λύκ-ων, vulf'-ê. vrika-n-am, isto-rum, t'-4, taê-shanm,  $\tau' - \hat{\omega} \nu$ . thi-78 . n. tê-shâm, terrā-rum, rank'-û, jihwa-n-am. hizva-n-anm, γωρά-ων. këpô-n-6.†

<sup>\*</sup> This rum, however, has, like the property of the plural nominative (6. 228.), found its way or returned from the pronominal declension into the entire second, first, and fifth declension, which is originally identical with the latter (\$\delta\$. 121 and 137.). The transplanting of the rum termination into the declensions mentioned was the easier, as all pronouns in the genitive plural belong to the second and first declension. Forms, however, remain, especially in the old languages, which evince that the language was not always equally favourable to the bringing back the termination rum (deum, socium, amphorum, drachmum, agricolum, &c.). On the other hand, the termination rum appears also to have attempted to fix itself in consonantal bases, with e as conjunctive vowel, if, at least, the forms furnished by Varro and Charis .- boverum, Joverum, lapiderum, regerum, nucerum (Hartung, p. 255.)—are to be regarded as correct, and do not perhaps stand for bovo-rum, &c.; as also, in Zend, the base  $g\hat{o}$  may extend itself to gava. The Latin rum and Sanskrit साम sâm lead us to expect the Greek σων: this is not met with, however, even in the pronoun; so that the Greek, in this respect, stands in the strongest opposition to the Latin. The forms in α-ων, ε-ων (e.g. αὐτά-ων, αὐτέ-ων, ἀγορά-ων, aγορέ-ων) point, however, to a consonant that has been dropped. It is a question, therefore, whether universally a ∑ (cf. §. 128.), or, as the Sanskrit and Zend lead us to expect, only in pronouns a E, but in other words of the first and second declension an N has been dropped, as in μείζω from μείζονα. According to this, λύκων would be to be derived from λυκο-ν-ων, χωράων from χωρα-ν-ων; but τῶν from τοσων τάων from τασων. † Old High German, see §. 246.

		SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN-	LITHUAN.	GOTHIC.
	f.	tâ-sâm,	â-onhanm,*	τά-ων,	istā-rum,	€-û,	thi-zo.
[G	m. n	tray-û-nâm,	thray-anm,	τρι-ῶν,	tri-um,	tri-û,	thriy-ê.
		prîtî-n-âm,	åfrîti-n-anm,	πορτί-ων,	messi-um,	awi-û,	anst'-e.
1. p	f. m.	sûnû-n-âm,	pašv-aim,	ἐχθύ-ων,	pecu-um,	sun'-û,	suniv-ê.
28	f.	tanû-n-âm,	tanu-n-anm,	πιτύ-ων,	socru-um,		handiv-ê.
7.7	m. f.	gav-åm,	gav-aim,	$\beta o(F) \hat{\omega} \nu$	bov-um,		
	f.	nû-vâm,		$\nu\alpha(F)$ - $\hat{\omega}\nu$ ,			
	f.	vâch-âm,	vâch-anm,	όπ-ῶν,	voc-um,		
	m.n.	bharat-âm,	barent-anm,†	φερόντ-ων,	ferenti-um,		fiyand-l.
	m,	âtman-âm,	asman-anm,	δαιμόν-ων,	sermon-um	, akmen-û,	ahman-ê.
	m.	bhrātṛī-ṇ-ām,	bråthr-aim,‡	πατέρ-ων,	fratr-um,		

<sup>\*</sup>This word often occurs, and corresponds to the Sanskrit WIHIH A-sâm "harum," "earum" (5.566.); from mo tâ, tâonhaim would be expected, which I am unable to quote. The compound (polysyllabic) pronominal bases shorten the last syllable but one; hence, from word aê-tanhaim not aêtâonhaim, as might be expected from vaihih etâ-sâm.

<sup>†</sup> Or, also, קאנאנאנט barantain, as in the Vendidad Sade, p. 131, קארט מענטקענען saochantain, "lucentium:" on the other hand, also frequently saochentainm.

This and the following genitives from bases in ar are clearly more genuine and are more nearly allied therefore to the cognate European languages than the corresponding ones in Sanskrit, which, in this case, has shortened ar to ri, and has then treated it according to the analogy of vowels. From har frequently occurs nar-anm, with retention of the a, on account of the base being monosyllabic: on the other hand, athranm from atar, "fire," and for tisr-anm "trium," fem. for the Sanskrit fagure tisrin-am (Gramm. Crit. r. 255.). From have 2 and dughdhar, we find the form dughdher-anm (cf. p. 208, G. Ed. Note †): the Codex has, however, dugder-anm (p. 472, L. 2.). In general, in this word the readings dughdhar and dugdar are interchanged in various passages: the former, however, is the more common.

### LOCATIVE.

250. The character of the plural locative [G. Ed. p. 288.] is, in Sanskrit, # su, which is subject to be changed into # shu (§. 21.), for which, in Zend, is found shu (§. 52.); while from # su, according to §. 53., has been formed > hu, The more usual form for shu and hu (for which, also, occur shû and hû) is, however, which leads to a Sanskrit \sugar. This appears to me to be the original form of the termination; for nothing is more common in Sanskrit than that the syllables q wa and q ya should free themselves from their vowel, and then change the semi-vowel into a vowel, as The ukta is said for vakta (see also §. 42.). The supposition, therefore, of the Indian abbreviation of the termination is far more probable than that of a Zend extension of it by a lately-added a, especially as in no other case does a similar aftergrowth admit of being established. But if a swa is the original form of the termination, it is then identical with the reflective-possessive base \ swa. of which more hereafter.\* The same relation which, in Latin, si-bi has to su-bi (which might be conjectured from su-i), or that ti-bi has to tu-bi, Sanskrit त्राप्त tu-bhyam, the Greek dative-locative termination or (orv) has to the Sanskrit # su.+

<sup>\*</sup> Therefore, in Zend, the locative was If thrishva, "in tribus," is identical with was trishva, "the third part," since the pronoun in the latter compound denotes the idea of part.

<sup>†</sup> Regarding the termination w of the pronoun of the 1st and 2d person see §. 222. From the Æolic form  $d\mu\mu\epsilon\sigma w$ , quoted by Hartung (p. 260) from Apoll., I cannot infer that w is an abbreviation of  $\sigma w$ : if it were so, the v also in  $\eta\mu\tilde{\nu}v$  would not adhere so firmly. It appears to me more suitable, therefore, to accord to the common declension an influence upon the transformation of the form of inflexion peculiar to the pronouns without gender, but of the highest antiquity; an influence which has penetrated further in  $\sigma\phi i\sigma v$  for  $\sigma\phi iv$ .

[G. Ed. p. 289] 251. The bases in  $\mathbf{w}$  a add to that vowel, as in many other cases, an i; but from a+i is formed  $\mathbf{v}$  & (§. 2.), to which the Greek oi corresponds; hence,  $\lambda \dot{\nu} \kappa oi - \sigma_i = \frac{1}{2} \frac{$ 

252. Like the Gothic, the Lithuanian has an unorganic difference between the terminations which mark the case in the masculine and feminine in the genitive plural: the first has the sound of se, and the latter of sa, with the original and more powerful a, which, in the masculine, has softened into e. The ending sa is plainly from the swa, assumed above (p. 267, l. 7.) to be the original form, from which it is made by rejecting the semi-vowel.

253. Here follows a general view of the Sanskrit, Zend, and Lithuanian plural locatives, with the Greek datives:—

		SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	LITHUAN.	GREEK.
	m.	vrikê-shu,	věhrkat-shva,	wilků-se,	λύκοι-σι.
					Ολυμπίασι, χώραι-σι.
9]	f.	prîti-shu;	âfrîti-shva,+	áwi-sa,	πόρτι-σι.
27 Ed	m.	sûnu-shu,	pasu-shva,	dangu-se,	ὶχθύ-σι.
	m.f.	go-shu,			βου-σί.
. 29	f.	nau-shu,			ναυ-σί.
.Ö		•			

<sup>\*</sup> The common termination ois, ais (oi-s, ai-s), formed by curtailing oi-oi, ai-oi, and so brought into agreement of sound with the third declension, is here lost, through its apparent connection with the Sanskrit curtailed instrumental ending a dis (§. 219.), which had before required consideration, because the Greek dative is also used as the instrumental.

<sup>†</sup> I have no authority for the locative of the Zend bases in i, but it can only be analogous to that of the bases in u, which can be referred to in copious instances.

1	SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	LITHUAN-	GREEK.
f.	vák-shu,	vâc-sva?		οπ-σί.
m. n	. bharat-su,	brâtar-ĕ-shva?		φέρου-σι.
m.	âtma'-su,	asma'-hva,*		δαίμο'-σι
m.	bhråtri-shu,			πατρά-σι.†
n.	vachas-su,	vachô-hva,‡		έπεσ-σι.

+ The a in this form is not, as is generally supposed, a conjunctive vowel, but rests on a transposition; as ἔδρακον for ἔδαρκον, and in Sanskrit द्रस्थामि drakshyami, "I will see," for दृष्ट्यामि darkshyami (Sansk. Gramm. (.34b.): thus πατράσι (compare τέτρασι) for παταρσι (compare τέσσαρσι), which, by preserving the original vowel, agrees with the Sanskrit base pitar better than πατέρα, πατέρες, &c. The same applies to the dative άρνάσι, since the theme of άρνός has, as appears from the cognate word ρήν, ἀρήν, ἀρόην, rejected a vowel between the ρ and ν, which again appears in the dative plural in the form of an a, and removed from its place. The whole REN appears to be a transposition of Ner, Sanskrit At nar ( π nri), "a man," for ἀρήν properly means "male sheep." The a of ἀρνάσι is therefore etymologically identical with that of ἀνδράσι (comp. Kühner's complete Greek Grammar, J. 281. Rem. 2.). It is more difficult to give any accurate account of the a of viáo: it is either the older and stronger form for the ε of νίέσι, or this word must have had, besides its three themes ('YIO, 'YI, 'YIEY), a fourth, YIAT, from which came viáot, as yovaot from FONAT, the more prevailing co-theme of FONY, which latter agrees with नान janu.

In the Vendidâd Sâde, p. 499, we find the analogous plural locatives where discretely usirôhva, and where discretely capôhva. Anquetil translates the former by "au lever du soleil," and the latter by "à la nuit." It is impossible to pronounce these forms aught but derivatives from themes in what (\$\phi\$, \$\phi\$, \$56\partial \text{.}\$) Most of the cases of the latter word, which occurs very frequently in various forms, spring from a theme in \$\mathref{lambda}\$ ar, and the interchange of \$\mathref{lambda}\$ and \$\mathref{lambda}\$ csapô is a similar case to that in Sanskrit, where were ahan, "day," forms some cases from which we ahas (from which we have ahô in wellhy ahôbhis, &c.); and together

G. Ed. p. 291.] "Remark.—From the bases in EX, to which The dative  $\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$  (=  $\pi\pi$  as-su) properly belongs, this form appears to have imparted itself to other bases terminating [G. Ed. p. 292.] differently, in which, for this case, an extension of the original theme by es is to be adopted; which, in its origin, is identical with the abovementioned (§. 241.) plural increase to the base by ir (from is and this, from as), in Old High German forms, as husir, "houses," chalpir "calves," which are the plural themes, with which the nominative, accusative, and vocative are identical, and from which, in the dative, by the addition of the ending for that case, arises husirum, chalpirum; as, in Greek, κύνεσ-σι, νεκύεσσι, πάντεσσι, γυναίκεσσι, πολίεσσι, and others, from the unorganically increased themes KYNEY, NEKYEY, &c., according to the analogy of 'ΕΠΕΣ. From the doubled Σ one may then be rejected (ἀνάκτεσιν, πολίεσι, μήνεσι), or the doubling of a Σ by itself be employed; as, for example, νέκυ-σσι, for νέκυ-σι. This,

with the theme were exists another, were ahar. The anomaly of the Sanskrit "day" appears, in Zend, to have passed completely over to "night," as this latter word has also a theme in n, namely would csapan, of which the genitive pl. csafnanm-analogous with खहाम् ahnâm, "dierum" (∮. 40. relative to d f for d p)—is found in connection with the feminine numeral for tisranm, "trium" (Vend. S. p. 246); for we read, l. c. §. 163., asnanmcha (= weit ahnancha), csafananmcha (read csafnanmcha), "of days and nights." In Sanskrit, by the suffix \ a, the form \ \ \ a \ ahna, derivative, but equal in its meaning, has arisen out of सहन ahan, which, however, occurs only in compounds (as vare purvahna, "the early part of the day"), and in the adverbial dative waru ahnaya, "soon," "immediately," which, therefore, it is not necessary to deduce from the root \ hnu, with the a privative. The Zend, however, whose night-nomenclature, in this respect also, is not outstripped by the Sanskrit, produces, as it appears, by a similar mutation, אטעענט csafna from אטעענט csapan; whence we find the locative אטעענאפען csafne, which might also be taken for the dative of נאשענאפען csapan,

in most important particulars, is adopted by Thiersch, §. 128., for the development of the forms in eggi; only that he withdraws from the neuter bases described in §. 129., as BEAEX, the Z which belongs to them, and, by a supposition, proved to be erroneous, BEAE is made the theme: and he divides forms like ὄγεσφι into ὄγε-σφι instead of ὄχεσ-φι, and, by assimilation, derives oye-oot from oye-oot; while, as I believe I have proved, the forms όγεσ-φι and όγεσσι rest on entirely different case-suffixes (§. 218.), and have only the base 'OXEX in common with one another. An assimilation, however, may be remarked in γούνασ-σι, from γουνατ-σι, so that the first letter has assimilated itself to the second, not the reverse. In δέπασ-σι we shall leave it undecided whether the first  $\Sigma$  be primitive, and  $\Delta E \Pi A \Sigma$  the theme (comp. γήρας, §. 128.), or whether it has arisen out of τ, and so ΔΕΠΑΤ with TEPAT, KEPAT, belong to one class. If,

csapan, but that it is preceded (V. S. p. 163.) by the unequivocal adjective locative ψ ξων η naėmė (from ν ξων η naėma, "half"). Compare, also, 1. c. J. 149., where שיש באלע נטיענושן באלע נוארם, aithra, aine, ithra, csafne, probably means "in this day," "in this night," with the locative adverb withra, "here," in the sense of a locative demonstrative. To the theme wound csafna, the plural of the same sound csafna, might also be assigned, which occurs l. c. §§. 330. 331., and in several places elsewhere: אונעל לאנעל ליאנעל thrayo csafna, "three nights," ועמע ששעעלוע "six nights," אינעע ששעעלוע מאינע אינע אינע אינער אינע אינער אינע אינער אייער אינער אינע nava csafna, "nine nights," if here csafna be not (as in o. 231. Note ; it was considered to be) rather to be taken for the plural of www.csapan, as neuter, since, as has been before observed, the Zend uses the gender of the substantive with great laxity, especially in the plural. For the frequently-occurring ablative pulled sund caparát, however, we cannot assume another theme csapara, but we must, if the reading be correct, admit that feminine consonantal roots in the ablative adopt also the broader ending, at for at.

however, in all these forms, we allow only  $\sigma\iota$  or  $\sigma\iota\nu$  to be the case-suffix, and all that precedes it is referred to the true or unorganic increase of the base, it can therewith not be denied that not even to Homer himself, in forms like  $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$ , not to mention unorganic forms like  $\kappa\dot{\nu}\nu\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$ , did the entire  $\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$  present

[G. Ed. p. 293.] itself as pertaining to that which marked the case; for in the feeling of the speaker ἔπεσσι could present itself, during that period of the language, only as what it is, namely, as ἔπεσ-σι, while ἔπεσος, ἔπεσι, plural ἔπεσα and not ἔπεος, &c., were used in declension. But different from what has been here adopted is the assumption of Hartung (p. 260, ff.) and Kühner (l. c. §. 255. R. 8.), in the most material points following Greg. Cor. Æol. §. 35., relative to the production of the Greek plural datives. Kühner says (l. c.)

The character of the dative plural is  $\epsilon_i$  (character of the plural) and  $\iota$  or  $\iota\nu$  (character of the dative singular), therefore,  $\epsilon\sigma\iota(\nu)$ ." I, however, think  $\epsilon_i$  not the character of number, but of the nominative plural, and connected with the nominative singular through its  $\Sigma$ : a union of the plural nominative suffix with the singular dative is, to me, not to be imagined. If it were so, how could neuter nouns, to which  $\epsilon_i$  in the nominative is quite foreign, arrive, in the dative, at their identity of form with the natural sexes? It further deserves to be remarked, that, in Prâkṛit, the locative ending  $\mathfrak{F}_i$  su frequently assumes an Anuswâra, and so adapts itself, by the form  $\mathfrak{F}_i$  sui, for su, to the Greek,  $\sigma\iota\nu$ , for  $\sigma\iota$ .

254. After laying down the laws of the formation of a single case, it may serve to facilitate the general survey if examples are adduced of the most important classes of words in their connected declension. We pass over here from the Sanskrit, and go to the other languages in their order, according as they have, in the particular cases, most truly preserved their original form; and where one or other of them has departed entirely from the original

principle of formation, or by an unorganic increase to the base has entered the province of another declension, we there, in the place in question, exclude it from the comparison.

MASCULINE BASES IN a, GREEK IN o, LATIN IN u, o. SINGULAR.

Nominative, Sanskrit vrika-s, Lithuanian wilka-s, Zend věhrk-ô, with cha, věhrkaŝ-cha, Greek λύκο-ς, Latin lupu-s, Gothic vulf`-s.\*

Accusative, Sanskrit, vrika-m, Lithua- [G. Ed. p. 294.] nian wilka-n, Zend věhrkě-m, Greek λύκο-ν, Latin lupu-m, Gothic vulf.

Instrumental, Sanskrit vrikê-n-a, Zend věhrka, Gothic Dat. vulfa, Lithuanian Instr. wilkù.

Dative, Sanskrit vrikaya, Zend věhrkai, Lithuanian wilkui.

Ablative, Sanskrit vrikā-t, Zend věhrkā-t, Latin lup-o(d) (see §. 181.).

Genitive, Sanskrit vrika-sya, Greek λύκο-(σ)ιο†, Zend věhrka-hê, Gothic vulfi-s, Lithuanian wilkō.

<sup>\*</sup> The meaning is, in all these languages, the same, and so is the theme in its first origin. The connection of the Lithuan. wilkas with vrikas rests on the very usual interchange of the semi-vowels r and l; and this latter goes through the whole of the European sister languages. The Gothic vulfs shews, moreover, the equally common interchange of gutturals and labials, and follows the rule for the alteration of letters (Asp. for Tenuis, see §. 87.). In Latin the same thing takes place with regard to the supply of the guttural by the corresponding labial; but lupus is further altered through the loss of the initial letter V, as is the Greek  $\lambda \nu \kappa_0 - s$ : it may, however, be assumed, that this v is introduced into the middle of the word in being vocalized into v. While therefore, in Lithuanian, in wilkas, l and k are united, they are, in Greek, separated by v.

<sup>†</sup> M. Reimnitz, whose pamphlet, "The System of Greek Declension" (Potsdam, 1831), had not been seen by me before I completed the preceding Part of this book, unfolds (l. c. p. 122 passim) the same views concerning

Locative, Sanskrit vrikê (from vrika + i), Zend vêhrkê [G. Ed. p. 295.] (maidhyôi, §. 196.), Lithuanian wilkê, Greek Dat. λύκφ (οἴκοι §. 195.) Latin Gen. lup'-î.

Vocative, Sanskrit vrika, Zend věhrka, Lithuanian wilkė, Greek λύκε, Latin lupe, Gothic vulf.

#### DUAL.

Nom.Acc.Voc. Sanskrit vrikāu, Vêdic vrikā, Zend vēhrkā, Lith. Nom. wilkù, Voc. wilku, Greek λύκω.

Instr. Dat. Abl. Sanskrit vrikā-bhyām, Zend věhrkaêi-bya, Greek Dat. Gen. λύκο-ιν, Lithuanian Dat. wilka-m (see §. 215.).

Gen. Lcc. Sansk. vrikay-ôs, Zend věhrkay-ô (see Rem. 1.), Lithuanian wilkû.

#### PLURAL.

Nom. Voc. Sanskrit vrikās, Gothic vulfās.\*

Accusative, Sanskrit vrikā-n, Zend vēhrka-n, Goth. vulfa-ns, Greek λύκο-υς (from λύκο-υς, §. 236.), Lithuanian wilkùs, Latin lupō-s.

the Greek oso and its connection with the Sanskrit a-sya which I have, without being aware of his concurrence, brought forward in §. 189. I have, however, in this respect, already stated my views in my pamphlet "On the Demonstrative and the Origin of Case" (in the Transactions of the Hist. Phil. Class of the Academy of Science of Berlin for the year 1826, p. 100. Here I have only further to observe, that the Greek adj  $\delta\eta\mu\delta\sigma\sigma\sigma$ , from the root  $\Delta$ HMO, is, in the suffix by which it is formed, probably connected with the genitive ending in the text; and is therefore remarkable with reference to the preservation of the s, which is lost in  $\delta\eta\mu\sigma\sigma\sigma$ . With regard to the origin of  $\delta\eta\mu\delta\sigma\sigma\sigma$  from the genitive, let reference be made to the Latin cujus, a, um; and the identity of the Sanskrit suffix of words like  $\pi \eta manushya$ , "man," as a derivative from Manu, with the genitive ending  $\pi shya$  for  $\pi sya$ , as in  $\pi \eta m mu-shya$ , "illins."

<sup>\*</sup> With reference to the Zend, see §. 231. Note; and with regard to the Greek, Latin, and Lithuanian forms λύκοι, lupi, wilkai, see §. 228.

Instrumental, Sanskrit vrikā-is\* (from vrikā-bhis), Vêda vrikā-bhis, Zend vēhrkā-is, Lithuanian wilka-is.

Prākrit dêve-hin (from dēva, "God," see §. 220.), Greek θεό-φιν,† Gothic Dat. Instr. wulfa-m (§. 215).

Dat. Abl. Sanskrit vrikê-bhyas, Zend [G. Ed. p. 296.] věhrkaêi-byô, Latin lupi-s (amici-bus §. 244.), Lithuanian wilka-m(u)s (§. 215.).

Genitive, Sanskrit vrikâ-n-âm, Zend věhrka-n-aim, Greek λύκ'-ων, Lithuanian wilk'-û, Gothic wulf'-ê, Latin lupō-rum (§. 248.),

<sup>\*</sup> I take the liberty, in order to separate the base and the termination, to divide the diphthongs, as above in \(\lambda\times\cup v\_i\); therefore one must here pronounce \(v\_i\); and in Lithuanian \(wilkais\), not as trisyllables, but as dissyllables.

<sup>†</sup> I have remarked at '. 217., but only as a conjecture, that the ending φω in the plural is perhaps identical with the Sanskrit fat bhis, and the thence-derived Prakrit fe hin, and the Latin bis in nobis, vobis; and I will not advance more than a conjecture here, also, in comparing θεό φω with deve-hin. This only is certain, that with the syllable for bhi, which in Sanskrit, lies at the bottom of the case-forms fau bhis, माम bhyam, and भ्याम् bhyâm, as their common root (see है. 215. passim), the Greek कृत and  $\phi_{i\nu}$  is also to be associated. I here willingly agree with M. Ag. Benary (Berl. Ann. July 1833, p. 51.), that our might be formed from the ending τη bhyam (δ. 222.) by the contraction of η ya into i (as in ἡμῖν, ἐμίν, τείν, &c. §. 222.). The third possible supposition would be the derivation from the usual dative-ablative plural termination भ्यस bhyas; again with the corruption of s to v, as in the 1st person plural µev from µes, and in the 2d and 3d person τον, τον from पस् thas, तस् tas. The fourth possible case would be the derivation from the dual termination with bhyôm (§. 215.), and the changing this number of restricted plurality to that of unlimited plurality. I prefer, however, to consider φιν (φι) as from one of the multifarious terminations of the Sanskrit plural belonging to all declensions; therefore, from five bhis or we bhyas.

Locative, Sanskrit vrikê-shu, Zend věhrkaê-shva, Lithuanian wilkůse, Greek Dat. λύκοι-σι.

NEUTER BASES IN a, GREEK o, LATIN u, o. SINGULAR.

Nom. Acc. Sanskrit dâna-m, Zend dâtě-m, Latin donu-m, Greek δῶρο-ν, Lithuanian géra, Gothic daur'. Vocative. Sanskrit dâna. Zend dâta. Gothic daur'.

The rest as the masculine.

DUAL.

Nom. Acc. Voc. Sanskrit  $d\hat{a}n\hat{e}$  (from  $d\hat{a}na + \hat{i}$ ), Zend  $d\hat{a}t\hat{e}$ .

The rest as the masculine.

[G. Ed. p. 297.] PLURAL.

Nom. Acc. Voc. Sanskrit dânâ-n-i, Vêdic dânâ, Zend dâta, Latin dona, Greek δῶρα, Gothic daura.

The rest as the masculine.

"Remark 1.—The Zend system of declension has received some valuable additions from the treatises pubblished by Burnouf since the appearance of the First Part of this book, which I must lay before my readers.\* First a dual case, viz. the genitive-locative, which I imagined to be lost in the Zend, as I had searched for it alone in vain, and could supply all the other dual endings in tolerable copiousness. M. Burnouf supplies this (Yasna, Notes et éclaircissements, p. cxxII.) by the expressions with a which are to be twice found in V. S. p. 312, and on both occasions are rendered by Anquetil, whose

<sup>\*</sup> First, a review of this Part in the Journal des Savans, which refers particularly to the Zend; then the First Part of the First Volume of a Commentary on the Yaçna; lastly, a disquisition in the Nouvean Journal Asiatique, "Sur les mots Zends et Sanscrits Vahista et Vasichta, et sur quelques superlatifs en Zend."

translation is in this place particularly confused, "dans ce monde." This translation might lead us astray so much the more easily, that www anhvô, according to §. 187., might also be the singular genitive, which frequently occurs with a locative meaning. We await the elucidation which Neriosingh's Sanskrit translation will give of this passage; but, for the present, content ourselves with the inferences deduced by Burnouf. Low uboys, according to that authority, corresponds with the Sanskrit उभयोस ubhayos (amborum, in ambobus), with o for a, probably, according to Burnouf's acute conjecture, through the influence of the preceding b, and with the loss of the concluding s. I am the more inclined to assent to Burnouf's opinion regarding the origin of the first of of byo, uboyo, as I have been so fortunate as to find another example for the hitherto missing dual case, in which by ayô, not exercising the force of assimilation in question precedes the a-I mean the form ψυνικ zastayô (= Sanskrit hastayos), "in the hands," from wows zasta, [G. Ed. p. 298.] in a passage of the Jzeschne, which has perhaps not yet been examined by M. Burnouf (V. S. p. 354.): בעם אניבועני לישא ביא אונים שונים לישא אונים אונים אונים אונים אונים שענים לישא אונים אוני which Anquetil (p. 192) translates by "Comment moi pur, meltrai-je le main sur le Daroudj?" It appears, however, that مرييسد ashđi can as little be a nominative as אנגסעננל zastayo a singular accusative; and I believe I am not wrong in the following literal translation: "How can I give the (Dæmon) Drudj into the hands of the pure (into the power)?"

"Remark 2.—In the instrumental singular M. Burnouf admits the termination ana in bases in a (Yaçna, p. 98. passim), with n introduced, for the sake of euphony,

<sup>\*</sup> The Codex has faultily asái and ççuma drojem.

according to the analogy of the Sanskrit en ena (§. 158.). He rests this, among other forms, on that of wingwood maesmana, "urina," a word which had often attracted my attention, and from which I, in like manner, would have deduced instrumentals in a-n-a if I had not differed from Burnouf in the etymology of the same, as I make its theme terminate in n; and this word, which I remember to have seen only in the instrumental, I derive from the Sanskrit root निह mih, "mingere," by a suffix मन् man, according to the analogy of uses baresman, from ge vrih, "to grow," whose instrumental אונג baresmana, analogous with אוסגע maesmana, occurs very frequently. M. Burnouf appears, on the other hand, to adopt a suffix ma in the word maesmana, in which we think we cannot agree with him as long as we cannot supply any cases which must indubitably belong to a theme in a. If, further, some words, which in their theme terminate in अअ as (b, Sanskrit सस् as), adopt ana in the instrumental form-M. Burnouf quotes, p. 100 note, אואטענע mazana, אינאפענע srayana, and אינאפענענע vanhana; still, in my opinion, bases in a may be assigned as the origin of these forms, and they can be divided maza-na, &c., only in as far as such forms have been already proved to belong to undoubted bases in a. But now we prefer dividing them mazan-a, so that the letter s, with which these themes originally terminate, is interchanged with a nasal, just as, [G. Ed. p. 299.] in Sanskrit, the words यकत yakrit, शकत sakrit change their t for n in the weak cases, and may substitute यक्तन् yakan, श्राकन् śakan; or as, in more remote analogy, the Greek, in the first person plural, has formed μεν from μες (ππ mas, "mus"). Besides this, M. Burnouf cites also the interrogative instrumental פעןע kana, "with what?" which is the only word that brings to my mind somewhat of conviction, and had struck my attention before, in passages like אין אין אין אין kana vazna yazanê, " with

what offering shall I sacrifice?" (V. S. p. 481.) I have not, however, ventured to draw a grammatical deduction from this form, because the pronominal bases are prone to unite with one another, and because I believed I might assume that the same pronoun which is contained in wa and and en êna forms also the last element of ways kana, if from this base the instrumental only had been evolved or preserved, as has also occurred in the Sanskrit अन and वन êna in but a few cases. For the rest, the Greek κείνος also appears connected with this אַנאַנא kana, if it is looked upon as a theme, with which the instrumental must agree in sound, for κείνος, if not directly of interrogative meaning, is still plainly connected with the old interrogative base (comp. कश्चन kaschana, "whoever."). Under these circumstances I cannot yet admit of any instrumentals in a-n-a, especially as also the bases in i and u (in which the Sanskrit in the masculine and neuter likewise introduces a euphonic n) in the Zend, in words which we have noticed, have dispensed with a similar insertion (§. 160.). In another place (Journal des Savans), M. Burnouf deduces the frequently-occurring instrumental תנשיענעת ashaya, "with purity," from the masculine theme would asha; and there would be accordingly ashaya, an instrumental form, at present standing alone in the Zend, which I hesitate to acknowledge, although it would be analogous to the Vêdic form mentioned in §. 158., खप्रया swapnaya, if one derives this, with the Indian grammarians, from a theme an swapna. But if instrumental forms of this kind, in the Vêdas or in the Zend, are not to be produced in other undoubted instances as in the case of adjectives in construction with masculine or neuter substantives, nothing prevents the assumption, that the form स्त्रमा swapnaya belongs to a feminine theme सन्ना swapna. especially as the suffix 7 na occurs also in other abstracts in the feminine form ना nd, and therefore सप्रया swapnaya

may be explained according to the analogy of איני trish-[G. Ed. p. 300.] nayâ, "with thirst." In every case I think I may deduce the Zend איני ashaya from a feminine theme איני ashâ, as the Zend in general, in the substantive, passes readily from one sex to the other; and, for example, with a masculine base איני manthra, "a speech," occurs, also, a feminine איני manthra.

"Remark 3.—For the genitive termination we he there also exists, as Burnouf has most satisfactorily proved, a form nearer to the Sanskrit sya, viz. wyd, which, although rather rare in comparison with the more corrupt form he, is still sufficiently frequent in some chapters of the Jzeschne to satisfy one perfectly of its signification, according to the proofs given by Burnouf. I too had remarked words with the ending אינגע hya. but in passages where Anquetil's translation was little adapted to bring to light the genitive nature of the same, which, besides, was very much obscured through its usual representative www he, and was, moreover, concealed from me under the appearance of an instrumental form. However, the termination hya-for which is sometimes found, also, שננש khyâ—approaches so very near to the Sanskrit स sya, and agrees with it so precisely according to rule, as far as the unorganic lengthening of the a, that a single passage, with the accurate translation of Neriosingh, who, in the passages hitherto edited, follows the original word by word, would have led us to it. Such a passage is given, although with a different aim, by Burnouf in his Yaçna (Notes, p. cxxxix.), which we here annex, as it is interesting in other respects, also, for grammar:breeter say som produ rathererem properered breeter ຊະງເມາວນ ເວັນງ ມຸດນຸນຊາດນ ເວັນຊະວ kašnā zanthwā patā ashahyā paourvyō kašnā kheng štrencha dāṭ adhvānēm. Neriosingh translates this passage word for word, only that he renders kasna, "which man?" (here properly not more

than "who," for the idea of man is lost in the general signification of the whole,) not by को ना kô na, but simply, by को kô, as follows: को जनने: पिता पुरुषस्य प्रथमं कः सूर्यस्य तारकानाच दही पदवीम् kô jananêh pitâ punyasya prathaman\* (ांकल सद्यापारत्वङ् कश् चक्रे kila sadvyāpā- [G. Ed. p. 301.] ratvan ka's chakrê, i.e. "boni originem quis fecit?") kah sûryasya târakânâncha dadâu padavîm (जिल्ल मार्गन तेपाङ् को दही kila mårgan tëshan ko dadau, i.e. "viam ipsis quis dedit?"). We translate from the Zend, "Quis (qualis vir) creatione pater est puritatis (or puri) primus? quis (qualis vir) soli stellisque dedit viam?" The Zend expression wood zaithwa, for which, in the lithographed codex, p. 351, is erroneously given work zantha, is plainly the instrumental of >pww zantu; which would correspond to the theme of a Sanskrit infinitive, जनाम jantum, as the latter is feminine, and to which I have, in another place, referred the ablative purcount zanthwat (Gramm. Crit. p. 253.). This form is, besides, remarkable on this account, viz. that it is identical with the Sanskrit instrumental gerund, which, from जन jan, without a conjunctive vowel and without the euphonious suppression of the = n, would sound ==== jantwa. With regard, however, to the length of the concluding a of the Zend form, which is preserved contrary to the prevailing rule (see §§. 118, 158. and 160. p. 191 G. Ed., where, however, wood zig janthwa is to be read for zanthwa), I do not attach any particular importance to that, because in the chapter from which this passage is taken a, originally short, is repeatedly to be found lengthened. The Sanskrit जनने: jananeh, with which Neriosingh translates the Zend instrumental case, must be considered as an ablative, as this case often enters the department of the instrumental, and is also capable of expressing

<sup>\*</sup> Perhaps the adverb uun prathaman, "primum," is a corruption for uun: prathaman, "primus," which answers to the original, and is to be expected from the sense.

<sup>+</sup> Vide as to woo Goog zanthwâ, p. 1244 G. ed.

the preposition "through" (for example, Nal. XII. 89.). Considered as a genitive, जनने: jananêh would not correspond with wood zanthwa, which cannot possibly be a genitive, for the genitive of pure zantu could only be was zanteus, or, also, bot of zanthwô, or was zantavô (see §. 187.), but in no case wood zanthwa. Add to this, also, that जनिन janani is feminine, like the Zend >ענאָסן zantu, and प्राप्त punyasya, therefore, could no more pass as the epithet of जनने: jananêh than, in Zend, шууши ashahyâ could pass as the epithet of woo got zanthwa. I will, however, as concerns the Zend, lay no great stress on this circumstance, since in it the genders of the substantive are constantly changing. M. Burnouf, who looks upon जनने: jananeh as a genitive, and refers query punyasya to it, according to this interpretation justly takes objection to the quata punyasya. which does not agree with the gender of जनित janani, but he confirms, however, the reading expressly by the addition of a [G. Ed. p. 302] sic. His translation runs, "Quel est le premier père de la creation pure? qui a montré leur route au soleil et aux astres." I look with anxiety for M. Burnouf's further explanation of this passage, but expect from him rather information of value in other respects, than to find that he has succeeded in making the forms जनने: jananêli and wood हा zanthwa pass for genitives. Anquetil's traditionary interpretation sounds, in this place, very strange, but does not contradict my apprehension of wood zanthwa: he makes the genitive אטאַגשנעש ashahya pass for the nominative, and does not, therefore, throw any light on the meaning of the termination שננש hya; for, in the presumption that it was right, אנטאנענע ashahya might, perhaps, have next been taken for an instrumental, and perhaps have been translated "father with purity." His translation is as follows: "Quel est le premier père pur qui a engendré? qui a donné

<sup>\*</sup> In other places (V. S. p. 385) Anquetil renders (p. 137) the words

de lui même les astres qui ne sont pas a deux faces?" sun is here quite left out of the question; and it must be acknowledged, that, as far as relates to etymology, it is very much obscured in this passage; we might identify, with reference to the form of pwzw kheny, this expression with the reflective pronoun wie kha (as in kha-data, " created of itself," which is often said of the stars, as of selfcreated lights), and consider it as the epithet of www. 2000 stren-cha; so that it would correspond as accusative plural to the Sanskrit खान swan. It is here to be remarked, that in some chapters of the Jzeschne, www ng is repeatedly found instead of a simple nasal, and, indeed, without regard to the organ of the following initial letter. So we read, in the V. S. p. 391, oper Township dushacsathreng,\* eneng. Anquetil, indeed, renders these expressions as singular nominatives, "ce roi mechant, qui fait le mal, attaché à la mauvaise loi"; but they, together with [G. Ed. p. 303.] לשישעו עבשים dushvachanho, לישישעו עול dushmananho, refer to the plural powers dregvato, and I have no doubt of their accusative nature: the whole passage, however, like many others in the Jzeschne, can be explained only with the help of Neriosingh's Sanskrit translation. We can but regret that the in other respects highly valuable elaborate exactitude of Burnouf's excellent Commentary leaves us no hope that he will come very soon to the elucidation of this and other passages, regarding which I am most curious. But to return to our pygy kheng,

אנאסאנג אואסאנג patâ ashahyâ rightly by père de la pureté: his translation is, however, little calculated to throw light on the connection of the passage referred to.

<sup>\*</sup> The lithographed MS. has pure Thank dusa csathreng as two words; the a is, however, clearly only a conjunctive vowel, to unite the prefix must dush more conveniently with the following musics.

the w kh makes no difficulty in this expression, even in its acceptation for the sun, for which, commonly, איש hvare is found (the Sanskrit swar, "heaven,"), as we kh is used very frequently for we hv (see §. 35.); but we might here expect to find elw khare, and may suppose that the www ng has arisen out of n, and this letter out of r, as these liquids are easily interchanged, as is shewn in Sanskrit, by the connection of सहन ahan, "day," with अहर ahar, and, in the Zend, that of משעעלענע csapan, "night," with שמענטעל csapar (I write it thus, and not בשמענטעל csapare, designedly, see §. 44.). At all events I take purpo kheng to be the accusative, if, indeed, it may not also be conjectured that the base www hvar may have entirely lost its r, and that it may be www kheng for ξεω khem, the accusative of a base μω kha. μημερω štren-cha, also, according to my opinion, is the accusative, and not, as one might expect from the Sanskrit translation, the genitive plural, which more frequently occurs in the form follows staraim. Although, from this, we fow stren might easily be formed by contraction and combination with we cha, I nevertheless prefer acknowledging in איניאָטן strencha, a secondary form of wishow streus, explained in §. 239.; so that the nasal, here vocalized to u, is there retained, but the sibilant has been removed (comp. §. 239.); especially as, in other places also, we da is found in construction with the accusative of the person, which has been given. In the Zend expression, ويص«سراع adhvåněm, the Sanskrit सध्यानम adhwanam cannot fail to be observed (comp. §. 45.); but in the lithographed MS. we have instead of this, framewar advanem, which is easily seen to be an error. This false reading appears, nevertheless, to be an ancient one, and widely diffused; and upon this is founded Anquetil's, or rather his Pârsî teacher's, interpretation, which is strangely at variance with Neriosingh's exposition; "qui [G. Ed. p. 3(4.] ne sont pas a deux faces," so that wa is

taken for the well-known privative particle, and dva as the number two, and the last portion finds in the Sanskrit जानन dnana, "countenance," its corresponding syllable.

FEMININE BASES IN &, GOTHIC & (§. 118.).

Nominative, Sanskrit dharâ,\* Greek χώρā, Lithuanian rankà, Zend hizva, Gothic giba, Latin terra.

Accusative, Sansk. dharâ-m, Latin terram, Zend hizva-nm, Greek χώρα-ν, Lith. ranka-n, Goth. giba.

Instrumental, Sanskrit dharay-â, Zend hizvay-a, Gothic Dat. Instr. gibai (§. 161.), Lithuanian rankà.

Dative, Sansk. dharây-âi, Zend hizvay-âi, Lith. ranka-i.

Ablative, Zend hizvay-ât, Latin terra(d).

Genitive, Sanskrit dharây-ûs, Zend hizvay-âo, Greek χώρα-ς, Latin terrā-s, Lithuanian rankù-s, Gothic qibô-s.

Locative, Sanskrit dharây-âm (§. 202.), Zend hizvay-a, Lithuanian ranko-ye (§. 197.).

Vocative. Sanskrit dharê, Zend hizvê (?), Greek χώρα, Latin terra, Lithuanian ranka, Gothic giba (?).

Nom. Acc. Voc. Sanskrit dharê, Zend hizvê (§. 213.), Lithuanian Nom. rankî, Voc. ránki.

Instr. Dat. Abl. Sanskrit dharâ-bhyâm, Zend hizvâ-bya,† Greek
Dat. Gen. χώρα-ιν, Lith. Dat. ranko-m (§. 215.).
Gen. Loc. Sanskrit dharay-ôs. [G. Ed. p. 305.]

<sup>\*</sup> Means "earth," and is probably connected with the Greek  $\chi \omega \rho a$ , as aspirates are easily interchanged (Buttmann, §. 16. Rem. 1.). The root is  $\chi dhri$  ( $\chi \chi dhar$ , §. 1.), "to hold," "carry;" whence, also,  $\chi \chi \chi dhri$  which, by reason of the long vowel of its root, approaches nearer the Greek  $\chi \omega \rho a$  (§. 4.), although it does not signify earth.

<sup>†</sup> Without being able to quote this case in Zend bases in â, I still have no doubt of the genuineness of the above form, since I can prove by other cognate case terminations: 1. That the â is not shortened; and 2. also that an i is not introduced into the theme by the assimilative power of the termination; hence, e. g. in the instr. pl. [2] yeinâbîs (V. S. p. 308.) from [2] yeinâ "woman" (γυνή).

### FEMININE BASES IN L.

#### SINGULAR.

Nominative, Sanskrit prîti-s, Zend âfrîti-s, Greek πόρτι-ς, Latin turri-s, Lithuanian awi-s, Gothic anst'-s,

Accusative, Sanskrit prîti-m, Latin turri-m, Zend âfrîtî-m,

Greek πόρτι-ν, Lithuanian áwi-n, Gothic anst'.

Instrumental, Sanskrit prity-a, Zend afrithy-a, Gothic Dat. Instr. anstai (without case suffix, see §. 161.).

Dative, Sanskrit prítay-ê (or prity-åi, §. 164.), Zend

åfrite-ê.†

Ablative, Zend &frîtôi-t, Latin turri-(d).

Genitive, Sanskrit prîtê-s (or only with the feminine

termination prîty-âs), Gothic anstai-s, Zend âfrîtôi-s, Greek πόρτι-ος, φύσε-ως, Lat turri-s.

Locative, Sanskrit prît-âu, (or with the feminine termi-

nation only prity-am).

Vocative, Sanskrit prîtê, Zend âfrîti, Greek πόρτι.

#### DUAL

Nom. Acc. Voc. Sanskrit prîtî, Zend âfrîtî(?), Lithuanian Nom. [G. Ed. p. 306.] awi, Voc. áwi.

It may be sufficient to give here the cases of a Sanskrit masculine in it, which differ from the feminine paradigma: from agni, "fire," comes the instrumental singular agni-n-d—whilst from pati, "master," comes paty-a, and from sakhi, "friend," sakhy-d (see §. 158.)—and in the accus. plural अपीन agni-n.

<sup>†</sup> Differing from what is stated in §. 164. p. 196. G. Ed., it is now my opinion that the ξ e in μος σολω âfrîteê does not represent the ω a of the original form μος σολω afrîtayê, but is the contraction of a and y; as, for instance, in the Prakrit function from function from function from function of e is here a weaker form of e, and is more properly used to represent the latter than another vowel. With regard to the Lithuanian, see p. 218, Note †.

Instr. Dat. Abl. Sanskrit priti-bhyâm, Zend âfrîti-bya, Greek Gen. Dat. πορτί-ο-ιν, Lithuanian Dat. áwi-m (§. 215.).

Gen. Loc. Sanskrit prîty-6s, Zend âfrîthy-6 (?) (see p. 276. Rem. 1.).

PLURAL.

Nom. Voc. Sanskrit prîtay-as, Zend âfrîthy-δ (with cha "and" âfrîthy-aŝ-cha), Greek πόρτι-ες, Latin turr'-ēs,\* Gothic anstei-s, Lithuanian âmy-s.

Accusative, Sanskrit prîtî-s, Zend âfrîtî-s, Greek πόρτῖ-ς, Gothic ansti-ns, Lithuanian áwy-s.

Instrumental, Sanskrit prîti-bhis, Zend âfrîti-bîs, Lithuanian awi-mis, Gothic Dat. Instr. ansti-m (§. 215.).

Dat. Abl. Sanskrit priti-bhyas, Zend âfrîti-byô, Latin turri-bus, Lithuanian awi-m(u)s (§. 215.).

Genitive, Sanskrit prīti-n-âm, Zend âfrîti-n-anm, Latin turri-um, Greek πορτί-ων, Lithuanian awi-û, Gothic anst'-ê.

Locative, Sanskrit prîti-shu, Zend âfrîti-shva (or âfrîti-shu), Lithuanian áπi-sa, Greek Dat. πόρτι-σι.

NEUTER BASES IN i.

SINGULAR.

Nom. Acc. Voc. Sanskrit vâri, Zend vairi, Greek idoi, Latin mare.

The rest like the masculine.

DUAL.

Nom. Acc. Voc. Sanskrit vari-n-î.

The rest like the masculine.

PLURAL.

Nom. Acc. Voc. Sanskrit vārī-n-i, Zend [G. Ed. p. 307.]

vār'-a, Greek ἴδρι-α, Latin marī-a, Gothic

thriy-a (from THRI, "three").

The rest like the masculine.

<sup>\*</sup> Vide p. 1078 G. ed. as to turrê-s and similar forms.

### MASCULINE BASES IN u.

#### SINGULAR.

Nominative, Sanskrit sûnu-s, Gothic sunu-s, Lithuanian sunù-s, Zend paŝu-s, Latin pecu-s, Greek βότρυ-ς.

Accusative, Sanskrit sûnu-m, Latin pecu-m, Zend paśû-m, Greek βότρυ-ν, Lithuanian sunu-n, Gothic sunu.

Instrumental, Sanskrit sûnu-n-â (Vêda prabûhav-â, from prabâhu, §. 158.), Zend paŝv-a, Gothic Dat. Instr. sunau.

Dative, Sanskrit sûnav-ê, Zend paŝv-ê, Lithuanian sunu-i.

Ablative, Zend paŝaô-t, Latin pecu-(d).

Genitive, Sanskrit sûnô-s (from sunau-s), Gothic sunau-s, Lithuanian sunaù-s, Zend paŝeu-s or paŝv-ô (from paŝv-aŝ), Latin pecû-s, Greek βότρυ-ος.

Locative, Sanskrit sûn'-âu.

Vocative Sanskrit sûnô (from sunau), Gothic sunau, Lithuanian sunaû, Zend pašu, Greek βότρυ.

#### DUAL

Nom. Acc. Voc. Sanskrit sûnû, Zend pasû, Lithuanian Nom. sunû, Voc. súnu.

Instr. Dat. Abl. Sanskrit sûnu-bhyûm, Zend paŝu-bya, Greek βοτρύ-ο-ιν, Lithuanian sunu-m (§. 215.)

Gen. Loc. Sanskrit sûnv-ôs, Zend paŝv-ô (see p. 276. [G. Ed. p. 308.] Rem. 1.)

#### PLUBAL.

Nom. Voc. Sanskrit sûnav-as, Greek βότρυ-ες, Zend paśv-δ (with cha, paśvaś-cha), Latin pecū-s, Gothic sunyu-s (for suniu-s, from sunau-s, §. 230.), Lithuanian sûnu-s.

Instrumental, Sanskrit sûnu-bhis, Zend pašu-bîs, Lithuanian sunu-mis, Gothic Dat. Instr. sunu-m (§. 215.).

Genitive. Sanskrit sûnu-n-âm Zend pasv-anm, Latin pecu-um, Greek βοτρύ-ων, Gothic suniv-ê, Lithuanian sun'-il.

Sanskrit sûnu-shu, Zend pasu-shva (or pasu-Locative, -shu), Lithuanian sunu-se, Greek Dat. βότρυ-σι.

Remark.—Feminine bases in u in Sanskrit differ in declension from the masculine, exactly as, p. 305 G. Ed., भीति priti f. differs from afra agni in.

#### NEUTER BASES IN u.

#### SINGULAR.

Nom. Acc. Voc. Sanskrit madhu, Zend madhu, Greek μέθυ, Latin pecu, Gothic faihu. The rest like the masculine.

Nom. Acc. Voc. Sanskrit madhu-n-i.

The rest like the masculine.

Nom. Acc. Voc. Sanskrit madhû-n-i, Zend madhv-a, Greek μέθυ-α, Latin pecu-a.

The rest like the masculine.

SINGULAR.

#### FEMININE BASES IN 2 [G. Ed. p. 309.]

#### Sanskrit. Zend. nari, "woman," bhi-s, "fear," Nom. ndiri, "woman." Accus. narî-m. nairi-m. bhiy-am, Instr. nâry-â, bhiy-a, nairy-a. Dat. nâry-ài bhiy-ê, or bhiy-âi, nâiry-âi. Abl. nâry-âs, bhiy-as or bhiy-as, nairy-at. Gen. nâry-âs, bhiy-as or bhiy-as, nairy-av. Loc. náiry-a. nâry-âm. bhiy-i or bhiy-am, Voc. nairi. nari. bhí-s.

		DUAL.		
Sanskrit.			Zend.	
N.A. V	. nâry-âu,	bhiy-âu,	nâirî (see §. 213, p. 227.)	
I.D. Ab	. nârî-bhyâm,	bhî-bhyâm,	nâiri-bya.	
Loc.	nåry-6s,	bhiy-0s,	ndiry-0?	
		PLURAL.		
N. V.	nâry-âs,	bhiy-as,	nåiry-åo.	
Accus.	nâri-s,	bhiy-as,	nâirî-s.	
Instr.	nârî-bhis,	bhî-bhis,	nâiri-bîs.	
D. Abl.	nârî-bhyas,	bhî-bhyas,	nâiri-byô.	
Gen.	nari-n-am,	bhiy-âm,*	nâirî-n-aim.	
Loc.	nârî-shu.	bhí-shu.	nâiri-shva or -shu.	

"Remark.-By the side of the declension of monosyllabic feminine bases in i, which may reject the terminations peculiar to the feminine alone, may be placed the Greek [G. Ed. p. 310] kis, and a remarkable similarity of inflexion will be observed, as Nom. bhî-s, κῖ-ς, Gen. bhiy-as, κῖ-ός, Loc. Dat. bhiy-i, κἴ-ί, Acc. strî-m, † κΐ-ν, Voc. bhî-s, κΐ-ς. Plural: Nom. bhîy-as, κί-ες, Gen. bhiy-âm. κι-ων, Loc. Dat. bhî-shu, κι-σί, Acc. bhiy-as, κί-as, Voc. bhiy-as, κί-es. I consider, however, this coincidence as accidental, but, nevertheless, an accidental coincidence of that nature, that can only occur in languages which were originally really one: and undoubtedly the terminations, whose common sound appears so startling, are historically connected. As far, however, as concerns the theme, I believe, with Kühner (§. 287.), that the i of ki was not the original concluding radical letter of the word, but that a consonant has fallen out after the . I would rather, however, leave the question as to this consonant undecided, than assume

<sup>\*</sup> Or bhi-n-âm. Further, the longer case-terminations, which belong to the feminine (see §. 164.), are added at will to the monosyllabic feminines in î, û; for example, together with bhiyê, bhruvê, also bhiyûi, bhruvûi.

<sup>†</sup> Or, like the other monosyllabic words in 2, with the termination am, etriy-am.

that KIF is the true theme, and that the nominative was originally κιξς; for if κιός, κιί, in the form in which they have been received, be analogous to Διός, Διί, from Δι Fός, Δι Fί, still, to establish a theme KIF, a proof must be brought similar to that which really attaches to DiFi from its being found in inscriptions. And besides this, that which of itself is alone sufficient proof, the cognate Sanskrit word fee div, "heaven" (§. 122.) likewise attests a digamma. All ground for supposing a theme KIF is, however, wanting, for the long could, as in the Sanskrit wit bhi, and like the long v in ὀφρύς, be also the real final letter of the base, only that the long i' in the Sanskrit, except in compounds (for example गतभी gata-bhi m.f., "void of fear," जलपो m.f., "water-drinking," see Gramm. Crit. §§. 169. 170.), concludes only the feminine themes. We will therefore seek elucidation regarding the Greek kis in another way, through the Sanskrit, and we find this, as it appears to me, through a like masculine base, which approximates closely to the ki-s, as well in form as in meaning; namely, in कीर kita, Nom. कोरस kita-s, "insect" "worm," which would lead us to expect in the Greek κῖτος, Acc. κῖτον, to which κῖς, κῖν, bear the same relation as μέγας, μέγαν, to the to be presupposed μέγαλος, μέγαλον. I do not consider it requisite to assume a theme METAT, although the Sanskrit महत् mahat, "great," might support it; but महत् mahat is a participial form, and its full and original form [G. Ed. p. 311.] (ई. 129.) is महन्त mahant, Nom. masc. महान् mahan, which would correspond to the Greek μεγων."

## FEMININE BASES IN û, ũ.

#### SINGULAR.

	Sanskrit,		Greek.
Nom.	vadhû-s, "wife,"	bhrû-s, "eye-brow,"	όφρί-ς.
Accus.	vadhû-m,	bhruv-am,	όφρῦ-ν.
Instr.	vadhw-å,	bhruv-d,	
Dat.	vadhw-åi,	bhruv-ê (or -đi),	

#### SINGULAR,

Sanskrit.			Greek.
Abl.	vadhw-ås,	bhruv-as (or -as),	
Gen.	vadhw-ås,	bhruv-as (or -as),	όφρύ-ος
Loc.	vadhw-âm.	bhruv-i (or -âm),	ὀφρύ-ϊ.
Voc.	vadhu,	bhrû-s,	ὀφρύ.
		DUAL.	
N.Ac.V	.vâdhw-âu,	bhruv-âu,	όφρύ-ε.
I.D. Ab	. vadhû-bhyam.	bhrû-bhyâm.	όφρύ-ο-ιν.
G. L.	vadhw-8s,	bhruv-ôs.	****
		PLURAL	
N. V.	vadhw-as,	bhruv-as,	όφρύ-ες.
Accus.	vadhû-s,	bhruv-as,	όφρύ-ας.
Instr.	vadhû-bhis,	bhrû-bhis,	
D. Abl.	vadhû-bhyas,	bhrû-bhyas,	
Gen.	vadhû-n-âm,	bhruv-âm (or bhrû-n-âm),	όφρύ-ων.
Loc.	vadhû-şhu,	bhrû-ṣhu,	όφρύ-σι.

Remark.—The identity of  $\mathbf{x}$   $bhr\hat{u}$  and  $\mathrm{O}\Phi\mathrm{P}\Upsilon^*$  is [G. Ed. p. 312.] sufficient proof that the length of the v is organic (comp. §. 121.), and it is not necessary, therefore, to suppose a theme  $\mathrm{O}\Phi\mathrm{P}\Upsilon F$  (comp. Kühner §. 289.) so as to consider  $\partial\phi\rho\bar{\nu}\varsigma$  as coming from  $\partial\phi\rho\nu F\varsigma$ , and the long v as a compensation for the rejected F, as perhaps  $\mu\dot{\epsilon}\lambda\bar{\alpha}\varsigma$  from  $\mu\dot{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\nu\varsigma$ . That, however, F originally stood—for example,  $\partial\phi\rho\dot{\nu}Fo\varsigma$ —before the terminations now commencing with a vowel, though at a time when the language had not a Grecian form is shewn by the Sanskrit bhruv-as; by which, at the same time, the shortening of the v in this case is justified, for the Sanskrit

<sup>\*</sup> The o in ¿φρύs is based on the peculiar disposition of the Greek to prefix a vowel to words which originally commenced with a consonant, to which I have already drawn attention in another place, and by which, among other things, the relation of ὄνυξ, ὅνουα, to नखस nakha-s, नाम nama, is shewn.

changes, that is to say in polysyllables, as well v as  $\hat{v}$ , before vowel terminations, into a simple v; but in monosyllables, in order to avoid commencing with two consonants, or to gain a polysyllabic form, the semi-vowel has its corresponding short vowel placed before it, and thus is formed v as well from v as from v, as, under a similar condition, v from v and v: hence the two opposite forms, for example, v adhv-as (not v adhv-as), "women," and v (not v adhv-as), "the eyebrows;" as above, v as (not v adhv-as), opposed to v and v and v and v as v and v as v

# BASES IN âu (स्रो),\*

	SINGULAR.	*
	Sanskrit.	Greek.
Nominative,	nâu-s,	ναῦ-ς.
Accusative.	nåv-am,	ναῦ-ν.
Genitive,	náv-as,	$\nu \bar{\alpha}(F)$ -óς.
Locative,	nûv-i,	$\nu \bar{\alpha}(F)$ -i.
Vocative,	nâu-s,	ναῦ-ς.
	DUAL.	[G. Ed. p. 313.]
Nom. Acc. Voc.	nâv-âu,	$\nu\hat{\alpha}(F)$ - $\epsilon$ .
Instr. Dat. Abl.	nâu-bhyâm,	$\nu \bar{\alpha}(F)$ -o- $\hat{\iota}\nu$ .
	PLURAL.	
Nominative,	nåv-as,	$\nu\hat{\boldsymbol{\alpha}}(F)$ - $\epsilon\varsigma$ .
Accusative,	nāv-as,	$\nu \hat{a}(F)$ - $\alpha \varsigma$ .
Genitive,	nâv-âm,	$\nu \bar{\alpha}(F) \hat{\omega} \nu$ .
Locative,	nâu-shu,	Dat. ναυ-σί.
Vocative,	nâv-as,	$\nu\hat{\alpha}(F)$ - $\epsilon\varsigma$ .

"Remark.—I find no sufficient grounds, with Kühner, l. c. §. 283.) to suppose that the base of the nominatives

<sup>\*</sup> I give only the cases retained in the Greek.

in aug, eug, oug, originally terminated in F, so that in the case before us it would be requisite to suppose a theme NAF: for even if the vocalization of F to v, in order to facilitate the junction with a consonant following, did not surprise us-(forms like vafs, vafor, could never occur);—still, on the other hand, the transition of the sound v into its corresponding semi-vowel, in order to avoid the hiatus, is far more regular, and is required in the Sanskrit according to the common rules of euphony. We will not therefore differ from the Indian grammarians, by the assumption of a theme नाच nav for नौ nau, and गव् gav for गो gô (bos); although, if there were adequate reasons for it, the practice of the Indian grammarians would not restrain us from laying down गव gav and नाव nav in the Sanskrit as the true themes, which maintained themselves in this form only before vowel terminations, but before consonants have allowed the v to pass into a u, according to the analogy of the anomalous faq div, "heaven"; whence, for example, the instrumental plural द्याभिस dyu-bhis for दिवभिस div-bhis, which would be phonetically impossible (Gramm. Crit. §. 208.). The Latin navis cannot compel us to lay down a theme nav for the Sanskrit and Greek, for the Latin base has extended itself by an unorganic i, as śwan, "dog," lengthened to cani; and therefore it exhibits in its declension nowhere u, but universally v.

[G. Ed. p. 314.] BASES TERMINATING WITH A CONSONANT.

		SINGULAR		
	Sanskrit.	Zend.	Latin.	Greek
Thema,	$V\bar{A}CH$ ,	$V\overline{A}CH$ ,	VŌC,	'оп.
Nom.	vák,	vác-s,	voc-s,	όπ-ς.
Accus.	vach-am,	vâch-ĕm	voc-em,	ŏπ-α.
Instr.	våch-å,	våch-a,		
Dative,	vách-é,	vâch-ê.	• • • •	*

<sup>\*</sup> See Locative.

	Sanskrit.	Zend.	Latin.	Greek.
Ablat.	*	vâch-at,	voc- $e(d)$ ,	
Gen.	vách-as,	vách-ó,†	voc-is,	όπ-ός.
Loc.	vâch-i,	vách-i,	D. voc-i,	D. ἀπ-ί.
Voc.	vák,	vâc-s?	200C-3,	οπ-ς.
		DUAL.		
N. Acc. V.	vách-áu,	vách-áo,		
or	vâch-â,‡	vách-a,		. οπ-e.
I. D. Abl.	våg-bhyåm,			D. G. ἀπ-ο-ῖν
G. L.	vách-ós,	vách-ô?		
		PLURAL.		
N. V.	vâch-as,	vách-ô,†	voc-es,	ŏπ-ες.
Accus.	vâch-as,	vâch-ô,†	voc-es,	όπ-ας.
Instr.	våg-bhis,	* * * *		
D. Abl.	våg-bhyas,		voc-i-bus,	
Gen.	vâch-âm,	vâch-anm	voc-um,	
Loc.	vâk-shu,	vác-shva?		D. οπ-σί.

"Remark 1.—I leave the terminations in [G. Ed. p. 315.] the Zend which commence with b unnoticed, since, contrary to my former opinion (§. 224. Note \*), I look on the ę e, in forms like אין דעט אין

<sup>\*</sup> Like the Genitive.

<sup>†</sup> With cha, "and," vachas-cha.

<sup>‡</sup> See p. 230, Note \*.

<sup>§</sup> M. Burnouf, who has induced me, by his excellent pamphlet, cited at p. 276, on the Vahista (in the separate impression, p. 16, and following), to rectify my former views, leaves, p. 18 note, the question still undecided, whether forms like אַנְיַן בְּנֵאּלָ mazebis, אַנְאָרָאָרָ mazebis, אַנְאָרָאָרָ

[G. Ed. p. 316.] I find, in the Prâkṛit (Urvasi, by Lenz, p. 40.), watte achharêhin for watte achharêhin (Sanskṛit apsarêbhis); and if this form is genuine, then the \(\xi\) e, in forms like wat is not per son the \(\xi\) e and if this form is genuine, then the \(\xi\) e, in forms like wat is not per between \(\xi\) e and \(\no\) e occur, although in the case before us the \(\xi\) e is very constantly written, and \(\no\) e has not yet been pointed out in its place. If it is further considered that we often find \(\xi\) ye for \(\no\) yo, "which," \(\xi\) ke for \(\no\) sô, "who?" and in the pronoun of the 2d person in the plural also \(\xi\) ve for \(\no\) vô; and, finally, in the pronoun of the 1st person \(\xi\), ne for \(\no\) nô; then we see the change of the \(\no\) o with \(\xi\) e is sufficiently ascertained, although it appears to be restricted to the end of words of a monosyllabic form; and in these the practice of writing the \(\no\) o is the prevailing one, while before termi-

ילואקן עמראפוני, אין vachebîs, have so arisen from the bases beag mazô, &c., that the \$ ô (ων as) is suppressed, and ξ e then introduced as conjunctive vowel; or whether, before the ô (from as) only, the s has been rejected, and the preceding a with an epenthetic i united with an e. In the former case I should not have been entirely wrong, from the analogy of raoch-e-bîs, to deduce forms like vâch-e-bîs. I consider, however, the last view as the right one, only that I prefer letting the ô from the pre-supposed original form, manô-bîs, raochô-bîs, be changed in its whole force into q e, rather than reduce it into its elements, and mix the first of the said elements (a) with a conjoined i: for the derivation of manebîs from manäibîs from manabîs, for manasbîs, would extend to the Sanskrit form मनोजिस manobhis, which originally may have been manarbhis (manas-bhis was never possible). But I believe that in the Zend the form ebis really preceded the form ôbis. M. Burnouf, in his review in the Journal des Savans (in the separate impression, pp. 30, 31), calls attention to a form & sucosite vâghzhbyô, for which is once found, in the Vend. Sade, pp. 69 and 70, טענפט פאפן vâghĕzhĕbyô, once ψυιρως νâghzhěbyô, and once ψυιως waghězhlnyô, which,

nations beginning with b as yet no b has been pointed out; so that b appears to be as repugnant to a preceding b as favourable to a following b, if the conjecture of Burnouf, mentioned at p. 297, G. Ed., is well-founded. On this point I was not yet clearly informed, when, at §§. 224. and 242., I inconsiderately imagined I could deduce vachô-bya, vachô-bîs, from from vachô (from vachas). Instead of this should be read additionally vache-bya, and vache-bîs; and besides this, in the locative singular, vache-bîs; and besides this, in the locative singular, vachahî for vachanhî; since the nasal to be prefixed to the h, according to §. 56b., falls away when the vowel which follows the h is i, which has been already indicated in the paragraph quoted, but since then fully proved by Bur- [G. Ed. p. 317.] nouf. Besides, there really occurs, also, in one passage (where, unfortunately, the lithographed MS. is faulty, and is therefore

which, with the conjunctive vowel c e (see §. 30.) introduced in different ways, plainly represent one and the same word, and have proceeded from vâghzhbyô, which itself never occurs. Although these forms, which had struck me likewise, clearly belong to a theme which means "discourse," and is connected with our vâch, I would still rather not, with Burnouf, derive it from vâch; so that the nominative of this, שנטעע vâcs, raised to a secondary theme, would be contained therein. We dare not, without further authority, attribute to the Zend such a malformation, although it derives its superlatives in ween tema from the masculine nominative, instead of from the theme. But Anquetil, in his Glossary, gives a form vakhsenghê, "parole utile," which we ought probably to read pursund vacsanhê (as dative), if not with long a vâceanhê. This latter form would belong to a theme باسدىسك vâcsô (vâcsas); from which, in the dat. abl. pl., كالدكارسك vághzhbyô (vághězhbyô, &c.) might proceed for bysou vácshyô; as with wile and mazebis, wileing manepis, occur also willy mazbis, بالدكرسال manbis; for the عن s of كالدين vâcsô must, هه Burnouf has shewn, in contact with b become & zh.

impossible for me to use) the locative שמעשע vachahi; that is to say, in the Vend. S. p. 173, where, for און געשטעטע אנוגשינישע manahêchâ vachahêchâ, is to be read אנועשינישע אנאנישנאש manahicha vachahicha. In a Grammar, the lost acquaintance with which is again to be restored, oversights of this kind will, I trust, be excused in the first labourers; and if, for example, Rask gives to the word paiti the genitive paitôis, while, according to §. 180. p. 196, Note †, patôis is to be written, still the form paitois was, in its time, instructive in the main, and first taught me that the Sanskrit genitive termination e-s corresponds to the form dis in the Zend. If, too, Rask has incorporated in his scheme of declensions the ablative paitôit (for patôit), this was indeed a new error, but also a new advantage for the Zend Grammar in its then state, and brought to light a new and important fact, which I believe I was the first to discover; namely this, that bases in i form their ablative in bit, for which the proofs in the Zend-Avesta, as much as I have of it, are neither numerous nor easily found. I make this remark because M. Burnouf, as it appears to me, speaks too unfavourably of such theoretic formations. As far as I am concerned, I believe I may assert that my communications regarding Zend Grammar are founded on careful reflection. I could not, however, perfectly conclude my considerations, and I am very ready to complete and adjust them through those of M. Burnouf. For in this book also, in regard to Zend Grammar, one must carefully distinguish the disquisitions given in the text from the general comparison added at the end of each rule regarding case. In the former I give only those Zend forms which I have seen, and I thence deduce theoretic laws: in the latter I seek to make the deductions from the inquiries pursued in the text evident in one select example. I am perfectly sure of the prevailing majority of the forms given in the tables, and can produce abundant examples

of them. I have marked some as questionable, and shewn the limits of the probability of others, in notes; and if an error has crept into the forms spoken of, and by me believed to be correct, it will give me pleasure to be able hereafter supplementarily to correct it. The form שמששל vachanhi was, however, only in a measure a theoretic formation; and I should not have ventured to [G. Ed. p. 318.] exhibit it if I had not observed, in other words of the same declension, i.e. in other bases terminating with a consonant, the locative, which has entirely escaped Rask.

"Remark 2. - One might consider the o of onoiv instead of a conjunctive vowel, as has been stated above (see §. 221.), as a property of the base, i.e. as an unorganic extension of it; or, in other words, regard it as a transition from the third to the second declension; a declaration which must then naturally extend itself to the dual termination our of the whole third declension (ποσίο-ιν, βοτρύο-ιν, δαιμόνο-ιν like λύκο-ιν), and to all cases in the formation of words and arrangement of the same, where we have represented an o foreign to the proper base as conjunctive vowel. According to this, forms like μελιτόεις, μελιτοπώλης, φυσιολογία, βοτρυόεις, βοτρυόδωρος, would be, under the presupposition of the bases MEAITO,  $\Phi Y \Sigma IO$ , BOTPYO, to be divided into μελιτό-εις, and would lead us to expect the nominatives μελιτο-ν, &c., which are not to be found. The statement here given has this in its favour, that similar cases occur also in cognate dialects, since in general that declension which is the most in vogue and most used, is prone, in certain cases, to receive into itself the other declensions, which annex to their original base the final. letters of the bases of the declension more in use. The origin of ἀποῖν from ὉΠΟ, of φερόντοιν from ΦΕΡΟΝΤΟ, was as it were the first commencement of the disease, which came to its full developement in the Pâli; since in this language, which otherwise closely resembles the Sanskrit, the bases which end with consonants are declined

in the old way only in the singular, but in the plural are so corrupted, that, with the exception of the nominative and the vocative of similar sound, and the genitive, which at the same time supplies the place of the dative, they have extended the old base by an unorganic a (=Greek o), and have thus partly brought it from the Greek third declension into the second; and in the singular, also, most of the cases may, together with the old form, assume more recent forms, which have originated in the manner stated. In this manner, for example, the root a char, "to go," forms its participle present partly from the original base a charant, or its corruption a charant (see §. 129.), partly from the augmented theme a charanta, and in part also

[G. Ed. p. 319.] arbitrarily from অবন charant or ববন charanta, as follows (see Clough's Pâli Grammar, Colombo 1824, p. 25, and compare Burnouf's and Lassen's Essay, p. 112 et seq.):

	SINGULAR.	
Th. CHARANT,	CHARANTA,	CHARAT.
Nom. charan,*	charantô,	****
Acc. charant-am,†	****	•,••,•
Instr	charantê-n-a,	charat-â.
Dat. like the Genitive,		
Abl.	(charanta-små, or charanta-mhå,‡	charat-â.§
2101.	or charanta-mhå,‡	S contain and

<sup>\*</sup> The final  $\neg$  n is, as in the Prâkrit (§. 10.), transmuted into the Anuswâra, which I here express, as in the Sanskrit, by n.

<sup>†</sup> It might also be divided thus, charanta-m, and deduced from charanta.

<sup>‡</sup> Transposed, and with h for s (comp. §. 166.). These forms are derived from the medial pronoun sma mentioned in §. 166., which, in the Pâli also, has forced its way into the usual declension. The t, which was to have been expected, is, as generally happens at the end of a word, suppressed.

<sup>§</sup> Charatá is, according to appearance, identical with the instrumental,

		SINGULAR.	
Th.	CHARANT,	CHARANTA,	CHARAT,
Gen		charanta-ssa,	charat-ô.
		charante,	
Loc.		or charanta-smin, or charanta-mhi,	charat-i,
		(or charanta-mhi,	
	charai.		
Voc.	{charan, or chara, }		
-	(or chará.)		
	OI ON CONTRACT	PLURAL.	[G. Ed. p. 320.]
Nom.		charanta,+	
	• • • •		
Acc.		charanté,	
T		{charantêbhi, or charantehi, }	
Instr.		or charantehi,	
Dat.	like the Geniti	ive.	
Abl.	like the Instru	mental.	
Gen.			· charat-am.
Loc.		charantê-su,	
Voc.	charantô,	charantã,	

"If the Greek in its bases ending with a consonant had followed the declension-confusing example of the Pâli, one would have expected, for instance, from φέρων a genitive φέροντου, dative φέροντω; and in the plural indeed, φερόντων from

but is, in reality, corrupted from *charat-at*, analogous with Zend forms like ap-at (in §. 180.): the suppressed t is replaced by the lengthening of the preceding vowel, as in *acharâ*, "he went," from *acharât* (Clough, p. 106.).

<sup>\*</sup> If this form really belongs to a theme in nt, as I believe, it has sprung from the original form charan, by suppression of the concluding nasal (comp. Burnouf and Lassen, p. 89); and in chara this deficiency is replaced by lengthening the vowel.

<sup>†</sup> According to the usual declension ending with a consonant one would expect with charanta also charanto, from the original theme charant; as, for example, gunavanto is used with gunavanta, "the virtuous"; the former from gunavant, the latter from gunavanta.

ΦΕΡΟΝΤ, but φεροντοι, φεροντοις, from ΦΕΡΟΝΤΟ. In this manner the form φερόντοιν in the dual, which has been lost in Pâli, would be clearly explained as derived from ΦΕΡΟΝΤΟ; but even when standing isolated, φερόντοιν may be justly referred to a theme ΦΕΡΟΝΤΟ, as the first commencement of a corruption which was further pursued in the Pâli; and I prefer this view of the matter now to that laid down at §. 221. Both views, however, concur so far; and thus much of my opinion may be looked on as proved, that in φερόντοιν, and all other dative-genitive forms of the third declension, the o belongs neither to the original theme, which lies at the root of all the other cases, nor to the true case-suffix.

[G	Ed. p. 321.]		SINGULAR.		
	Sanskṛit.	Zend.	Latin.	Greek.	Gothic.
N.	bharan,	baran-s,	feren-s,	φέρων,	fiyand-s.*
Ac.	bharant-am,	barent-ĕm,	ferent-em,	ψέροντ-α(ν),	fiyand.
Ins.	bharat-â,	barĕnt-a,		D. I	fiyand.
	bharat-ê,				
Ab.	see Gen.	barant-at,	ferent-e(d),		
G.	bharat-as,	barent-0,†	ferent-is,	φεροντ-ος,	fiyand-is.
L.	bharat-i,	barent-i, D	ferent-i, D.	φέροντ-ι,	
V.	bharan,	baran-s,	feren-s,	φέρων,	fiyand.

<sup>\*</sup> Feind, "foe," as "hater," see § 125. p. 138.

<sup>†</sup> See p. 210. Note §; with cha, barenta's-cha ("ferentisque").

<sup>‡</sup> I imagined, p. 210, that I must, in this case, which before was not proved to exist in ND bases, set down fiyand-s as a mutilation of fiyand-is from fiyand-as, according to the analogy of other bases terminating with a consonant (ahmin-s, brôthr-s, §. 191.); Grimm has (I. 1017.) conjectured friyôndis or friyônds from friyônds. Since this, owing to the very valuable additions made by Massmann to our Gothic authorities, the genitive nasyandis of Nasyand ("preserver, "preserving") has come to light (see his Glossary, p. 153), by analogy with which I form fiyand-is.

Greek.

DUAL.

Zend.

N. Ac. Voc. bharant-	đu, bare	ant-ão, or bar	anta, φέροι	vT-€.
Vêdic, bharant-	â,*		• • •	•
1. D. Abl. bharad-	bhyam, bar	an-bya,†	φερά	ντο-ιν.‡
Gen. Loc, bharat-d	ls, bar	raț-3? (p. 276,	R. 1.)	•
	PL	URAL	[G. Ed	. p. 322.]
Sanskrit.	Zend.	Latin.	Greek.	Gothic.
N. V. bharant-as,	barent-ô,§	ferent-ēs,	φέροντ-ες,	fiyand-s.
Acc. bharat-as,	barent-0,§	ferent-ēs.	φέροντ-ας.	fiyand-s.
Instr. bharad-bhis,	baran-bîs,¶			
O.Ab. bharad-bhyas,	baran-byô,¶	ferent-i-bus,		
Gen. bharat-âm,	barent-anm,	++ ferenti-um,	φερόντ-ων,	fiyand-ê,‡‡
Loc. bharat-su,	§§		φέρου-σι.	[G. Ed. p. 323.]

<sup>\*</sup> See p. 230, Note \*

Sanskrit.

<sup>†</sup> Or barenbya. See p. 241 Note , and p. 210. Note f.

<sup>‡</sup> See p. 299. Rem. 2.

<sup>§</sup> Barentas-cha, "ferentesque." See p. 210 Note §.

<sup>||</sup> This form, which, owing to an oversight, is omitted in p. 260, is found at Matth. 5. 44., and agrees with friyônds, "amicos" ("amantes"), Matth. 5. 47. as generally with the declension of a root terminating with a consonant. Comp. Grimm (I. 1017.).

<sup>¶</sup> See p. 241 Note \*, and p. 210 Note 6.

<sup>\*\*</sup> The Gothic dative, which I would have used also as the instrumental (5.243.), does not occur in roots ending in nd.

tt Or barant-anm. See p. 266 Note t.

It This case certainly cannot be proved in bases in nd; but may, however, be correctly deduced from the other bases ending with a consonant, and from the elder sister dialects. See §. 245.

<sup>§§</sup> I conjecture a transition into the a declension (comp. p. 299 Rem. 2.), by suppressing the nt; thus, perhaps, baraêshva (or -shu, or -shû, §. 250.), as Vend. S. p. 354; μαναννος ματαξουάς (read ματα shû) for dregvat-sû, from dregvat, in the strong cases (§. 129.) dregvant; on the supposition that the reading is correct, except the false s. See §. 52.

	Sanskrit.	Zend.	singular.  Latin.	Greek.	Gothia
N		asma',			
		n, asman-ĕm,			
					I. ahmin. (§. 132.)
					see Dative.
		asman-at,			See Danve.
		•	* '		ahmin-s (§. 132.)
		ašmain-i. D.			
	âlman,		sermo',		ahma'.
	,	,			307077000 1
		Sanskrit.	DUAL.	lend.	Greek.
N. A	cc Voc	âtmân-âu,			α, δαίμον-ε.
14. 21		ātmān-a,	asman-ao	, or asman-c	ι, σαιμον-ε.
Inst			asma' hua	D.	G. δαιμόνο-ιν.†
		åtman-ås,			
				(P. 11.0, 10.	,,
	Sanskrit	. Zend.	Latin.	Greek.	Gothic,
NV					ahman-s.
	âtman-as				ahman-s.
		is, asma'-bîs,			biv), D. I. ahma'-mi
		yas, asma'-byo			
	,	n, asman-an			
		asma'-hve		δαίμο'-σι,	
1100.	coma -su,	world silve	*,	000,000	• • • •
[ G	. Ed. p. 324		SINGULAR.		
	Sanskrit.	Zend.	Latin.	Greek.	Gothic.

Ac. bhratar-am, bratar-em, fratr-em, πατέρ-α(ν), brôthar.

<sup>\*</sup> Asmanus-cha, "cwlique." † See p. 299, Rem. 2. ‡ See p. 241, Note †.

§ Also & & brâthrem might be expected, as Vend. Sâde, p. 357;

& & Dand patrem (pathrem?), contrary to the theory of the strong cases

(6.129.), for patarem.

Greek. πατέρ-ε

πατρά-α

## SINGULAR.

	Sanskrit.	Zend.	Latin.	Greek.		Gothic.
In.	bhrátr-á,	bråthr-a,		D.	Inst. brôthr	(see §. 132.
D.	bhråtr-ê,	brâthr-ê,	see Loc.	see Loc.		
Ab.	see Gen.	bråthr-at,	fratr-e(d),			
G.	bhråtur,	bråthr-ô,*	fratr-is,	πατρ-ός,	bróthr	-s (see §. 13
L.	bhråtar-i,	bråthr-i,†	D. fratr-i,	πατρ-ί,		
V.	bhråtar,	brátarě,‡	frater,	πάτερ,	brôtha	r.
		•				

## DUAL.

N. Acc. Voc. bhrátar-áu, Vêd. bhrátar-á, brátar-áo or brátar-a,

Zend.

Inst. D. Ab.	. bhråtri-bhyam.	brat	tar-ĕ-bya,	πατέρο-ι
Gen. Loc.	bhråtr-ös,	brât	bråthr-å(?)	
		Plural-§		6
	Sanskrit.	Zend.	Latin.	Greek.
Nom. Voc.	bhratar-as,	bråtar-ô,	fratr-ēs,	πατέρ-ει
Accus.	bhråtrī-n,¶	brâthr-eus?**	fratr-ēs,	πατέρ-α
Instr.	Chratri-bhis,	brâtar-ĕ-bîs,		[G. Ed. p. 325
Dat. Abl.	bhråtri-bhyas,	brâtar-ĕ-byô,	fratr-i-bus,	
Genitive,	bhråtri-n-am,	brâthr-anm,††	fratr-um,	πατέρ-α

Sanskrit.

bhråtri-shu,

Locative,

<sup>\*</sup> Vide 6. 194. p. 211, l. 1. Note.

<sup>†</sup> See p. 216. Note ||.

<sup>1</sup> See 6. 44.

of r'or the Gothic, which is here wanting, see p. 253, Note 1.

וו אומעלענענענע brâtaras-cha, "fratresque."

<sup>¶</sup> See 6. 127. Note.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Perhaps also brâthr-ô, brâthras-cha ("fratresque"), according to the analogy of åthr-ô, "ignes," from åtar. See §. 239.

<sup>††</sup> See p. 266, Note †.

SINGULAR.

	Sanskrit.	Zend.	Greek.	Latin.
N. A. V.	manas,	manô.*	μένος,	genus.'
Instr.	manas-å,	mananh-a,†		
Dat.	manas-ê,	mananh-ê,	see Loc.	see Loc.
Abl.	see Gen.	mananh-at,		gener-e(d).
Gen.	manas-as,	mananh-6 (mananhas-cha),	μένε(σ)-ος,	gener-is.
Loc.	manas-i,	manah-i,(see p. 316, G. ed.) D.	μένε(σ)-ι,	gener-i.

<sup>\*</sup> Manas-cha, "mensque," "mentemque."

<sup>†</sup> M. Burnouf remarks, in his review (in the separate impression. p. 11), that in this class of words the instrumental ending is generally long. I, in like manner, had remarked forms enough of this kind with a long a. but in passages where also many a's, originally short, appear to be lengthened at the termination, and which, therefore, I was not willing to bring into account: moreover, the cases could not be included, where, through the particle ww cha, a preceding w â is preserved in its original length. After deducting these two classes from forms in anha, the computation might perhaps turn out in favour of the short a given above. I have, however, as yet not applied any closer reckoning: it would, however, surprise me if, on more exact calculation, but still in departure from the fate of other polysyllabic words ending with a shortened a, the advantage in this particular case should incline to the side of those words which retain the long vowel, which I would then gladly restore. No one will deny that the collation of MSS. is of great importance in deciding many grammatical and orthographical questions, although I believe I may assert that even a single lithographed MS. opens a rich field to inquiries and important grammatical observations: for although it is very full of errors, it nevertheless shews no systematic opposition to what is correct; and many expressions, passages, and turns recur so frequently, that, taken together, they can in a measure supply the place of a comparison of other MSS. For the rest I had at my command the edition of Olshausen of the three first chapters and part of the fourth of the Vendidad, with the various readings attached to it, so that, through these means, I was not Left entirely destitute of MSS.

DUAL,			[G. Ed. p. 326.]	
Sanskrit.		Zend.		Greek.
N. Ac. V	V. manas-i,	4. 4. 4. 4. ,"		μένε(σ)-ε.
I. D. Ab	. manô-bhyâm,	mune-bya (p. 3	316 G.ed.), D.	G. μενέ(σ)ο-ιν.*
G. L.	manas-ôs,	mananh-ô(?) (	p. 297 G. ed.	),
		PLURAL.		
	Sanskrit.	Zend.	Greek.	Latin.
N. Ac. V	7. manâns-i,	mananh-a,+	$\mu \acute{e} v e(\sigma) - \alpha$ ,	gener-a.
Instr.	manô-bhis,	mane-bîs,	(μένεσ-φιν,)	
Dat. Al	ol. manô-bhyas,	mane-byô,	see Loc.	gener-i-bus.
Genitiv	re, manas-âm,	mananh-anm,	$\mu \epsilon \nu \dot{\epsilon}(\sigma)$ - $\omega \nu$ ,	gener-um.
Locative, manas-su,		manô-hva,	μένεσ-σι,	
SINGU		LAR, MASCULINE AND FEMININE.		G. Ed. p. 327.]
	Sanskrit.	Zend.		Greek.
Nom.	durmanâs,	dushmanão (§	. 56 <sup>b</sup> .).	δυσμενής (§. 146.)
Accus.	durmanas-am,	dushmananh-ĕm,		δυσμενέ $(\sigma)$ - $\alpha(v)$ .
Voc.	durmanas,	• • •		δυσμενές.

The rest like the simple word.

DUAL

N.Ac.V. durmanas-âu, Vêda, durmanas-â,‡ dushmananh-a (?)

δυσμενέ(σ)-ε.

The rest like the simple word.

## PLUBAL.

N. Voc. durmanas-as, dushmananh- $\hat{o}$  (as-cha),  $\delta v \sigma \mu e v \hat{e}(\sigma)$ -es. Accus. durmanas-as, dushmananh-o (as-cha),  $\delta v \sigma \mu e v \hat{e}(\sigma)$ -as. The rest like the simple word.

<sup>\*</sup> See p. 299, Rem. 2.

<sup>†</sup> See p. 245, Note f. It was, however, from an oversight that I, as was observed at p. 253, Note f. read in the Vendidâd Sâde, p. 127, אשיא פּלָּבּן הַּשִּׁמּשׁהַ it should be אַרְיּבָּן הַשְּׁמּהַוּהָם, and may also be considered the instrumental singular; then we should have in this passage, which recurs three times, the instrumental in אַרָּיִשׁ anha in both editions three times with a short a.

<sup>‡</sup> See p. 230, Note \*.

SINGULAR, NEUTER.

Sanskrit. Zend. Greek.
Nom. Ac. V. durmanas, dushmanô (a'-cha), δυσμενές.
The rest like the simple word.

"Remark.-It was remarked in §. 152. (comp. §. 146.), that

the Σ in forms like μένος, εὖγενές, belongs to the base, and is not the nominative character; and that the \( \Sigma \) in forms like τετυφός has come from τ, and in like manner belongs to the theme. M. Reimnitz, who, in (p. 54, &c.) his pamphlet mentioned at p. 294, G. ed., agrees with this view, first given in my treatise "On some Demonstrative Bases," wishes to look upon the Σ in the masculine τετυφώς as belonging to the base, and arising out of  $\tau$ ; in which I cannot agree with him, as I, according to the view generally taken, consider the final letters of τετυφώς as marks of the nominative, before [G. Ed. p. 328.] which the final letter of the base is suppressed on account of the incompatible association of τσ (comp. §. 99.), and replaced by lengthening the preceding vowel; as, for example, in μέλας for μέλανς. The Sanskrit has a few bases in n which, differing from the ruling principle (see §. 139.), run parallel in the nominative to the Greek μέλας; thus, panthas, "the way," from panthan, accusative panthan-am. Only in this panthas the lengthening of the a can be less regarded as a compensation for the rejected n than in the Greek, because it extends also to the other full cases (§. 129.), with the exception of the vocative; but perhaps the lengthening of the a has originally taken place only in the nominative, and has thence imparted itself, when the reason of this prolongation was no longer perceived, to those cases which otherwise stood upon an equal footing with the nominative. Thus one says महान mahân, "great" (from the theme mahant, properly a participle present from मह mah, "to grow"), with the vowel of the concluding syllable lengthened, according to the analogy of the Greek form, as λέγων. The Sanskrit word, however, retains the long vowel

also in the other strong cases (mahântam "magnum," mahântas "magni," mahântâu, "μεγάλω"), with the exception of the vocative; while the usual participles present leave the a short in all the strong cases. In most exact accordance, however, with the Greek participle present stand the Sanskrit possessive adjectives, which are formed by the suffix vant (Greek εντ for Fεντ, in μελιτόεις and others) and mant (in the weak cases vat, mat). These lengthen, that is to say the a only, in the nominative singular; so, for example, dhanavân, "dives" (from dhana, "riches"), dhanavant-am, dhanavant-âu, dhanavant-as, as λέγων, λέγοντα, λεγόντω, λεγόντες.

## OLD SCLAVONIC DECLENSION. † [G. Ed. p. 329.]

255. Before we enter upon the province of Sclavonic Grammar, we must endeavour to explain its system of sounds; and although it is not requisite to specify all the minutiæ of the subject, we must, nevertheless, bring into notice those parts which are indispensable to the understanding of the Grammar. It is therefore our principal object, in the following remarks, to exhibit the connection of the Old Sclavonic sounds with those of the elder languages, of which they are either the true trans-

<sup>\*</sup> If, as has been remarked in another place, the suffix an vant has maintained itself in the Latin in the form lent (as opulents), it would not be surprising if the weak form an vat, without the interchange of v with l but with the weakening of the a to i, had its representative in the Latin divit, which stands in the same relation to dhanavat, by passing over the middle syllable, as malo to mavolo.

<sup>†</sup> It is stated by Professor Bopp, in the preface to the second published portion of this Grammar, commencing with the formation of cases in general, that it had not occurred to him to direct his attention at an earlier period to the Sclavonic tongues: having subsequently considered the subject, he found sufficient reason to include them in the same family of languages, and accordingly devotes to its principles of declension the supplementary section which follows.—Editor.

missions, or corruptions more or less vitiated. We give therefore, for the first time, a history of the Sclavonic sounds, in which, however, as is natural, as far as their value is concerned, we have nothing new to bring forward; and in this respect follow only the teaching of native grammarians.

- (a.)—The Old Sanskrit wa has so far experienced, in the Sclavonic, an exactly similar fate to that which has befallen it in the Greek, that it is most frequently supplied by e or o (e, o), which are always short: it very rarely remains a. In the interior of the bases, also,  $\epsilon$  and o are interchanged as in Greek; and as, for example, λόγος is related to λέγω, so, in the Old Sclavonic, is brod, "ferry," to bredu, "I wade through;" voz, "carriage," to vezû, "I ride in a carriage." And as, in the Greek, the vocative  $\lambda \acute{o}\gamma \epsilon$  is related to the theme AOFO, so is, in the Old Sclavonic, rabe, "O slave," to rabo, nominative rab, "a slave." The o has more weight than e, but a more than o; and hence a corresponds most frequently to a Sanskrit &, so that, for instance, in the Old Sclavonic, forms in a answer to the feminine bases in an & (comp. vdova, "widow," with fava vidhava), which, in the vocative, is in like manner abbreviated to o (vdovo!), as above o to e. As final vowel, also, of the first member of a compound, a is weakened to o; for instance, vodo-pad, "waterfall," vodopoi, "water-drinker," for voda-; just as in the Greek Μουσο-τραφής, Μουσο-φίλης, and similar compounds, which [G. Ed. p. 330.] have shortened the feminine  $\alpha$  or  $\eta$  to o. Even if, therefore, a is in the Old Sclavonic a short vowel, I nevertheless regard it, in respect to grammar, as the long o; so that in this the Old Sclavonic stands in a reversed relation to the Gothic, in which a has shewn itself to us as the short of  $\theta$ , and, in case of abbreviation,  $\theta$  would become a, exactly as in the Old Sclavonic a becomes o.
- (b.)— ₹ i and ₹ i both appear in the Old Sclavonic as i, and the difference of the quantity is removed, at least I

do not find that a longer or shorter i is anywhere spoken of. Let schivû, "I live," be compared with जीवाजि jivami; sila, "virtue," with श्रील sila; and, on the other hand, vidyeti, "to see," with the root विद् vid, "to know," to the Guna form of which, विश्व vedmi, the Old Sclavonic vyemy (abbreviated from vyedmy, infin. vyes-t for vyed-ti,) "I know," assimilates itself, so that vid and vyed in the Sclavonic appear as two different roots. The short 3 i, however, appears frequently in the Old Sclavonic also in the corruption to e (e), as in the Greek and the Old High German (§. 72.); that is to say, the bases in i shew, in several cases, e for i, and the numeral three (fa tri) appears frequently in composition in the form tre, e. g. trepûtye, "trivium." So, also, pûte-shestvye, όδοιπορία from  $P\bar{U}TI(\S.260.)$ . The i is also very frequently \*suppressed, e. g. in the 3d person plural dadyat, "they give," Sanskrit ददित dadati; sût, "they are," Sanskrit सन्ति santi. Where i forms a diphthong with a vowel preceding it, it is marked in the old writing with a short mark, which we retain, e. g. boi, "strife."

(c).—3 u and 3 û have, in the Old Sclavonic, in the forms which are retained most correctly, both become y.† In this manner, for instance, by (infin. by-ti) answers to 3

<sup>\*</sup> The suppression here noticed of final i refers to Dobrowsky's incorrect orthography. In point of fact, however, the final i in Old Sclavonic has either been retained unaltered, or has become by; e.g., that which Dobrowsky, l.c., writes dadjat, "they give," sút, "they are," should be corrected to AAAMTB, dadanty, that sunty. Regarding the nasalized vowels, see §. 783. Remark.

<sup>†</sup> We express, as in Polish, the yery or dull i by y, as, like the Greek v, where it is original it supplies the place of the old short or long u. It is pronounced in Russian, according to Reiff (by Gretsch II. p. 666.), as in the French oui, spoken very short and monosyllabically; according to Heym, nearly like  $\ddot{u}$ , in union with a very short i (Heym, p. 5). This does not, however, remain the same in all positions of this letter (Reiff, 1. c.), and it sounds after consonants other than labials like a dull thick i ("i sourd et étouffé").

bhû, "to be;" svekry, "mother-in-law," to vayśvaśrû; myshy, "mouse," to मूच musha; syn, "son," to सून sûnu; chetyri, τέσσαρες, with चतुर् chatur (in the theme), nominative masculine traits chatwaras. The instances of y for 3 u are, nevertheless, more rare than those where y corresponds to the long  $\mathbf{a}$   $\hat{u}$ ; for the short u, as in the Old High German (§. 70.), has for the most part [G. Ed. p. 331.] become o; and thus, for example, snocha, "daughter-in-law," answers to ज्ञा snusha; oba, "both," to जभा ubhâ (Vêdic form), Zend www ubâ. Hence, also, the old u declension has, in many cases, become similar to the o declension, which, according to (a.), has arisen from wa; and, on the other side, o may also, but only in substantives, participate in those forms which belong only to the genuine u declension: whence it is easily perceived that the genius of the language could not everywhere distinguish further the two kinds of o, in their history, indeed, far separated from one another, but phonetically identical.

(d).-Unorganic y, i.e. y as representative of original vowels other than  $\exists u$  or  $\exists u$ , is not uncommon in the grammar; that is to say, the personal termination my (1st person plural), like the Latin mus, has arisen from the more ancient mas; and if the bases in a (for जा d) have y in the nominative plural (vdovy, "vidua"), still the y here is so much the less to be looked upon as a case termination, as no account could be given of y in this sense; and with bases in ya the a of the base is also really retained (volya, "voluntates"). But as the y exerts the force of an Umlaut on an o succeeding it, by which that vowel is changed to an e, so I think that to an i following the o, without the intervention of another letter, the force of a reactive Umlaut must be ascribed, even if this force is not everywhere exerted, and that some y's must be declared to be the Umlauts of o; that is to say, as soon as so much has been recognised in the Old Sclavonic adjectives, that their bases all end either in o or yo (changed by the Umlaut to ye), and are thus sister forms to the Greek, like AFAOO, 'ATIO; and of the Sanskrit, as war śweta, "white," feet divya, "heavenly"; -so soon, I say, as the abbreviation of the base in the masculine nominative has been recognised (nov, novus, for novo), then will it be no longer said with Dobrowsky (p. 318) that the definite adjectives are derived from the primitives (indefinite) by annexing, according to the measure of the final letter of the primitive, either yi or ii. If, however, I may trust that I have obtained an accurate knowledge of the organization of the Old Sclavonic grammar on any point, it is on this, that the affix in the nominative singular of definite adjectives consists not in yi or ii, but in i as a mutilation of yo from ya  $(\mathbf{v}_{ya})$ , and in the feminine of ya from ya [G. Ed. p. 332]. (41 yd). This also appears to me subject to no manner of doubt, that if, for example, the compound word svyaty comes from the word svyato, "holy," its acknowledged theme, the y is a euphonic product from o, through the influence of the i which is added to it. This i has, in some cases, in which it has been dropped, still in a degree, in its euphonic operation, left its reflection, and thereby the proof of its former existence. Thus, for instance, svyaty-m, "per sanctum," from the older svyatyim, svyaty-ch, "sanctorum," and "in sanctis," from svyatyi-ch, corresponds to the indefinite forms svyato-m, svyatye-ch (for svyato-ch).+ At times, through the said pronominal syllable i, the preceding o may be changed at will into y

<sup>\*</sup> Dobr. also himself, p. 493, considers simple i or ii as the definitive adjunct; but in considering, as he there does, blagyi as the confluence of blag and ii, he appears to look upon the y as having arisen from the i of the suffix, and not to acknowledge in it the final vowel of the simple adjective root.

<sup>†</sup> In the oldest MSS., according to Dobr. p. 502, the more full forms yich, yim, yimi occur in the plural, for ym, ych, ymi.

or not: thus the interrogative exhibits the forms kyi, "quis?" (Dobr. 500 and 343.), kyim, "per quem?" kyich, "in quibus, quorum?" kyim, "quibus?" kyimi, "per quos? with koi, koim, koich, koimi. The possessive pronouns allow no euphonic reaction at all to the demonstrative i, which forms the last member of them, and they always retain their radical o; e. g. moi, " meus," moim, "per meum," not myi, myim. As to the definite form of the adjective bases in yo, which Dobrowsky forms through the addition of ii, I have not the slightest doubt that here, also, a simple i is the defining element, for the first i is clearly the vocalization of the y of the primitive base; so that therefore, for example, sinii "the blue," is to be divided, not into sin-ii, but into sini-i. The primitive adjective is sounded in the nominative which is deprived of all inflection and of the last vowel of the base-siny, the y of which appears as i in the nominative plural masculine, just as in the definite pronoun, sini, "cærulei," sinii, oi "cærulei." In order, however, here fully to explain the nature and origin of the definite declension, and not hereafter to be compelled to repeat what is already settled, it may be stated that its pronominal defining addition is identical with the Sanskrit relative base q ya, which is most correctly preserved in the Lithuanian, in which language \*ya signifies "he" (ya-m, "to him," ya-mė, "in him"). The nominative yis, "he" (for yas), has given the y an assimilating influence, as is the case with all bases in ya (§. 135.). The feminine, also, is pronounced in the nominative, through assimilation, yi for ya; but the genitive yos, and all the other cases, are easily perceived through the declension of rankà, "hand," and giesme, "song," [G. Ed. p. 333.] from GIESMYA (p. 169, Note). The

<sup>\*</sup> Written ja in the text. This passage furnishes a good reason for writing the Germanic j by y, as has been done throughout this translation.

Old Sclavonic has, in all the masculine bases ending with a vowel, suppressed this vowel in the nominative and accusative; and since the vowel has dropped from the Sanskrit-Lithuanian base \(\pi ya, ya\)—which, according to(a.), makes one expect yo in the Old Sclavonic, from which, according to (n.), must be formed ye\*-the y must be changed into a vowel; hence, i, "he," "him," which must, therefore, on no account be placed together with the Latin-Gothic is, from the base i. In the nominative singular masculine, however, this Sclavonic pronoun occurs in all the three genders, not isolated, but in union with the particle sche, which has preserved to it the old relative meaning: i-sche means as well "qui" as "quem"; ya-sche, "quæ"; yû-sche, "quam"; and ye-sche "quod." Now as i means "he," ya, "she," and ye, "it," I could not imagine how one could create the definitive . adjective forms svyaty-i, svyata-ya, svyato-e (for svyatoye), accusative svyaty-i, svyatû-yû, svyato-e, in their opposition to the indefinites svyat(o), svyata, svyato, differently from Dobrowsky (p. 493), and perhaps other grammarians before him, have done, namely, by the addition of the pronoun here under discussion; † for this pronominal suffix supplies the place of the article of other languages; and the Lithuanian language uses the same pronoun

<sup>\*</sup> Hence in the genitive ye-go, dative ye-mû, loc. ye-m, the e of which Dobrowsky wrongly ascribes to flexion, because he everywhere seeks the base in the nominative. However, the base ye has not fully maintained itself before all terminations beginning with a consonant, but become, in like manner, shortened to i: in i-m, "per eum," and iis, i-mi "per eos," i-ch, "eorum," "in iis," for ye-m, &c.

<sup>†</sup> What Grimm (by Wuk, p. xl.) remarks against this declaration has not convinced me; least of all can I, for the above reasons, concede to him that the i of svyatyi has any thing to do with the a of blinda, "the blind" (from blindan, §. 140.); so that svyatyi would belong to the indefinite declension; and, on the other hand, svyat, contrary to the Sclavonic Grammarians, would be to be removed from the indefinite into the definite forms,

for the same object, i. e. equally in the emphatic, or, as it is also termed, definite declension of the adjective; and certainly so, that, through all cases, both the adjective which precedes and the pronoun which concludes are declined, while, in the Sclavonic, in most cases the pronoun only is provided with the inflexions of case, but in some [G. Ed. p. 334.] it has utterly disappeared, and in others is still to be recognised in the y for o mentioned above.

- (e.)—The Sanskrit diphthong ए & I have found always rendered, in the Old Sclavonic, by ye, in similar forms; so that after weakening the ए &, to compensate for this, the semi-vowel y has made its appearance, to which, in this union, a particular legitimacy would be, according to (c.), to be ascribed. Let pyena, "foam," be compared with फेन phêna; svyet "light," with फेन svêta; vyemy, "I know," with बेरिस vêdmi. The most important cases in the grammar wth ye corresponding to ए & are the dual case forms of the feminine and neuter, and those of the imperative, in accordance with the Sanskrit potential of the first conjugation.
- (f.)—The Sanskrit diphthong  $\vec{\mathbf{w}}$   $\delta$  (from a+u) is represented in the Old Sclavonic by  $\hat{u}$  (s);\* so that the first

<sup>\*</sup> Although this vowel may at times be pronounced short, still this much, at least, is certain, that, according to its origin and its definition, it is long. In Bohemian it appears in two forms, as au and u: the former is pronounced ou, but the writing points to an older and different pronunciation, in which the a was accurately preserved in its place: the u is pronounced short, whence, however, it cannot be deduced that this short u perhaps corresponds to the Sanskrit  $\exists$  and Greek  $\check{v}$ , and that au is its intensitive or Guna; but, on the contrary, only the u retained in the au corresponds to the Sanskrit  $\exists$  u, and the u which stands alone in Bohemian is a weakening of the au; so that, from this, the concluding element u alone is left: etymologically, that is to say, the Bohemian au, as also u, answers to the Sanskrit  $\exists i \hat{o}$ , and also to the Sclavonic  $\hat{u}(g)$ , only that the former is phonetically more exact, and without the loss brought about by time. Hence, also, usta (written vsta) "ora" corresponds to the Sanskrit  $\exists i \hat{o}$ , usta (written usta) "ora" corresponds to the Sanskrit usta, "the lip": more complete, however, is ustae, "by word

element of the Indian diphthong has assimilated itself to the second, and, in conjunction with it, presents a similar long vowel, as, in the Greek 8 (ov), two heterogeneous vowels, according to pronunciation, have united themselves in a similar measure. As, according to (a), the Indian short a has, in the Sclavonic, mostly become short o, we must consider the first element in the diphthong & also (so we write the s) to be o; and it becomes visible, too, in this form, when  $\hat{u}$  is resolved before vowels into ov, (compare βο(F)ός from B8, [G. Ed. p. 335.] §. 123.), while the Indian and becomes av before a vowel (मिंद gavi = βοΓί, from मो gô). Now as, in the Sanskrit, उ u, 3 û, rise to ô through Guna (§. 26.), and stô-shyami appears as the future of stu, so in the Old Sclavonic, in like manner, y(cy) is interchanged with  $\hat{u}$ ; so that  $b\hat{u}$ in bû-du, "I shall be," must pass as the Guna form of by (in byti, "to be"): but if a class of nouns, which in the nominative-accusative terminate in a consonant or in yerr (see k.), exhibit, in many oblique cases, the syllable ov before vowel-endings, this ov must neither be considered, with Dobrowsky, for an augment added to the base, nor can it be deduced from forms like synovi, "from a son" (Sanskrit सनवे sûnav-e, from sûnu), synov-ê, "sons" (सनवस sûnav-as), that syn, in the nominative-accusative, is an abbreviation of synû; and that therefore the yerr, when it is added to the form syn, is a representative or weak remainder of û: but it is clear, from (c.). that syn, "filius," "filium," if its final vowel, in its most genuine form, had remained to it, would sound syny, from which synov is the Guna intensitive, the ov of which has arisen from a through the influence

of mouth"; and even for vsta is to be found uusta (Dobr. Böhm. Lehrg. p. 4.): ruka corresponds to the Lithuanian ranka, "hand"; and hus to the Sanskrit in hansa, "goose"; for which, according to p. 319. rauka, hausa was to have been expected. A distinction must here according to §. 783. Remark q. v., be made between oy û, and X un.

of the vowel following it, but has remained in the genitive plural also, after the ending has been dropped. Let synov, "filiorum," be compared with the Gothic suniv-ê (§. 247.) As, in the Sanskrit, the substantive bases in u adopt the Guna form of the u before the vowels of the derivative suffix, so it is very remarkable that, in the Old Sclavonic bases in y, also, this vowel appears before certain derivative suffixes in its Guna form; e. g. domov-it from dom (DOMY), "house"; binov-at, "debtor," from byn (BYNY).\* Derivative substantives and adjectives in ov, ev (theme ovo, evo, the latter for yovo, see n.), correspond to the Sanskrit in wa ava; as पाग्रहच pândav-a (nominative as), "descendant of Pându"; षातेव artava, "seasonable," from चृत ritu, "season": so, in Old Sclavonic, Adamov, "Adamite," from Adam (ADAMY); zarev for zaryev, "kingly," from zar (theme ZARYY). For these formations, therefore, we must not, with Dobrowsky (322, 323), assume a suffix ov or ev, but we must look upon the o alone, which, in the nominative, is suppressed, as the derivative suffix (ADAMOV-O, ZAREV-O). Through the Vriddhi increase (§. 29.) the Old Sclavonic y becomes av, because a, according to (a.), usually corresponds to at a: hence, from the root by, "to be," comes the causal baviti (infinitive), as in the [G. Ed. p. 336.] Sanskrit भावियतम् bhâvayitum. though staviti occurs as the causal of sta, this form may have arisen in the perverted feeling of the language as an irregularly analogous word to baviti. In order, then, still more to establish, by a few other examples, the representation of the Indian को 0 or अब av by the Sclavonic û, we find ûst, "mouth," correspond to कोष्ठ oshtha, "lip"; shûi "sinister" (theme SHUYO), to सच savya; buditi, "to awake"-a causal, whose primitive bdyeti has entirely

<sup>\*</sup> Dobrowsky supports himself in these cases by calling ov a prefix (p. 329).

lost the vowel of the root—to बोधियुम् bodhayitum, also "to awake," from वृध् budh, "to know." Thus gûbiti is the causal of gyb-nû (1. P.), and stûditi of styd-nû (Dobr. 360, 361.); while vyesiti is the causal of visyeti (see e.), as, in the Sanskrit, वेज्ञायित्म vêsayitum, "to cause to enter," from विज्ञा viś, "to go in."

19.)—As the nasals\* easily resolve themselves into u, so the second element of the diphthong û sometimes also supplies the place of a nasal in the cognate languages; e.g. rûka, "a hand," Lithuanian ranka; pûty, "a way," Sanskrit usura panthas, id. Latin pons; goluby, "a dove," columba; gûvy, "a goose," हंस hansa. The Polish has preserved the old nasal in golamb, "a dove," gansie, "a gosling," gansior, "a gander," and in many similar cases. Hereby the û in the accusative of bases in a (from w d), which are for the most part feminine, is remarkably explained; compare vdovů from vdova, "a widow," with विधवाम vidhavam, "viduam." Therefore vdovû is to be derived from vdovo-m for vdova-m (see a.); so that the a which is weakened to an o is contracted with the nasal mark of the case to 4. This view is further supported by the consideration, that in Polish, also, the corresponding feminine declension marks the final vowel of the base with the same sign which, in the middle of a word, expresses a nasal, which is governed according to the organ of the following letter, but at the end, probably through a corruption of sound, is said to have an equal value with a ringing h. This nasalizing mark recurs also in the Polish verb, and, indeed, exactly in such a place where one had to expect a nasal, i.e. in the 1st person singular and 3d person plural; and thus, in Bandtke's second and third conjugation, the so marked e, e.g. in pieke, "I bake," supplies the place of the am of the first conjugation, as czytam, "I read."

<sup>\*</sup> Cf. J. 783. Remark.

The Old Sclavonic has, however, excepting some anomalous remains of an older formation, & in all the conjugations; and, according to what has been said, it admits of no doubt, that in the second part of this diphthong  $(o + \check{u})$  the personal character m, and in the first part of the diphthong the conjunctive vowel, is retained. When therefore, in the 1st person, an o corresponds to the e (e) of nes e-shi, "thou carriest," nes-e-t, "he carries"— [G. Ed. p. 337.] for nesû is for nes-o-u for nes-o-m from nes-e-m-it must be assumed that the conjunctive vowel e, before its confluence with the u, which has arisen out of m, has passed into o; as in Greek ov arises by the contraction of e and o, through the transition of e into o and o into v. The same relation is to be found in the Old Sclavonic in the 3d person plural, where, corresponding to nes-e-m, " we carry," nes-e-te, "ye carry" (comp. λέγ-ε-τε), the form nesent is expected, but in place of it occurs nesût in surprising accord with the Greek λέγουσι for λέγουσι from λέγοντι. The Polish has, like the Bohemian, relinquished the character of the 3d person in the plural, as well as for the most part in the singular, but everywhere retains, in the first, the old and more powerful  $a(\overline{s})$ , and marks this with the diacritical sign mentioned above, which, in the middle of a word, supplies the place of a nasal function; thus, sq, "they are," corresponds to the Sanskrit सन्ति santi, Sclavonic sút. The Bohemian has also, in many conjugations, retained the old conjunctive vowel a in the 3d person plural, but, like the Sclavonic, permitted the n to dissolve into a u; therefore, in wezau, "vehunt" (wez-e-me, "vehimus," wez-e-te, "vehitis"), the u answers to the n of वहान्त vahanti, "vehunt," and the u which, in Bohemian, is united with an a, is essentially different from that which stands alone; for the latter answers to the Old Sclavonic diphthong  $\hat{u}$  (8), but the former only to the latter portion of the il, which, in the Old Sclavonic, never stands alone, at least never occurs as  $\tilde{u}$ , but as y(c).

If, then, through what has been said, the vocalization of the m or n, which is of such frequent occurrence in the Sclavonic, has been shewn with sufficient clearness, it is remarkable that conversely, also, the latter portion of the  $\hat{u}(s)$  has occasionally been hardened into a nasal; and thus  $b\hat{u}d\hat{u}$ , "I will be," is in Polish bende (written bede).

- (h.)—In certain cases an old á (স্বা) unorganically supplies the place of the Sclavonic 4, i.e. in the instrumental of pronouns without gender, and all feminines; thus, vdovoy-û, "through the widow," answers to विभवपा vidhavay-å; and toboy-û, "through thee," to न्या tway-å. Denominatives also, in ûyû (1st per. pres.), in the Old Sclavonic, correspond to the Sanskrit in जायानि dydmi, as श्रन्दायामि śabdâyâmi, "I sound," from शब्द śabda, "a sound,"; विरायामि chirayami, "I hesitate," from चिर chira, "long": thus, in the Sclavonic, zieluyu, "I greet," "I kiss," from ziel, (ZIELO), "healthy": vdovůyů from vdova, "widow" (Dobr. p. 372.). Finally, words in un ( $\bar{U}NO$ ) answer, as it appears, to the Sanskrit participles of the middle voice, in ana, as यञ्चान yunjana, "uniting," from यून् yuj; so in the Old Sclavonic, perûn, (PERUNO), "Deus [G. Ed. p. 338.] tonans," from the root per, "to shake"; byegûn, "runner" (BYEGÜNO), from BYEG "to run" (Dobr. p. 289.).
- (i)—There are in the Sclavonic alphabet two marks, which by some are called litteræ aphonæ, but by Gretsch semi-vowels; I mean the so-called soft yer,\* and the hard yerr. The former is represented by Gretsch as half i, and by his translator, Reiff (47), as answering to the tones 'mouillés' of French (compare Kopitar, p. 5); and thus schalb, "sympathy," and ogonb, "fire," are, in respecto the soft yer compared with the pronunciation of travail and cicogne. This yer, therefore, denotes a tone

<sup>\*</sup> In the original jer, pronounced, however, yer; and hence y has been substituted for j in all that follows.—Editor.

which is rather to be called a y than an i\*; and it may be said that in schalb and ogonb one hears quite as much of a y as can be heard of this semi-vowel after a consonant preceding it. Hence we mark it with a y, and write the above words schaly, ogony, Old Sclavonic ogny. In the words, too, which end with it in the uninflected nominative and accusative singular, it occurs in several oblique cases as a distinct proper y, e.g. in zarya, "regis," zaryu, "regi," from zary, "rex," "regem." On the consonant which precedes it this yer has an influence which renders its pronunciation more mild, because its sound is somewhat broken by the y, which throws back its sound. Etymologically the yer corresponds either to a final i of the cognate languages, as in yesty, "he is" (अस्ति asti, έστί, Lithuanian esti), kosty, "bones" (ऋष्य asthi), or in the nominative and accusative singular of masculine substantives and adjectives, to a  $y ( \mathbf{q} y)$ , from which a vowel has dropped; for the theme of siny, "caruleus," concludes neither with i nor with y, but with yo (euphonically ye, see n.); whose final vowel, suppressed in the nominative and accusative masculine, appears, however, in the feminine sinya, in its extension to a, while the neuter sine for sinye has rejected the y.

(k.)—The hard yerr is represented by Gretsch as a semi o, but by Reiff, more correctly in my opinion, it is compared to the French silent e and the Hebrew schva: it is therefore, to use the expression, equivalent to "nothing"; and one cannot perceive of what vowel the small, still perhaps remaining vowel part of it is the residue. Consonants preceding it have a stronger and free pronunciation; [G. Ed. p. 339.] and Kopitar (p. 5) tells us that they are pronounced before it sharp, and without echo, and that it is for this reason called the hard yerr, and not on account of its own pronunciation. We require, therefore, in the

<sup>\*</sup> In the Carniolan dialect this sound has mostly disappeared; but where it has remained it is also written by a y; as, kony, "horse."

Roman character, no substitute for this mark, and Dobrowsky also on its it at the end of words. Etymologically, however, this yerr always represents a suppressed mute vowel, only not always an o, nor, as Grimm conjectures (in his valuable Preface to Wuk's Servian Gramm. p. xxxiv) a u. Rather, each of the three short fundamental vowels—a (as represented also by o, e), i, u, (for which may stand y, o),—is very frequently dropped at the end of words; and although the i is seldom entirely suppressed, more generally throwing back its sound as y, nevertheless the vowel suppressed after the m of rabo-m, "per servum," and in Russian replaced by yerr, is clearly, as we gather from the Lithuanian, an i.

(/.)—I\* believe I may assert, that in the whole extent of the structure of the Sclavonic language, at least in all the conditions of its noun and verb, not a single final consonant occurs after which some termination, which, through the cognate languages can be pointed out as beginning with a vowel, has not been dropped. Thus, the base NEBES, "cælum," forms, in the genitive plural, likewise nebes, but the vanished termination is, in Sanskrit, जाम् am (नभसाम् nabhasam, "cælorum"), Greek ων (νεφέ(σ)ων), Latin um, Gothic ê. The real final consonants, however, which, in the truly-preserved elder dialects of the Indo-European family, stand as the foundation of the word, have utterly disappeared in Sclavonic polysyllables; e. g. from wa as, es is formed, in the nominative plural,  $e(\epsilon)$ ; and synov-e answers to forms like मनवस् sûnav-as, βότρυ-ες.

(m.)—As far as regards the writing of those consonants which, in the Sclavonic alphabet, properly correspond to the Roman, we express the sound of the French j (zivyete, in the Carniolan sh), as in Zend (§. 65.), by sch, that of our German sch (= q) by sh as in Sanskrit

<sup>\*</sup> Cf. J. 783. Remark.

and also as, in Sanskrit, the tsch by ch: for the sound of the Greek  $\zeta$  (=ds) we retain  $\zeta$ , and use z for the sound of our German z (=ts): for  $\gamma$  we write ch. In regard to etymology, it is important to call attention to the relation of this letter to sibilants, by means of which snocha, "daughter-in-law," corresponds to the Sanskrit समा snusha. Ch also, in declension and conjugation before certain vowels, passes into s [G. Ed. p. 340.] (Dobr. pp. 39, 41), and in some cases into sh (Dobr. 41.). Finally, in preterites like dach, "I gave," dachom, "we gave," the ch returns to the s ( $\mathbf{z}$ ,  $\mathbf{z}$ ) whence it has proceeded, in the cases where a personal ending beginning with a t follows it; hence, daste, "ve gave," dasta, "ye two" and "they two gave." As the vowels exercise a multifarious influence in the transformation of gutturals preceding them, we will further remark that the ch under discussion maintains itself in the 3d person plural before a, but before a appears as sh; hence, dasha or dacha, "they gave."

(n.)—†For the semi-vowel y (y) the Cyrillian alphabet gives the Greek  $\iota$ , excepting in the cases for which the inventor of the character has provided by particular letters set together according to their value, which, at the same time, express the y with the following vowel; that is to say, ya is never written by two letters. It would, however, for this reason, be wrong to assume a vowel ya, as this syllable, however it may be written, still always unites in itself two sounds. For ye, also,

<sup>\*</sup> Dobrowsky has, however, as it appears to me, not perceived the irrefragable connection between the ch of dach and the s of daste, for he considers the ch and ste, &c. as personal terminations (pp. 264, 383. 397); and hence he nowhere informs us that ch before t passes into s. More on this subject when we come to the verb.

<sup>†</sup> The vowels mentioned here, preceded by y, are, with the exception of  $\mathbf{E}$  ye, and  $\mathbf{E}$   $y\check{e}$ , nasalised vowels (see §. 783. Remark); and hence pyaty, "five," must be pronounced  $pa\dot{n}ty$  (in the original character  $\Pi \wedge \Gamma b$ ).

Cyril has provided by a simple sign, and yû is expressed by an o in conjunction with an a. But y often appears in Sclavonic as a dialectic addition before vowels foreign to the cognate languages. Compare yesmy, "I am," yam (for yadmy), "I eat," pyaty, "five," desyaly, "ten," yedin, "one," with the corresponding Sanskrit forms, asmi, admi, panchan, daśan, âdi (primus). An o which follows is, in accordance with similar forms which we have observed in the Zend and Lithuanian (§. 137. and p. 174, Note\*), changed into e through the influence of a y preceding it. In like manner, in accordance with the Zend and Lithuanian, the y, after it has assimilated a vowel following it, has often itself disappeared, and has left behind only its effect, and thereby the proof of its former existence.\*

<sup>\*</sup> Dobrowsky does not express himself with sufficient clearness regarding this form, when he says (cap. II. J. iii.) that o after y and liquid consonants is changed into e. According to this, one would believe that, besides y, certain other consonants had the power of changing an o following them into e. Dobrowsky understands-which, however, as far as I know, he nowhere expressly says-under "consonæ liquidæ," those which, in consequence of a following yer (y), have retained a more flowing and softer pronunciation; while he calls the consonants without yer "consonæ solidæ" (comp. l c. p. 267); so that no consonant is by nature and of itself alone liquid, but receives this quality through a following yer (a y without a vowel). Thus, in Dobrowsky's second masculine declension, the consonants r, ch, and &, in zary, "king," vrachy, "physician," and knyaly, "prince," are liquid. But as these words in the instrumental form zarem, brachem, knyačem, Dobrowsky ascribes the e for o to the influence of a liquid consonant; while, according to my opinion, the consonants in these forms have no concern whatever in transforming o into e, but for zurem, &c. zuryem must originally have stood. And as in this form the y is the full semi-vowel, not entirely without a vowel sound, and therefore not the expression of the yer without a vowel which softens the consonant preceding it—as in the abbreviated nominative zary—so the r also, in zaryem, was not liquid, and has not, according to my opinion, become liquid after the dropping of the semi-vowel; at least, I find it nowhere

[G. Ed. p. 341.] 256. We must now, in order to be able to compare the true case-suffixes of the Old Sclavonic with those of the cognate languages, first of all endeavour to ascertain the final letter of the kinds of base which occur, as they have for the most part been rubbed off in the singular nominative, whence it has appeared as if these letters, where they again present themselves in the oblique cases, either belonged to the case termination, or were an addition equally foreign to the base and to the termination, which has been termed "augment" by Dobrowsky. After becoming [G. Ed. p. 342.] acquainted with the true base, the case terminations assume, in many points, an entirely different shape from what Dobrowsky has represented (p. 460), with whom

minations assume, in many points, an entirely different shape from what Dobrowsky has represented (p. 460), with whom we cannot concede to the neuter a nominative termination o or e, but perhaps the advantage of having preserved, in preference to the masculine, the final vowel of the theme in this case. For the practical use of the language, and to keep simply within the limits of the Sclavonic language, all might, notwithstanding, be assumed as inflexion which is usually represented as such. It is not, however, here our object to consider those syllables as supplying the place of grammatical relations which present themselves to the feeling of the speaker as such, but only those which may be so traced through the history of the language, and which, for thousands of years, have subsisted as Grammatical forms.

257. To the masculine and neuter bases in wa correspond, in the Old Sclavonic as well as in Greek, bases in o,\* which vowel has disappeared in the nominative and

stated that the r and other consonants, in forms like zarem, knyaçem, golübem, lebedem, are differently pronounced from what they are in pirom, voçom, lobom, adom, of Dobrowsky's first masc. declension. The difference in the two classes of words is only this, that the former have a y for the last letter but one of their theme, which, by the power of assimilation, has changed the following o into e, which e, after the y has been dropped, does not again become o.

<sup>\*</sup> Dialectically the older a has, in certain cases, maintained itself, as in

accusative singular: so the corresponding a has disappeared in Gothic, except in the neuter (as Gothic blinda-ta, "cæcum," in contrast with blind'-s, "cacus"): it has also maintained itself frequently in the beginning of compounds in the Gothic and Old Greek, where, according to the oldest principle, the naked theme is required; as, nov, "novus," appears in many compounds as novo (novo-grad, "newtown"), but is then not to be considered as the neuter novo, "novum," but as the common theme [G. Ed. p. 343.] of the masculine and neuter, in which as yet no difference of sex is pointed out. The clearest proof that the class of nouns under discussion corresponds to the Indian, Lithuanian, and Gothic nouns in a, is afforded by their feminine bases in a (for wi a); so that to the form rab (for rabo), "servant," corresponds a feminine raba, "a maid": that is to say, all Old Sclavonic primitive adjectives, i.e. those with an indefinite declension, correspond to the Sanskrit in a-s, a, a-m, Greek o-s,  $\eta(\alpha)$ , o-v, Latin u-s, a, u-m; much as one might be led astray by outward appearance to seek in the adjectives, which in the nominative masculine end in y (yer), and in the neuter in e, as siny, "cœruleus," syne, "cœruleum," an analogy to Latin adjectives like miti-s, mite.

258. But I recognise in adjectives like that just mentioned, and in similarly-constituted substantives, as  $knya\zeta y$ , "prince," more, "the sea," bases of such a nature as, without the euphonic form mentioned at §. 255. (n.), must have terminated in yo, whence ye; and hence, in the nominative masculine—according to the suppression of the final vowel of the base, y in this case—and in the neuter e retaining the vowel and dropping the y. These bases, therefore, correspond to the Indian in  $\mathbf{v}$  ya, the Greek and Latin in

the Carniolan, before all inflections beginning with m in the three numbers, as posla-m, "through the domestic," posla-ma "the two domestics." This word appears to be identical with y = putra, "son," Persian pisar "son," "boy," "young man," and to owe its meaning to familiar address.

10, iu (ἄγιο-ς, ἄγιο-ν, sociu-s, præliu-m); that is to say, serdze (nominative and accusative neuter), "heart," corresponds to the Sanskrit εξας hridaya-m, which is likewise neuter. The feminines, again, afford a practical proof of the justice of this theory, for the Sclavonic bases in ya correspond to the Sanskrit feminine bases in τη ya Greek ια, Latin ia); and this form, in the uninflected nominative, stands opposed to the masculine termination y and neuter e, as sinya, "cærulea," to siny, "cæruleus," and sine, "cæruleum."

[G. Ed. p. 344.] When an i or other vowel precedes the last y but one of the base, the y in the nominative, and accusative masculine is changed into the vowel i; as, nyetii, "nepos ex sorore" (Dobrowsky, p. 282). The corresponding feminine form is iya, and the neuter ye, the y of which has arisen from i of the form iye, which is to be supposed the original, after dropping the last y but one. To the Sanskrit संबंध savya-s, संबंध savyā, संबंध savyā-m (sinister, a, um), correspond thus shûi, shûya, shûe (compare Dobrowsky, p. 285).

259. The Old Sclavonic masculine and neuter bases in yo,\* with their feminines in ya, are, according to their origin, of four kinds:—1. Those in which, as in  $SH\overline{U}YO = \pi\pi$  savya, both the semi-vowel and the vowel following, from the earliest period of the language, belong to the base of the word; and this case is perhaps the most rare. 2. Such as originally end in i, to which an unorganic o has been added; as, in the Lithuanian, the bases in i, in many cases, change into the declension in ia (ie) (§. 193. and p. 174, Note \*). To this class belongs MORYO, nom. more, "the sea," the e of which therefore differs widely from

<sup>\*</sup> Where I fix the theme, I leave the euphonic law contained in §. 255. (n.) unregarded, and I give SERDZYO as the theme of serdze ("heart," nom. acc.), although the latter is no other than the theme modified according to that euphonic law, i.e. without inflection, as in the Sanskrit vâch is laid down as the theme, although ch cannot stand at the end of a word, but passes into k, as in the nominative vâk, which is properly identical with the theme.

the mare in Latin, corrupted from mari; so that the Sclavonic y, which again makes its appearance in the genitive morya, dative morya, corresponds to the Latin e spoken of. The Latin word must, however, in order to be classed with the Sclavonic, be pronounced in the nominative mariu-m. Neuter bases in i, without an unorganic augment, are entirely wanting in the Sclavonic. [G. Ed. p. 345.] Among the masculines of this class of words chervy, "a worm" (theme CHERVYO), answers to the Sanskrit affa krimi and the Latin VERMI, Old High German, WURMI; and Zyaty (ZYATYO), "gener," to the Sanskrit sifa jati, feminine, "familia," "genus," from जन jan, "to be born." The third kind of bases in yo is that where the unorganic y precedes a final o, according to the euphonic disposition mentioned in §. 255. (n.). So gusy  $(G\bar{U}SYO)$  corresponds to the Indian zu hansa, "goose" (§. 255. g.). In the fourth place there exist among bases in yo the words in which the y as well as the following vowel is an unorganic addition. Thus thouns of agency in TARYO correspond to the Sanskrit in at tar (a tri, in the strong cases are tar,) to the Latin in tôr, and to the Greek in τηρ, τωρ; hence the nominatives my-tary, schi-tary, and flatary (Dobrowsky, p. 295), and, with y for a, pas-tyry, "shepherd." Of this kind, also, are the nouns of agency in TELYO, the l of which is clearly an interchange with r (§. 20.), so that this suffix also conforms itself to the Sanskrit at tar; hence the nominatives blago-dyetely, "beneficus," pye-tely, "a cock," from the root pye, "to sing," schately, "messor," spas-i-tely, "salvator.";

<sup>\*</sup>  $\zeta$  frequently answers to the Sanskrit  $\pi$  j, and for example  $\pi i jn\hat{a}$ , "to know," is in the Sclavonic  $\zeta na$  (infinitive  $\zeta nati$ ).

<sup>†</sup> But see p. 879. Note 6.647.

<sup>‡</sup> As these words stand in analogy with the infinitive in ti, in so far that their suffix begins with a like consonant, Dobrowsky (pp. 292, 293) derives them from the infinitive, and allows them simply ely as suffix (as also simple ary for tary), as it has been the custom to derive also, in the Latin, tor and turus from the supine. However, it is certain

260. To the Sanskrit feminine bases in at a correspond as has been already remarked, Old Sclavonic in a. To [G. Ed. p. 346.] this class of words, however, belong also some masculines, particularly proper names, which are then declined entirely as feminines, as in Latin nauta, cælicola &c. (§. 116.), on which we will not here dwell further. Among the bases in i there are, in Old Sclavonic, no neuters, and only a very small number of masculines - as in Lithuanian which Dobrowsky, p. 469, represents as anomalous, as though they were only irregulars of his second declension masculine: they are, however, in reality, foreign to it, for this very reason, that they end their theme with i, but the former with yo, and in part with yy, (§. 263.). It is only in the nominative and accusative singular that these three classes of words, from various reasons, agree; and, gosty, "guest," from GOSTI\* (Gothic GASTI, Latin HOSTI) agrees with knyaly, "prince," from KNYALYO, and vrachy, "medicus," from VRACHYY. The masculine bases originally ending with n-there are but a few of them-form most of their cases from a base augmented by i; KAMEN, "stone" (Sanskrit wsna asman), is extended to KAMENI and then follows GOSTI.

261. To the Sanskrit feminine bases in \(\mathbf{z}\) i correspond numerous Old Sclavonic bases of a similar termination (Dobrowsky, decl. fem. iv.); that is to say, the Sclavonic agrees with the Sanskrit in the formation of feminine ab-

the suffixes TOR, TURU and the Sclavonic TARYO, TELYO, used to borrow their t not at first from another syllable of formation so commencing. They form primitive words from the roots themselves, and not derivatives from other words.

<sup>\*</sup> Thus, also,  $P\bar{U}TI$ , "a way" (Sanskrit परिष्न pathin), and  $LY\bar{U}DI$ , pl. num, nom. lyûdy-e, "people," Gothic LAUDI, nom. lauths, "a person," the au of which, according to §.255. (f.), is represented by  $\hat{u}(s)$ , and, according to §.255. (m.), has gained a prefixed y. GOSPODI, "a master" (comp. ufapati, Lithuan PATI and Gothic FADI) is in fact irregular, as it passes into several kinds of theme in its declension.

stracts in TI, as PA-MYA-TI, "memory," nom. pamyaty, from the root MAN, as in Sanskrit win mati (for manti), "spirit," "meaning," from मन man, "to think "\* (compare memini). These words weaken, indeed, in [G. Ed. p. 347.] the nominative and accusative, their i to yer, but in no case overstep their original base by an unorganic addition; and hence they must not, on any account, be looked upon as of the same base with the majority of masculines terminating similarly in the nominative and accusative singular. But Dobrowsky's third feminine declension is of a mixed nature (zerkovy, "a church"): in this we recognise some words which have, by Guna, changed a Sanskrit final 3 û to ov; and from this form several cases, as from a base ending with a consonant-e.g. zerkv-e, genitive singular and nominative plural-but so that the o is suppressed before vowel terminations. In some cases the theme extends itself by an unorganic i, in others by a; and also before these extensions of the base the o of the syllable ov is suppressedt; e. g. zerkviy-û, "per ecclesiam," zerkvi, "ecclesia," zerkvii, "ecclesiarum," zerkva-m, "ecclesiis," zerkva-ch, "in ecclesiis," zerkva-mi, "per ecclesias." The dative locative zerkvi is doubtful, as this case could have no other sound than zerkvi, whether it come from ZERKOV or from ZERKVI.

<sup>\*</sup> Dobrowsky (p. 355) imputes, in my opinion wrongly, the n of pomyanû, "I remember," and some similar bases, to derivation, instead of supposing that the radical n is suppressed before t, in analogy with the Sanskrit, and as, in Greek,  $\tau \acute{a}\sigma\iota s$  from TAN, Sanskrit  $\pi f n + tati s$ , "a line" (as extended), for  $\pi f n + tati s$ .

<sup>†</sup> The example given by Dobrowsky, zerkory, "a church," nevertheless does not apply to monosyllables, as krovy, "blood" (Sanskrit Au kravya, neuter, "flesh"), nor to those polysyllables in which two consonants precede the syllable ov; for yatrvach and krvach would be equally impracticable (comp. Gretsch by Reiff, p. 163). Brovy, "eyebrow," also appears to form all its cases from a theme BROVI, an extension of the Sanskrit bhrū, feminine, by the addition of i, with a Guna of the Aû. The nominative plural is hence brovi (Dobrowsky, p. 115), not brov-e.

Some words of this class have, in the nominative, y, and [G. Ed. p. 348.] thus svekry agrees with way śwaśrû-s, "socrus" (§. 255. c.); others have, at will, ovy or vi, with o suppressed; hence zerkovy or zerkvi.

262. Among bases in u (Greek v) of the cognate lan. guages only masculines have maintained themselves in the Old Sclavonic. They, like the bases in o, suppress their final vowel in the nominative and accusative, but in the remaining cases this letter shews itself either with Guna changed to ov or 4 (§. 255. f.), or without Guna, as o (§. 255. c.); and in the latter form it appears also in the beginning of compound words as a naked theme. Hence it is more probable, that anciently for syn, "filius," "filium," stood syno rather than syny (§. 255. c.).\* With this similar conformation of theme of the old bases in a and u, it is not surprising that two kinds of bases, which in their origin are widely different, run very much into one another in the Sclavonic declension; and that, in the more modern dialects, these two declensions, which were originally so strictly separate, have fallen almost entirely into one.

263. As in the o bases which have arisen from w a, a y preceding introduces a difference of declension, which we, in §. 258., have represented as purely euphonic, the same phenomenon makes its appearance also in the y bases, by means of which their Guna form is articulated ev (for yev) instead

<sup>\*</sup> We term this class of words, nevertheless, bases in y; for although their final letter never occurs as y, still, according to §. 225. (c.), y is the most legitimate, even if it be the most rare, representative of the Sanskrit  $\exists u$ . But should it be wished to call them bases in o, they would not be distinguished from the order of words, which, according to § 257., bear this name with more right. The term u bases would be appropriate only so far as here, under the u, might be understood, not the Old Sclavonic u (etymologically u u), but the Sanskrit u or the Latin u of the fourth declension, which, in the Old Sclavonic, has no real existence.

of ov.\* If, however, with Dobrowsky, we di- [G. Ed. p. 349.] vide the Old Sclavonic masculines-with the exception of the bases in i, §. 260.—into two declensions, and in doing this desire, as is natural, to ground the division on the final letters of the bases, we must place knyaly, "prince" (nominative) of Dobrowsky's second declension in the first, and by the side of rab, "a servant": on the other band, the words syn, "son," and dom, "a house," of Dobrowsky's first masculine declension must be transferred to the second declension as mutilated y forms. Of the paradigma here given by Dobrowsky, vrachy, "medicus," adheres most strictly to the true y declension, and, according to §. 255. (n.), opposes ev to the ov of SYNY. On the other hand, words inflected like zary, "a king" (nominative), clearly form the nominative and genitive plural from bases in i; hence zary e, "kings," zaru, "of kings," from ZARI; as gosty-e, "hospites," and gostii, "hospitum," from GOSTI. In the dative plural and instrumental singular the form zare-m is doubtful: in this and other words, also, of obscure origin, it remains uncertain whether the more contracted theme in i, or the more extended in yy, is the older; but it is certain that several old i bases have migrated into this declension by an unorganic addition; for instance, ogny, "fire" (nom.), dative ognev-i, from OGNYY, agrees with the Sanskrit अरिन agni, Latin IGNI, Lithuanian UGNI. † It [G. Ed. p. 350.]

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<sup>\*</sup> Without Guna, the final of the base is pronounced e for ye from yo (§. 255. n.); and hence, in the cases without Guna the yy bases are just as little to be distinguished in their inflection from the yo bases, as, in the instrumental singular, syno-m (from the theme SYNY) from rabo-m (theme RABO). In the beginning of compound words, also, the yy bases and like those in yo, with e for ye.

<sup>†</sup> As regards words inflected like mravii, the only proof which could bring them under the head of the y bases is the vocative sing. mraviyi: that they, however, although they have borrowed this case from the y declension, originally belong to the o declension, is proved by their feminine in iya and neuters in iya or ye (Dobrowsky, p. 282).

deserves here to be further remarked, that in the more modern dialects of the Sclavonic stock, the two masculine declensions here spoken of have been transfused almost entirely into one, which has taken several cases regularly from the old u declension, in which, however, from the point of view of the more recent dialects, e.g. in the genitive plural of the Polish and Carniolan, ov, ow, form an exception as a case termination. In the Old Sclavonic, also, rab (theme RABO), "a servant," may optionally form several cases from a theme RABY (for rabu); and for rab, "servorum," we may also have , rabov: and in the nominative plural of this class of words we find also ov-e, according to the analogy of synov-e. On the other hand, the adjective masculine o bases (the indefinites) of the y declension have admitted no irregular trespassings any more than the pronouns.

264. Bases ending in a consonant are, under the limitation of §. 260., entirely foreign to the masculine: on the other hand, there are neuter bases in en, es, and at (yat), which are important for the system of declension, because the case suffix, commencing with a vowel, divides itself so much the more distinctly from the base ending with a consonant. The bases in en correspond to the Sanskrit in अन an, and have preserved, too, in the uninflected nominative, accusative, and vocative, the old and more powerful a, but with the euphonic prefix of a y (see §. 255. n.), and with the suppression of n of the base (see §. 139.). All of them have an m before the termination en; so that men is to be considered as the full formative suffix of the word, which answers to the Sanskrit मन् man-e.g. in कमेन् karman neut., "deed"—and to the Latin men; that is to say, SYEMEN (nominative syemya, "seed," from the base sye) answers to the Latin se-men; and imen, "a name," is a mutilation of नामन् nâman, "nomen." The bases in es answer to the Sanskrit neuter bases in as, as nebes,

"heaven," Sanskrit און nabhas. In the [G. Ed. p. 351.] nominative, accusative, and vocative, they relinquish the concluding s (according to §. 255. l.), and afterwards strengthen the e to o (§. 255. a.). We cannot, therefore, any longer compare the o of nebo with the Sanskrit-Zendian o, which has arisen out of a+u. As in this abbreviation of es to o the neuter es bases in the cases mentioned become similar to the o bases, it is then—on account of the influence of these cases, and because the nominative principally gives the tone in the declension, and shews in the oblique cases as inflection that which is in itself deficient,—it is then, we say, not surprising, if the original o bases at times admit an es in the oblique cases, particularly when we consider the original great extension of these neuter bases terminating in s (compare §. 241.), which induces the conjecture, that many words, now declined as o bases, were originally domiciled in the bases in es. On the other hand, Dobrowsky proves that there is no admixture of es in the thoroughly legitimate adjective o bases. It is also clear, from §. 255. (l.), that the bases in yat\* in the uninflected cases must lay aside the t, and follow σῶμα, not महत् mahat ("magnum") and caput.

265. Of the class of words in r mentioned in §. 144. two feminine words have remained in the Old Sclavonic which derive most of their cases from the genuine r bases, but in others increase the original base by an unorganic i, or also by ya (compare the Lithuanian in §. 144.): in the nominative singular, however, in accordance with the Sanskrit and Lithuanian, they suppress the r. These are, mati, "mother," and dshchi, "daughter"; in the latter only occurs the increase of the base by ya (in the nominative accusative and dative plural); the declension of the former springs [G. Ed. p. 352.]

<sup>\*</sup> They are all derivatives from names of animals, and denote the young of the animal mentioned.

partly from MATER, e. g. mater-e, "matris," and matres (μᾶτέρ-ες), partly from MATERI, e.g. matery, "matrem."

266. \*In order now to pass over to the formation of cases, the nominative and accusative have lost the casesigns s and m, with the exception of the bases in a, which present in the diphthong û(s), a contraction of the vocalized nasal with the final vowel of the base shortened to o, (see §. 255. g.); hence vodů, "aquam," from vodo-ŭ. The instrumental has, in the feminine, and the pronouns which have no gender preserved the genuine Sanskrit inflection; but it is to be remarked of the feminine bases in i that they change this vowel before the termination 4, (for 4, see §. 255. h.), not into simple y, but into iy; so that in this respect the Old Sclavonic agrees more closely with the Pâli, which, in the corresponding class of words, changes the final i before all the vowel endings into iy, than with the Sanskrit. Hence, let kostiy-û, from KOSTI, "bones," be compared with the Pali ulfaut pitiy-a (from piti, "joy"), for the Sanskrit फ्रीस privy-a. Masculines and neuters have mt for their instrumental ending; and this is, I have no doubt, an abbreviation of the Lithuanian mi, and comes thereore from bi (§. 215.).

267. The dative has, in the singular, a common ending with the locative, and, in fact, the Old Sanskrit i (§. 195.); hence, imen-i, "in nomine," and "nomini"; synov-i, "filio," brachev-i, "medico," from SYNY and BRACHYY (§. 263.), with Guna.‡ If the case-sign is suppressed, the preceding ov [G. Ed. p. 353.] becomes 4, and ev (from yov) becomes y4; hence, also, syn4, "filio," with synov-i, and zary4, "regi," with

<sup>\*</sup> Cf. §. 783¹.

<sup>+</sup> For m, according to Dobrowsky, we should read Mb my.

<sup>‡</sup> Hence I am now disposed, contrary to §. 177., to assume for the Lithuanian a common origin for the two cases, although in their received condition they are externally separated from one another, as is the case in Old Sclavonic, also, in several classes of words.

the y bases, but prefer, however, the abbreviated form û, hence rabû, from RABO, more rarely rabov-i. The o bases of the adjectives, and of these there are, in the masculine and neuter, only o bases, and those of neuter substantives have alone the uninflected form in 4; hence, e.g. blagú, "bono," masc. neut.; sinyú, "cœruleo," masc. neut.: slovů, "verbo," moryů, "mari": not blagov-i, sinev-i, slovov-i, morev-i. In masculine names of inanimate things this uninflected form in û extends itself also to the genitive and locative; hence domu, "of the house," "to" and "in the house": but in the dative is also found domov-i, and in the locative domye.\* The pronouns of the 3d person masculine and neuter-with exception of the reflexive-have in the dative, in like manner, the uninflected 4; for the form mû in to-mû, "to this," is clearly from the Sanskrit appended pronoun # sma (§. 165. &c.), which has extended itself in the cognate European languages so much, and under such different forms, and this, in the Old Sclavonic, would necessarily give the base SMO, from which, after dropping the s, would come the dative mû, as rabû from. RABO.

borrowed their dative from the y declension, the y bases appear, in the locative, to have intruded on the o class; for synye answers to rabye, from RABO from RABA (§. 255. a.); but the ye of rabye is, according to §. 255. (e), clearly from the Sanskrit v ê of vrikê from a vrika, and answers to the Lithuanian wilkê from [G. Ed. p. 354.] WILKA (§. 197.). As, however, in Lithuanian, from SUNU comes sunu-ye, so may also the Old Sclavonic synye require

<sup>\*</sup> Masculine names of inanimate things all follow the declension of dom (theme DOMY), although very few among them, according to their origin, fall into the class of the old  $\exists u, i.e.$  of the Latin fourth declension, but for the most part correspond to Sanskrit bases in  $\exists u$  a.

to be divided into syn'-ye; and this is rendered the more probable, as the feminine a bases, also, have in the locative ye for a-ye; hence vod'-ye, "in aqua," from VODA, answers to the Lithuanian ranko-ye (for ranka-ye) from ranka.\* In bases in i, masculine and feminine, it might appear doubtful whether i, with which they end in the dative and locative-e. g. . pûti, "in the way," kosti, "in the bone"—is to be ascribed to the theme or to the inflection: as, however, in the genitive, (to which belongs an i, though not through any inflection), they have just the same sound, and otherwise never entirely give up the i of the base, except in the instrumental plural, it is more natural to consider the forms pûti, kosti, uninflected, just like domû, "in the house." We may also look upon the i in the dative and locative of those bases, which have y as the last letter but one, as nothing else than the vocalization of this y; the i, therefore, of knyaζi, mori, brachi, voli, represents nothing else than the y of the masculine bases KNYACYO, VRACHYY, and of the neuter MORYC, and feminine VOLYO.

269. In the genitive the terminations as, os, is, which, in the cognate languages, are joined to bases ending with a consonant, must, according to §. 255. (l.), drop the s, but the [G. Ed. p. 355.] vowel appears as e in all the bases ending with a consonant (§§. 260. 264.): hence imen-e, "of the name,"

<sup>\*</sup> It must be allowed that here occurs the very weighty objection, that the f minine form rankoye in the Lithuanian, and vodye in the Sclavonic, might stand in connection with the Sanskrit आयाम âyâm in जिल्लायाम jihwây-âm (§. 202.); so that, after dropping the m, as in the Zend (§. 202.), the preceding vowel, which in the Zend is already short, would, through the euphonic influence of the y, become e. As the bases in i in the Lithuanian, down to a few exceptions, are feminine, so might also awiye from awi-s, "a sheep," be divided into awiy-e, and compared with मताम maty-âm, from mati or जियाम bhiy-âm from bhi (comp. in §.266. kostiy-û, for kosty-û, from KOSTI).

answers to नाम्नम् namn-as, nomin-is; nebes-e, " of the heaven," to नमसस nabhas-as, νέφε( $\sigma$ )-oς; mater-e to matr-is, μητρός. The pronominal forms also follow this analogy: men-e, "mei," teb-e, "tui," seb-e, "sui," because, in the oblique singular cases, MEN, TEB, SEB are their themes. We recognise the fuller Sanskrit genitive ending wasya in the pronominal genitive termination go, as to-go = तस्य ta-sya (§. 188.). This comparison might alone be sufficient in place of all proof; but, over and above, is to be remarked the easily adopted hardening of the semi-vowel y to g (comp. p. 121 G. ed.), and in the Prâkrit to 3 (§. 19.); finally, let the high degree of improbability be considered, that the Sclavonic should have formed an entirely new genitive termination, foreign to all the cognate languages. Now, if the q of the termination  $g_0$  is taken for a hardening from  $y (\mathbf{q} y)$ , then the Old Sclavonic has preserved exactly as much as the Greek of the termination sya; and go answers to the Greek 10, and to-go, "hujus," to the Greek 70-îo. As, however, in Sclavonic, the sibilants are easily interchanged with gutturals (see §. 255. m.), one might also conjecture the g of go to be a corruption of the Sanskrit s and the semi-vowel of ea sya, which had been lost. This conjecture cannot entirely be put aside; but in any case, even in this supposition, the termination go remains connected with ey sya and 10. As, however, in the Old Sclavonic, g is elsewhere exchanged only with  $\zeta$  and sch (Dobr. p. 41), but not with s, in my opinion the derivation of g from  $y(\mathbf{q} y)$  is to be preferred to that from s.

270. The substantive and adjective (indefinite) o bases, in disadvantageous comparison with the pronouns which hold fast the old form, have lost the genitive termination go; but for it, in compensation for the lost termi[G. Ed. p. 356.] nation, they have retained the old a of the base, instead of, according to §. 255. (a.), weakening it to o; hence raba, "servi" nova (=Sanskrit nava-sya) "novi." Now, although the y bases

in the genitive end in a, the comparison of the form syna, "filii," with the Lithuanian and Gothic  $suna \hat{u}$ -s, suna u-s, and the Sanskrit  $s\hat{u}n\hat{o}$ -s (from  $s\hat{u}na u$ -s), teaches that the a here is only a Guna element, but foreign to the proper base, as well as to the case-suffix, which, according to §. 255. (b.), must disappear.

271. The feminine bases in a, with the exception of those which have a penultimate y, change that a in the genitive into y; hence vody, "aquæ," from VODA, but volya, "voluntatis," with unaltered base, from VOLYA. I ascribe that y, as well as that in the nominative plural, to the euphonic influence of the s, which originally ends the form (see §. 255. d.): this, however, does not obtain if a y precedes the a; hence volya, "voluntatis," is identical with the theme. On the other hand, the feminine pronominal bases in a have preserved a remarkable agreement with the Sanskrit pronominal declension; for if ta, "this" (at the same time the theme), forms to-ya in the genitive, I do not doubt of the identity of the ending ya with the Sanskrit syâs (§. 172.), as in the word तस्यास tasyâs, of the same import, for the final s must, according to §. 255. (l.), give way; but the a of the Sclavonic ya directs us, according to §. 255. (a.), to an Indian an a, just as the preceding o points to a short wa. The irregularity, therefore, in the shortening of the Sclavonic termination lies only in the dropping of the sibilant before y, as, in the Greek, τοῖο, from तस्य ta-sya, and in the to-go, for to-(s)yo, mentioned in §. 269.

272. In the vocative, which in the cognate languages is without any case suffix (§. 204.), o is weakened to e (e) and a to o (§. 255 a.), hence nove (from NOVO, "new"), for [G. Ed. p. 357.] Sanskrit  $\neg a$  nava, is identical with the Latin nove, and answers to the Greek  $v\acute{e}(F)e$ : from VODA, "water," comes vodo; but from VOLYA, according to §. 255. (n.), vole for volyo: and so from  $KNYA\zeta YO$ , "prince," knyashe\* for

<sup>\* &</sup>amp; before e becomes sh.

knyaçye. Bases in yy change their y by Guna to 4 (§. 255. f.), in analogy with §. 205.; hence vrachyû—more commonly, with y suppressed, vrachû—"medice!" from VRACHYY On the other hand, y bases without y for their penultimate letter commonly omit the Guna, and weaken their final vowel, like the o bases, to e; hence syne, "oh son!" more rarely synû (Dobr. p. 470), =Gothic sunau, Lithuanian sunaù, Sanskrit sûnô from sunau.

# DUAL.

273. By preserving a dual, the Old Sclavonic surpasses the Gothic, in which this number is lost in the noun: it exceeds, in the same, the Lithuanian in the more true retention of the terminations, and it is richer than the Greek by one case. The agreement with the Sanskrit and Zend is not to be mistaken: let the comparison be made.

	SANSKRIT.	ZEND-	OLD SCLAVONIC.
N. Acc. V. m.	ubhå (ambo Vêdic),	ubâ,	oba.
f. n.	ubhê,	ubê,	obye (§. 255. n.).
I. D. Ab. m. f. n.	ubhâ-bhyâm.	ubôi-bya, I. D.	obye-ma (§. 215.).*
G. L. m. f. n.	ubhay-ôs,	ubôy-ô,	oboy-û.†

<sup>\*</sup> The ye, which precedes the termination ma, may be compared with the Sanskrit & in plural forms, as a view vikébhyas: ye-ma, however, occurs in the Old Sclavonic only in dvye-ma, "duobus," "per duos," and some pronouns. The usual form of substantive o-bases before this ending is that with an unchanged o, as sto-ma, from sto, "a hundred"; and the final a of feminine substantives also remains unchanged, as dyeva-ma, from DYEVA, "a girl."

<sup>†</sup> The form  $\hat{u}$ , for the Sanskrit ending  $\hat{os}$ , is, according to §. 255. (f.) and (l.), necessary: the Zend certainly approaches the Old Sclavonic in casting away the s voluntarily. The oy, which precedes the termination  $\hat{u}$ , clearly corresponds to the Sanskrit x = ay (see §. 225.) and the

[G. Ed. p. 358.] The Sanskrit ubhe, as neuter, comes, according to §. 212., from the theme ubha, in union with the case-suffix i; and the feminine ubhe is an abbreviation of ubhay-âu, and is therefore without a case termination (§. 212.). The Old Sclavonic, which runs parallel to the Sanskrit in both genders, and, according to §. 255. (l.), opposes ye to the Indian ve, no longer recognises the origin of this ye, and regards it entirely as a case-suffix before which the final vowel of the theme appears to be suppressed. Therefore, also, neuter bases ending in a consonant make ye their termination, if the imenye, "two names," given by Dobrowsky, p. 513, actually occurs, and is not a theoretic formation. In feminines, however, the termination ye extends, exactly as in Sanskrit, only to bases in a (for Sanskrit a, §. 255. a.); but in such a manner, that those with y as the last letter but one in the theme reject the termination ye, and vocalize the y of the theme; hence dyevye, "two girls," from dyeva, but steζi, "two steps," from STEζYA. The feminine bases in i, in the dual case under discussion, answer to the Sanskrit and Lithuanian forms mentioned at §§. 210. 211., as pati, "two sirs," from ufa pati; [G. Ed. p. 359.] awi, "two sheep," from AWI; only that, according to §. 255. b.), the i in the Sclavonic is not lengthened; as dlani from DLANI (nominative singular

Zend  $\delta y$  or ay (see p. 277); but that occurs only in  $dvoy - \hat{u} = \mathrm{Sanskrit}$   $dway - \delta s$ , "of two," "in two" m. f. n., and in  $toy - \hat{u} = \mathrm{Sanskrit}$   $tay - \delta s$ , "of these two," m. f. n. The genitives and locatives of the two first persons also rest on this principle, only retaining the older  $a - nay\hat{u}$ ,  $v\hat{u}y\hat{u}$ . For the rest, however, the final vowel of the theme is rejected before the termination  $\hat{u}$ , as  $st' - \hat{u}$  (Sanskrit  $shatuy - \delta s$ ) from STO, "a hundred,"  $dyev - \hat{u}$  from DXEVA, "a girl"; and thus occurs, also, together with  $dvoy\hat{u}$ , the syncopated form  $dv\hat{u}$ . Although the Lithuanian generally does not drop the final s, still the  $\hat{u}$  mentioned in  $\hat{y}$ . 225. may be identical with the Sclavonic  $\hat{u}$ ; as in the Zend, also, in this termination the s is often dropped.

dlany), "vola manus." On the other hand, the masculine y bases do not follow this principle, but suppress the final vowel before the case-suffix a; hence syn'-a, "two sons," from SYNY.

## PLURAL.

274. In the plural, the masculine nominative termination e (e) for the most part answers to the Greek eç, and, according to a universal rule of sounds, omits the s (§. 255. l.); hence synov-e, "the sons," मनवस sûnav-as: compare βότρυ-ες, kamen-e, "the stones," for अзमानम aśman-as (§. 21.); compare δαίμον-ες, gosty-e, "guests" (theme GOSTI), for the Gothic gastei-s, and Greek forms like πόσι-ες. The bases in o take, as in Lithuanian do the corresponding bases in a, i as their termination (see §. 228.), but before this reject the o of the base; hence rab'-i, "servants," for rabo-i (comp. λύκο-ι), as in Latin lup-i for lupo-i. Neuters have a for their ending, like the cognate dialects, with the exception of the Sanskrit with i for a; nevertheless, slova, "verba," from SLOVO—as δώρα from ΔΩΡΟ—answers to Vêdic forms like vana, "woods," from vana; and the same thing obtains which, §. 231. p. 267 G. ed., has been said of Gothic, Greek, and Latin, regarding the relation of the a of the termination to the o of the theme. As regards the bases ending in a consonant, let imen-a, "names," be compared with the Latin nomin-a and Gothic namon-a; nebes-a, "the heavens," with  $\nu\epsilon\phi\epsilon(\sigma)$ - $\alpha$ ; and telyat-a, "calves," with Greek forms like σώματ-α. Feminines, with the exception of the class of words in ov mentioned at §. 261., have lost the nominative ending; hence volya, "voluntates," is the same as the theme and the nominative singular; and [G. Ed. p. 360.] from KOSTI, "bones" (Sanskrit asthi, neuter) comes the nominative singular kosty, and the plural like the theme.

275. The accusative plural is, in feminine and neuter nouns, the same as the nominative, and therefore in the former

mostly without inflection, exactly as in the few masculine bases in i; hence gosti for the Gothic gasti-ns. Bases in o, without y preceding, like RABO, change this o into y, as raby, "servos"; at least I cannot believe that this y is to be looked upon as the case-suffix; and I pronounce it to be the euphonic alteration of the o of the base, through the influence of the consonant of the inflection which has been dropped (comp. §. 271.): as in Lithuanian, also, the corresponding class of words often changes the final vowel (a) of the base into u; hence wilkù-s, "lupos," answering to the Gothic vulfa-ns and Sanskrit vrika-n. But if the Old Sclavonic bases in y, of animate creatures, form owy in the accusative plural, and thus synovy, "filios," answers to the Lithuanian sund-s (from SUNU), this very Lithuanian form, as well as the Gothic and Sanskrit sunu-ns, स्तून sûnû-n, prove that the Sclavonic form is unorganic, and formed from an augmented theme SYNOVO, according to the analogy of raby. Bases in yy in this case follow bases in yo (from ya, §. 255. a.), which, preserving the old a sound, give ya, as in the genitive singular (see §. 270.); hence vrachya, "medicos," like knyatya, "principes": but forms, also, like doschdevy, analogous with synovy, occur, following the euphonic rule, §. 255. (n.).

276. The view here given is the more incontrovertible, as in the dative, also, synovo-m, "filiis" (compare rabo-m), is clearly formed from a theme SYNOVO, increased by a, corresponding to the Lithuanian sunu-ms. This dative suffix m, for the Lithuanian ms (from mus, §. 215.), according [G. Ed. p. 361.] to §. 255. (l.), extends itself over all classes of words, and appears to be attached by a conjunctive vowel e to bases terminating with a consonant; but, in fact, it is to be considered that these, in the cases mentioned as also in the locative (see §. 279.), pass over into the i declension, as a final i, before the signs of case m and ch, becomes e: and a similar metaplasm occurs in the Lithuanian, and indeed, to a

much greater extent (§. 125. sub finem, comp. §. 126.); hence imene-m, imene-ch, from IMENI from IMEN, "names," as koste-m, koste-ch, from KOSTI, "bones."

277. Less general is the instrumental ending mi, answering, subject to the loss required by §. 255. (1.), to the Lithuanian mis, Sanskrit bhis, and Zend bis. This termination mi is, however, in masculine and neuter nouns for the most part lost (comp. Dobr. pp. 473 and 477); and is preserved principally, and indeed without exception, in feminines, as well as in a few masculine i bases: a final i of the base is, however, suppressed before the termination mi. Let kost'-mi be compared with खस्पिनिस् asthi-bhis, from सस्य asthi, "bone"; vdova-mi with विधवाभिस् vidhava bhis. from favai vidhava, "a widow." The instrumentals raby, synovy, are, like the accusatives of similar sound, uninflected (§. 275.); the i of knyaçi, vrachi, is the vocalization of the y of the bases  $KYNA\zeta YO$ , VRACHYY, after the loss of the final vowel; and the y of neuters terminating in a consonant, like imeny "per nomina," is to be explained by a transition into the o declension, and is therefore analogous to raby, slavy, similarly to the o of the Greek dual forms like δαιμόνοιν (p. 318 G. ed. Rem. 2.).

278. Dobrowsky (p. 461) represents ov, y, ii, ev, en, yat, and es, as plural genitive terminations; but in reality the suffix of this case has entirely disappeared, and in bases in o, a, and y, has also carried away those final vowels with it, while bases in i double that vowel; hence rab, [G. Ed. p. 362.] "servorum," from RABO; vod, "aquarum," from IODA; syn. "filiorum," from SYNY; kostii, "ossium," from KOSTI; imen. "nominum," from IMEN; nebes, "cælorum," from NEBES. The n and s of imen, nebes, would, without the former protection of a following termination have been dropped, as in Sclavonic we have only a second generation of final consonants; while the former, with the exception of a few monosyllabic forms, has, according to §. 255. (l.), disappeared,

279. The termination of the locative plural is ch throughout all classes of words, and has been already, at §. 255. (m.) recognised as identical with the Indian ¶ su, and therefore, also, with the Greek  $\sigma\iota$ : compare, also, the Zend we kha, for the Sanskrit swa, in §. 35. Before this kh, o passes into ye, exactly as the corresponding Sanskrit ¶ a into ¶ ê (see §. 255. e.); hence rabye-ch, "in servis," answers to que vrikê-shu, "in lupis." Bases in yo—and those in yy follow their analogy—suppress, however, before this ye, their preceding y, as in similar cases; hence knyaçye-ch, "in principibus," not knyaçyy-ch from KNYAÇYO. A final a remains unchanged; hence vdova-ch, "in viduis," answers to the Sanskrit vidhavâ-su. For bases in i, and consonants, see §. 276.

280. For an easier survey of the results obtained for the Old Sclavonic case-formation, we give here, in order to bring under one point of view all the kinds of theme existing in Old Sclavonic, and to render their comparison with one another easy, the complete declension of the bases: RABO, m. "a servant," KNYAζYO, m. "a prince," SLOVO, n. "a word," MORYO, n. "a sea" (Dobr. p. 476, §. 11.), VODA, f. "water," VOLYA, f. "will," GOSTI, m. "a guest," KOSTI, f. "a bone," SYNY, m. "a son," DOMY, m. "a house," VRACHYY, m. "a physician," KAMEN, m. [G. Ed. p. 363.] "a stone," IMEN, n. "a name," MATER, f. "a mother," NEBES, n. "heaven," TELYAT, n. "a calf."\* In

variations

<sup>\*</sup> The above examples are arranged according to their final letters, with the observation, however, that o represents an original short a, and hence precedes the a for Sanskrit d (§. 255. a.). All bases in t have a y before the preceding a; this semi-vowel is, however, readily suppressed after sibilants; hence ovcha for ovchya, Dobr. p. 475; and hence, also, from lizyo come (nom. lize) the genitive, dative, and nominative accusative plural liza,  $liz\hat{u}$ , for lizya,  $lizy\hat{u}$ . If in bases in yo, m.n., and in feminines in ya, an i precedes the semi-vowel, this involves some apparent

those forms of the following table in which a part of the word is not separated from the rest, thereby shewing itself to be the inflection, we recognise no inflection at all, i.e. no case-suffix; but we see therein only the bare base of the word, either complete or abbreviated; or also a modification of the base, through the alteration of the final letter, occasioned by the termination which has been dropped (compare §. 271.). In some cases which we present in the notes, base and termination have, however, been contracted into one letter, by which a division is rendered impossible. With respect to the dual, which cannot be proved to belong to all the words here given as specimens, we refer to §. 273.

variations in the declension, which require no particular explanation here (see, in Dobr. mravii, m. p. 468; ladiga, f. p. 478; and ûchenye, n. p. 474. With regard to zary, "a king," see §. 263).

# [G. Ed. p. 364.]

# SINGULAR.

THEME.	NOM.	ACCUS.	INSTR.	DATIVE.	GEN.	LOC.	
<i>RABO</i> , m. <sup>1</sup>	rab',	rab',	rabo-my,	rabû, 18	raba,21	rabye,25	
KNYAÇYO. m.2	knyaζy',	knyaζy',	knyaζe-my,	knyaζyû,	knyaζya,21	knyaţi,	
SLOVO, n.8	slovo,	slovo,	slovo-my,	slovû,	slova, 21	slovye,25	
MORYO, n.2	more,	more,	more-my,	moryû,	morya,21	mori,	
VODA, f.4	voda,	vodû,15	vodoy-û,16	vod'-ye,19	vody,22	rod'-ye,25	
FOLYA, f.4	volya,	volyû,15	voley-û,16	voli,	volya,	voli,	
GOSTI, m.5	gosty,	gosty,	goste-my, 17	gosti,20	gosti,	gosti,20	
KOSTI, f.5	kosty,	kesty,	kostiy-û,16	kosti,20	kosti,	kosti, 20	kosti.
SYNY, m.6	syn',	syn',	syno-my,17	synov-i,	syna,21	synye,25	synû.26
DOMY, m.7	dom',	dom',	domo-my,	domov-i,	domû,	domû,	dome
VRACHYY,m.8	vrachy',	vrachy',	vrache-my,	vrachev-i,	vrachya,28	vrachi,	vrachy
KAMEN, m.9	kamy',14		kamene-my,	kamen-i,	kamen-e,24	kamen-i,	
IMEN, n.10	imya,	imya,	imene-my,	imen-i,	imen-e,24	imen-i,	
MATER, f.11	mati,			mater-i,	mater-e,24	mater-i,	
NEBES, n.12	nebo,	nebo,	nebese-my,	nebes-i,	nebes-e,24	nebes-i,	
TELYAT, n.18	telya,	telya.	telyate-my,	telyat-i,	telyat-c,24	telyat-i,	

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Comp. p. 273, &c. <sup>2</sup> See §§. 258. 259 <sup>3</sup> Comp. pp. 275, 276. <sup>4</sup> Comp. p. 285

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Comp. p. 286. <sup>6</sup> Comp. p. 288. <sup>7</sup> See p. 337, Note. <sup>8</sup> See §. 263.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Comp. p. 304. The cases wanting come from KAMENI (see §. 260.); whence, also, kamene-m, kamene-ch (§. 266.); and whence, also, might be derived the dative and locative kamen-i, which I prefer, however, deriving from the original theme, just as in MATER.

<sup>10</sup> Comp. §. 139. 11 See § 265. and comp. p. 305. 12 Com

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Comp. p. 306. and §. 147.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> See §. 264. 14 Dobr. p. 287.

Dobr. p. 287. <sup>18</sup> See §. 266.

<sup>16</sup> Comp. Sanskrit jihway-å, &c. See §. 266.

<sup>17</sup> Comp. Lith. pati-mi, sunu-mi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Or *rabovi*, §. 267.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> See 4.268.

 $<sup>^{20}</sup>$  The *i* may also be ascribed to the mark of case, and the dropping of the final letter of the base may be assumed; but in the genitive of the same sound, the *i* clearly belongs to the theme.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> See §. 270.

<sup>28</sup> More commonly vracha, and in the vocative, vrachû. See p. 347, Note.

<sup>24</sup> See §. 269. 25 See §. 268. 26 Or sync.

		PLURAL.		[G	Ed. p. 365.]
Nom. voc.	ACCUS.S	INSTR.5	DATIVE.6	GEN.7	LOCATIVE.8
rab'-i,	raby,	raby,	rabo-m,	rab',	rabye-ch.
knyaζi,	knyaζya,	knyaζi,	knyaζe-m,	knya(y',	knya{e-ch
slova,	slova,	slovy,	slovo-m,	slov',	slovye-ch,
morya,	morya,	mori,	more-m,	mory',	morye-ch.
vody,2	vody,	voda-mi,	voda-m,	vod',	voda-ch.
volya,	volya,	volya-mi,	volya-m,	voly',	volya-ch.
gosty-e,	gosti,	gost'·mi,	goste-m,	gostii,	goste-ch.
kosti,	kosti,	kost'-mi,	koste-m,	kostii,	koste-ch.
synov-е,	synovy,4	synovy,4	synovo-m,4	synov,	synovye-ch.4
domov-e,	domy,	domy,	domo-m,	domov,	dome-ch.
vrachev-e,	vrachya,	vrachi,	vrache-m,	vrachev,	vrache-ch.
			kamene-m,	0.000	kamene-ch.
imen-a,	imen-a,	imeny,	imene-m,	imen,	imene-ch.
mater-e,		mater-mi,	matere-m,		
nebes-a,	nebes-a,	nebesy,	nebese-m,	nebes,	nebesye-ch.3
telyat-a,	telyat-a,	telyaty,	telyate-m,	telyat,	teryate-cm

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See 6. 274. <sup>2</sup> See 6. 271. <sup>3</sup> See 6. 275.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> From SYNOVO, see §.275. In the locative occur also synovo-ch and synove-ch.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> See §. 277. <sup>6</sup> See §. 276. <sup>7</sup> See §. 278. <sup>8</sup> See §. 279.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> One would expect nebese-ch; but in this case ech and yech are frequently interchanged with one another, and the form yech appears to agree better with the preceding s (comp. Dobrowsky, p. 477).

# ADJECTIVES.

[G. Ed. p. 366.] 281. The declension of the adjective is not distinct from that of the substantive; and if some inflected forms, which in the Sanskrit and Zend belong only to the pronouns, have, in the cognate languages, emerged from the circle of the pronouns, and extended themselves further, they have not remained with the adjectives alone, but have extended themselves to the substantives also. As regards the Greek, Latin, and Sclavonic, we have already explained at §§. 228. 248. and 274. what has been introduced from pronominal declension in those languages into general declension: we will here only further remark that the appended syllable sma, in §. 165. &c., which, in Sanskrit, characterises only the pronominal declension, may in the Pâli be combined also, in several cases, with masculine and neuter substantive and adjective bases, and indeed with all bases in a, i, and u, including those which, originally terminating in a consonant, pass by augment or apocope into the vowel declension; thus the ablative and locative singular of kêsa, "hair," is either simply kêsâ (from kêsât, see p. 300), kêsê, or combined with sma or its variation mha, kêsa-smâ, kêsa-mhâ, kêsa-smin, kêsa-mhi. In the Lithuanian, this syllable, after dropping the s, has, in the dative and locative singular, passed over to the adjective declension, without imparting itself to that of the substantive, and without giving to the adjective the licence of renouncing this appended syllable; as, géram, "bono," geramé, "in bono." According to this principle it would be possible, and such indeed was lately my intention,

to explain the agreement of the Gothic full adjective dative, as blindamma (from blindasma, §. 170.), with [G. Ed. p. 367.] pronominal datives like tha-mma, "to this," i-mma, "to him"; but the examination of the Old Sclavonic declension, in which the indefinite adjectives remove themselves from all admixture of the pronominal declension, and run entirely parallel to the German strong substantive, not to the weak, has led me to the, to me, very important discovery, that Grimm's strong and Fulda's abstract-declension-form of adjectives diverges in not less than nine points from the strong substantives (i.e. those which terminate in the theme in a vowel), and approaches to the pronominal declension for no other reason than because, like the definite adjectives in the Sclavonic and Lithuanian, they are compounded with a pronoun, which naturally follows its own declension. As, then, the definite (so I now name the strong) adjectives are defined or personified by a pronoun incorporated with them, it is natural that this form of declension should be avoided, where the function of the inherent pronoun is discharged by a word which simply precedes it; thus we say guter, or der gute, not der guter, which would be opposed to the genius of our language; for it still lies in our perception that in guter a pronoun is contained, as we perceive pronouns in im, am, beim, although the pronoun is here no longer present in its original form, but has only left behind its case-termination. In comprehending, however, the definite adjective declension, the science of Grammar, which in many other points had raised itself far above the empirical perception of the language, was here still left far behind it; and we felt, in forms like guter, guten, gute, more than we recognised, namely, a pronoun which still operated in spirit, although it was no longer bodily present. How acute, in this respect, our perception is, is proved by the fact that we place the definite form of the adjective beside the ein when deprived [G. Ed. p. 368.]

of its definitive pronominal element; but, in the oblique cases, beside the definite eines, einem, einen, the indefinite: ein grosses, eines grossen (not grosses), einem grossen (not grossem). In the accusative grossen is at the same time definite and indefinite; but in the former case it is a bare theme, and therefore identical with the indefinite genitive and dative, which is likewise devoid of inflection; but in the latter case the n evidently belongs to the inflection.

282. The pronominal base, which in Lithuanian and Old Sclavonic forms the definite declension, is, in its original form, ya (= Sanskrit  $\forall ya$ , "which"); and has, in the Lithuanian, maintained itself in this form in several cases (see below). In the Old Sclavonic, according to §. 255. (a.), yo must be formed from ya; and from yo again, according to §. 255. (n.), ye or e: but the monosyllabic nature of the form has preserved it from the suppression of the y, which usually takes place in polysyllabic words. In some cases, however, the y has vocalized itself to i after the vowel has been dropped. It signifies in both languages "he"; but in Old Sclavonic has preserved, in union with sche, the old relative meaning (i-sche, "which"). The complete declension of this pronoun is as follows:—

#### SINGULAR.

		LITHUANIAN.			OLD SCLAVONIC.		
Nominative,	m.	yis	f.	yi,	m.	i,*	f. ya,* n. ye.*
Accusative,	m.	yin,	f.	yen,	m.	i,	f. yû, n. ye.
Instrumental,	m.	yû,	f.	yè,	m. n.	im.	f. yeyû,
Dative,	m.	yám,	f.	yei,	m.n.	yemû,	f. yeĭ,
Genitive,	m.	yo,	f.	yńs,	m. n.	yego,	f. yeya,
Locative,	m.	yamè,	f.	yoyè,	m. n.	yem,	f. yeĭ,

<sup>.</sup> Occurs only as the relative in union with sche.

PLURAL.						
		LITHUANI	AN-	OLD SCLAVONIC.		
Nominative,	m.	yie (yi),	f. yos,	m. i,* f. n. yu.*		
Accusative,	m.	yus,	f. yes,	m. f. n. ya.		
Instrumental,	m.	yeis,	f. yomis	, m. f. n. imi.		
Dative,	m.	yiems,	f. yoms,	m. f. n. im.		
Genitive,	m.	f. <i>yû</i> ,		m. f. n. ich.		
Locative,	m.	yûsè,	f. yosà,	m. f. n. ich.		
		D.	UAL.	[G. Ed. p. 369.]		
		LITHUAN	IAN.	OLD SCLAVONIC.		
Nominative,	m.	yu (yů),	f. yì,			
Accusative,	m.	yun,	f. yin,			
Dative,	m.	yiém,	f. yom,	Instr. Dat. m. f. n. yima.		
Genitive,	m.	f. yû,		Gen. Loc. m. f. n. yeyû.		

283. The Lithuanian unites, in its definite declension, the pronoun cited—which, according to Ruhig (Mielcke, p. 52.), signifies the same as the Greek article—with the adjective to be rendered definite; so that both the latter, and the pronoun, preserve their full terminations through all the cases; only the pronoun in some cases loses its y, and the terminations of the adjective are in some cases somewhat shortened. Géras, "good," will serve as an example.

#### MASCULINE.

	SINGULAR.	DUAL.	PLURAL
Nominative,	gérasis,†	gerûyu,	gerieyi.
Accusative,	geranyan,	geruyun,	gerûsus,
Instrumental,	gerûyu,		geraiseis.
Dative,	geramyam,	giriemsiom,‡	geriemsiems.
Genitive,	geroyo,		gerûyû.
Locative,	geramyame,		gerususe.
Vocative,	gerasis,	gerûyu	gerieyi.

<sup>\*</sup> See Note on preceding page.

<sup>†</sup> Or gerassis, by assimilation from gerasyis, as, in the Prakrit y frequently assimilates itself to a preceding s, as tassa, "hujus," for new tasya.

<sup>\*</sup> The s of the adjective is here not in its place, and appears to be borrowed from the plural.

#### FEMININE.

	SINGULAR.	DUAL	PLURAL.
Nominative,	geroyi,	gerieyi,	gerosos,
Accusative,	geranyen,	geriyin,	gerases.
Instrumental,	geraye,	• • • •	geromsomis.
Dative,	geraiyei,	gerómsom,*	geromsoms.
Genitive,	yerosiês,	gerúy <b>ů</b> ,	gerûyû.
Locative,	geroyoye,		gerososa.
Vocative,	geroyi,	geri <b>yî,</b>	gerosos.

[G. Ed. p. 370.] 284. The Old Sclavonic, differing from the Lithuanian, declines only in some cases the adjective together with the appended pronoun, but in most cases the latter alone. While, however, in the Lithuanian the appended pronoun has lost its y only in some cases, in the Old Sclavonic that pronoun has lost, in many more, not only the y but also its vowel, and therefore the whole base. Thus the termination alone is left. For more convenient comparison we insert here, over against one another, the indefinite and definite declension: svyat (theme SVYATO), "holy," may serve for example:

### SINGULAR.

10-01-01-01-01-01-01-01-01-01-01-01-01-0						
MASCUI	INE.	PEMIN	INE.			
Indef.	Def.	Indef.	Def.			
svyat,	svyaty-ĭ,¹	svyata.	svyata-yu.			
svyat,	svyaty-ĭ,¹	svyatů,	svyatû-yû.			
svyatom,	svyaty-m,1	svyatoyû,	svyato-yû.3			
svyatů,	svyato-mû,	svyatye,	svyato-i.4			
svyata,	svyata-go,	svyaty,	svyaty-ya.			
svyatye,	svyato-m,2	svyalye,	svyato-i.4			
	Indef. svyat, svyat, svyatom, svyatû, svyata,	svyat, svyaty-ĭ,¹ svyat, svyaty-ĭ,¹ svyatom, svyaty-m,¹ svyatû, svyato-mû, svyata, svyata-go,	Indef. Def. Indef. svyat, svyaty-i,¹ svyata. svyat, svyaty-i,¹ svyatû, svyatom, svyaty-m,¹ svyatoyû, svyatû, svyato-mû, svyatye, svyata, svyata-go, svyaty,			

<sup>\*</sup> See Note ‡ on preceding page.

See § 255. d. 2 Or svatye-m, in which, as in the Lithuanian, the adjective is inflected at the same time.

The indefinite and definite forms are here the same, for this reason, that  $svyato-yey\hat{u}$ , as the latter must originally have been written, has dropped the syllable ye. The adjective base svyata has weakened its o to a before the pronominal addition (§. 255. a.), just as in the dative and locative svyato-i, where an external identity with the indefinite form is not perceptible.

4 Or svyatye-i. Comp. Note 2.

### PLURAL.

	MASCULI	NE.	PEMININE.		
	Indef.	Def.	Indef.	Def.	
Nominative,	svyati,	svyati-i,	svyaty,	svyaty-ya.	
Accusative,	svyaty,	svyaty-ya,	svyaty,	svyaty-ya,	
Instrumental,	svyaty,	svyaty-imi,5	svyata-mi.	svyaty-imi.	
Dative,	svyatom,	svyaty-imi,	svyata-m,	svyaty-im.	
Genitive,	svyat,	svyaty-ich,	svyat,	svyaty-ich.	
Locative,	svyatyech,	svyaty-ich,5	svyata-ch,	sryaty-ich."	
	SINGULAR.		PLURAL.		
	Indef.	Def.	Indef.	Def.	
Nom. Accus.	svyato,	svyato-e,	svyata,	svyata-ya.	

The rest like the masculine.

I give those forms which, according to Dobrowsky (p. 302.), occur in the oldest MSS., in place of the more ordinary forms, which have lost the i of the pronominal base: svyaty-mi, svyaty-m, svyaty-ch.

<sup>6</sup> Although in the pronominal declension the genitive plural is externally identical with the locative, we must nevertheless, in my opinion, separate the two cases, in respect to their origin. I find, however, the reason of their agreement in this, that the Sanskrit, which in this case is most exactly followed by the German and Sclavonic, in pronouns of the third person begins the plural genitive termination with a sibilant, Sanskrit sâm, Gothic zê (for sê, §. 248.). This s, then, has, in Old Sclavonic, become ch, just like that of the locative characteristic  $\mathbf{g}$  su (§. 279.). The nasal of  $\mathbf{g}$  sâm must, according to rule, be lost (§. 255. l.): the vowel, however, has, contrary to rule, followed it, as also in the ordinary declension the termination âm has entirely disappeared (§. 278.); and the same relation which imen, "nominum," has to the Gothic naman-ê, tye-ch, "horum," has to thi-ze. This tye-ch, however, answers as genitive to the Sanskrit Aux tê-shâm, and as locative to  $\mathbf{g}$  tê-shu; ye being used in both cases for  $\mathbf{g}$  e, according to §. 255. (e.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> See Notes 5 and 6. The identity with the masculine and neuter forms arises from this, that the grave a of the feminine adjective base is changed into the lighter o; and this again, as in the masculine neuter, is converted, according to §. 255. (d.), into y.

[G. Ed. p. 371.] 285. As in the Sanskrit the preponderating majority of adjective bases end in the masculine and neuter in a, and in the feminine in a; and as this class is, in the Old Sclavonic, only represented by bases in o, yo in the masculine and neuter (see §. 257.), and a, ya in the feminine; it is not surprising that in German also, with the exception of a few in u (of the comparative and participle present), all other adjective bases, in their original condition, end in a, feminine o for a (§. 69.). It is, however, remarkable, and peculiar to the German, that its adjectives, in their indefinite condition, have all lengthened their theme [G. Ed. p. 372.] by an unorganic n, and that in substantives the class of words in n appears to be the most generally made use of, inasmuch as a large number of words, whose bases in Gothic terminate in a vowel, have, in the more modern dialects, permitted this to be increased by n. The reason, however, why the indefinite adjectives-not simply in part, and for the first time in the more modern dialects, but universally, and so early as in Gothic-have passed into the n declension, is to be sought for in the obtuseness of the inflection of this class of words, which, according to §§. 139. 140., in common with the Sanskrit, Latin, and Greek, omits the nominative sign, and then, in variance from the older languages, dispenses also with the dative character, upon the loss of which, in Old High German, has followed, also, that of the genitive character. This absence of the animating and personifying mark of case might belong to the indefinite adjective, because it feels itself more exactly defined through the article which precedes it, or through another pronoun, than the definite adjective, the pronoun of which incorporated with it, has for the most part left behind only its case terminations. In the Lithuanian and Sclavonic, in which the article is wanting, and thereby an inducement further to weaken the declension of the indefinite adjectives, the latter stand on an equal footing with Grimm's strong declension of substantives, i.e. they maintain themselves, without an unorganic consonantal augment, in the genuine, original limits of their base.

286. As the feminine, where it is not identical, as in adjective bases in i in the Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin, with the theme of the masculine and neuter, is always, in the Indo-European family of languages, made to diverge through an extension or an addition to the end, it is important for German Grammar to remark-and I have already called attention to this point in another placethat the feminine of the German indefinite adjective, in variance from the principle which has been [G. Ed. p. 373.] just given, has not arisen from its masculine, but from an older form of the feminine; e.g. the primitive feminine BLINDA m. n. "blind," has extended itself in the indefinite to BLINDAN, and the primitive feminine BLINDO to BLIN-DON: one must not, therefore, derive the latter, although it is the feminine of BLINDAN m., from this, as it is entirely foreign to the Indo-European family of languages to derive a feminine base through the lengthening of the last letter but one of the masculine and neuter. As far as regards the declension of BLINDAN m., it follows precisely that of AHMAN (p. 322 G. ed.), and BLINDAN n., that of NAMAN (p. 176 G. ed. &c.); the fem. BLINDON differs from the masculine only by a more regular inflection, since its & remains everywhere unchanged, while a, in the genitive and dative singular, is, according to §. 132., weakened to i; therefore-

MASCULINE.

NEUTER.

BLINDAN.

BLINDAN.

SINGULAR.

PLURAL.

SINGU

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See § 140. <sup>2</sup> See §. 141. <sup>3</sup> See §. 245.

287. In order, then, to examine the definite declension of adjectives in Gothic, we will, in the first place, for the purpose of bringing into view their agreement and discrepancy with substantives and simple pronouns, place by the side of each other the declension of the definite BLINDA m. n. and BLINDO f., and that of VULFA m., "wolf," DAURA n., "a gate," GIBO f., a gift," and the interrogative [G. Ed. p. 374.] HVA m. n., "who? "what?" HVO f.; further, that of MIDYA m. n. (medius), MIDYO f., by that of HARYA m., "an army," BADYA n., "a bed," KUNTHYO f., "news," and HVARYA m. n., "who?" "what?" HVARYO f.

### MASCULINE.

	SINGUI	PLURAL.			
N. vulf's,	blind's,	hva-s,1	vulfôs,2	blindai,	hvai,3
A. vulf',	blindana,	hva-na,	vulfa-ns,	blindans,	hva-ns.
D. vulfa,4	blindamma,	hva-mma,5	vulfa-m,	blindaim,	hvai-m.
G. vulfi-s,	blindis,	hvi s,	vulf'-ê,	blindaizê,	hvi-zê.
V. vulf',	blind's,		vulfðs,	blindai,	
N. haryi-s,6	midyis,7	hvaryi-s,	haryôs,2	midyai,	hvaryai.3
A. hari,8	midyana,	hvarya-na,	harya-ns,	midyans,	hvarya-ns.
D. harya.	midyamma,	hvarya-mma,	harya-m,	midyaim,	hvaryai-m.
G. haryi-s,	midyis,	hvary-is,	hary-ê,	midyaizê,	hvaryaize.
V. hari,	midyis,		haryos,	midyai,	

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See §. 135.

See §. 228.
 See §. 160.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> See §. 171.

See §. 227.
 From harya-s, see §. 135.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> The nominative in adjective bases in ya does not occur, unless perhaps in the fragments which have last appeared; and I have here formed it by analogy with haryis and hvaryis. Grimm gives midis (I. 170.). If, l. c., the form yis is considered as unorganic, and, in regard to midis, if its analogy with hardus is remembered, then Grimm is wrong in taking MIDI for the theme, as in reality HARDU is the theme of hardus. The true theme MIDYA occurs, however, in the comp midya-sveipains, "deluge," and

hvo.

PLURAL.

blinda.

#### NEUTER.

daura,

hva.

N. A. V. daur',

blindata.9

The rest like the masculine.							
N. A. V. badi,	N. A. V. badi, midyata, hvarya-ta, badya, midya, hvarya.						
	The	rest like the	masculine.				
		FEMININE	1	[G. E	l. p. 375]		
	SINGULAR,	· ×		PLURAL.			
N. giba,	blinda,	hvô.	gibos,2	blindôs,2	hvôs.2		
A. giba,	blinda,	hvd.11	gibő-s,	blindôs,	hvő-s.		
D gibai,12	blindai, 12	hvizai.13	gibő-m,	blindaim,	hvai-m.		
G. gibő-s,	blindaizos, 13	hviző-s.13	gib'-ô,	blindaizo,	hvi-zô.		
V. giba,	blinda?		gibôs,	blindôs,			
N. kunthi,14	midya,	hvarya.	kunthyôs,2	midyôs,2	hvaryos.2		
A. kunthya,	midya,	hvarya.	kunthyô-s,	midyðs,	hvaryô-s.		
D. kunthyai, 12	midyai, 12	hvaryai.12	kunthyô-m,	midyôm,	hvaryð-m.		
G. kunthyô-s,	midyaizős,	hvaryaizos.13	kunthy-ô,	midy'ð,	hvary'ô.		
V. kunthi,	midya.		kunthyðs,	midyôs,	hvaryôs.		

answers to the Sanskrit **Hun** madhya. Formed from midya as theme, midyis would be clearly more organic than midis. Adjective i bases, which could be referred to hardu-s as u base, do not exist, but only substantive, as GASTI, nom. gasts.

<sup>8</sup> Compare Zend forms like ξ. λλος tûirîm, "quartum," from τύἰτγα (δ. 42).

<sup>9</sup> Hva, with suppressed termination, for hvata, Old High German huaz, see §§. 155. 156.; for blindata also blind; and so for midyata also midi.

<sup>10</sup> The form  $hv\hat{o}$ , which, like some others of this pronoun, cannot be shewn to occur, is, by Grimm, rightly formed by analogy from  $th\hat{o}$ , "hæc." Grimm here finds, as also in the accusative singular, the  $\hat{o}$  in opposition to the a of blinda surprising: the reason of the deviation, however, is fixed by §§. 69. 137. 231.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> See p. 173, Note +. <sup>12</sup> See §. 161. <sup>18</sup> §. 172.

<sup>14</sup> For kunthya, from kunthyô, by suppression of the final vowel of the base, which again appears in the accusative, but shortened to a (see §.69.); but here, also, the final vowel can be dropped; hence kunthi as accusative. Luc. 1.77.

If, then, it is asked which pronoun is contained in the German definite adjective, I answer, the same which, in Sclavonic [G. Ed. p. 376.] and Lithuanian, renders the adjective definite, namely, the Indian relative ya (\( \mathbf{y} a ya \)). This pronoun in German, indeed, in disadvantageous comparison with the Lithuanian and Sclavonic, does not occur isolated in its inflected state; but it is not uncommon in the history of languages, that a word has been lost in regard to its isolated use, and has been preserved only in composition with other words. It should be observed, too, that a demonstrative i base must be acknowledged to belong to the Sanskrit, which, in Latin, is completely declined; in Gothic almost completely; but in Sanskrit, except the neuter nominative accusative idam, "this," has maintained itself only in derivative forms, as इति i-ti, इत्यम् it tham, "so," इयत् iy-at, "so much," ईह्या i-drisa, "such." The case is the same in Gothic, with the pronominal base ya: from this comes, in my opinion the affirmative particle ya, as in other languages, also, affirmation is expressed by pronominal forms (i-tu, तथा ta-thû, "so," ουτως), and further yabai, "if," analogous with ibai, "whether," ibaini, "lest"; as also, in Sanskrit, यदि yadi, "if," comes from the same base, and to this, as I now believe, the Greek ei-the semi-vowel being laid aside—has the same relation as in Prâkrit, in the 3d person singular present, ai, e.g. अमड् bhamai, "he wanders" (Urvasi by Lenz, p. 63), has to the more usual wife adi, for the Sanskrit अति ati. In Prâkrit, too, जड jai (1. c. p. 63 on j for y, see §. 19.), really occurs for yadi; so that in this conjunction, as in the 3d person of the present λέγει from λέγετι), the Greek runs parallel to the corruption of the Prâkrit. If, however, in el the Sanskrit η y has disappeared, as in the Æolic υμμες=Sanskrit yushmê, it appears as h in os, which has nothing to do with the article  $\delta$ ,  $\hat{\eta}$ , where h falls only to the nominative masculine and feminine, while in os it runs through all the cases, as

in Sanskrit the  $\mathbf{q}$  y of  $\mathbf{q}\mathbf{q}$  yas. To this [G. Ed. p. 377.]  $\mathbf{q}\mathbf{q}$  yas, δς, in regard to the rough breathing, bears the same relation as ὑμεῖς to  $\mathbf{q}\mathbf{q}$  yuṣhmē, ἄζω, ἄγιος to  $\mathbf{q}\mathbf{q}$  yaj, "to worship," "to sacrifice,"  $\mathbf{q}\mathbf{q}$  yughma, "to be worshiped;" ὑσμύν to  $\mathbf{q}\mathbf{q}$  yudh, "to strive,"  $\mathbf{q}\mathbf{q}\mathbf{q}$  yudhma, "strife" (comp. Pott, pp. 236. 252.). But to return to the Gothic YA, let us further observe yah, "and," "also," with h enclitic, of which hereafter, and yu, "now," i. e. "at this time," "already" (comp. Latin jam). It also clearly forms the last portion of hvar-yis (for yas), as, in the Sclavonic, this pronoun often unites itself with almost all others, and, for example, is contained in ky-i, "who?" although the interrogative base also occurs without this combination.

288. In Gothic definite adjectives the pronominal base YA shews itself most plainly in bases in u. Of these, indeed, there are but a few, which we annex below,† but a ya shews itself in all the cases, and these in blinds differ from the substantive declension, to such an extent that before the y the u of the adjective is suppressed, as in Sanskrit before the comparative and superlative suffixes iyas, ishtha; e.g. laghiyas, "more light," laghishtha, "most light," for laghv-iyas, laghv-ishtha from laghu; and as, even in Gothic, hard-izh, "more hard" (according to

<sup>\*</sup> The h may assimilate itself to the initial consonant of the following word, and thus may arise yag, yan, and yas, and in conjunction with thê: yatthê, "or" (see Massmann's Gloss.).

<sup>+</sup> Aggrus, "narrow," aglus, "heavy," glaggrus, "industrious," hardus, "hard," mannus, "ready," thaursus, "dry," thlaqrus, "tender," seithus, "late," filus, "much," and, probably, hnasquus, "tender." Some occur only as adverbs, as glaggrus-ba, "industriously." In addition to the adverb filu, "much," since Grimm treated this subject the genitive filaus has been found (filaus mais, "for much more," see Massmann's Gloss.), which is the more gratifying, as the adjective u bases had not yet been adduced in this case

[G. Ed. p. 378.] Massmann, p. 48), for hardv-iz6 from HARDU. Hitherto, however, only the accusative singular masculine thaurs-yana, "siccum," manv'-yana, "paratum"; the accusative singular neuter manv'-yata; the dative plural hnasqv'-yaim are adduceable, if Grimm, as I doubt not, is right in ascribing to this word, which is not to be met with in any other case, a nominative hnasqvus.\* Finally. also, the accusative plural masculine unmanv'-yans, ἀπαρασκευάστους (2 C. 9. 4.), although, in this case, blindans is not different from vulfans. These examples, then, although few, furnish powerful proof; because, in the cases to be met with, they represent an entire class of words-viz. the definite adjective in u-in such a manner, that not a single variety of form occurs. It may be proper to annex here the complete definite declension of MANVU, as it is either to be met with, or, according to the difference of cases, is, with more or less confidence, to be expected:-

# MASCULINE.

#### FEMININE.

	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
N.	manvu-s,	(manv'-yai),	manvu-s,	(manv'-yôs).
Ac.	manv'-ya-na,	manv'-ya-ns,	(manv'-ya,)	(manv'-yôs),
D.	(manv'-ya-mma	),manv'-yai-m,	(manv'-yai),	(manv'-yaim).
G.	manvau-s,	(manv-yaizê),	(manv'-yaizôs),	(manv'-yaizh
				•

[G. Ed p. 379.] NEUTER.

SINGULAR PL

Nom. Accus. manv'-ya-ta,+ (manv'-ya).

<sup>\*</sup> I am the more inclined to agree with him, as a few other adjective bases in vu occur. Perhaps a euphonic influence of the v on the vowel which follows it is also at work; as at times one finds in the Prâkrit a final a changed through the influence of a preceding m, r, or r, t, to r t. So Urvasi, p. 72, âlu, tâlu, âvaraņu, for kâla, tâla, âvaraṇa; p. 71, maṇôharu for maṇôhara.

<sup>†</sup> Without inflection and pronom. manvu, as खादु รเบลีสน, กู้อัง, Lithuanian darkù.

"Remark 1.-Grimm finds (I. 721.) the identity of the feminine with the masculine remarkable, since he, as it appears, looks upon s as an originally mere masculine termination (comp. l. c. 824, 825. 2. 3.). That, however, the feminine has equal claim to s as the nominative character, and that it is entirely without inflection where this is wanting, I think I have shewn in §§. 134, 137. Adjective bases in i, which in the Gothic, as in the Lithuanian and Sclavonic, are wanting, end, in the Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin, in the nominative of both genders, in is; and only the neuter is devoid of inflection : compare ज्ञाचिस् śuchi-s m. f., "clean," suchi n., with ίδρι-ς, ίδρι, facili-s, facile. Adjectives in u, in Sanskrit, frequently leave, in like manner, the feminine base undistinguished from the masculine and neuter, and then end, according to §. 234., in the nominative in u-s; so pandu-s m. f., agrees with manvu-s above, and the neuter pandu with manvu. If two consonants do not precede the final 3 u, as in pandu, the feminine base may, except in compound words, be lengthened by an i, which is particularly characteristic of this gender; and thus engl swadwi, "the sweet" (theme and nominative), answers to the Greek word ήδεία, which is lengthened by an unorganic a (§. 119.), for ηδΓια; and swadu-s answers both as feminine and masculine nominative to the Gothic manvus. In the Sanskrit, also, a short u in the feminine base may be lengthened, and thus the feminine of na tanu, "thin," is either tanu or tanú, whence the nominative tanú-s; and tanui, as substantive, means the "slender woman." The Lithuanian has adjective bases in u, as szwiesu-s, m. "light," "clear," (compare भेत sweta, "white,") which nevertheless, in several cases, replace the u by a; as szwiesám dangui, "to the bright heaven": in some, too, they prefix an i to the a, the assimilating power of which changes the a into e (comp. p. 169 Note); as, szwiesiems dangums, "to the bright heavens." The feminine is, in the nominative, szwiesi, the

[G. Ed. p. 380.] final i of which is evidently identical with the Sanskrit  $\frac{1}{2}$  in swddwi. In the oblique cases, however, an unorganic a also is added to the Lithuanian i, as it has been in  $ij\delta\epsilon i\alpha$ : this ia, however, becomes either by euphony, e (comp. p. 174, Note \*), e.g. accus. szwiesei, accus. plural szwieses; or it happens, and that, indeed, in the majority of cases that the i is entirely suppressed, so that SZWIESA passes as the theme; as szwieses rankes, "of the bright hand" (gen. szwiesai rankai (dat.). The i of ia, however, appears, as with the participles, to have communicated itself from the feminine to the masculine,

"Remark 2.-With the accusative manuyana which has been cited, the conjectured dative manuyamma is least doubtful. That Grimm should suggest forms like hardvamma, hardv-ana, arises from his regarding amma, ana, as the dative and accusative terminations of the pronoun and adjective; while, in fact, the terminations are simply mma and na. When, therefore, HARDU, in the dative and accusative, without annexing a pronoun, follows nevertheless the pronominal declension, the cases mentioned must be written hardu-mma, hardu-na, analogous with tha-mma, tha-na, i-mma, i-na. If, however, contrary to all expectation, forms like hardvamma, hardvana, shew themselves, they must be deduced from hardu-ya-mma, hardu-ya-na; so that after suppressing the y, the preceding u, in the place in which it would be left, has passed into v. With regard to blindamma, blindama, blindata, it is doubtful whether they ought to be divided blind'-(y)anma, blind'-(y)ana, blind'-(y)ata, as analogous with manv(u)-yamma, manv(u)--yana, manv(u)-yata, or blinda-(ya)mma, &c.: I have therefore left them, as also the corresponding forms from MIDYA, undivided. If the division blinda-mma, &c. is made, nothing is left of the pronoun, as in the Old Sclavonic dative svyato-mû, and as in our expressions like beim, am, im, except the case-termination, and the adjective base

has preserved its a. If, however, the division blind-amma, &c. is made, to which I now give the preference, and which is also adopted by Grimm, though from a different point of view, then the pronoun has only lost its y, as in some cases of the Lithuanian definite, e.g. in gerûs-us for gerûs-yus (see p. 353); and with respect to the y which has been dropped and the vowel which is left, blind-amma would have the same relation to blind-yamma as midums, "the middle man" (theme MIDUMA), to its Sanskrit cognate form of the same import, AMM madhyama, whose relation to MIDUMA I thus trace—the latter has softened the first a to i, and has changed the middle a, through the influence of the liquid, into u; and both, however, have, according to §. 66., suppressed the semi-vowel.

"Remark 3.-Although, in the accusative plural masculine, blindans is not different from vulfans, and the simple word BLINDA could not form aught but [G. Ed. p. 381.] blinda-ns; nevertheless the word manv-yans, mentioned above, which is of the highest importance for the Grammar, as well as the circumstance that where any inflections peculiar to the pronoun admonish us of the existence of an inherent pronoun in the definite adjective, this inheritance really exists;-these two reasons, I say, speak in favour of dividing thus, blind-ans, and of deducing it from blind-yans. Just in the same manner the dative blindaim, both through the aim, which occurs elsewhere only in pronouns, as through the word hnasqv'-yaim, mentioned above, declares itself to be an abbreviation of blind-yaim; but blindai proves itself only by its pronominal inflection (compare thai, hvai, Sanskrit a tê, à kê) to be an abbreviation of blind-ya.

"Remark 4.—In the Sanskrit, in some cases an i blends itself with the final a, which, with the a of the base, becomes ê: hence the instrumental plural of the Vêda dialect and of the Prâkrit, अधिनस aśwê-bhis from aśwa, जुसुमेर्ड्डि kusumê-hin from kusuma. To this ê answers the ai in

Gothic pronominal datives like hvai-m, "quibus," tha-im "his"; as the German dative, in accordance with its origin, is identical with the old instrumental. We were, however, compelled, before we had a reason for seeking the pronoun YA in the Gothic definite adjective, to give to the extension of the base in German a wider expansion by an i which means nothing, than it has in the Sanskrit; while we have now every reason, where, in Gothic definites, an i unsubstantiated by the oldest grammar shews itself, to recognise in the i a remnant of the pronominal base YA, either as a vocalization of the y, which so often occurs in the Sclavonic (see p. 354), or the i may be considered as an alteration of the a of YA, as in the Lithuanian geras-is for yeras-yis, (p. 353). The latter view pleases me the better because it accords more closely with blind'-amma, blind'-ana, &c., from blind'-yanna, blind'-yana. The vowel, then, which in blind'-amma, &c., maintains itself in its original form, appears, in this view, as i in the feminine singular genitive blindaizôs-which is to be divided blindaizôs-from blinda-yizôs; and this yizôs is analogous with hvizos, thizos, from hvazos, thazos, = Sanskrit kasyas, tasyas (§. 172.). We must not require blindô-izôs — because BLINDO is the feminine adjective base—for there is a reason for the thinning of the ô, in the difficulty of placing the syllables together, and a is the short of  $\theta$ (8. 69.). For the rest, let it be considered, that in the Sclavonic the graver feminine a before its union with the pronoun is weakened to the lighter masculine c (p. 354, Note 3.); and that a diphthong oi in the Gothic [G. Ed. p. 382.] is never admissible; on which account salbô, "I anoint," in the subjunctive suppresses the i, which belongs to this mood (salbôs, salbô, for salbôis, salbôi). In the feminine dative one should expect blindaizai for blindai, which is simple, and answers to gibai, while the remaining German dialects are, in this case, compounded in the very

same manner: in Old High German the genitive is plantera, and the dative plinteru.\* In the genitive plural masculine and neuter the ai in blindaize might be substantiated through the Sanskrit & & of the pronominal genitive, as तेषाम् tesham, "horum"; and therefore the division blindai-ze or blind'-(y)aize should be made: as, however, the monosyllabic pronominal bases, in which one would rather expect a firm adherence to the old diphthong (comp. §. 137.), do not retain it, and thi-zê, "horum," hvi-zê, "quorum," as weakened forms of tha-ze, hva-ze, are used; and in the feminine thi-zô, hvi-zô, for thô-zô, hvô-zô, = Sanskrit tô-sâm, kô-sôm; I therefore prefer to substantiate in a different way the ai in blindaize m. n., and blindaize f., than by the Sanskrit & of tê-shâm m. n. (f. tâ-sâm), which, moreover, would not be applicable to the feminine form blindaizo; and I do it, in fact, by the pronominal base YA, so that blinda-izê blindaizô, is the division to be made according to the analogy of blinda-izôs.

"Remark 5.—The nominative masculine and feminine has kept itself free, in Gothic, from union with the old relative base, and has remained resting upon the original, as received from the Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin. The masculine blinds, also, through the very characteristic and animated s (see §. 134.). has cause to feel itself personified and defined determinately enough. Even if blinds could be looked upon as an abbreviation of blindeis (comp. altheis, "old," from the base ALTHYA, according to Massmann), or of blindais, to which the Old High German plinter would give authority, I should still believe that neither the one nor the other has existed in Gothic, as even the u bases.

<sup>\*</sup> The Gothic ai would lead us to expect é, and this, too, is given by Grimm. As, however, with Kero, the doubling of the vowel, and, with Notker, the circumflex is wanting, I adopt in preference a shortening of the e, or leave the quantity undecided,

like manvu-s above, which, in the oblique cases, shew so clearly the pronominal base YA, have not received it in the nominative singular of the personal genders. In Old High German however, the pronoun spoken of has had time, in the space of almost four centuries which intervene between its oldest memorials and Ulfilas, to raise itself up from the oblique cases to the nominative; which was the more desirable, as the Old High German substantive declen-[G. Ed. p. 383.] sion in the nominative masculine, in disadvantageous comparison with the Gothic, omits the mark of case. Plinter (the length of the ê is here rendered certain) is contracted from plinta-ir (for plinta-yir); for the Old High German & corresponds, according to §. 78., to the Gothic ai. In the feminine, therefore, the form plintyu, which occurs in the chief number of strict Old High German authorities, and those which, as Grimm remarks, are the oldest of all, has good substantiation, and corresponds very fitly to the masculine plinter; and in the nominative and accusative plural and neuter the form plint-yu, with regard to the retaining the y of the pronoun, is more genuine than the Gothic blind-a for blind-ya. The form plintyu, moreover, answers to feminine pronominal forms like dyu, "the" (f.), syu, "she," dësyu (dë-syu), "this" (f.), and to the instrumental masculine and neuter dyu (in the interrogative huiu), where all authorities concur in retaining the i or y; while in the adjective, Otfrid, and, as Grimm remarks, here and there Isidore and Tatian, have u for yu, For explanation,

<sup>\*</sup> As in the Old High German i and j (y) are not distinguished in writing, it remains uncertain in many, if not in all cases, in what places of the memorials which have come down to us the sound j, and in what that of i is intended; as even where the Gothic has a j, it may become i in the Old High German. If, however, in the analogous adjective forms like plintju one reads j, which is supported by the Gothic (p 362), we must, in my opinion, leave it in the above forms also. Grimm writes diu, siu, but  $d\ddot{v}sju$ ; and expresses, p. 791, his opinion regarding the i.

however, of the pronominal forms which have been mentioned, it is important to consider, that in the Sanskrit the pronominal base ta, or the sa which supplies its place in the nominative masculine and feminine, unites itself with the relative base u ya, by which the first pronoun loses its vowel. Compare, then—

SANSKRIT.	OLD HIGH GERM.	OLD SCLAVONIC.
स्मा syd (= syd,) "hæc,"	syu, dyu,	tu-ya.
त्याम tyâm, "hanc,"	dya,	tû-yû.
त्ये tye, " hi,"	dye,	ti-i.
मास tyds, "hæ," "has,"	dyō,	ty-ya.
त्यानि tyâni, "hæc,"	dyu,	ta-ya.

Here, then, in a manner as remarkable as convincing, the relation is proved in which the Old High German forms mentioned stand to the Gothic so, thô, thai, [G. Ed. p. 384.] thôs, thô: one must first transpose these into syô, thyô, &c., before they can pass as original forms for the Old High German. Our mother tongue, however, in the case before us, obtains more explanation through the Sclavonic, where the demonstrative base TO may indeed be simply inflected through all the cases: in several, however, which we have partly given above, it occurs also in union with YO. It is most probable, that in the Old High German the combination of the base of the article with the old relative pronoun has extended itself over all the cases of the three genders; for that it does not belong to the feminine alone is seen from the masculine and neuter instrumental form dyu (d'-yu), and from the dative plural, where together with dêm occurs also dyêm (diêm), and, in Notker, always dien. According to this, I deduce the forms der, des, demu, &c., from dyer, dyes (for dyis), dyemu (from dyamu); so that, after suppression of the vowel following the y, that letter has vocalized itself first to i and thence to ë. According to this, therefore, des, and the Gothic genitive

thi-s, would be, in their origin, just as different as in the accusative feminine dya and  $th\theta$ . In the neuter, on the other hand, daz-for dyaz, as Gothic blind'-ata for blindyata-the vowel of the base DYA is left, and the semivowel, which above had become ë (from i) has disappeared. Further support of my views regarding the difference of bases in the Gothic tha-na and the Old High German dë-n (I give the accusative intentionally) is furnished by the demonstrative deser, which I explain as compounded, and as, in fact, a combination of the Sanskrit w tya, mentioned at p. 383 G. ed., for taya, and स sya for sa-ya, the latter of which has a full declension in the Old Sclavonic, also, as a simple word. Deser stands, therefore, for dya-säir  $(\ddot{e}=a\ddot{i})$ ; and our Modern German dieser rests, in fact, upon a more perfect dialectic form than that which is preserved to us in the above dësêr, namely, upon dya-sêr or dia-sêr; referred to which the Isidorean dhëa-sa, mentioned by Grimm (I. 795.), at least in respect of the first syllable, no longer appears strange, for dhëa from dhia for dhya,\* answers admirably to the Sanskrit a tya, and the final syllable sa answers to the Sanskrit Gothic nominative form sa (Greek o), which has not the sign of case.

"Remark 6.—The adjective bases which from their first origin end in ya, as MIDYA=Sanskrit madhya, are less favourable to the retention of the y of the definite pronoun; for to the feminine or plural neuter plint'-yu for plinta-yu a midy'-yu would be analogous, which, on account of the diffi-[G. Ed. p. 385.] culty of pronouncing it, does not occur, but may have originally existed in the form midya-yu, or mid-ya-ya; for the masculine nominative midyêr is from midya-ir for midya-yar, as, in Gothic, the feminine genitive-form midyaizôs from midya-yizôs. If, however, according to this even hvar-yaizôs (from hvar-yayizôs) be used, and analogous

<sup>\*</sup> D, th, and dh are interchanged according to different authorities.

forms in several other cases, so that the base YA is therein doubled, we must recollect, that in the Lithuanian also the base YA, besides its composition with adjectives, combines itself, also, with itself, for stronger personification; and, indeed, in such a manner, that it is then doubly declined, as yis-sai (for yis-yai\*), 'he'; yo-yo, 'of him,' &c."

289. The participle present has, in Gothic, preserved only the nominative singular masculine of the definite declension, e.g. gibands, "giving," which may be deduced as well from a theme GIBAND, according to the analogy of fiyand-s (see p. 164), as from GIBANDA, according to the analogy of vulf'-s (§. 135.). The Pâli (see p. 300) and Old High German support the assumption of a theme GIBANDA, as an extension of the original GIBAND; whence, then, by a new addition, the indefinite theme GIBANDAN has arisen, as, above, BLINDAN from BLINDA; and it is very probable that all unorganic n bases have been preceded by an older with a vowel termination: for as all bases which terminate in a consonant (nd, r, and n. §. 125.) are in their declension, with the exception of the nominative nd-s, alike obtuse; [G. Ed. p. 386.] so it would not be necessary for GIBAND, in order to belong, in the indefinite adjective, to a weak theme, or one with a blunted declension, to extend itself to gibandan (compare p. 302), unless for the sake of the nominative gibanda (see §. 140.).

290. In the Pâli, no feminine theme charanti has been formed from the unorganic theme charanta, mentioned at p. 319 G. ed.

<sup>\*</sup> Ruhig (by Mielke, p. 68) wrongly gives ai as the emphatic adjunct, as the doubling of the s in tassai, szissai, yissai is clearly to be explained through the assimilative power of the y (see p. 353, Note †). The termination ai answers to the neuter tai, mentioned at §. 157., for tat, which latter is contained in the compound tat-tai (comp. kok-tai, tok-tai). After two consonants, however, the y is entirely dropped; hence e.g. kurs-ai, not kurs-sai.

for the masculine and neuter form charanta has arisen from the necessity of passing from a class of declensions terminating in a consonant into one more convenient, terminating with a vowel in the theme. The Sanskrit, however, forms from bases terminating in a consonant the feminine theme by the addition of a vowel (2, see §. 119.); e. q. from charant m., comes charanti, and there was therefore no reason in the Pâli to give also to the more recent form charanta a feminine theme charanta. Here, again, the Gothic stands in remarkable accordance with the Pâli, for it has produced no feminine base GIBANDO from the presupposed GIBANDA; and therefore, also, the indefinite GIBANDAN has no feminine, GIBANDON, nom. qibandô, answering to it (as BLINDON to BLINDAN); but the feminine form gibandei (ei=i, §. 70.), which has arisen from the old theme GIBAND, in analogy with the Sanskrit charanti, has become GIBANDEIN, by the later addition of an n. Hence, according to §. 142., in the nominative gibandei must have arisen. It is not, however, right to regard this nominative as a production of the more recent theme, but as a transmission from the ancient period of the language, for it answers to the feminine Sanskrit nominative charanti (§. 137.), and to Lithuanian forms like sukanti, "the turning," for which a theme sukantin is nowise admissible. In Latin, bases in i or i, originally feminine, must have arisen from adjective bases terminating with a consonant; thus FERENTI from FERENT (compare §. 119. genitri-c-s): and this feminine i, as is the case in Lithuanian, as well with the participles (see p. 174, Note) as [G. Ed. p. 387.] with the adjective bases in u (p. 363), has in some cases no longer remembered its original destination, and been imparted to the other genders: hence the ablatives in i (for i-d), genitive plural in i-um, neuter plural in ia (ferenti(d), ferenti-um, ferenti-a); and hence is explained, what must otherwise appear very surprising, that the participles, when standing as substantives, freely take this i, which is introduced into them from the feminine adjective (infante, sapiente).

"Remark .- In the yu of kepan'yu, the Old High German feminine of këpantër, I recognise the regular defining element, as above in plintyu, answering to the masculine plinter. On account of the participial feminines in yu, therefore, it is not requisite to presuppose masculines in yer, according to the analogy of midyer, midyu, midyaz, partly as këpentêr and këpantaz, incline, in none of their cases, to the declension of midyer, midyaz, and also as the derivative indefinite base in an has sprung from KEPANTA, and not from KEPANTYA: therefore m. këpanto (=Gothic qibanda), f. n. këpanta (=Gothic gibands). This only is peculiar to the Old High German participle present, in relation to other adjectives, that in its uninflected adverbial state it retains the defining pronominal base YA in its contraction to i; therefore këpanti, "giving," not kepant, like plint. It is, however, to be observed, that there is far more frequent occasion to use this form divested of case terminations in the participle present, than in all other adjectives, as the definite form in nds in Gothic, in the nominative singular masculine, corresponds to it; and as it may be assumed, that here the i supplies the place of the case termination, which has been laid aside; so that it is very often arbitrary whether the definite form of the participle, or the uninflected form in i, be given. So in Grimm's hymns (II. 2.), sustollens is rendered by the uninflected ufpurrenti, and baptizans by taufanter, although the reverse might just as well occur, or both participles might stand in the same form, whether that of the nominative or adverbial. As regards the Old Saxon forms mentioned by Grimm, namely, slapandyes or slapandeas, "dormientis," gnornondyê, "mærentes," buandyum, "habitantibus," they should, in my opinion, be rather adduced in

proof of the proposition, that the participle present has, in the dialect mentioned, preserved the defining element more truly than other adjectives; and that those forms have maintained themselves in the degree of the Gothic [G. Ed. p. 388.] forms like manvyana, mentioned at p. 362, than that a theme in ya belonged to the Old High German participle present before its conjunction with the pronominal syllable."

### DEGREES OF COMPARISON.

291. The comparative is expressed in Sanskrit by the suffix tara, feminine tará, and the superlative by tama, feminine tamá, which are added to the common masculine and neuter theme of the positive; e.g. punya-tara, punya-tama, from punya, "pure"; suchi-tara, suchi-tama, from suchi, "clean"; balavat-tara, balavat-tama, from balavat, "strong." In the Zend, through a perversion of the language who tara and were tema unite themselves with (in place of the theme) the nominative singular masculine; e.g. who prove huskátara (Vend. S. p. 383) from huska, nominative masculine who huská, "dry"; werehrajaw spěntátěma from spěnta, "holy"; werethrazant, nom. věrěthrazanstěma (Vend. S. p. 43) from věrěthrazant, nom. věrěthrazans, "victorious" (literally, "Vritra-slaying").\* According to my opinion πt tara owes

<sup>\*</sup> The participle present zant, the nominative of which I recognise in wash (\$\frac{1}{2}\sqrt{

its origin to the root 7 tri (tar, §. 1.), "to [G. Ed. p. 389.] step beyond " "to place beyond " (e.g. "over a river"); hence, also, the substantive tara, "a float." In the Latin, as Lisch has acutely remarked, with this root are connected the preposition trans, and also terminus, as that which is overstepped, and probably also tra, in in-tra-re, penetra-re. The superlative suffix I derive, with Grimm (III. 583.), from that of the comparative, although I assume no theoretic necessity that the superlative must have been developed through the degree of the comparative. But tama, as a primitive, presents no satisfactory etymology: I formerly thought of the base तन tan, "to extend," whence, also, raros could be explained; but then TH tama would be no regular formation, and I now prefer recognising in it an abbreviation of tarama, partly because the superlative suffix sw ishtha may be satisfactorily considered as derived from its comparative iyas, through the suffix tha, which, in the Greek, is contained in the form of το, as well in ισ-τος as in τατος, for ταρτος or ταροτος. In this manner, therefore, is formed τατο-ς and तमस tama-s: they both contain the same primitive, abbreviated in a similar manner, but have taken a different derivative suffix, as in πέμπ-τος contrasted with ψειμ panchama, "the fifth": the vowel, however, is more truly retained in the derivative  $\tau \alpha \tau \sigma \varsigma$  than in its base  $\tau \epsilon \rho \sigma \varsigma$ . In Latin. तमस tama-s has become timu-s (optimus, intimus, extimus, ultimus); and, by the exchange of the t with s, which is more usual in Greek than in Latin, simus; hence,

p. 43), and is analogous to the Sanskrit panthás, from panthan, mentioned at p. 308. More usually, however, ão in Zend nominatives stands in the place of the Sanskrit ân of the suffix vant and vâns; so that, in Zend, the sign of the nominative has taken the place of the Indian n, the said sign being o for s, according to §.56°. In sus vâo, from the vâns, the Zend o may also be looked upon as belonging to the base (comp. Burnouf's Yaçna, Notes, p. exxviii. &c.).

maximus (mac-simus) for mag-simus. However, the simus is generally preceded by the syllable is, which we will hereafter explain.

292. As in comparatives a relation between two, and in [G. Ed. p. 390.] superlatives a relation between many, lies at the bottom, it is natural that their suffixes should also be transferred to other words, whose chief notion is individualized through that of duality or plurality: thus they appear in pronouns, and mate katara-s is "which of two persons?" and कतमस् katama-s, "which of more than two persons?" रकतरस Ekataras is "one of two persons," and Ekatama-s, "one of more than two." It is hardly necessary to call attention to similar forms in Greek, as πότερος (for κότερος), ἐκάτερος. In έκαστος the superlative suffix (στος for ιστος) presents a different modification from that in êkatama-s, and expresses "the one of two persons," instead of "the one of many persons." In Latin and German, indeed, the suffix tara is not in use in genuine comparatives, but has maintained itself in pronouns in Latin in the form of TERU (ter, teru-m), and in Gothic in that of THARA; hence uter, neuter, alter; Gothic, hva-thar,\* "which of two persons?" Old High German, [G. Ed. p. 391.] huëdar, which has remained to us in the adverb weder, as an abbreviation of the Middle High Ger-

preceding

<sup>\*</sup> The Gothic resembles the Latin in withdrawing the sign of the nominative from its masculine bases in ra, as the latter does from its corresponding bases in ru. Hence, above, hvathar for hvathar(a)s, as alter for alterus; so also vair, "man," = Latin vir for viru-s. This suppression has, however, not extended itself universally in both languages. In the Gothic, as it appears, the s is protected by the two preceding consonants; hence akrs, "a field" (comp. Grimm, p. 599); still the adjective nominatives gaurs, "mournful" (theme Gaura, comp. Sanskrit Tr ghôra, "terrible"), and evêrs, "honoured," occur, where this cause is wanting, where, however, the preceding long vowel and the diphthong au may have operated. In vair, indeed, a diphthong precedes; but the a is here first introduced through the euphonic law 82. If, in Latin, in adjective bases in ri, only the masculine has predominantly given up the s, with the

man, combined with a particle of negation neweder. Anthar, also, our anderer, belongs here, and answers to the Sanskrit अनारम antara-s, whose initial syllable is the same which in क्रम anya, "alius," has united itself with the relative base य ya. From this सन्य anya comes anyatara, "alter." If, however, sant antara means, in general, "the other," the comparative suffix is here intended to denote the person following after, passing over this thing; so is, also, the Latin ceterus to be considered, from ce as demonstrative base (compare ci-s, ci-tra); and so, also, in Sanskrit, itara, "the other," comes from the demonstrative base i, as, in Latin, the adverb iterum from the same base." In our German, also, wieder is the comparative suffix, and the whole rests, perhaps, on a pre-existing Old High German word huia-dar or hwyadar, with a change of the interrogative meaning into the demonstrative, as in weder, ent--weder. The wie in wieder, therefore, should be regarded as, p. 370, die in dieser; and herein we may refer to the Isidoric dhëa-sa.

293. In prepositions, also, it cannot be surprising if one finds them invested with a comparative or superlative suffix, or if some of them occur merely with a comparative termination. For at the bottom of all genuine prepositions,

preceding i, while e.g. the feminine acris might have permitted its is to have been removed, just as well as the masculine, I can find the reason of this firm adherence of the feminine to the termination is only in the circum stance that the vowel i particularly agrees with that gender, as it is in Sanskrit (although long), according to §. 119., the true vowel of formation for the feminine base. In Gothic, the suppression of the nominative sign s is universal in bases in sa and si, in order that, as the final vowel of the base is suppressed, two s should not meet at the end of the word; hence e.g. the nominative drus, "a fall," from DRUSA; garuns, "a market," from GARUNSI, f.

<sup>\*</sup> I have traced back the comparative nature of this adverb, which Voss derives from *iter*, "the journey," for the first time in my Review of Forster's Sanskrit Grammar in the Heidelb, Jahrb, 1818, i. p. 479.

at least in their original sense, there exists a relation between [G. Ed. p. 392.] two opposite directions — thus, "over," "from," "before," "to," have the relations "under," "in," "towards," "from," as their counter-poles and points of comparison, as the right is opposed to the left; and is always expressed in Latin, also, with the comparative suffix, dexter (after dakshina), sinister. As, however, the comparative nature of these formations is no longer recognised in the present condition of the Latin, the suffix ter admits of the further addition of the customary ior (dexterior, sinisterior, like exterior, interior); while the superlative timus has affixed itself to the core of the word (deatimus or -tumus, sinistimus). The prepositions which, in Latin, contain a comparative suffix, are inter, præter, propter, the adverbially-used subter, and probably, also, obiter (compare audacter, pariter).\* To inter answers the Sanskrit सन्तर antar, "among," "between"; for which, however, a primitive an is wanting, as in Sanskrit the relation "in" is always expressed by the locative. Notwithstanding this, antar, in regard to its suffix, is an analogous word to max pratar, "in the morning," from the preposition [G. Ed. p. 393.] pra, "before," with a lengthened a, as in the

<sup>\*</sup> I was of opinion, when I first treated this subject (Heidelb. Jahrb. 1818, p. 480), that ob-i-ter must be so divided, and i looked upon as the vowel of conjunction. As, however, the preposition ob is connected with the Sanskrit with abhi, "to," "towards," the division obi-ter might also be made, and the original form of the preposition recognised in obi: observe the Sanskrit derivative with abhi-tas, "near," from abhi with the suffix tas. The common idea, however, that obiter is compounded of ob and iter cannot entirely be disproved, partly as then obiter would be a similar compound to obviam.

<sup>+</sup> Comp. ni, pari, prati, for ni, &c. in certain compounds. Formations which do not quite follow the usual track, and are rendered intelligible by numerous analogies, are nevertheless frequently misunderstood by the Indian Grammarians. Thus Wilson, according to native authorities, derives want antar from anta, "end," with râ, "to arrive at," and the analogous

Greek πρωί from προ. For the relation "under," the Sanskrit has the preposition was adhas, which I have elsewhere explained as coming from the demonstrative base क a: from which, also, come सधर a-dhara and सधन, a-dhama, "the under one," or "the most under," to which inferus and infimus are akin, as fumus to unn dhûma-s, "smoke," and, with a nasal prefixed, as in ἀμφί in relation to with abhi, and in ἄμφω, "ambo," answering to τη ubhau, Old Sclavonic oba. The suffixes we dhara and we dhama are, in my opinion, only slightly-corrupted forms of the tara and tama mentioned in §. 291.; as also in num prathama, "the first," m. from pra, "before," the T sound of the suffix is somewhat differently transposed. The suffix dhas of adhas, "beneath," however, has exactly the same relation to tas, in was atas, "from here," as dhara, dhama, have to tara, tama; and therefore adhas, as a modification of atas, is, in respect to its suffix, a cognate form of subtus, intus. The usual intention of the suffix तस tas, like that of the Latin tus, is to express distance from a place. In this, also, the Greek  $\theta \epsilon \nu$  (from  $\theta \epsilon \varsigma$ , comp. §. 217.) corresponds with it, which, in regard to its T sound, rests on the form un dhas in wan adhas (§. 16.), as the latter also serves as the pattern of the Old Sclavonic suffix  $d\hat{u}$ , which only occurs in pronouns, and expresses the same relation as ππ tas, θεν, tus: e.g. ovo-ûdû, "hence," ono-ûdû, "thence." The form dû, however, corresponds to the euphonic alteration, which a final as in the Sanskrit must suffer before [G. Ed. p. 394.] sonant letters (§. 25.), viz. that into & (see §. 255. f.), which in Zend has become fixed (§. 56°.).

analogous word prâtar from pra, with at, "to go." A relation, nevertheless, between anta, "end," and antar, "among," cannot perhaps be denied, as they agree in the idea of room. They are, however, if they are related, sister forms, and the latter is not an offshoot of the former.

<sup>\*</sup> The demonstrative base OVO answers remarkably to the Zend www. ava, with o for a, according to §. 255. (a.).

"Remark.-Dobrowsky p. 451 gives ûdû as the full form of the suffix, just as he also lays down a suffix údye, which forms adverbs of place, as kûdye, "where?" onûdye, "there." As, however, the definitive pronoun, which has been treated of at p. 353, &c., exists in these two adverbs, adu, adye, and forms, with sche, adusche, adyesche, for yadu, &c.; and as this pronoun is, in general, so frequently compounded with other adverbs, there is every reason to assume that it is also contained in ovo-ûdû, ono-ûdû, on'-ûdye, t-ûdye, and others. But how is the a itself in u-dû. yû-dye, to be explained? I cannot speak with confidence on this point; but as, according to §. 255. (g.), in the last element of the diphthong û a vocalised nasal is sometimes recognised, yudû, yûdye, might be regarded as corruptions of yondû, yondye, and, in respect to their nasal, be compared with the Latin inde, unde, from I, U. Yûdye, yûdyû, might also have proceeded from the feminine accusative yû, which would again conduct us to a nasal (§. 266.): this accusative would then stand as theme to the derivative adverb, as our preposition hinter, Old High German hintar, has arisen from hin, a petrified accusative, on which the Gothic hina-dag, "this day," "to day," throws light. Before the suffix dye, however, elder form de, occur also the pronouns in a simple form, as gdye, "where?" (more anciently kde, with the final vowel of the base KO suppressed); zdye (older sde), "here"; idyesche, "where" (relative). As  $e(\epsilon)$ , according to §. 255. (b.), frequently stands as the corruption of an older i, I recognise in the suffix de the Sanskrit fu dhi, from wfu adhi, "over," "upon" "towards," (from the demonstrative base a), which, in Greek, is far more widely diffused in the form of  $\theta_i$  ( $\pi \delta \theta_i$ ,  $\mathring{a} \lambda \lambda_0 \theta_i$ )"

294. In German, even more than in Latin, the prepositions shew themselves inclined to combine with the comparative suffix. To the Sanskrit wat antar, Latin inter, mentioned above (at p. 392, G. ed.), corresponds our unter, Gothic

unour, with u for the old a, according to §. 66.\* If, however, the, in my opinion, incontrovertible original identity of the latter with the two former is recognised, [G. Ed. p. 395.] one must not, with Grimm (III. 260.), derive undar from the preposition und, "as far as," &c., by a suffix ar, and so again divide the dar; for undar, as transmitted from an ancient period of the language, was already formed, before the existence of a German dialect, and the abovementioned preposition has only to dispose itself according to the relations of sound mentioned in §§. 66. 91. The matter is different with the Old High German af-tar, "after," for the primitive language, or languages, transmit to us only चप apa, ἀπό, "from"; to which, in the spirit of सना antar, inter, subter, &c., the old comparative suffix has first united itself upon German ground. In Gothic, aftra means "again," which I look upon as an abbreviation of aftara, as in Latin extra, intra, contra, and others, feminine adjectives, from extera, &c. In regard to the termination however, aftra, and similar forms in tra, thra, appear to me as datives, i.e. original instrumentals (§. 160.), as also, in the Sanskrit, this case occurs as an adverb, e. q. in बनारण antarêna, "between." Perhaps, also, the Sanskrit pronominal adverbs in tra, although they have a locative meaning, like us yatra, "where," are to be regarded as instrumental forms, according to the principle of the Zend language (§. 158.), and of the gerund in q ya, (Gramm. Crit. §. 638. Rem.), so that their tra would be to be derived from att tara: compare forms like मनुष्यता manushya trå, "inter homines" (Gramm. Crit.

<sup>\*</sup> Regarding dar and tar for thar, see §. 91.

<sup>†</sup> Grimm however, also, at II. 121. &c., divides brôth-ar, vat-ar ("brother," "father"), although the many analogous words denoting relationship in the German and the cognate languages clearly prove the T sound to belong to the derivative suffix (see Gramm. Crit. §. 178. Rem.).

§. 252. suff. trd). As aftra is related to aftar, so is the Gothic vithra, "against," to the Old High German widar, our wider, the primitive of which is supplied by the Sanskrit through its [G. Ed. p. 396.] inseparable preposition fa vi, which expresses separation, distraction, e.g. in visrip, "to go from one another," "to disperse." Exactly similar is the Sanskrit fani, to which I was the first to prove the meaning "below" to belong, \* and whence comes the adjective नोच nicha, "low" (Gramm. Crit. §. 111.), the base of our nieder, Old High Ger-[G. Ed. p. 397.] man ni-dar. + From hin-dar, Old High German hin-tar, comes our hin-ter which has already been discussed (p. 394, G. ed. compare Grimm. III. 177. c.). In the Old High German sun-dar, Gothic sun-drô, "seorsim," afterwards a preposition, our sondern, dar is, in like manner, clearly the comparative suffix, and the base appears to me, in spite of the difference of signi-

<sup>\*</sup> It is usual to attribute to it the meaning "in," "into," which cannot in any way be supported.

<sup>†</sup> Grimm assents to my opinion, which has been already expressed in another place, regarding the relationship of fa ni and nidar (III. 258, 259): he wishes, however, to divide thus nid-ar, and to suppose a Gothic verb nithan, nath, nethun, to which the Old High German ginada (our Gnade) may belong. Does, however, gi-nada really signify humilitas? It appears that only the meaning gratia can be proved to belong to it; and this is also given by Grimm, I. 617. and II. 235. gratia, humanitas, where he divides ki-na-da, which appears to me correct, and according to which nd would be the root, and da the derivative suffix; as in the etymologically clear ki-wâ-da, "afflatus," to which the Sanskrit gives a wa, "to blow," as root, the Gothic gives vô (6.69.) (vaia, vaivô). To gi-nâ--da, indeed, the Sanskrit supplies no root nd, but perhaps nam, "to bend oneself," the m of which, according to the laws of euphony, is suppressed before t, which does not produce Guna; as nata, "bent," nati, "bending, with the preposition sam, san-nati, which Wilson explains by "reverence," "obeisance," "reverential salutation." As the Gothic inseparable preposition qa, Old High German gi or ki, is, as Grimm first acutely remarked, identical with the Sanskrit sam, gi-na-da has much the same formation with san-na-ti: it would, however, still better agree with the feminine

fication, related to the Sanskrit an sam, "with" (compare Gothic samath, "together with," Old High German samant), and the u, therefore, is from a, according to §. 66. The Latin con-tra, however, is nearly just as much opposed in meaning to its primitive cum; and as cum (compare  $\sigma \acute{v}v$ ) belongs, in like manner, to an sam, so sundar, sundrô, and contra, would be, in a double respect, sister forms. Observe, also, the Gothic samath, Old High German samant, "together with": the latter answers surprisingly to the Sanskrit and samanta (from sam + anta, "an end"), the ablative of which, samantat, as also the adverb, samantatas, mean "everywhere." Perhaps, too, in all other Old High German adverbs in nt (Grimm. III. 214.), the said anta is contained, for the meaning "end," cannot be unexpected in adverbs of place and time, and, like Mitte, "mid,"

passive participle san-na-ta. Be that as it may, so much is certain, that there is no necessity for a hypothetic Gothic base nith or nath, either for the substantive gi-nada or for the preposition nidar, as they can be fully set at rest by the existence of a Sanskrit primitive fani, "below," and the comparative suffix dar, which frequently occurs in prepositions. And as the circumstance that genuine original prepositions never come from verbs, but are connected with pronouns, I must, with regard to its etymology, keep back every verb from our nidar. Grimm wishes also to divide the Gothic preposition vi-thra, Old High German wi-dar, into vith-ra, wid-ar, and to find their base in the Anglo-Saxon preposition widh, English with, Old Sclavonic wid, Old Norman vidh, Swedish vid, Danish ved, which mean "with," and, according to appearance, are wanting in the Gothic and High German. If, however, one considers the easy and frequent interchange of v, b, and m ( afft vari, " water,"=mare, βροτός= मृतस mritas, "mortuus"), one would rather recognise, in the above prepositions, dialectic variations of sound from the Gothic mith, which is of the same import with them (=the Zend pag mat), and which, in most of the dialects mentioned, maintains itself equally with the other forms; as it often occurs, in the history of languages, that the true form of a word is equally preserved with a corruption of it.

(compare inmitten, "in the midst") and Anfang, "beginning," it attaches itself first to the prepositional ideas: therefore hinont, "this side," enont, "that side," would be the same as "at this end," "at that end." With regard to the comparative forms there is, further, the Old High German for-dar, fur-dir ("porro," "amplius"), our fur-der to be mentioned, whence der vordere, vorderste.

[G. Ed. p. 398.] "Remark 1.—As we have endeavoured above to explain the Gothic af-tra and vithra as datives, I believe I can with still more confidence present the forms in thro or tard as remarkable remains of ablatives. Their meaning corresponds most exactly to that of the Sanskrit ablative, which expresses the withdrawing from a place, and to that of the Greek adverbs in θεν; thus hva-thrô, "whence?" tha-thrô, "thence," yain-thro, "hence," alya-thro, "from another quarter," inna-thrô, "from within," uta-thrô, "from without," af-tarô, "from behind," dala-thrô, "from under," and some others, but only from pronouns, and, what is nearly the same, prepositions. I might, therefore, derive dalathro, not from dal, "a valley," but suppose a connection with the Sanskrit wat adhara, "the under person," with aphzeresis of the a and the very common exchange of the r with l (§. 20.). Perhaps, however, on the contrary, thal is so named from the notion of the part below. As to the ablative forms in tarô, thrô, the ô corresponds to the Sanskrit at (§. 179.), with 6, according to rule, for w & (§. 69.), and apocope of the t; so that  $\delta$  has the same relation to the to-be-presupposed of that in Greek ούτω has to ούτως, from ούτωτ (§. 183. Note \* p. 201). Many other Gothic adverbs in ô, as sinteinô, "always," sniumundô, "hastily," sprantô, "suddenly," thridyô, "thirdly," &c., might then, although an ablative meaning does not appear more plainly in them than in the Latin perpetuo, cito, subito, tertio, and others, be rather considered as ablatives than as neuter accusatives of indefinite (Grimm's weak) forms; so that thridy& would

answer to the Sanskrit ablative tritiyat while the common Gothic declension extends the ordinal bases in a by an unorganic n; thus THRIDYAN, nom. thridya. It must be further observed, that all unorganic adjective bases in an are, in general, only used where the adjective is rendered definite through a pronoun preceding it; that therefore the forms in ô, which pass for adverbial, are, for the very reason that no pronoun precedes them, better assigned to the definite (strong) declension than to the indefinite; especially as most of them are only remains of an old adjective, which is no longer preserved in other cases, and, according to their formation, belong to a period where the indefinite adjective declension had not yet received the unorganic addition of an n. As to the translation of τοὐναντίον, 2 Cor. ii. 7., by thata and an eithô, here of course and an eith o is the neuter accusative: but the inducement for using the indefinite form is supplied by the article, and τουναντίον could not be otherwise literally rendered. The case may be similar with 2 Cor. iv. 17., where Castiglione takes that and avairth for the [G. Ed. p. 399.] nominative, but Grimm for the adverbial accusative: as it would else be an unsuitable imitation of the Greek text, where το does not belong to αὐτίκα, but to ἐλαφρόν. In my opinion, however, it can in no case be inferred from these passages that the adverbs in ô, without an article preceding them, belong to the same category. Moreover, also, andaneithô and andavairthô do not occur by themselves alone adverbially. As, then, thrô has shewn itself to us to be an abbreviation of thrôt, it is a question whether the suppression of the t by a universal law of sound was requisite, as in Greek, and in the Prakrit, all T sounds are rejected from the end of words, or changed into Σ. It is certain that the T sounds (t, th, d), which, in the actual condition of the Gothic, are finals, as far as we can follow their etymology, had originally a vowel after them; so that

they are final sounds of a second generation, comparable in that respect to the Sclavonic final consonants (§. 255. l.). This holds good, for example, with regard to th, d, in the 3d person singular and plural, and the 2d person plural = Sanskrit fa ti, wifa anti, w tha or a ta; and I explain the th or d, which, in pronominal bases, expresses direction to a place, as coming from the Sanskrit suffix \( \mathbf{v} \) dha (\( \mathbf{r} \) ha); which, in like manner, in pronouns expresses the locative relation. The passing over from the locative relation to the accusative, expressing the direction whither, cannot be surprising, as, even in Sanskrit, the common locative adverbs in tra, and the ablatives in tas, occur also with accusative meaning, i.e. expressing the direction to a place (see tatra in my Glossary). The Sanskrit suffix y dha appears, in common language, abbreviated to ha, and is found indeed, only in i-ha, "here," from the pronominal base i and सह sa-ha-in the Vedic dialect and Zend sa-dhawhich I derive from the pronominal base sa. It ought, according to its origin, and consistently with the usual destination of the suffix dha, to mean "here or there": it has, however, become a preposition, which expresses "with." The adverb \$\ ita iha, "here," is, in Zend, wos idha,\* and fre-

[G. Ed. p. 400.] quently occurs in combination with wy na, "not"; so that worn, naédha† means "nor," answering to why nôit, "neither" (literally "not it," from na + it, §. 33.). From www ava and worn aêta, "this" (mas.), comes wown.

<sup>†</sup> a+i makes  $\ell$ , according to  $\S$ . 2.; and from  $n\ell dha$  is formed, by  $\S$ . 28., na $\ell dha$ .

avadha and woworn acta-dha (Vend. S. p. 164). To the Zend-Vêdic suffix dha corresponds most exactly the Greek θα, in ἔνθα and ἐνταῦ-θα, "here." Perhaps ἔνθα and ωος i-dha, इह iha, are, with regard to their base, identical; ένθα, therefore, is for ἴνθα from ἴθα (comp. in, inde), as nasals are easily prefixed to another consonant, and thus ἀμφί answers to अभि abhi, ἄμφω to उभी ubhāu, Old Sclavonic oba; but αὐθα, in the triple compound ἐν-τ'-αῦθα, is completely the Zend אמשטא avadha, whose theme ava has been contracted in the Greek to αὐ (compare αὖ-θι and αὐ-τός, the latter being combined with the article), but in the Old Sclavonic it is more correctly preserved in the form of OVO.\* To the word इहम ihatya, " of this place," which is derived from इह iha through the suffix τ tya, corresponds the Greek ἐνθάσιος, with σ from τ; compare, with regard to the suffix, the Latin propitius from prope, and, in the Gothic, frama-thya, "a foreigner," through which the preposition fram shews itself to be an abbreviation of frama. As in the Sanskrit the suffix # tya belongs only to local adverbs and prepositions, so might also the Gothic ni-thyis, "cousin" (for ni-thyas, §. 135.), as propinguus, or one who stands somewhat lower in relationship than a brother, &c., t be derived from the [G. Ed. p. 401.]

<sup>\*</sup> Before my acquaintance with the Zend, and deeper examination of the Sclavonic, I believed I could make out the Greek base αὐ to agree with the Sanskrit amu, "ille," by casting out the m (as κοῦρος with ku-māra): now, however, হব ava and OVO have clearly nearer claims to take the Greek forms between them.

<sup>†</sup> Terms of relationship often express the relation, of which they are the representatives, very remotely, but ingeniously. Thus TH naptri, "a grandson," is, I have no doubt, compounded of na, "not," and pitri, "father"; and "not-father" is regarded as a possessive compound, "not having as father," in relation to the grandfather, who is not the father of the grandson. In Latin it would be difficult to find the etymology of nepos (nepot-)—and the same may be said of our word neffer—without the aid of the word Vater, which is fully preserved from the Sanskrit. In the

ancient preposition ni, mentioned at p. 382, from which. in Sanskrit, nitya actually comes, but differently related. and with a signification answering less to the meaning of the preposition, namely, sempiternus. In consideration of the aspirates in Greek being easily interchanged, and, e.q. in the Doric, "OPNIX is said for "OPNIO, one may also recognise in the syllable χο, in forms like παντα-γό-θεν παντα-γό-σε, πολλαγόσε, and others, a cognate form of the suffix θα, dha, or of the corrupted  $\epsilon$  ha (comp. §. 23.). At the bottom of these forms lies, in my opinion, as the theme, the plural neuter, which need not be wondered at, as πάντα and πολλά are also used as first members of compounds (πολλά-σημος, παντά-μορφος). Πανταγο might, in the identity of its suffix with  $\theta \alpha$ , dha, or ha, mean "everywhere"; whence may then be said πανταχό-σε, "from everywhere," &c., as we combine our locative adverbs wo and da with her and hin (woher, wohin); and in Greek, also, ἐκεῖθι, ἐκεῖσε, ἐκείθεν, which might literally mean in illic, versus illic, ab illic, as ekeî is a local adverb. Forms in yo, however, are in a measure raised to themes capable of declension, though only for adverbs, and develope, also, case-forms, as πανταχοῦ, πανταγοί (old locative and dative), πανταγή. The addition of new suffixes or terminations to those already existing, but which are obsolete, appears to me assuredly more natural than, as Buttmann supposes, the introduction of an unmeaning αχ or even αχο, in which case we should have to divide παντ-αχό-θεν, &c. But as the χο under discussion has arisen from  $\theta \alpha$ , dha, I think I recognise in the  $\chi \iota$  of  $\hat{\eta} \chi \iota$  a corruption of the suffix  $\theta \iota$ , from  $\hat{\eta}$  dhi; in which respect might be compared ayyı, as a sister form to

meaning of Neffe the negation of the relationship of father points to the uncle. The Indian Grammarians, according to Wilson, see in naptri the negation, but not the father, but the root pat, "to fall," and a Unadi suffix tri.

wfu adhi, "to," "towards," with a nasal introduced. As a third form in which the Vêdie-Zend suffix dha appears in Greek, I notice σε, with σ for θ, ψ dh, as μεσος from मध्य madhya, "midst," the y of which has assimilated itself, in the form μέσσος, to the σ. The suffix σε, however, in that it is altered from its original intention to denote rest in a place, to the expression of motion to a place, answers to the Gothic th or d, whence we set out in this examination, in forms like hva-th, πό-σε, "whither?" also hvad-John xiii. 3. hvad gaggis, ποῦ ὑπάγεις-yain-d, ἐκεῖ-σε, alya-th, ἄλλο-σε. To the Zend idha, Greek ἔνθα, corresponds i-th; which, however, contrary to the original intention of the form, does not mean "thither," but is used as a conjunction-"but," "if," "then" (1 Cor. vii. 7.). To this class, also, belongs ath, which only occurs in combination with than -ath-than, "but," like ith-than; and it has [G. Ed. p. 402.] the Vêdic-Zend a-dha as prototype (§. 399.). Thad, in combination with the relative particle ei, which is probably connected with ya, has preserved the original locative meaning together with the accusative, and thad-ei may be cited as "where" and "whither." The d in these forms, answering to the Greek 0, agrees with the rule for the transmutation of sounds (§. 87.); and it is to be observed that medials at the end of a word freely pass into aspirates-compare bauth, bu-dum (§. 91.);—so that the Gothic T sound of the suffix under discussion, after it has, in one direction, diverged from the Greek, has, in another, again approached it.

"Remark 2.—As we have above recognised ablatives in the formations in thrô, tarô, so we find in this comparative suffix, also, a remnant of the Sanskrit locative; in which, however, as in the adverbs in th, d, the expression of repose in a place is changed into that of motion to a place—in hidrê,\* "hither," Mark xi. 3. Luke xiv. 21.; hva-drê, "whither?" John vii. 35. On the other hand, yaindrê ac-

<sup>\*</sup> Vide §. 991.

tually occurs with a locative meaning; tharei leik, yaindregalisand sik arans, 'όπου τὸ σῶμα, ἐκεῖ συναχθήσονται οἱ αἐτοί.' Compare these forms with the Sanskrit, as, adhare, "in the lower," and the Lithuanian wilké (§. 197.). That, however, the Gothic e, which in the genitive plural masculine and neuter answers to the Sanskrit चा â (§. 69.), moreover corresponds to ve, is proved by preterites like nêmum, 'we took,' answering to the singular nam; as, in Sanskrit, चिमम nêmima, 'we bent ourselves,' answers to चनम nanama or चनाम nanâma, 'I bent myself.'"

295. The superlative suffix 77 tama occurs in the Gothic also in the form of TUMAN, nominative tuma, or, with d for t in prepositional derivations, either simply or in combination with the common superlative suffix ISTA; thus, af-tuma, "posterus," af-tumists, "postremus," hin-dumists, "extremus." If one considers the Indian suffix तन tama, to have suffered apocope of the a-as in Latin, also, timus appears abbreviated to tim in adverbs like viri-tim, caterva-tim, which I have already, in another place (Heidelb. Jahrb. 1818. p. 480), explained, together with forms like legi-timus, as superlatives—one may look for that tam in the Gothic cor-[G. Ed. p. 403.] rupted to tana, after the analogy of the accusative masculine of pronouns, like tha-na = ππ tam, τόν, hva--na = कम् ka-m, "whom?"; and accordingly regard the prepositional derivations in tana, dana, as superlative forms; thus, Gothic af-tana, "behind"; hindana, πέραν, Old High German ni-dana, "under" (compare our hie-nieden, "here below." As, however, in Old High German there exist, also, formations in ana without a preceding t sound (Grimm III. 203, &c.), it is a question whether innana "within," azana "abroad," forana shortened to forna "from the beginning," fërrana "πόροωθεν," rûmana "from a distance," hôhana "ὑψόθεν," heimina "οἴκοθεν," have lost a t or a d preceding the a; or if they are formed after those in tana, dana, in the notion that the whole of the suffix consists merely of ana; or, finally, whether they rest on some other principle.

The preposition obar, "over," Gothic ufar, which answers to the Sanskrit  $\overline{suft}$  upari, Greek  $\delta\pi\epsilon\rho$ , has, in the same manner, an adverb obana, "above," corresponding to it.

296. In the Sanskrit the appellations of the quarters of the heavens come from prepositions in combination with the root was anch, "to go"; thus the east is denoted as "that which is before," by me pranch, from mpra, "before"; the west as "that which is over against it," by प्रत्यच pratyanch, from usa prati, "opposite"; the south as "that below," by खवान avanch, from खब ava, "below"; and its opposite pole, the north, as "that above," is called 353 udanch, from 37 ut, "up." Now it is remarkable that in German the names of the quarters of the world shew themselves through their terminations, Old High German tar and tana, or as they so frequently occur in prepositions, dar, dana, to be derivations from prepositions, though the nature of their origin has become obscure. The custom of the language disposes of the forms in r and na in such a manner, that the former expresses the direction whither (Grimm. III. 205.), the latter the direction whence, which, however, was not, perhaps, the original intention of the terminations, both which seem adapted to express the same direction; the former comparatively, with a glance at [G. Ed. p. 404.] that which is opposite, the latter superlatively, in relation to all the quarters of the globe, as, p. 376, vant êkatara, "one of two persons," but एकतम êkatama, "one of many persons." The west may perhaps be most satisfactorily explained, and in fact, as being etymologically pointed out to be that which lies over against the east, as in Sanskrit. For this object we betake ourselves to the prepositional base wi, mentioned at p. 382, whence the comparative wi-dar. We do not, however, require to deduce wes-tar,\*

<sup>\*</sup> By writing we, Grimm marks the corruption of the e from i, in which I readily agree with him.

"towards the west," wës-tana," from the west," from the derivative widar; but we may keep to its base wi. with the assumption of a euphonic s; as in the Sanskrit, also, some prepositions terminating in vowels in certain combinations, and before consonants which are disposed to have an s before them, assume this letter; e.g. pratishkasa for pratikasa; and as in Latin abs, os (for obs). from ab, ob (§. 96.). But if it were preferred to deduce westar, westana, from the derivative widar, it would then be necessary to force the d of derivation into the base, and, according to §. 102., change it into s. The east is more difficult of explanation than the west -Old High German os-tar, "towards the east," os-tana, "from the east,"-for several prepositions start up together that would gladly sustain this quarter of the heavens. It is not necessary that the preposition after which the east is named should elsewhere, also, be received as a German preposition; for in this appellation a preposition might have incorporated itself, which, except in this case, is foreign to the practice of the German language. [G. Ed. p. 405.] It may therefore be allowable for us, first of all, to turn to a preposition which, in the Indian language, is prefixed to the south, and, in the German, may have changed its position to the east; the more so, as, with prepositions, the principal point is always where one stands, and the direction to which one is turned; and one may, with perfect justice, turn that which is at the bottom to the uppermost, or to the front. In Zend, ava, which in Sanskrit signifies "below," exists as a pronoun, and means "this"; and as this pronoun is also proper to the Sclavonic (OVO, nom. ov), and occurs in Greek as av, (αὖ-θι, αὐτός, see p. 387), it need not surprise us to find an obsolete remnant of this base in German, and that the east is taken as the side opposed to the west. Here it may be necessary to observe, that in Sanskrit the preposition ava, in like manner, annexes a euphonic s; from

avas, therefore, by suppressing the last a but one, would arise (as in Greek av) aus (different from our aus, Old High German uz, Gothic ut, in Sanskrit 37 ut, "up"), and hence, according to §. 80., ôs: the old northern form is austr, austan. The Latin auster might then-to which Grimm has already alluded (Wiener Jahrb. B. 28. p. 32)be placed with more confidence beside the Old High German as a sister form, and led back by the hand of our comparative suffix to the preposition, which in Sanskrit has given its name to the south, bold as it at the first glance might appear, if we declared aus-ter and अवाच avanch (ava + anch), "southern," to be related. The derivations from haurio, or αυω, certainly deserve less notice. As, however, the juxta-position of austar with the Latin auster and the Indian preposition ava, avas, is most suitable, we refrain from giving other prepositional modes in which one might arrive at the appellation of the east in German. As the most natural point of departure, we cannot place it in so subordinate a position to the west as to mark it out as "not west" (a-ustar from a- [G. Ed. p. 406.] -wëstar). We turn now to the south, in Old High German sun-dar, "towards the south," sundana, "from the south," the connection of which with the sundro, sundar, mentioned at p. 383, is not to be mistaken. The south, therefore, appeared to our ancestors as the remote distance, and the reason for the appellation of this quarter of the heavens being clearly in allusion to space, is a new guarantee for the prepositional derivation of the names for east and west, as also for the fact that the designation of the north, too, has subjected itself to a preposition, although it is still more veiled in obscurity than that of the three sister appellations. We cannot, however, omit calling attention to the Sanskrit preposition far nis, which signifies "out, without," and before sonant letters, to which d belongs (§. 25.) according to a universal law of euphony, appears

in the form of nir, which it is also usual to represent as the original form.

297. In the Old Sclavonic the Indo-Greek comparative suffix occurs in vtoryi, "the second" (m.), in which the definitive pronoun is contained (p. 352): vtory-i, then, is formed from vtoro-i (§. 255. d.), in which the cardinal number dwa is melted down to v, corresponding in this respect to the Zend b in b-yare, "two years," but singular, with b as a hardened form from v. To the Sanskrit कतर katara, "which of two? m." (Gothic hva-thar) and पतर ya-tara, "which of both," corresponds etymologically, the Old Sclavonic ko-tory-i (as definitive), older ko-tery-i and ye-ter, feminine ye-tera (ye-τερα), neuter ye-tero. The origin of these two pronouns is, however, forgotten, together with their comparative meaning; for kotoryi means "who?" and yeter, "some one" (compare p. 352). Dobrowsky (p. 343), however, in which he is [G. Ed. p. 407.] clearly wrong, divides the suffix into ot-or; for although the interrogative base KO may lay aside its o, and combine with the demonstrative base to (kto, "quis?" Dobr. p. 342), still it is more in accordance with the history of language to divide ko-toryi than kotoryi or koto-ryi, as the formation or would there stand quite isolated; and besides this the pronoun i, "he," from yo, does not occur in combination with the demonstrative base to, and yet ye-ter is said.

298. A small number of comparatives are formed in Sanskrit by ξun iyas, and the corresponding superlative by τw ishtha, in which ishtha, as has been already remarked (p. 389.), we recognise a derivation from iyas in its contraction to ish (compare ish ta, "offered," from yaj), so that the suffix of the highest degree is properly u tha, through which, also, the ordinal numbers ugua chatur-thas (τέταρ-το-ς), and usu shash-thas (ἔκ-τος), are formed, for the notion of the superlative lies very close to the ordinal

numbers above two, as that of order does to the superlatives, and hence the suffix an tama occurs in ordinal numbers; e.g. विश्वतितमस vinsati-tama-s, "the twentieth," wherefore ma, in forms like पन्नमस pancha-ma-s, "the fifth," may be held to be an abbreviation of tama. To the form ish, contracted from iyas-euphonic for is-in Greek and Zend is, corresponds the Latin is, in the superlatives in is-simus, which I deduce through assimilation from is-timus (comp. §. 101.); the simple is, however, which, viewed from Latin, is a contraction of ios (§. 22.), appears in the simple form in the adverb mag-is, which may be compared with μεγις in μέγισ-τος. In the strong cases (§. 129.) the Indian comparative shews a broader form than the iyas above, namely, a long & and a nasal preceding the s, thus इयांस iyans (see §. 9.), This form, how- [G. Ed. p. 408.] ever, may originally have been current in all the cases, as the strong form in general (§. 129.), as is probable through the pervading long o in Latin, ioris, iori, &c., if one would not rather regard the length of the Latin o as compensation for the rejected nasal: compare the old accusative mel-iosem, mentioned in §. 22., with Sanskrit forms like गरीयांसम् gar-iyans-am (graviorem). The breadth of the suffix, which is still remarkable in the more contracted from iyas, may be the cause why the form of the positive is exposed to great reductions before it; so that not only final vowels are rejected, as generally before Taddhita suffixes\* beginning with a vowel, but whole suffixes, together with the vowel preceding them, are suppressed (Gramm. Crit. §. 252.); e.g. from मतिमत mati-mat, "intelligent," from mati, "understanding," comes mat'-iyas; from balavat, "strong" ("gifted with strength,"

<sup>\*</sup> The Taddhita suffixes are those which form derivative words not primitives direct from the root itself.

from bala + vat), bal-iyas; from kshipra, "quick" (from the base kship, "to throw"), comes kshep-iyas; from kshudra, "insignificant," kshêd-îyas; from tripra, "satisfied," trap-iyas; since with vowels capable of Guna the dropping of the suffix is compensated by strengthening the radical syllable by Guna, as in the Zend vaêdista; which Burnouf (Vahista, p. 22) deduces, as it appears to me, with equal correctness and acuteness from vidvas (vidvô, §. 56b., Sanskrit vidwas), "knowing." With respect to trapiyas, from tripra, let it be observed that ar, as Guna of ri, is easily transposed to ra (Gramm. Crit. §. 34b.): compare the Greek ἔδρακον for ἔδαρκον; πατράσι for παταρσι (see p. 290, G. ed.). In a similar manner M. Ag. Benary explains the connection of variyas with uru "great," with which he rightly compares the Greek εὐρύς (Berl. Jahrb. 1834. I. [G. Ed. p. 409.] pp. 230, 231). But variyas might also come from vara, "excellent," and uru might be an abbreviation of varu, which easily runs into one. To the superlative afts varishtha, which does not only mean latissimus but also optimus, the Greek ἄριστος (therefore Fάριστος) is without doubt akin, the connection of which with evous one could scarcely have conjectured without the Sanskrit. Remarkable, too, is the concurrence of the Greek with the Sanskrit in this point, that the former, like the latter, before the gradation suffix under discussion, disburthens itself of other more weighty suffixes (compare Burnouf's Vahista, p. 28); thus, ἔχθιστος, αἴσχιστος, οἴκτιστος, κύδιστος, μήκιστος, ἄλγιστος, from ἔχθρος, &c., exactly as above kshepishthas and others from kshipra; and I believe I can hence explain, according to the same principle, the lengthening of the vowel in μήκιστος, μᾶσσον, from μακρός, on which principle also rests the Guna in analogous Sanskrit forms-namely, as a compensation for the suppression of the suffix. the same with the lengthened vowel in forms like θασσον, ασσον, where Buttmann (§. 67. Rem. 3. N. \*\*) assumes that the comparative ι has fallen back and united itself with the α (α); while, in my opinion, a different account is to be given of what has become of the ι in forms like θάσσων, βράσσων (§. 300.). The formation of μέγιστος from μέγας, from μέγαλο-ς, is similar to the origin, in Sanskrit, of the banhishtha, from bahula, "much"; from bahu, "much" comes bhûyishtha; and μέγ-ιστος, in relation to MΕΓΑΛΟ, has lost as much as banh-ishtha, compared with bahula, only that the Sanskrit positive base is compensated for the loss of ula by the addition of a nasal; which therefore, as Ag. Benary (l. c.) has very correctly remarked, rests on the same principle with the Guna in kshêpishtha, &c.\*

"Remark.—It will then, also, be necessary [G. Ed. p. 410.]
—as Burnouf (Yaçna, p. 131) first pointed out, but afterwards (Vahista, p. 25), in my opinion, wrongly retracted—to explain the vê of śrêyas, "better," śrêṣhṭha, "the best," as coming from the i of śrî, "fortune," by Guna, instead of the common view, in which I formerly concurred, of substituting a useless śra as positive, and hence, by contraction with iyas, ishṭha, forming śrêyas, śrêshṭha. From śrî comes the derivative śrimat, "fortunate," from which I deduce śrê-yas, śrê-shṭha, by the prescribed removal of the suffix,† although one might

<sup>\*</sup> The Guna, however, in the gradation forms under discussion, might also be accounted for in a different way, namely, by bringing it into connection with the Vriddhi, which occurs before many other Taddhita suffixes, especially in patronymics, as again vaivaswata, from again, vivaswat. On account of the great weight of the gradation suffixes iyas, ishtha, which has given rise to the suppression of the suffix of the positive base, the initial vowel also of the same would accordingly be raised by the weaker Guna, instead of by the Vriddhi, as usual (§. 26.). Be that how it may, one must in any case have ground to assume an historic connection between the Grecian vowel-lengthening in  $\mu'\eta\kappa\iota\sigma\tau os$ ,  $\thetaa\sigma\sigma\sigma or$ , and others, and that of Sansk it forms like  $ksh\hat{e}p$  yas,  $ksh\hat{e}pishtha$ .

<sup>†</sup> If there existed, as in Zend, a \*\*srira\*, one might hence also derive the above gradations.

expect in the superlative śray-ishtha, euphonic for śre-ishtha; and on this ground it is that Burnouf takes his objection. But as in Greek έκα-στος, ὁπό-στος (see p. 376), in spite of the want of the i of iotos, are nevertheless nothing else than superlative forms, I do not see why, in certain cases, in Sanskrit, also, the suppression of an i may not hold good. This happens, moreover, in sthe-shtha from sthi-ra, "fast," sphê-shtha from sphi-ra, "swollen," and prê-shtha from priv-a, "dear." In the latter case, after removing the suffix a, the preceding y, also, must retire, since priy is only a euphonic alteration of pri (Gramm. Crit. §. 51.) As to the derivation, however, of the meanings melior, optimus, from a positive with the meaning "fortunate," it may be further remarked, that, in Sanskrit, "fortune" and "splendour" are generally the fundamental notions for that which is good and excellent; hence, bhagavat, "the honourable," "the [G. Ed. p. 411.] excellent," properly, "the man gifted with fortune "; for our besserer, bester, also Gothic bat-iza, bat-ists, are associated with a Sanskrit root denoting fortune (bhad, whence bhadra, "fortunate," "excellent"), which Pott was acute enough first to remark (Etymol. Inquiries, p. 245), who collates also bôtyan, "to use." The old d gives, according to §. 87., in the Gothic t, and the Sanskrit bh becomes b. It might appear too daring if we made an attempt to refer melior also to this root; but cognate words often assume the most estranged form through doubled transitions of sound, which, although doubled, are usual. It is very common for d to become l(§. 17.), and also between labial medials and the nasal of this organ there prevails no unfrequent exchange (comp. §. 63.). If, also, the Greek βελτίων, βέλτιστος, should belong to this class, and the \tau be an unorganic addition, which is wanting in βέλ-τερος, βέλ-τατος, βελ would then give the middle step between we bhad and mel. The ideal positive of βελτίων, namely ἀγαθός, might be connected with जगाप agadha "deep," with which, also, the Gothic goths (theme

gôda) is to be compared, with ô, according to rule, for a ô (§. 69.), and medials for Greek aspirates, according to §. 87.

299. From the strong theme ईयांस iyans, mentioned at §. 298., comes the nominative tyan, with the suppression of the final letter rendered necessary through §. 94. The vocative has a short a, and sounds iyan. To iyan answers the Greek των, and to the vocative iyan answers τον; to the neuter iyas (N. A. V.), identical with the weak theme, corresponds the Latin ius (§. 22.). The Greek, however, cannot become repossessed of the s, which is abandoned in Sanskrit in the nominative and vocative masculine for legitimate reasons, since it declines its comparative as though its theme terminated from the first with v; hence accusative τον-α for the Sanskrit ईपांसन iyans-am, Latin ior-em (ios-em, §. 22.), genitive iov-os for iyas-as, ior-is. However, one might, as Pott has already, I believe, noticed somewhere, reduce the contracted forms like βελτίω. βελτίους, to an original τοσα, τοσες, τοσας, corresponding to iyansam, iyansi (neuter plural), iyans-as, iyas-as, the o of which, as is so common between two vowels, would be rejected.\* On the other hand, v, except in [G. Ed. p. 412.] comparatives, on the presupposition that the contracted forms have rejected an  $\nu$  and not  $\sigma$ , is suppressed only in a few isolated words ( Απόλλω, Ποσειδώ, εἰκώ, ἀηδούς, and a few others), which, however, the theoretic derivation of the comparative \( \Sigma\) renders very embarrasing. We would therefore prefer giving up this, and assuming, that while the Sanskrit in the weak, i.e. in the majority of cases, has abandoned the former consonant of ns, the Greek, which was still less favourable to the vo-, has given up the latter, as perhaps one may suppose in the oldest, as it were, pre-Grecian period, forms like βελτιονσα. It is, however, remarkable, that while all other European sister lan-

<sup>\*</sup> Comp. p. 325 G. ed.

guages have only preserved the last element of the comparative ns—the Latin in the form of r—and while the Sanskrit also shews more indulgence for the s than for the n, the Greek alone has preserved the nasal; so that in the comparative it differs in this respect from all the other languages. Without the intervention of the Sanskrit and Zend it would be hardly possible to adduce from the European sister languages a cognate termination to the Greek  $\bar{\imath}\omega\nu$ ,  $\bar{\imath}o\nu$ ; or if  $i\bar{o}r$  and  $\bar{\imath}\omega\nu$  should be compared, one would think rather of a permutation of liquids,\* than that after the Greek  $\nu$  the prototype of the Latin r, namely  $\sigma$ , has originally existed.

300. In Zend, the superlatives in sista are more numerous than the corresponding ones in Sanskrit, and require no authentication. With regard to their theory, Burnouf has rendered important service, by his excellent

[G. Ed. p. 413.] treatise on the Vahista; and his remarks are also useful to us in Sanskrit Grammar. In form sista stands nearer to the Greek ιστο-ς than the Indian ishtha, and is completely identical with the Gothic ista, nom, ist'-s (§. 135.), as the Zend frequently exhibits t for the Sanskrit aspirates. The comparative form which belongs to ista is much more rare, but perhaps only on account of the want of occasion for its appearance in the authorities which have been handed down to us, in which, also, the form in tara can only scantily be cited. An example of the comparative under discussion is the feminine purchase masyéhi, which occurs repeatedly, and to which I have already elsewhere drawn attention.† It springs from the positive base

<sup>#</sup> Comp. §. 20.

<sup>+</sup> Berl. Jahrb. 1831. I. v. 372. I then conceived this form to be thus arrived at, that the y of the Sanskrit iyasi had disappeared, as in the genitive termination hê, from za sya; after which the i must have passed into y, Still the above view of the case, which is also the one chosen by Burnout.

www masas, "great" (maso, masah, masanh, §§. 56°. 56°.), and confirms, like other Zend forms, the theory which holds good for the Sanskrit, that other suffixes fall away before the exponents of the comparative and superlative relation under discussion. If yehi is compared with the Sanskrit feminine base iyasi, the loss of the i shews itself, and then the a has, through the power of assimilation of the y (§. 42.), become &, and s has, according to §. 53., become h. In the loss of the i the Zend coincides with the Sanskrit forms like śrê-yas, mentioned at p. 397, with which, also, bhû-yas, "more," and jyá-yas, "older," agree. Greek comparatives with a doubled σ before ων, as κρείσσων, βράσσων, ελάσσων, are based on this; which, according to a law of euphony very universally followed in Prakrit, have assimilated the y to the preceding consonant, as elsewhere άλλος [G. Ed. p. 414.] from άλγος, Gothic alya-, Latin aliu-s, Sanskrit anya, are explained (Demonstrative Bases, p. 20). In Prâkrit, in the assimilations which are extremely common in this dialect, the weaker consonant assimilates itself to the stronger, whether this precedes or follows it; thus anna, "the other," from anya, corresponds to the Greek ἄλλος; the Sanskrit tasya, "hujus," becomes tassa; bhavishyati, "he will be," becomes bhavissadi,\* divya, "heavenly," divva; from

is simpler, and closer at hand, although the other cannot be shewn to be impossible; for it is certain that if the y of iyas had disappeared in Zend, it would fall to the turn of the preceding i to become y.

<sup>\*</sup> Comp. ἔσσομα, from ἐσγομα, with स्वास्त syâmi, in composition with attributive verbs. It may be allowed here preliminarily to mention another interesting Prâkrit form of the future, which consists in this, that the Sanskrit s passes into h, but the syllable  $\mathbf{z}$  ya is contracted to i, herein agreeing with the Latin i in eris, erit, amabis, amabit, &c.; as, karîhisi, "thou willst make," from karishyasi; sahîhimi, "I will endure," from sahishyâmi, instead of the medial form sahishyê (Urvasi, by Lenz. p. 59).

which it is clear that v is stronger than y, as it also is more powerful than r; hence savva from sarva, "everyone." It is remarkable that the i also of iti "thus" assimilates itself to the following t; hence, tti, which, in pronunciation, naturally leans upon the word preceding. Therefore one might thus also, without presupposition of a form ywv, establish the assimilation from iwv. As to the transition of the consonant of the positive base into σ (κρέισ-·σων, βράσ-σων, βάσ-σων, μάσ-σων, ἐλάσ-σων, &e.), to which the y has assimilated, the transition of  $\tau$ ,  $\delta$ ,  $\theta$ , into  $\sigma$  need least of all surprise us (see §. 99.); but with regard to the gutturals, the Old Sclavonic may be noticed, in which, besides what has been remarked in §. 255. (m.), y, i, and ewhich latter comes very near the vowel combined with a y, and is frequently the remainder of the syllable yeexert an influence on a guttural preceding them, similar [G. Ed. p. 415.] to that which the comparative y or i produces in Greek. Before the i, namely, of the nominative plural, and before ye in the dative and locative singular, as before i and ye of the imperative, ch becomes s; e.g. gryes-i from gryech, as θάσ-σων from θάσ-γων, from ταχ-; g becomes ζ, e. g. průti from prûg, as μείζων, δλίζων, from μειζγων, όλιζγων, from μεγ-, δλιγ-; k becomes ch, while in Greek κ is modified in the same way as x On account of the contracted nature of the  $\zeta$  (= $\delta\sigma$ ) no assimilation takes place after it, but the y entirely disappears, or, in μείζων, is pressed into the interior of the word (comp. §. 119.), as in ἀμείνων, χείρων, which latter may be akin to the Sanskrit wax adhara, "the under (m)," consequently with aphæresis of the a (comp. §. 401.). With the superlative μέγιστος compare the Zend ωγευλως mazista, where & z, according to §. 57., answers to the Sanskrit h of אבת mahat, "great"; while in the above שנעננמשנן masychi, as in the positive masas (euphonically mass), s stands irregularly for z, as if the Zend, by its permutation of consonants in this word, would vie with the Greek; but

we find, Vend. S. p. 214, לְנְאָנֶע mazyô, with z, which I hold to be a neuter comparative; thus, בשאָבָל לְנָאַנְע mazyô vidvôo, "the more (literally greater) wise."

301. As in the Latin comparative a suffix has raised itself to universal currency, which in Sanskrit and Greek is only sparingly applied, but was, perhaps, originally, similarly with the form in tara, Tepo-5, in universal use; so the German, the Sclavonic, and Lithuanian, in their degrees of comparison everywhere attach themselves to the more rare forms in Sanskrit and Greek; and indeed in the Gothic the suffix of the comparative shews itself in the same shortened form in which it appears in the Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, and Latin, in its combination with the superlative suffix (see §. 298. p. 395 &c.), namely, as is; and this most plainly in adverbs like mais, "more," whose con- [G. Ed. p. 416.] nection with comparatives in the Sanskrit, &c., I first pointed out in the Berl. Jahrb. (May 1827, p. 742). We must divide. therefore, thus, ma-is; and this word, as well in the base as in the termination, is identical with the Latin mag-is (comp. μέγισ-τος, p. 402); whence it is clear that the Gothic form has lost a guttural (compare ma-jor and mag-ior), which, in mikils, "great"-which has weakened the old a to i-appears, according to the rule for the removal of letters (§. 87.), as k. Mais, therefore, far as it seems to be separated from it, is, in base and formation, related to the Zend maz-us (from maz-yas), which we have become acquainted with above (p. 415 G. ed.) in the sense of "more."

"Remark.—There are some other comparative adverbs in is, of which, the first time I treated of this subject, I was not in possession, and which Grimm has since (IIL 589, &c.) represented as analogous to mais. He has however, afterwards, l. c. p. 88, agreed, with Fulda, in viewing hauhis, ἀνώτερον, as the genitive of the positive hauhs, "high." Yet hauhis stands in exactly the same relation to hauhiza, "the higher," that mais does to maiza, "major."

Compared with the Zend maz-yo and Greek μείζ-ων, one might believe the z in maiza belonged to the positive base, particularly as the Old High German adds a second comparative suffix to its adverb mer, answering to the Gothic mais (mêriro, 'major') because in mêr no formal expression of the comparative relation was any longer felt. Raihtis, which Grimm wishes to leave under the forms which, III. p. 88, are considered as genitive, seems to me properly to signify potius, or our rechter; and I consider it, therefore, as a comparative, although the Old High German rehtes, examined from the point of view of the Old High German, can only be a genitive, and the comparative adverb is rehtor. The comparative ga-raihtôza, 'justior,' which may be cited in Gothic, does not prevent the assumption that there may have been also in use a raihtiza, as in all adjectives iza may just as well be expected as ôza; for, together with the comparative adverb frumozo, 'at first' (R. xi. 35), soccurs the superlative frumists. Perhaps, however, the genius of the Old High German language has allowed itself to be deceived through the identity of the comparative suffix is with the genitive termination i-s; and taking some obsolete comparatives, which have been transmitted to it . [G. Ed. p. 417.] for genitives, left them the s, which, in evident comparatives, must pass into r; but is also still retained as s in wirs, 'pejus.' I prefer to consider, also, allis, 'omnino,' as a comparative, in order entirely to exclude the Gothic apparent genitive adverbs from the class of adjectives. In the Old High German, together with alles, 'omnino,' exists alles, 'aliter,' which, according to its origin, is an essentially different word-through assimilation from alyes, as above (p. 414 G. ed.) ἄλλος—in which the comparative termination, in the Latin ali-ter and similar adverbs, is to be observed. The probability that these forms, which, to use the expression, are clothed as genitives, are, by their origin, comparatives, is still further increased thereby, that together with eines,

semel,' and anderes, 'aliter,' there occur, also, forms in the guise of superlatives, namely, einest, 'once' (see Graff, p. 329), and anderest, 'again.' Some comparative adverbs of this sort omit, in Gothic, the i of is; thus min-s, 'less' (compare minor, minus, for minior, minius), perhaps vair-s, 'worse,' which is raised anew into vairsiza, 'pejor, and may be connected with the Sanskrit avara, 'posterus, as above χείρων was compared with war adhara; seith-s, 'amplius' (from seithu, 'late'); and probably, also, suns, 'statim,' and anaks, subito.'

302. The comparative-suffix is required in Gothic, where the consonant s is no longer capable of declension,\* an unorganic addition, or otherwise the sibilant would have been necessarily suppressed. The language, however, preserved this letter, as its meaning was still too powerfully perceived, by the favourite addition an, which we have seen above, though without the same urgent necessity, joined to participial bases in nd in their adjective state (§. 289.). As, then, s comes to be inserted between two [G. Ed. p. 418.] vowels, it must, by §. 86. (5.), be changed into z: hence the modern theme MAIZAN, from the original MAIS, which has remained unaltered in the adverb. The nominative masculine and neuter are, according to §§. 140. 141., muiza, maizô. On the other hand the feminine base does not develope itself from the masculine and neuter base MAIZAN-as in general from the unorganic bases in an of the indefinite adjectives

<sup>\*</sup> A base in s, as the abovementioned mais, would not be distinguished from the theme in all the cases of the singular, as also in the nominative and accusative plural, as, of final double s, the latter must be rejected (comp. drus, "fall," for drus-s from drusa-s, §. 292. 1st Note). In the nominative and genitive singular, therefore, the form mais-s must have become mais; just as, in the nominative and accusative plural, where ahman-s comes from the theme ahman. The dative singular is, in bases ending in a consonant, without exception devoid of inflection; and so is the accusative, in substantives of every kind.

no feminines arise-but to the original feminine base in i, which exists in the Sanskrit and Zend, an n is added, as in the participle present; thus MAIZEIN (ei = 1, §. 70.), from mais + ein, answers to the Zend feminine base of the same import, swossuf mašyehi, and Sanskrit forms like nitual gariyas-i, from gariyas. The nominative maizei may then, according to §. 142., be deduced from MAIZEIN, or may be viewed as a continuation of the form in Zend and Sanskrit which, in the nominative, is identical with the theme (§. 137.); in which respect again the participle present (§. 290.) is to be compared. These two kinds of feminines, namely, of the said participle and the comparative, stand in Gothic very isolated; but the ground of their peculiarity. which Jacob Grimm, III. 566, calls still undiscovered (compare I. 756), appears to me, through what has been said, to be completely disclosed; and I have already declared my opinion [G. Ed. p. 419.] in this sense before.\* The Old High German

Berl. Jahrb. May 1827, p. 743, &c. Perhaps Grimm had not yet. in the passage quoted above, become acquainted with my review of the two first parts of his Grammar; since he afterwards (II, 650.) agrees with my view of the matter. I find, however, the comparison of the transition of the Gothic s into z with that of the Indian & s into w sh inadmissible, as the two transitions rest upon euphonic laws which are entirely distinct; of which the one, which obtains in the Gothic (6.86.5.), is just as foreign to the Sanskrit, as the Sanskrit (6.21. and Gramm. Crit. 101".) is to the Gothic. It is further to be observed, that, on account of the difference of these laws, the Sanskrit q sh remains also in the superlative, where the Gothic has always st, not zt. In respect to Greek, it may here be further remarked, that Grimm, l. c. p. 651, in that language, also, admits an original s in the comparative; which he, however, does not look for after the v of twv, as appears from §. 299., but before it; so that he wishes to divide thus μεί-ζων, as an abbreviation of μεγίζων; and regards the onot as a corruption of the y, as Buttmann also assumes, but as a comparative character, as in the kindred Gothic ma-iza. The Greek av, ov, would, according to this, appear identical with the unorganic Gothic an in MAIZAN; while we have assigned it, in §. 299., a legitimate foundation, by tracing it back to the Sanskrit ans.

has brought its feminine comparatives into the more usual path, and gives, as corresponding to the Gothic minnizei, "the lesser" (fem.), not minniri, but minnira. The Gothic sibilant, however, was, in the High German comparatives, in the earliest period transmuted into r, whence, in this respect, minniro, minnira, has more resemblance to the Latin minor than to the Gothic minniza, minnizei.

303. The comparative suffix in the Gothic, besides is, iz-an, exhibits also the form os, oz-an: it is, however more rare; but in the Old High German has become so current, that there are more comparatives in it in 6ro (nominative masculine), ora (nominative feminine and neuter), than in iro, ira, or ëro, ëra. The few forms in OZAN which can be adduced in Gothic are, svinthôza, "fortior" (nominative masculine), frôdôza, "prudentior," frumôza, "prior," hlasôza, "hilarior," garaihtôza, "justior," framaldroza, "provectior ætate," usdaudoza, "sollicitior," unsvikunthôza, "inclarior" (Massmann, p. 47), and the adverbs sniumundos, "σπουδαιοτέρως," and alyaleikos, "έτέρως." How, then, is the o in these forms to be explained, contrasted with the i of IS, IZAN? I believe only as coming from the long a of the Sanskrit strong themes tyans or yans (§§. 299. 300.), with 6, according to rule, for an a (§. 69.). If one starts from the latter [G. Ed. p. 420.] form, which, in the Zend, is the only one that can be adduced, then, beside the nasal, which is lost also in the Latin and in the weak cases in the Sanskrit, yans has lost in the Gothic either the d or the y = j, which, when the a is suppressed, must be changed into a vowel. The Gothic ds, dz, and still more the Old High German dr, correspond, therefore, exactly to the Latin or in minor, minor-is, for minior. There is reason to assume that, in the Gothic, originally y and  $\delta$  existed in juxta-position to one another; and that for minniza, "the lesser," was used minnyôza, and for frôdôza, "the more intelligent," frôdyôza.

The forms which have lost the y are represented in Latin' by minor, minus, and plus, and those with & suppressed by mag-is. One cannot, however, in Gothic, properly require any superlatives in OSTA, nom. ôst-s, corresponding to the comparatives in ds, dz; because this degree in the Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, and Latin always springs from the form of the comparative, contracted to is, ish. It is, however, quite regular, that, to the frumôza, "prior," corresponds a frumists, "primus," not frumosts. To the remaining comparatives in ôza the superlative is not yet adduced; but in the more recent dialects the comparatives have formed superlatives with & after their fashion; and thus, in the Old High German, 6st usually stands in the superlative, where the comparative has or: the Gothic furnishes two examples of this confusion of the use of language, in lasivosts, "infirmissimus" (1 Cor. xii. 22.), and armosts, "miserrimus" (1 Cor. xv. 19.).

304. In the rejection of the final vowel of the positive base before the suffixes of intensity the German agrees with the cognate languages; hence sut'-iza, from SUTU\*, "sweet"; [G. Ed. p. 421.] hard'-iza, from HARDU, "hard"; seith-s (thana-seiths, "amplius"), from SEITHU, "late"; as in the Greek ἡδίων from 'HΔΥ, and in the Sanskrit laghtyas from laghu, "light." Ya is also rejected; hence spêd'-iza, from SPEDYA, "late" (see p. 358, Note 7.); reik'-iza, from REIKYA, "rich." One could not therefore regard the 6, in forms like frôdôza, as merely a lengthening of the a in FRODA (§. 69.), as it would be completely contrary to the principle of these formations, not only not to suppress the final vowel of the positive base, but even to lengthen it. The explanation of the comparative δ given at §. 303, remains therefore the only one that can be relied upon.

<sup>\*</sup> The positive does not occur, but the Sanskrit swâdu-s and Greek ήδυ-s lead us to expect a final y.

305. In the Old Sclavonic, according to Dobrowsky, p. 332, &c., the comparative is formed in three ways, namely,

(1) By masculine ii, feminine shi, neuter yee; as, unii, "the better (in.)"; unshi, "the better (f.)"; unyee, "the best (n.)," from a positive which has been lost, as batiza, melior, and ἀμείνων; and it is perhaps connected in its base with the latter, so that α may have become o (§. 255. a.), but μ, ũ, as frequently occurs with n; and this  $\tilde{u}$ , with the preceding o, has become û (8).\* Mnii, "the lesser, (m.)" fem. menshi, neuter mnyee, spring, in like manner, from a positive which has been lost. Bolii, "the greater," fem. bolshi, neuter bolyee, may be compared with the Sanskrit baliyan, "the stronger" (p. 396), fem. baliyasî, neuter baliyas. + For [G. Ed. p. 422.] bolii is also used bolyei; and all the remaining comparatives which belong to this class have yet for it, and thus answer better to the neuter form yee. If, as appears to be the case, the form yei is the genuine one, then ye answers to the Sanskrit yas of jyd-yas, bhû-yas, srê-yas, &c. (§. 300.), and the loss of the s is explained by §. 255. (l.): the final i of ye-i, however, is the definitive pronoun (§. 284.), for comparatives always follow, in the masculine and neuter, the definite declension. In the feminine in shi it is easy to recognise the Sanskrit si of iyas-i, or yas-i, and herewith also the Gothic zei (oblique theme ZEIN,

<sup>\*</sup> The a in ducinor appears to me to be privative; so that ucinor would seem to be a sister form to the Latin minor, Gothic minniza, Sclavonic mnii; and ducinor would properly signify "the not lesser," "the not more trifling." Perhaps this word is also inherent in omnis; so that o for a would be the negation, which, in Latin, appears as in; where it may be observed, that, in Sanskrit, a-sakrit, literally "not once," has taken the representation of the meaning "several times."

<sup>†</sup> The positive  $vel\tilde{u}$ , with v for b and e for o, occurs only in this definite form (Dobr. p. 320); the primitive and indefinite form must be vel. With respect to the stronger o corresponding to the weaker letter e (§. 255. a.),  $bol\tilde{u}$ , in the positive, answers to the manner in which vowels are strengthened in Sauskrit, as mentioned at §. 298.

p. 418 G. ed.); that is to say, bol-shi, "the greater (fem.)," corresponds to the Sanskrit बलीयसी baliyasi, "the stronger (f.)," and menshi, "the lesser," to the Gothic minn-izei. While. therefore, the Sclavonic masculine and neuter have lost the s of the Sanskrit yas, the feminine has lost the ya of yas-i.\* This feminine shi, also, in departure from (2) and (3), keeps free from the definite pronoun. There are some comparative adverbs in e, as the abbreviation of ye (§. 255. n.), which in like manner dispense with the definite pronoun; thus, une, "better"; bole, "greater"—in Servian MSS. anye, bolye; [G. Ed. p. 423.] pache, "more," probably related to παχύς, πασσων; so that (which is very obscure) the final vowel of pache for pach-ye, for reasons which have been given before, is, in fact, identical with the Greek σο of πασ-σον, for πασ-γον. The ch of pache may, according to p. 415 G. ed., be regarded as a modification of k, as the first  $\sigma$  of  $\pi \hat{\alpha} \sigma \sigma \sigma \nu$  has developed itself from  $\chi$ . Thus the  $\zeta$  of dol $\zeta$ -yee, "longer" (neuter and adverbial), as euphonic representative of the g of dolg, dolga, dolgo (longus, a, um), answers remarkably to the Greek & in μείζων, ὀλίζων, for μείγων, ὀλίγων. That, however, the positive dolg is connected with the Greek δολιγός needs scarce to be mentioned. Somewhat more distant is the Sanskrit दोषेस dirgha-s, of the same meaning, in which the frequently-occurring interchange between r and l is

<sup>\*</sup> It may be proper here to call remembrance to the past gerund, properly a participle, which in the strong cases vâns, nom. mase. vân for vans, fem. ushi, neuter vat (for vas), corresponds to the Sanskrit of the reduplicated preterite in vas. The Old Sclavonic has here, in the nominative masculine, where the s should stand at the end, lost this letter, according to §. 255. (l.), as by-v, "qui fuit," but by-vshi, "quæ fuit"; and in the masculine also, in preference to the comparative, the s again appears in the oblique cases, because there, in the Sanskrit, after the s follow terminations beginning with a vowel; so in rek-sh, "eum qui dixit," the sh corresponds to the Sanskrit vâns-am, as rurud-vâns-am, "eum qui ploravit."

to be noticed (§. 20.). The  $\iota$  of δολιχὸς, however, shews itself, by the evidence of the Sclavonic and Sanskrit, to be an organic addition. Let garyee, "pejus," be compared with the Sanskrit gariyas, "gravius," from guru, "heavy"—according to Burnouf's correct remark from garu, as this adjective is pronounced in Pâli—through the assimilating influence of the final u, to which the kindred Greek βαρὺς has permitted no euphonic reaction.

(2) The second, by far the most prevalent form of the Old Sclavonic comparative, is nominative masculine shii, feminine shaya, neuter shee. The i of shii is the definitive pronoun, which, in the feminine, is ya, and in the neuter e for ye (§§. 282. 284.). After the loss, then, of this pronoun, there remains shi, sha, she; and these are abbreviations of shyo, shyc, shye, as we have seen, p. 332, G. ed., the adjective base SINYO (nominative siny), before its union with the defining i, contracted to sini (sini-i, neuter sine-e for sinye-ye. The definite feminine of SINYO is sinya-ya; and as to the feminine comparatives not being shya-ya but sha-ya, this rests on the special ground that sibilants gladly free themselves from a following y, especially [G. Ed. p. 424.] before a (Dobrowsky, p. 12); so in the feminine nominatives dûsha, sûsha, chasha, for sûsya, &c. (Dobr. p. 279). The relation of the comparative form under discussion to the Sanskrit un yas and Zend www yas (p. 401) is therefore to be taken thus, that the ya which precedes the sibilant is suppressed, as in the above feminines in shi; but for it, at the end, is added an unorganic YO, which corresponds to the Gothic-Lithuanian YA in the themes NIUYA, NAUYA, "new," answering to नव nava, NOVU, NEO, Sclavonic NOVO. This adjunct YO has preserved the comparative sibilant in the masculine and neuter, which, in the first formation, must yield to the euphonic law, §. 255. (l.) Examples of this second formation are, un-shu, "the better (m.)," feminine

un-shaya, neuter un-shee; pust-shii from pust, theme PUSTO, "desert." Hence it is clear that the final vowel of the positive base is rejected, as in all the cognate languages, however difficult the combination of the t with sh. Even whole suffixes are rejected, in accordance with §. 298.; as, glub-shii from glubok, "deep" (definite, gluboky-i), sladshii from sladok, "sweet."\*

(3) Masculine yeĭshiĭ, feminine yeĭshaya, neuter yeĭshee; but after sch, sh, and ch, aĭ stands for yeĭ: and this aĭ evidently stands only euphonically for yaĭ, since the said sibilants, as [G. Ed. p. 425.] has been already remarked, gladly divest themselves of a following y: hence blasch-aĭshiĭ, "the better" (masculine), from blag (theme BLAGO), "good,"t since g, through the influence of the y following, gives way to a sibilant, which has subsequently absorbed the y; compare ἀλίζ-ων, for ἀλίγ-ίων, ἀλιγ-yων (p. 402): so tish-aishiĭ, from tich (theme TICHO), "still,"t as in the Greek θάσ-σων from ταγύς. As example of the form

<sup>\*</sup> I hold ko, whence in the nom. masc. k, for the suffix of the positive base, but the preceding o for the final vowel of the lost primitive; and this o corresponds either to a Sanskrit a, according to  $\S$ . 255. (a.), or to an  $\Im$  u, according to  $\S$ . 255. (c.); for example, tano-k, "thin," theme TANOKO, corresponds to the Sanskrit tanu-s, "thin," Greek  $\tau avv$ ; and slado-k to the Sanskrit swadu-s, "sweet," with exchange of the v for k according to k. 20. Thus the above slad-shi shews itself to be originally identical, as well in the suffix of the positive as of the other degrees with the Greek  $\hat{\eta}\delta$ - $i\omega v$  and Gothic sut-iza (k. 304.), far as the external difference may separate them; and to the Sclavonic is due, as to the truer preservation of the fundamental word, the preference above the Greek and Gothic, although, on account of the unexpected transition of the v into k, the origin of the Sclavonic word is more difficult to recognise.

<sup>†</sup> Dobrowsky says (p. 334) from blagyi (this is the definite, see §. 284.\':
it is, however, evident that the comparative has not arisen from the adjective compounded with a pronoun, but from the simple indefinite one.

<sup>†</sup> Compare the Sanskrit adverb tushnim, "still, silent," and refer to \$.255. (m.).

with yei, yûn-yeishii, "junior," from yûn, may serve. Whence comes, then, the yei or ai (for yai), which distinguishes this formation from the second? It might be supposed that to the first formation in yei, where, for example, also yûn-yei, "the younger (m.)," occurs, that of the second has also been added, as in Old High German mêrero, "the greater" (masculine), and in Gothic, probably, vairsiza, "the worse" (p. 405), are raised twice to the comparative degree; and as, in Persian, the superlatives in terin, in my opinion, contain, as their last element, the comparative suit iyans, which forms, in the nominative masculine, iyan, and from this could be easily contracted to in. In Persian the comparative is formed through ter; as, behter, "the better," whence behterin, "the best." Now it deserves remark, that in Old Sclavonic the formation before us frequently occurs with a superlative meaning, while in the more modern dialects the superlative relation is expressed through the comparative with nai, "more," prefixed (probably from mai = Gothic mais, according to §. 225. 1.). The only objection to this mode of explanation [G. Ed. p. 426.] is this, that the element of the first formation ye-i has not once laid aside the definitive pronoun i, which is foreign to the comparative; so that therefore in yûn-yei-shii the said pronoun would be contained twice. There is, however, another way of explaining this yeishii or (y)aishii, namely, as an exact transmission of the Sanskrit iyas or yas, from which the second formation has only preserved the sibilant; but the third, together with this letter, may have retained also that which preceded. Still, even in this method, the i of yei, (y)a, is embarrassing, if it be not assumed that it owes its origin to a transposition of the i of iya.

306. As to the remark made at p. 400, that among the European languages the Greek only has preserved the masal, which the Sanskrit shews in the strong cases of the comparative suffix iyans, I must here admit a limitation in

favour of the Lithuanian, which, exceeding in this point the Greek, continues not only the nasal,\* but also the comparative sibilant through all the cases. For an example, gerésnis, "the better" (m.), may serve, with which we would compare the Sanskrit gariyansam, "graviorem" (nominative gariyan). It may be, but it is not of much consequence to us, that geresnis and gariyans (strong theme) are also connected in the positive base; so that, as according to p. 398, in Greek and Gothic goodness is measured by depth, in Lithuanian it is measured by weight. The Sanskrit comparative under discussion means, also, not only "heavier," or "very heavy," but also, according to Wilson, "highly venerable." In order, however, to analyze the Lithuanian gerésnis, we must observe that gerésnis stands for gerésniae, and the theme is clearly GERÉSNIA; hence genitive gerésnio, dative gerésniam; as géro, gerám, from géra-s. [G. Ed. p. 427.] The termination ia, therefore—for which ya might be expected, the y of which, as it appears for the avoiding of a great accumulation of consonants, has been resolved into i-corresponds to the unorganic addition which we, p. 411, have observed in Sclavonic comparatives. We have now geresn remaining, which I regard as a metathesis from gerens,+ through which we come very near the Sanskrit gariyais. But we come still nearer to it through the observation, that, in Lithuanian, e is often produced by the euphonic influence of a preceding y or i (§. 193.). We believe, therefore, that here also we may explain gerésn as from geryasn (geryans), and further recall attention to the Zend swassauf masyehi (§. 300.).

<sup>•</sup> In the Lith. comparative adverbs like daugiaus, "more," mazaus, "less," I regard the u as the vocalization of the n; thus daugiaus from daugians, where ians=Skr. iyâns of the strong cases.

<sup>†</sup> This has been already alluded to by Grimm (III. 635, Note \*), who has however, given the preference to another explanation, by which conises similarly arrived at with the Latin issimus.

The emphasis upon the e of géresnis may be attibutable to the original length in the Sanskrit strong theme gariyans. Hence the astonishing accuracy may justly be celebrated with which the Lithuanian, even to the present day, continues to use the Sanskrit comparative suffix hyans, or rather its more rare form preferred in Zend yans.

307. The Lithuanian superlative suffix is only another modification of the comparative. The nasal, that is to say, which in the latter is transposed, is, in the superlative, left in its original place: it is, however, as often happens, resolved into u,\* and to the s which ends the theme in the Sanskrit, which, in Lithuanian, is not declinable (§. 128.), is added ia: hence GERAUSIA, the nominative of which, however, in departure from gerésnis, has dropped, not the a, but the i; thus gerausa-s, gen. gerausio, and, in the feminine, gerausa, gerausios; in which forms, [G. Ed. p. 428.] contrary to the principle which is very generally followed in the comparative and elsewhere, the i has exercised no euphonic influence.

"Remark.—With respect to the Sanskrit gradation-suffixes tara, tama, I have further to add, that they also occur in combination with the inseparable preposition  $\frac{1}{2\pi}$  ut; hence ut-tara, 'the higher,' ut-tama, 'the highest,' as above (§. 295.) af-tuma, and in Latin ex-timus, in-timus. I think, however, I recognise the base of ut-tara, ut-tama, in the Greek ος οf υσ-τερος, υσ-τατος, with the unorganic spir. asp., as in ἐκάτερος, corresponding to the Sanskrit êkatura-s, and with σ from τ (compare §. 99.), in which it is to be remarked that also in the Zend for ut-tara, ut-tama, according to §. 102., us-tara, us-těma, might be expected.

<sup>\*</sup> Comp. §. 255. (g.); in addition to which it may be here further remarked, that in all probability the u also in Gothic conjunctives like haitau, haihaityau, is of nasal origin.

## NUMERALS.

## CARDINAL NUMBERS.

308. I. In the designation of the number one great difference prevails among the Indo-European languages, which springs from this, that this number is expressed by pronouns of the 3d person, whose original abundance affords satisfactory explanation regarding the multiplicity of expressions for one. The Sanskrit êka, whose com. parative we have recognised in the Greek ἐκάτερος, is, in my opinion, the combination of the demonstrative base & of which hereafter, with the interrogative base ka, which also, in combination with api, "also" (nom. masc. k6'pi), signifies "whoever"; and even without this api, if an interrogative expression precedes, as Bhagavad-Gîtâ, II. 21, करं स पुरुष: पार्थ कङ् घातणीत हीना कम kathan sa purushah Partha kan ghatayati hanti kam, "How can this person, O Pârtha, cause one to be slain, (or)slay one?" The Zend אשמענג [G. Ed. p. 429.] aêva, is connected with the Sanskrit pronominal adverbs eva, "also," "only," &c., and evam, "so," of which the latter is an accusative, and the former, perhaps, an instrumental, according to the principle of the Zend language (§. 158.). The Gothic ain'-s, theme AINA, our einer, is based on the Sanskrit defective pronoun êna (§. 72.) whence, among others, comes the accusative masculine êna-m, "this." To this pronominal base belongs, perhaps, also the Old Latin oinos, which occurs in the Scipionian epitaphs, from which the more modern anus may be deduced, through the usual transition of the old v into u, which latter is lengthened to make up for the i suppressed. Still unus shews, also, a surprising resemblance to the Sanskrit ana-s, which properly means "less," and is prefixed to the higher numerals in order to express diminution by one; as, unavinshati, "undeviginti," unatrinshat, "undetriginta." This unas could

not have appeared in Latin, more accurately retained than under the form of unu-s, or, more anciently, uno-s. The Greek 'EN is founded, it is highly probable, in like manner, on the demonstrative base en êna, and has lost its final vowel, as the Gothic AINA, in the masculine nominative ains: with respect to the έ for ê compare ἐκάτερος. On the other hand, olos, "unicus," if it has arisen from olvos compare oinos), as μείζω from μείζονα, has retained the Indian diphthong more truly, and has also preserved the final vowel of en êna. If ovos, the number one in dice, really has its name from the idea of unity, one might refer this word to the demonstrative base wa ana, Sclavonic ONO (nominative on, "that"), which also plays a part in the formation of words, where oun corresponds to the Sanskrit suffix and (feminine of the masculine and neuter ana), if it is not to be referred to the medial participle in ana, as morn to mana. The Old Sclavonic, yedin, "one," is clearly connected with the Sanskrit wife adi, "the first," with y which has been prefixed according to §. 255. (n.): on the other hand, in the Lithuanian wiena-s, [G. Ed. p. 430.] if it is connected with the Gothic AINA and Sanskrit 27 êna, an unorganic w has been prefixed. In regard to to the ie for & & compare, also, wies-te, "knowledge," with बेचि vêdmi. "I know."

"Remark.—The German has some remarkable expressions, in which the number one lies very much concealed as to its form, and partly, too, as to its idea: they are, in Gothic, haihs, "one-eyed," hanfs, "one-handed," halls, "lame," and halbs, "half." In all these words the number one is expressed by ha; and in this syllable I recognise a corruption of the abovementioned Sanskrit ka for the mutation of consonants (§. 87). It would be erroneous to refer here to the Zend we ha of personal transfer of the Zend we have have the Zend we have have a corruption of Sanskrit and sakrit, as the Zend we have have have a correspondent to the Zend we have the Zend we have the correspondent to the Zend we have the zen

stands, without exception, for the Sanskrit # s, to which the h in Gothic never corresponds.\* J. Grimm compares haihs with cæcus (II. 316), not with the purpose of following out the origin of these cognate words, but in order to prove the transition of the tenuis into the aspirate; for the simple aspiration stands in Gothic instead of kh, which is wanting. These words are, however, so far connected, that, in both, the word eye is contained. It is only the question whether the one-eyed in Latin has also lost the other eye, and if the blind (cacus), in regard to etymology, has not preserved one eye left. This appears to me more probable than that the blind in Gothic should recover his sight, though but with one eye. The theme of haihs is HAIHA: one may, then, divide HAIHA into HA-IHA or into H-AIHA; thus the latter portion of this compound word is assuredly connected with the word जब aksha, "eye," in Sanskrit, which only occurs at the end of compounds; so that of the compounded a ksh only the first portion is left, while the Zend work, "eye"-which, in like manner, I have found only at the end of compound words, as പ്രോഡധം സ് csvas-ashim, "the six-eyed"—has preserved the last element: the Latin ocus, however (the primitive base of oculus), preserves only the first like the Gothic. If in HAIHA the diphthong ai is left entirely to the share of the eye, we must assume that the a is introduced through the euphonic influence of the h (§. 82.), and that AIHA stands for [G. Ed. p. 431.] IHA, and this for AHA; as fimf from पच pancha; fidvor from चन्नार chatwar. But if the a of HAIHA is allotted to the numeral, which appears to me more correct, then the h in this word has not introduced any euphonic a, because, with the aid of the first member of the compound, the

<sup>\*</sup> Connected, however, with this designation of "one," which is taken from the pronominal base sa (Greek δ), may be the Greek δ in δ-πλούς.

disposition of the h to ai was already satisfied. We must further recall attention to the Latin cocles, in which, however, the notion of unity is evidently represented only by the c, for the o must be left to the ocles as a derivative from oculus: cacus, however, if a is the correct way of writing, and if the number one is contained therein, would spring from ca-icus; and the Indian a, therefore, is weakened, as in Gothic, to i, which, in Latin compounds, is the usual representative of an a of the base (§. 6.). Let us now examine the one-handed. Its theme is, in Gothic, HAUFA, nominative abbreviated haufs; so that here, as in a skein, two bases and a pronominal remnant, as mark of case, lie together. The numeral is here the most palpable element: it is more difficult to search out the hand. In the isolated state no theme nfa could be expected; but in compounds, and also in prefixed syllables of reduplication, a radical vowel is often rejected; as, in the Sanskrit निमन jagmima, "we went," of the root मम gam, only gm is left; and in the Greek, πίπτω for πιπέτω, ΠΕΤ, which corresponds to the Sanskrit va pat, "to fall," is abbreviated to πτ. We shall, therefore, be compelled to assume that a vowel has fallen out between the n and f of HA-NFA. If it was an iwhich was displaced, then NIFA might pass as a transposition of the Sanskrit unfu pani, "hand," with f for p, according to §. 87. In HA-LTA, "lame"-nominative halts-must ha again pass for a numeral, and ha-lta may originally signify "one-footed," for it is (Mark ix. 45.) opposed to the Gothic tvans fôtuns habandin, "having two feet," where it is said it is better for thee to enter into life with one foot, than having two feet to be cast into hell.' It is at least certain, that a language which had a word for one-footed would very fitly have applied it in this passage. If the last element, however, in HA-LTA means the foot, we must remember that, in Sanskrit, several appellations of this member are derived from roots which mean "to go." Now, there is, in

Gothic, a root LITH, "to go," with an aspirated t, indeed; but in compounds the consonants do not always remain on the same grade which they adopt in the simple word; [G. Ed. p. 432.] e.g. the t of quatuor appears as d in many derivatives and compounds, without this dthereby dissembling its original identity with the t of quatuor and Tax chatur. So, then, HA-LTA may stand for HA-LITHA; and it may be remarked, that from the root LIT comes, also, lithus, "the limb," as that which is moveable. Before I pass on to the explanation of halb, I must mention that J. Grimm divides the pronoun selber, as it appears to me very properly, into two parts; so that the syllable si of the Gothic silba devolves on the reciprocal (sci-na, si-s, si-k). With respect to the last portion, he betakes himself to a verb leiban, "to remain," and believes that silba may, perhaps, have the meaning of "that which remains in itself, enduring." Be this as it may, it is clear that halbs -the theme is HALBA-might be, with equal right, divided into two parts; and it appears to me, that, according to its origin, this word can have no better meaning than, perhaps, "containing a part"; so that the ideas one and a part, remnant, or something similar, may be therein expressed, and, according to the principle of the Sanskrit possessive compounds, the notion of the possessor must be supplied, as in the already explained haihs, "having one eye." In the Gothic, also, laiba means "remnant." It scarcely needs remark, that halb is no original and simple idea, for which a peculiar simple word might be expected, framed to express it. The half is one part of the whole, and, in fact, equal to the absent part. The Latin dimidius is named after the middle through which the division went. The Zend has the expression wern, naêma, for halb, according to a euphonic law for nêma, which in Sanskrit, among other meanings, signifies "part": this is probably the secondary meaning, and the half, as part of the whole,

the original. If it is so, नेम nêma appears to me a very ingenious designation for a half, for it is a regular contraction of \( na, "not," and \( \frac{1}{2} = ima, "this or that"; \) and the demonstrative therefore points at the "this or that" portion of the whole excluded by the negative na. In Sanskrit, halb is termed, among other appellations, सानि sami, in which one recognises both the Latin semi and the Greek hu, and the three languages agree in this also, that they use this word only without inflection at the beginning of compounds. As to its origin, सामि sâmi may be viewed as a regular derivative from HA sama, "equal," "similar," by a suffix i, by which the suppression of the final vowel, and widening of the initial vowel of the primitive, become necessary. If this explanation is well founded, [G. Ed. p. 433.] then in this designation of halb only one part of the whole, and, indeed, one equal to the deficient part, would be expressed, and the सामि sâmi would be placed as έτερον over against the deficient erepov; and the Sanskrit and German supply each other's deficiencies, so that the former expresses the equality, the latter the unity, of the part; i.e. each of the two languages only semi-expresses the half. As to the relation, however, of the Greek ημισυς to ημι, it follows from what has been already said—that the latter is not an abbreviation of the former, but the former is a derivation from the latter; and indeed I recognise in ou the Sanskrit possessive swa, "suus," which, remarkably enough, in Zend enters into combinations with numerals with the meaning " part"; e.g. אנשראלינים thri-shva, "a third part," אנשראלינים chathru-shva, "a fourth part." In the accusative these words, according to §. 42., are written found thri-shû-m, τος chathru-shûm, of which the last member comes very near to the Greek συν ος ημισυν. "Ημι-συς means therefore, "having one equal part," and the simple \( \eta\_{\mu u} \) means only the equal. The Sanskrit designation of "the whole" deserves further to be mentioned, सक्छम् sa-kala-s,

which, as signifying that which joins the parts and unites them, is opposed to the German halb as applying to one part, and in a measure furnishes a commentary and guarantee for the correctness of my view of the latter. The word सकल sakala consists, though this is scarcely perceptible, of \ sa, "with," and कला kalâ, "part," so that, if the latter is regarded in the dual relation-and the last member of a compound may express each of the three numbers—सक्छ sakala expresses that in which the two parts are together. Thus the word समग्र sam-agra, "full," is used especially in regard to the moon, as a body with points, i.e. that in which the two points touch one another. Transposed into Greek relations of sound sakala-s would give, perhaps, όκαλος, or όκελος, or όκολος; but from this the present όλος has rejected the middle syllallable, as is the case in κόρος, κοῦρος, compared with कमारस kumara-s, "a boy."

309. II. The theme of the declension is, in Sanskrit, dwa, which is naturally inflected with dual terminations: the Gothic gives for it tva, according to §. 87., and inflects it, in the want of a dual, as plural, but after the manner of pronouns:

[G. Ed. p. 434.] nominative tvai, tvôs, tva; dative tvaim; accusative tvans, thvôs, tva.\* The Sanskrit displays in the dual

<sup>\*</sup> One would expect  $tv\hat{o}$ , on account of the form being monosyllabic (§. 231.). In the genitive masculine and neuter I should look for  $tvi-z\hat{e}$ , after the analogy of  $thi-z\hat{e}$ , "horum," from THA, or  $tvaiz\hat{e}$ , according to the analogy of the definite adjectives (§.287. p. 374 G. ed.), and according to the common declension  $tv'-\hat{e}$  (p. 276). However, the form  $tvaddy\hat{e}$  occurs three times in the sense of duorum; whence it is clear that the genitive of the base TVA was no longer in use in the time of Ulfila. The form  $tvaddy'-\hat{e}$  belongs to a theme TVADDYA (as  $hary'-\hat{e}$  from HARYA), and appears, from the ordinal number, which in Sanskrit is dwi-tiya for dwa-tiya, to have introduced itself into the cardinal number. From  $tvaddy\hat{e}$ , by rejecting both the d—of which one is, besides, superfluous—and by changing the y into a vowel, we arrive at the Old High German  $zuei\hat{o}$ , according to Isid.  $zueiy\hat{o}$ , as for from fidvor; also definite,  $zuei\hat{e}r\hat{o}$ , which, in Gothic, would be  $tvaddyaiz\hat{e}$ . Grimm appears, on the other hand, to

no difference between the pronominal declension and the ordinary one, and dwau is declined like vrikau (p. 274), dwê feminine like dhârê (p. 285), and dwe neuter like dânê (p. 276). As, however, the notions of number are much akin to those of the pronouns; and as say alpa, "a little," forms, in the nominative plural masculine, wei alpê (§. 228.); so from the masculine theme dwa, if it had a plural, might be expected dwe, to which, according to §. 78., the Gothic tvai would correspond, which it is not requisite to regard like adjectives terminating similarly, as if compounded with a definite pronoun, espe- [G. Ed. p. 435.] cially as a genitive tvaize, which would make the latter view necessary, does not occur. To tvai corresponds, also, bai, "both," from the theme BA, neuter ba, dative baim, accusative masculine bans, which is to be deduced through aphæresis from the Sanskrit base ubha, Old Sclavonic oba (nominative and accusative dual), from the base OBO. In Zend the masculine of the number two is was dva (for dva, §. 208.), with which the Old Sclavonic dva is identical, while the feminine neuter dvye answers to the Sanskrit dwê (§. 255. e.). The Zend neuter is duyê, with euphonic y (§. 43.), and the vresolved into u. In the Greek and Latin δύω, δύο, duo, the

have taken occasion, from the Old High German forms, to suppose a Gothic tvaiyé and tvaiaizé, in which I cannot agree with him. The Old Northern, by exchanging the dental medials with gutturals, gives tvaggya for the Gothic tvaddyé. In the accusative plural feminine is found, in Gothic, together with tvôs also tveihnôs, which presupposes a masculine and neuter base TVEIHNA. fem. TVEIHNO; and in which the annexed HNA reminds us of the appended pronoun H sma, discussed at §. 165. &c., which, by metathesis, and with the alteration of the s into h, has in Prâkrit and Pâli taken the form mha (comp. §. 169.). On this Gothic TVEIHNA is based the Old High German nominative and accusative masculine zuéné with loss of the h. The feminine, however, appears in Old High German free from this addition, and is in the nominative and accusative zuô, also abbreviated zua (comp. §. 60.).

old v is, in the same way, resolved into the u, but the final vowel of the base is not abandoned: δύω answers to the Vêdic masculine dwa (§. 208.); but in distinguishing the genders the Greek is surpassed by the Latin and the other European sister languages. The Lithuanian has du in the nominative masculine, and dwi in the nominative feminine; with the closer explanation of which, and their dual declension, we will not here occupy ourselves further. It is, however, to be remarked of the Sanskrit numeral, that the a of dwa is, in the beginning of compounds, weakened to i (compare §. 6.): hence dwi, which is represented by the native grammarians as the proper theme (comp. p. 102). The Greek, in which  $\delta F_i$  is inadmissible, gives in its stead δι; hence, διμήτωρ = fana dwimatri (theme), "having two mothers." The Zend and Latin agree in the corruption of this dwi very remarkably, in this point, that they have both dropped the d and have both hardened the v to b; hence אנשמעט bipaitistana, "with two nipples," like biceps, bidens, and others. From this abbreviated bi, comes, in both languages, also the adverb bis, "twice," in contrast to the Sanskrit dwis and Greek dis: the Greek di, however, in compounds, cannot be regarded as an abbreviation of  $\delta i_{\varsigma}$ , as is wont to be done. The German dialects, with exception of the Old High Ger-[G. Ed. p. 496.] man, require, according to §. 87., tvi for dvi, as the initial member of compounds; this is furnished by the Anglo-Saxon in compound words like tvi-fête, "bipes," tvi-finger, "duos digitos longus," tvi-hive, "bicolor." The Old High German gives zui (=zwi) or qui; e.g. zui-beine, "bipes," qui-falt, "duplex" (Grimm III. 956.). The adverb zuiro, more fully zuiror, also quiro, "twice," belongs, according to its formation, but not without the intervention of another word, to the above dwis, dis, bis; but it is clear, from the Old Northern tvis-var, that ro has arisen from sva by apocope of the a and vocalization of the v, perhaps more

anciently to u, and thence to o (§. 77.) as in deo (also diu), "a servant," genitive diwe-s, from the base DIWA. Whence comes, however, the Old Northern svar, which occurs also in thrisvar, "thrice," and with which the English ce in twice, thrice, is connected. I believe that the s, which precedes the var, is certainly identical with the s of fan dwis, dis, and fan tris, rpis, but the annexed var corresponds to the Sanskrit substantive vara, which signifies period and time; hence êkavâra, "once" (see Haughton), and våramvåram, "repeatedly." Hence comes the Persian bar, e.g. bar-i, "once"; and as the original meaning of this word is "time," and we have already seen, in Persian, the transition of the v into b, we may hence very satisfactorily explain the Latin ber in the names of months; and Septem-ber, therefore, is literally the seven-time, i.e. the seventh time-segment of the year. But to return to the Old Northern svar, in trisvar, thrisvar, which we must now divide into tris-var, thris-var, according to the explanation which has been given, the idea of time, is expressed therein twice, which is not surprising, as in the Old High German mêriro, also mentioned above, the comparative suffix is twice contained, because it is no longer felt the first time, by the genius of the language, with sufficient clearness. As then, in Old High German, first the r, and more lately also the o (from v), of s-var has been dropped, we see, in the Middle High [G. Ed. p. 437.] German drir, from dris, the form again returned into the original limits of the Sanskrit-Greek tris.

310. III. The theme is, in the Sanskrit, Greek, Latin. Lithuanian, and Old Sclavonic, TRI, whence in the Gothic, according to §. 87., THRI, and exactly the same in Zend, according to another law of sound (§. 47.). The declension of this base is, in most of the languages mentioned, perfectly regular: it is only to be remarked of the Gothic, in which, however, all the cases cannot be

adduced, that on account of the word being monosyllabic, the i is not suppressed before vowel terminations, but becomes iy (compare the Pâli, §. 226.): hence the genitive thriy-ê, and nominative neuter thriy-a (§. 233.). Besides these, the dative thri-m and the accusative thri-ns may be cited. The Sanskrit forms the genitive from an extended theme traya, hence traya-n-am; while the Zend thry-anm or thray-aim comes from the original base. Both languages, however, agree in this, that fa tri, 26 thri, is only a theme of the masculine and neuter; and although, according to its termination, it might quite as well be assigned to the feminine, nevertheless the feminine number has an appellation peculiar to it, which is rather different from tri, thri, of which the theme is tisar (fax tisri, §. 1.), the a of which, in the Sanskrit nominative, accusative, and vocative, is irregularly suppressed; hence faut tisrast for tisaras, Zend Yhouse tisaro.

[G. Ed. p. 438.] 311. IV. The Sanskrit feminine theme want chatasar (chatasri) follows the analogy of the tisar just mentioned; and the similarity between the two forms is so great that it appears, which is perhaps the fact, that the number three is contained in the fourth numeral; so that tisr-as would be a weakened form of tasr-as, and the cha prefixed to the number four would be identical with the particle, which means "and," and which, in other places, is attached to the end of the word. If one wished to press still farther into the deep mystery of the appellations of numbers, one might moot the question whether

<sup>\*</sup> With this extended theme one may compare the Old High German nominative masculine driê in Isidor, which belongs to a theme DRIA, with pronominal declension. The feminine driô, from the base DRIŌ, of the same sound, presupposes in like manner a masculine and neuter theme DRIA.

<sup>†</sup> In the accusative, tisras is more organic than fate tisras, as it must stand according to the common rule (comp. §. 242.).

the syllables tasa in the theme cha-ta-sar, might not be considered as identical with the demonstrative bases of the same sound. I do not think, at least, that any language whatever has produced special original words for the particular designation of such compound and peculiar ideas as three, four, five, &c.; and as the appellations of numbers resist all comparison with the verbal roots,\* the pronominal roots remain the only means by which to explain them. Without attempting to resolve the difficulties in the individual numbers, we will express the conjecture, that the operation of speech with regard to the numbers might originally be expounded nearly in this manner—that one might perhaps say, "it, this, that, and it, and this," &c.: thus the pronouns might actually suffice better than they appear to do in the forms of numerals which lie before us. But an obscuration of the original clearness of this method, which would occur in the course of time, would be owing also [G. Ed. p. 439.] to this, that a simple or compound word might undertake immediately to designate this or that number, and no other one, though equally adapted to denote it.

312. The masculine and neuter of the number four have, in Sanskrit, sait chatwar as the strong theme, and sait chatur as the weak; hence, nom. masc. chatwar-as, accus. chatur-as, nom. accus. voc. neut. chatwar-i: the gen. masc. and neut. is irregularly chatur-n-am for chatur-am, since, according to the analogy of bases terminating with a vowel, a nasal

<sup>\*</sup> Only in three might one perhaps think of the Sanskrit root of trī, "trans-gredi," and consider three, therefore, as the more (than two). This verbal notion of passing over, adding, is, however, also the only possible one which could be blended with the names of numbers.

<sup>†</sup> To §. 129. is further to be added, that from the strong theme springs also the form of the nom., acc., and voc. plural of the neuter; while this kind forms the whole singular and dual from the weak theme.

is introduced (§. 246.). In the Zend the strong theme is 2woodwo chathwar, according to §. 47.; hence, nom. masc. Dwoods chathward; and the weak theme is, by transposition, Man chathru; as, chathru-mahim, "four months" (accus. sing.), Vend. S. p. 248. For the Sanskrit genitive चमणान् chaturnam, we find ह्याप्रेशिश chathrusnam (1. c. pp. 204 and 206, with a inserted, בשנון און chathrusananm); but in the beginning of compound words it is more frequently found shoots chathware; so that the weakening consists merely in the shortening of the &, and, according to §. 44., an ĕ is added to the r; as chalwarĕpailistanyão, "of her with four teats" (gen. fem., Vend. S. p. 83). As to the European sister languages, one must expect, according to §. 14., for ch, gutturals and labials, hence, in Gothic fidvôr, and aspirates for smooth letters, according to §. 87. This fidvôr is based on the strong theme ঘনাই chatwar, but in the state of declension extends the theme by an unorganic i, hence dative fidvôri-m, the only adduceable case. In Old Northern the nom. masc. is fiôri-r. [G. Ed. p. 440.] The original theme fidvor appears in the compound fidvor-tiguns, "forty" (accus.): on the other hand, fidur in fidur-dôgs, "four days," is referable to the Indian weak theme chatur; whence, however, it should not be said that the weak theme of the German, Lithuanian, and Sclavonic has been brought from an Asiatic original site, for it was as easy for the Gothic, by suppressing the last vowel but one, to contract its fidvor to fidur-like thiu-s "servant," from thiva-s, gen. thivi-s-as for the Sanskrit to abbreviate chatwar to chatur. The Lithuanian theme follows the example of abbreviation in its interior, but extends the theme at the end; the masc. nom. is keturi, and the feminine keturios: KETURIA serves the latter as theme: the masculine keturi is analogous with geri, "the good" (see p. 251, Note ‡), and therefore has KETURIE, euphonic for KETURIA, as its base. The genitive and

accusative masculine keturi-û, keturi-s, proceed from the base KETURI. The Old Sclavonic gives CHETYRI as the masculine and feminine theme, and inflects the masculine like GOSTI, and the feminine like KOSTI (p. 349); hence nom. chetyry-e, chetyri, just as in the third numeral triy-e, "tri"; and the feminine form may, in both, represent also the masculine, and always supplies the neuter. But the collective chetvero, and the ordinal number chetverty-i, stand in closer agreement with the Indian strong theme जनार chatwar: the Latin quatuor, also, which, in disadvantageous comparison with the cognate languages, has lost the capability of declension, and the Greek τέσσαρ-ες, τέτταρ-ες, rest on the strong चनारस chatraras; so that τέτταρες, just like the Pâli form चतारो chattaro, has gained its last t by assimilatson of the semi-vowel. The Prâkrit form, also, which I am not able to quote, will scarcely be other than chattarô (comp. §. 300 p. 414 G. ed.). With regard to the initial \( \tau \) let reference be made to §. 14., by which this 7 is accommo- [G. Ed. p. 441] dated with the Æolic πίσυρες, which refers itself to the weak theme चत्र chatur. With the Zend transposition of the weak theme to chathru (p. 439 G. ed.), at the beginning of compounds, agrees surprisingly the Latin quadru, in quadrupes and other words. The adverbial s, by which fan dwis, "twice," and fan tris, Zend thris, "thrice," are formed, is, in the Sanskrit chalur, suppressed by the rule of sound mentioned in §. 94.; hence chatur, "four times," for chaturs. That the latter has originally existed one learns from the Zend transposed form we chathrus. The Latin has already, in the number three, without being forced by a compulsory law, dropped the s, and hence ter and quater appear only as internal modifications of the cardinal numbers.

313. V. Sanskrit עשק panchan, Zend אנענאָטען panchan. Lithuanian penki,\* Greek πέντε, Æolic πέμπε, Gothic

<sup>\*</sup> This is the nominative masculine; the feminino is penkios, and holds

fimf,\* Latin quinque, Old Sclavonic pyaty.† The Sanskrit Zend panchan is the theme, and the genders are not dis[G. Ed. p. 442.] tinguished in this and the following numbers; hence the nominative, accusative, and vocative have always singular neuter forms (therefore pancha, according to §. 139.): the other cases shew plural terminations; as, genitive unitary panchanam, Zend ξωρωνων panchanamm (Vend. S. p. 52). By this irregularity in the declension the Sanskrit and Zend prepare us in a measure for complete want of inflection in Greek and Latin. Moreover, it is remarkable that not one of the European languages will at all recognise the final nasal, while, nevertheless, that of saptan. navan, and daśan is found also in Gothic and Lithuanian; and in Lithuanian, also, that of user ashtan, "eight" (asz/ūni). The Greek has frequently preserved an old α

the same relation to it that *keturios* does to *keturi* (p. 428). The same obtains with the appellations of the numbers 6, 7, 8, 9, of which we give only the masculine.

<sup>\*</sup> Occurs only uninflected: in the declined theme, the unorganic addition of an i must be expected, as in FIDVORI; and as is also actually the case in Old High German in this number, and the appellations for the six to ten inclusive. In Gothic, however, occur also saihs, "six," sibun, "seven," ahtau, "eight," and taihun, "ten," only uninflected, and therefore without the unorganic i; but from niun, "nine," comes the genitive niun-ê, which indeed might also have proceeded from a theme NIUN or NIUNA, but which I doubt not comes from NIUNI.

the theme is PYATI, and is inflected like KOSTI (p. 348), and with singular terminations; so that one has to look upon this numeral as a feminine collective, beside which the object numbered stands in apposition in like cases. The same obtains with the appellations for the numbers 6 to 10 inclusive. As to the formal relation of PYATI to panchan, we must observe, that of the latter, in Sclavonic, only the syllable pa is represented by pya (§. 225. n.); but TI is a derivational suffix, as in SHESHTI, "six," DEVYATI, "nine," and DESYATI, "ten," and corresponds to the Sanskrit suffix ti in the multiplied numbers vineati, "twenty," shashti, "sixty," &c.

before a nasal originally there, while it has preferred weakening the same to e before other consonants; hence ετινρα(μ, ν), ετινραν, but ετινρε(τ); τέτυφα(μι) but τέτυφε(τι; and so έπτα, ἐννέα, δέκα: not πέντα, however, but πέντε. It might therefore well be assumed, that the nasal in Indo-Zend numerals is a later addition, but that cha is the particle signifying "and," which, in the number four, we have taken for the prefix (§. 311.). In Latin, also, quinque is, in regard to its termination, similar to words connected with the particle que, as in πέντε the enclitic τε, which is akin to que and cha (see §. 14.) appears to be contained. This being the case, I would prefer regarding pan in us pancha as euphonic for pam, and the m as a neuter case-sign; but the pa which remains over as a pronoun, and indeed as identical with the ka which occurs in the number one (§. 308), in regard to which one might advert to the [G. Ed. p. 443.] old Latin pidpid for quidquid, noios for koios, &c. Five would. therefore, literally mean "and one," and in fact that one which is to be added to four.\*

314. VI. Sanskrit प् shash, Zend www csvas, Lithuanian szeszi, Old Sclavonic shesty (theme SHESHTI, p. 430. Note †), Gothic saihs (see §. 82.), Latin sex, Greek et. One may justly suppose that the guttural which begins the Zend word has also existed in Sanskrit, for instance, प्र

<sup>\*</sup> Ag. Benary, who likewise recognises in pancha the particle "and," seeks to compare the preceding syllable with pāṇi, "hand" (Berl. Jahrb-1833. II. p. 49). If, however, a connection exists between the appellations of the hand and five, the former word might be named from the number of the fingers; as one might also venture an attempt to explain digitus and darrolos with the number "ten," and our "finger," Gothic figgrs (=fingrs), theme FIGGRA, with finf (fimf); so that in this word no transition of the guttural organ into the labial has taken place. I do not think it probable that finger in named from fangen, "to seize"; also, as far as regards the Greek and Latin, the appellation of each single finger is more likely to be derived from the total number than from pointing (deixyum).

kshash, for sh is otherwise not an initial syllable in Sanskrit, and also no original sound, but that sibilant which is only admissible with a preceding k (§. 21.). In Latin, Greek, and German the guttural appears to be transposed, for sex is the transposition of xes.

315. VII. Sanskrit און saptan, Zend אונטשט haptan, nominative and accusative או sapta, שעלסאע hapta (see §. 313.), Greek ἐπτά, Latin septem, Lithuanian septyni, Old Sclavonic sedmy (theme SEDMI). The m of septem and sedmy seems to me to have been introduced from the ordinal number, which is, in Sanskrit, saptama, nom. masc. saptama-s, and in Sclavonic sedmyi. The same holds good of the termination of osmy, "eight," and the Latin novem, decem, Sanskrit navama-s, [G. Ed. p. 444.] "the ninth," dasama-s, "the tenth"; for it is not probable that the n of the Sanskrit cardinal number has become m in the abovementioned languages, as m is very frequently corrupted to n, especially at the and of words,

where, in Greek, this transition is necessary; while the reverse method of the n to m scarcely occurs anywhere.

316. VIII. Sanskrit अप्न ashtan or अप्री ashtau; from the former the nominative and accusative ashta, from the latter again ashtau; Zend איש astan, nominative משמע asta, Lithuanian asztūni, Gothic ahtau, Greek ὄκτω, Latin octo, Old Sclavonic osmy (theme OSMI). The Sanskrit ashtilu and the analogous ὄκτω appear, as it were, in a dual dress (see §. 206.); nevertheless, ashtau is, in my opinion, just as much as ashtan, a bare theme, and has perhaps proceeded from the latter form, which occurs only in Zend, by the resolution of the n to u, which is so common (comp. p. 415, Note), and the lengthening of the a; if it is not preferred to develope it from ashtas, according to the analogy of From well ashtau comes, by suppression of the last element of the diphthong, ashta-bhis, ashta-bhyas, ashta-su, as rd-bhis, &c., from rai, "thing," "riches," while ashtan, in the cases mentioned, forms regularly ashtabhis, ashtabhyas, ashidsu (comp. p. 304). The genitive has only one form, namely, weight ashidam. The strength of the du of ashidu is preserved, also, in the cognate languages, and indeed in the Latin octav-us, Greek σγδοος for σγδοΓ-ος, and in German forms as ahtowe-n, dative, according to Notker the cardinal number from ahtowi-m, from the theme AHTOWI. But if ashidu were connected in its base with the chatur, "four," there would be strong reason for considering the former form as the dual, expressing four twice, and for assuming that an unorganic corruption of a dual termination, which made its appearance in the earliest autiquity, has grown up with the theme.

317. IX. Sanskrit नयन navan, Zend [G. Ed. p. 445.] אמע navan (nominative and accusative nava), Gothic niun -by contracting the va to u and weakening the a to i, as is so common, §. 66.—Latin novem (see §. 315.), Greek ἐννέα, Lithuanian dewyni, Old Sclavonic devyaty (theme DEV YATI) The last two appellations appear foreign to the system of the other sister languages: they are based, however, as I have already remarked in another place,\* on the facile interchange of a nasal with the organically corresponding medial on which, among others, rests the relation between βροτός and मृतम् mritas, "mortuus." As regards the origin of this numeral term, there exists a close connection in respect of form with the expression for "new" (Sanskrit nava). That, however, a relation of ideas actually exists between the two designations, as Ag. Benary first acutely conjectured (Berl. Jahrb. 1832. ii. p. 50), appears to me likewise probable; for without recognising a dual in ashtau, and without excluding the thumbs in reckoning by the fingers, the number, nine can still only be thought of with reference to the earlier numbers, and as next to eight, and

Historical and Philological Transactions of the Academy of Letters for the year 1833, p. 168.

nine, in contrast with eight or all the preceding numbers, is just as much a new number, as that which is new itself is always a something later and successive, a this corresponding to the old that. As a case in point, observe the Latin secundus from sequor. One must also admit that it would not be surprising if any former number whatever, excluding one, were named after the idea of that which is new, and that this origin is most intimately connected with the pronominal origin of other numerals.

[G. Ed. p. 446.] 318. X. Sanskrit दशन dasan, Zend γινιμό dašan (nominative and accusative daša), Greek δέκα Latin decem, Lithuanian deszimt, deszimt'-s and deszimtis (the two first indeclinable), Old Sclavonic desyaty (theme DESYATI see §. 313. Note †), Gothic taihun. Concerning the ai and u of taihun, see §§. 66. and 82.: the consonants have obeyed the law of removal (§. 87.). The Greek, rather than the Sanskrit, therefore serves as prototype to the Gothic in regard to the second consonant; and we have laid down in §. 21. the Sanskrit n s as a proportionably modern sound. If, then, in this corruption, the Lithuanian and Sclavonic agree with the Sanskrit, this may be so explained, that these languages, guided independently by the Sanskrit and Zend, but with the same euphonic feeling, have transformed an old guttural to a sibilant; in which change of sound, however, the Sclavonic, in other cases, goes farther than the Sanskrit (comp. p. 415 G. ed.). If, however, we desire to base on historical tradition the peculiar coincidence with the Sanskrit and Zend in the case before us, and some others, we must arrive at this through the assumption that the Lithuanian and Sclavonic races at some period wandered from their original settlement in Asia, when corruption

<sup>\*</sup> But not universally, where, in Sanskrit,  $\mathfrak{F}$  is found; for asman "a stone," nom. asmā, is, in Lithuanian, AKMEN, nom. akmū (§. 139.) and in Old Sclavonic KAMEN, nom. kamy (§. 264.).

had already entered into the language, which did not exist at the time when the Greeks and Romans transplanted the Asiatic original language to Europe.

319. XI—XX. The smaller numbers are combined with the expression for ten: Sanskrit vaiζει εκάσωνα, πιζει σαναθανάση, πιζει εκάσωνα, παρέπι εκάσωνα, και εκόσωνα, του αθναπασία (?), μυμμων αναθανάση (?), μυμμων αναθανάση (?) καίδεκα, του καίδεκα, του σαρεσ - [G. Ed. p. 447.] καίδεκα; Latin undecim, duodecim, tredecim, quatuor decim; Lithuanian wienolika, dwylika, trylika, keturólika; Gothic ainlif (1 C. xv. 5.), tvalif, fimftaihun, "fifteen"; Old Selavonic chetyrinadesyaty, "fourteen," pyatynadesyaty, "fifteen," &c.

"Remark.—Before the simple daśan (from dakan) had been changed in the Gothic into taihun, according to the

<sup>\*</sup> These may be deduced from the ordinals aevandasa, dvadasa (Vend. S. p. 120). So also chathrudasan, "fourteen," panchadasan, "fifteen." from chathrudasa, "the fourteenth," panchadasa, "the fifteenth." The nasal in aévandasa appears to have proceeded from m, and to be an accusative sign, for the whole stands l. c. in the accusative (aevandasem). doubt is thrown on the aevandasan given above, and perhaps aevodasan, or, according to the original principle of the compound, aevadasun might be expected. In one other passage, indeed, occurs the nominative of the ordinal aevandaso (l. c. p. 230): it is, however, clearly a false reading and the sense requires the accusative, as governed by Journald frasnaviti, which Anquetil renders by a atteint; thus, fewaywww. אנייין נאל aevandasem framabiti, "decimum attingit"; and in the following analogous constructions the ordinal number also stands always in the accusative. The form aevandusem, from aevandasem, is remarkable, also, in a phonetic respect, because elsewhere in Zend a final m is not governed by the organ of the following letter.

<sup>†</sup> I do not take the tva here, with Grimm (II. 947.), for the neuter, but, according to the principle of genuine compounds, for the theme (compare §.112.), whence the nom. masc. tvai. Tva may also—and this appears to me more correct—be regarded, without the Gothic being conscious of the formation, precisely as the abbreviation of the Sanskrit dvd, which is a lengthening of the theme dva, as êkâ from êka.

comparatively recent law for the alteration of sounds (compare §. 82.), it may have happened that, through the very widely-diffused disposition for exchanging the d with l, and through the not less common permutation between gutturals and labials-through which, among others, the relation of fidvor to the Lithuanian keturi and Latin quatuor becomes explicable—the dasan contained in eka-dasan "eleven," and dwd-dasan, "twelve" (from dakan), may have passed, in Gothic, into LIBI. Through the dative tva-libi-m, genitive tva-lib'-ê, LIBI is preserved, in fact, as the true theme; so that each a of dasan is weakened to i. The f of [G. Ed. p. 448.] the uninflected tvalif is, therefore, not to be explained according to §. 87., but according to §. 93ª.; and if the theme libi has not obeyed the law for the mutation of sounds, the objection, which has been raised by Graff (Old High German Thesaurus, p. 317) against my explanation, is removed by what has been remarked in §. 89., for we refer to fidvor, not fithvor. The Latin quadraginta, also, for quatraginta, and the Greek o'yooos for ὄκτοος, έβδομος for έπτομος, and several others, may be noticed, in support of the proposition that the numeral formations in the choice of the degree of the organ of the consonants have not always remained in the customary path; and in cumbrous compounds the medials are more admissible than the smooth letters and aspirates.\* To remove the objection which may be taken on the ground that LIBI is so very different from the form of taihun, we may remark, that, in French

<sup>\*</sup> The Anglo-Saxon endleofan, endlufan, compared with tvelf, and the Old Friesian andlova with twilif, should not make us doubt, since the Anglo-Saxon eo corresponds to the Sanskrit a of daśan and Gothic i of lif, as in the relation of senfon (Old Friesian siugon) to the Sanskrit saptan, Gothic sibun. Let, then, the Old Friesian o of lova be regarded like that of siugon. To the Sanskrit chatwar, Gothic fidvor, correspond the Anglo-Saxon feover, Old Friesian fiuwer.

also, the number ten, in compounds like on-ze, dou-ze, trei-ze, is so remote from the expression of the simple ten, that one would hardly venture to pronounce the syllable ze to be akin, or originally identical with dix, if it were not historically certain that onze, douze, &c., have arisen from undecim, duodecim, and that therefore ze is a corruption of decim, as dix is a less vitiated form of decem. If, then, onze, douze, &c., have assumed the appearance of uncompounded words through the great alteration of the expression for the number ten contained in them, the same holds good with regard to our eilf and zwölf, in which, perhaps, as in onze and douze, a connection with ein and zwei may be recognised, but none with zehn; and in the English eleven, also, the relation to one is entirely obliterated. But with regard to our using for thirteen, fourteen, &c., not dreilf, viertf, or similar forms in If, but dreizehn, vierzehn, &c., in which zehn is just as unaltered as the drei and vier, this arises from the Germans having forgotten the old Indo-European compounds for these numbers, and then having compacted the necessary expressions anew from the elements as they exist uncompounded. Nay, even [G. Ed. p. 449.] the Greek has reconstructed afresh, as well as it could, its numerals from thirteen upwards, after that the old more genuine compounds had fallen into disuse; but this has been done, I must say, in a clumsy, awkward fashion, by which the addition of a particle signifying and was found requisite in an attempt at extreme perspicuity, while ενδεκα, δώδεκα, move more freely, and are suited to the spirit of the ancient compounds. The literal meaning, too, of τρισκαίδεκα (for τρίδεκα) is "thrice and ten," and the numeral adverb τρίς. instead of the bare theme Tpi, is here just as much a mistake as the masculine plural nominative serves as a reproach to the τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα, and is inferior in purity to the Sanskrit chatur-dasan, not chatvaras-dasan (chatvara-dasan). On the other hand, the Sanskrit, in the designation of the number thirteen, commits a similar error, and awkwardly gives instead of tri-dasan, trayô-dasan—euphonic for trayas-dasan where the masculine plural nominative instead of the theme. which is adapted for all genders, is not well selected. The Latin tre-decim is therefore a more pure formation, as it dispenses with a case-sign in the first member of the compound: just so the Lithuanian try-lika, not trys-lika. This lika, which concludes the form, in all Lithuanian adding numerals (eleven to nineteen), exchanges the old d for l, as in German, and is therefore as far estranged from the simple deszimt's as the Gothic libi from taihun; partly, as the second consonant in lika has maintained itself in its oldest form received from the Greek, and has not become a sibilant; so that lika and δέκα resemble each other very closely. The Lithuanian lika, therefore, is derived, like the Gothic libi and the French ze in onze, douze, &c., from the old compound which has been handed down, and cannot, therefore, be censured for its want of agreement with the simple number ten: it is no longer conscious of its meaning, and, like an inanimate corpse, is carried by the living inferior number. As, however, the smaller number in these compounds is still living, so that in the feeling of the speaker the numbers wieno-lika, dwy-lika, &c. do not appear as independent simple designations of numbers-as, perhaps, septyni is felt to be independent of each of the earlier numbers—so, naturally, in these compounds the first member has kept tolerably equal pace with the form which it shews in its isolated state; on which account wieno-lika, if it is regarded as an ancient compound from the time of the unity of language, or perhaps as derived from स्काद्यान ekû-daian, [G. Ed. p. 450.] has nevertheless undergone, in its initial member, a renovation; as also in Gothic ainlif, in Greek ενδεκα, in Latin undecim, have regulated their first member according to the form which is in force for the isolated number one. On the other hand, δώδεκα is almost entirely the Sanskrit dwa-dasa

(w for a, according to §. 4.), and is as similar to it as possible, as v (F) in Greek cannot be pronounced after consonants, and in the first syllable, also, could not assimilate itself to the preceding consonant (compare τέτταρες from τέτΓαρες), for δδώδεκα could not be uttered. In Latin, duodecim has formed its first member exactly after the simple form: on the other hand, the French has paid no regard to the form in which the preceding number appears in its isolated state, but has left the composition entirely in the old form, only with the abbreviations which time has by degrees introduced. With reference to the isolated state of the smaller number, it would have been, perhaps, necessary in French to have said unze, deuze, troize, &c. After what has been stated, I think no one can any longer doubt, that in our eilf (elf) and zwölf, strange as it at the first glance may appear, a word is contained expressing the number ten, and identical in its origin with dasan, deka, and zehn. If, however, the older LIBI, lif, and Lithuanian lika, be regarded without the suspicion arising, that in them corrupt though very common permutations of sounds may have preceded, then one would propose in Lithuanian a root lik, and in Gothic lif or lib (Gothic af-lifnan, "relingui, superesse," laibos, "reliquiæ"), which both signify "to remain," and are also connected with each other and with the Greek λείπω (ΛΙΠ). Grimm, who has recognised (II. 946) the original identity of our lif and the Lithuanian lika, has perhaps allowed himself to be led astray by Ruhig in the meaning of these expressions, and deduces the latter from likti, "lingui, remanere," the former from leiban, "manere." Ruhig, according to Mielcke, p. 58, holds lika for the 3d person plural, since he says, "Composition in the cardinal numbers from ten to twenty takes place by adding the 3d person plural number present indicative lika (from likû s. liekmi); scil., the tenth remains undisturbed with the simple number, e.g. one, two, &c.; which addition, however, in composition degenerates into a declinable noun of the feminine gender, according to which, also, the preceding

[G. Ed. p. 451.] simple number must be regulated." The languages, however, do not proceed so pedantically; and if they hold any thing understood, as very commonly happens, they do not expressly state that any thing remains over to be expressed. It is certain, however, that the Sclavonic languages, in their expressions for eleven to twenty, do not keep back any thing to be understood, but form those expressions, after the loss of the old, no longer intelligible compounds, anew, with the annexed preposition na, "over"; e. q. in Old Sclavonic, where the numbers eleven, twelve, thirteen, no longer occur, chetyri-na-desyaty, "four over ten." The ordinal numbers for eleven and twelve are yedinyi-na-desyaty, "the first over ten," vtoryi-na-desyaty, "the second over ten." In the same manner proceeds the twin sister of the Lithuanian -accompanying it, but corrupted-the Lettish, in which weenpazmit signifies "eleven," as it appears to me, with contraction of the d(e)s of desmit, "ten," to z, and overleaping the e. This procedure in Lettish has no doubt originated from the older lika being no longer intelligible. If it was to be so understood, as Ruhig has taken it, its form would be palpable, and the Lettians might have been satisfied with it. With reference to the composition of the numerals under discussion, there remains to be noticed a most remarkable coincidence of the Lithuanian and German with a Prâkrit dialect, which coincidence, when I formerly touched upon this

<sup>\*</sup> Grimm's view is certainly much more natural, "ten and one over, two over." Only it would be to be expected, if the language wished to designate the numbers eleven and twelve as that which they contain more than ten, that they would have selected for combination with one and two a word which signifies "and over, or more," and not an exponent of the idea "to leave," "to remain." It would, moreover, be more adapted to the genius and custom of the later periods of the language, not to forget the number ten in the newly-formed compounds, like the Lettish and Sclavonic. J. Grimm, in his "History of the German Language," p. 246, agrees with my explanation of eiff, zwölf, and analogous forms in Lith, and Sclavonic.

subject,\* was not yet known to me, and which has been since then observed by Lenz in his edition of Urvasi (p. 219). In this dialect, then, the number ten is pronounced simply EE daha-approaching closely to the Gothic tailun-but at the end of the compounds under notice raha: r and l, however, are, according to §. 17., most intimately connected. Hitherto only, बारह varaha, "twelve," from द्वादम dwadasa, and चड़तारह atthuraha, "eighteen," from चहादश ashtadasa, can be cited, but still from them it is probable that the other numerals too, which fall under this cate- [G. Ed. p. 452.] gory, have an r for d, apparently to lighten the word loaded by the prefixing of lesser numbers, by exchanging the d for a weak semi-vowel. Now it is a remarkable coincidence that if we were desirous of not seeing a mutation of letters in this raha we should be led to the root rah, "to leave," which is probably identical with the verb, to which recourse has been had for the explanation of the corresponding Lithuanian and German numeral forms.+ I thought I had exhausted this subject, when I was led by other reasons to the Hindûstânî grammar, where I was agreeably surprised by perceiving that here, also, the number ten, in the designation of eleven, twelve, &c., has taken another lighter form than in its simple state, in which it is pronounced das. 1 But in the compounds under discussion this becomes rah, t and, for example, barah,

<sup>\*</sup> Influence of the Pronoun on the formation of Words, p. 27; and Histor. Philol. Trans. of the Academy for the year 1833, p. 178, &c.

<sup>†</sup> The a of rah has been weakened in the cognate languages to i: hence linguo, Lithuanian likù, Greek λείπω (ἰλιπον), Gothic of-lif-na. In respect to the consonants, we refer the reader to §§ 20.23.: remark, also, the connection of the Lithuanian lakù, "I lick," with the Sanskrit root lib, "to lick." Since writing this note, I have come to the conclusion that it is better to concur with Benfey, in assigning the Latin linguo, Greek λείπω. Gothic af-lif-na, to the Skr. root rich, from rih, "to leave."

<sup>†</sup> The text has des and reh but as these sounds are incorrect, I have altered them, as well as some other inaccuracies in the Hindûstânî numerals which follow.—Translator.

"twelve," answers to the abovementioned Prâkrit The bâraha, and, like this, has proceeded directly from the Sanskrit original form the Sanskrit original form the simple do, "two," and das, "ten." It may be proper here to quote all the Hindûstânî compounds which belong to this subject, together with the corresponding Sanskrit words of which they are the corruptions. We annex, also, the number twenty, and nineteen which is related to it as being twenty less one, as also the simple lower numbers in Hindûstânî.

[G. Ed. p. 453.]

[G. Ed. p. 453.]					
TICK IT . HINDÛSTÂNÎ. 125, WELL BENJAMES SANSKRIT, NOMINATIVE.					
êk		igā-rah,		ê kâdasa	11.
do	2,	bâ-rah	12,	dwâdasa	12.
în	3,	têrah	13,	trayódaśa	13.
châr	4,	chau-dah	14,*	chaturdaśa	14.
pånch	5,	pand-rah	15,	panchâda <b>śa</b>	15.
chhah	6,	sô-lah	16,+	shôdaśa	16.
såt :	7,	sat-rah	17,	saptadaśa :	17.
ath	8,	athâ-rah	18,	a htádasa	18.
nau	9,	unnîs	19,	Anavinsati (	"undeviginti") 19.
das	10,	. bîs	20,	vińśati	20.

320. XX—C. The idea of ten is expressed in Sanskrit by אַלה śati, אָדָה śat or fa ti; in Zend by אַנגעסע śaiti, אָנגעסע śata, or אָס ti; and the words therewith compounded are substantives with singular terminations, with which, in Sanskrit, the thing numbered agrees in case, as in apposition, or is put, as in the Zend, in the genitive, as

<sup>\*</sup> The retention of the d is here clearly to be ascribed to the circumstance that the lesser number ends with r, although in the Hindûstânî corruption this is no longer present. The Bengâlî has assimilated the r to the following d, hence chauddo; but, as a general rule, the Bengâlî in these compounds changes the d into r, and in all cases suppresses the Hindûstânî h; as  $\ell g dro$ , "eleven," b dro, "twelve,"  $t \ell ro$ , "thirteen."

<sup>†</sup> This form merits particular notice, as, through its l for the r found elsewhere, it comes so near to the Lithuanian and German lika, lif. The Bengâlî is shôlo.

dependent upon it. Oceasionally, too, one finds these numerals in Sanskrit used adjectively, with plural endings. Compare,

[G. Ed. p. 454.]

SANSKRIT. GREEK. LATIN. 20, fasifa vinsati, εκακισι, viginti, είκατι, viginti, 30, fina trinsat, ωρωω λ thrisata, τριάκοντα, triginta. 40, chatwarinsat, chathwaresata, τεσσαράκοντα, quadraginta. 50, panchásat, panchásata, πεντήκοντα, quinquaginta. 60, shashti, έξήκοντα, sexaginta. csvasti, haptāiti, έβδομήκοντα,† septuaginta. 70, saptati, 80, asiti, .... ογδοήκοντα, octoginta. ένενήκοντα, nonaginta. 90, navati, navaiti, έ-κατό-ν, centu-m. 100. kata-m. sate-m.

"Remark.—I hold 'sati, sata, ti, to be abbreviations of dasati, dasat, dasata, and therefore derivations from dasan, "ten," by a suffix ti, ta, or t: the former is

<sup>\*</sup> The numerals in sata, answering to the Sanskrit forms in sat, are neuters, and occur, like the forms in ti, very frequently in the 6th and 12th Fargard of the Vendidâd, but only in the accusative singular, in which satem might also belong to a theme sat. That, however, sata is the theme and the neuter form is clear from Vend. S. p. 230. (in the 7th Fargard), where puncha satem (panchásatem), "fifty," stands as nominative. From esvasti, "sixty," haptâiti, "seventy," and navaiti, "ninety," we find the accusative esvastim, haptâitim, navaitim: on the other hand, in the 12th Fargard, occurs several times visaiti (also written visati and visati) as accusative of visaiti, which perhaps is a dual neuter form (two decades), and according to this would stand for visaiti (§. 210.). But if the final vowel is retained in its original form it is a singular neuter. It is, however, remarkable, that only this final i, and no other, is again found in the cognate Latin and Greek forms.

<sup>†</sup> This and the following number are renovated forms, in which the first member proceeds unorganically from the ordinal number. We might have expected ἐπτήκοντα, ὀκτώκοντα, for the latter Ion. ὀγδώκοντα. In ἐνενήκοντα the two ν are separated from each other: the epic form ἐννήκοντα is more genuine.

in Lithuanian and Sclavonic, already contained in the simple deszimts, deszimtis, Old Sclavonic desyaty. With regard, however, to the ten being expressed without abbreviation in the languages mentioned, in compounds, also-as in Lithuanian dwideszimti (or tis), "twenty," trysdészimti (or tis), "thirty," and in Old Sclavonic chetyridesyaty, "forty." pyatydesyaty, "fifty"-I do not consider [G. Ed. p. 455.] this as a more true retention of the original form, but as a new formation. The Lithuanian, too, from forty upwards, separates the two numbers, and puts the former in the feminine plural, e.g. keturios deszimtis, "forty," penkios deszimtis, "fifty"; in which it is surprising that deszimtis, also, does not stand in the plural. The Gothic method in this numeral category is of comparatively recent date: it has lost, as in thirteen, &c., the ancient compound, and gives, in the numbers under seventy (sixty does not occur), tique, masculine, as the expression for ten, and declines this, and in twenty, thirty, the lesser number also, with regular plural terminations: hence the accusatives transtiguns, thrinstiguns, fidvortiguns, fimfliguns, genitive thriyêtiquê. The substantive tigus, however, is the etymological quaver to taihun, and LIBI: it is related to the former essentially, the aspirate having become a medial (see §. 89.), thus rendering the a, which, in taihun, is brought in by the rule of sound mentioned in §. 82., superfluous. Advert, also, to the Latin medials in ginti, ginta, contrasted with the Greek κατι, κοντα, which answer better to δέκα. Tigu-s may be identical with the Sanskrit ordinal daśa, nominative masculine daśa-s, which occurs only in compounds, as dwadasa-s, "the twelfth." To this daśa-s, therefore, is related tigu-s in regard to its u, as fôtu-s to pâda-s, "a foot." In the numbers seventy, eighty, and ninety, ten is denoted by the neuter

<sup>\*</sup> Twenty and thirty do not occur.

substantive thund (theme TEHUNDA, genitive thundi-s) hence sibun-têhund, "seventy," ahtau-têhund, "eighty," niun-têhund, "ninety." The ê of this TEHUNDA stands as the representative of the ai of taihun, and I hold DA to be the ordinal suffix, which has introduced into the common ordinals another unorganic N, or, according to Grimm, follows the weak declension; hence TAIHUNDAN, nominative taihunda, "decimus." Hereby, then, it becomes still more probable that the abovementioned tigus also is originally an ordinal number. In our New German this word has transformed itself to zig or ssig (dreissig), and is found also in siebenzig, achtzig, neunzig, Old High German sibunzog, ahtozog, niunzog, or -zoc, and zëhanzog (zoc), Gothic taihuntéhund, "a hundred." The Sanskrit-Zend sata, "a hundred," which is a neuter substantivenominative जातम satam, Geous satem—in my opinion owes its designation to the number ten (dasan), whence it is formed by the suffix ta-the suppression of the final nasal is regular; -so that it is to be regarded as an abbreviation of dasata, as above, min sati, and sat, and the Zend were sata for dasati, &c. This abbreviation, however, which has given to the word the stamp of a primi- [G. Ed. p. 456.] tive expression specially created for the idea "a hundred," is proved to be of the highest antiquity by the consentaneous testimony of all the cognate languages, Greek κατόν (ἐκατόν is, verbatim, "one hundred"), Latin centum, Lithuanian szimta-s (masculine), Old Sclavonic sto (at once theme and nominative and accusative neuter.\* The Gothic hund and Old High German hunt (theme HUNDA, HUNTA) occur only in compounds, as tva-hunda, thria-hunda, zuei-hunt, driu-hunt, where the lesser number is likewise inflected. That also affa sati, and sat, and the corresponding words

<sup>\*</sup> In Zend sta occurs frequently for sata, and just so in the numbers compounded therewith.

in the cognate languages, have in the earliest periods lost the initial syllable of the number ten, and with it the lingual remembrance of the same; and that in fasifa vinsati, פלנטענט פו visaiti, είκατι, είκοσι, viginti, the single elements have lain together undisturbed for thousands of years, affords a fresh proof of the agreement of the languages which have most faithfully preserved their ancient construction. I would not, however, wish to maintain that the loss of the d of the number two in the above forms falls under the period of the unity of languages; and that it may not have happened that each of the four individual languages, having become weary of the initial double consonant in a word already encumbered by composition, may have disburthened itself of the initial sound, as we have above seen the Latin and Zend, independently of each other, produce bis from dwis, and bi from dwi, and as, in agreement with the abbreviation of finfa vinsati, the Prakrit dialect mentioned at p. 451 G. ed. has laid aside the d in the number twelve also (vâraha for dwâraha). It is remarkable that the four oldest and most perfect languages of the Indo-European family in the category of numerals before us, have lost exactly as much of the number ten as the French in the forms for eleven, twelve, &c.; and the ze of douze is therefore identical with the Sanskrit sa of final vinsati. The Sanskrit and Zend, however, in a later corruption which is unsupported by the Greek and Latin, have caused the word dasati to be melted down to the derivation suffix ti, and this ti corresponds to the French te of trente, quarante, &c. The numbers which have been thus far abbreviated begin, in Sanskrit and Zend, with sixty, afe shashti (ti euphonic for ti), scensow csvasti. To the sati of finfa vinsati sous & visati, regularly corresponds the Doric κατι of εἴκατι, while in the Latin ginti the smooth [G. Ed. p. 457.] letter has sunk to a medial, as in ginta=κοντα of the higher numbers. In Sanskrit the n of vinsati,

trinsat, chatwarinsat, is surprising, and one might imagine a transposition of the nasal, so that in the Latin ginti, ginta, centum, and in the Gothic HUNDA, "one hundred," it would stand in its proper place. For the rest, chatwarinsat shews its relation to the neuter chatwari (see §. 312.); as also τρια, τεσσαρα, in τριᾶκοντα, τεσσαράκοντα, are, in my opinion, plural neuter forms, with the termination lengthened in τρια, and originally, also, in τεσσαρα, as the Ionic τεσσαρήκοντα, Doric τετρώκοντα,\* Latin quadraginta, prove. These forms excite the conjecture, that, in Sanskrit, the introduction of the nasal may, contrary to the explanation attempted above, have the same object that, in Greek, the lengthening of the termination has, namely, an emphatic repetition of the prefixed number, which is also perceptible in the long i of the Zend visaiti, as in the long a of पनात्रात् panchásat, ६६७००००० panchásatem from panchan (§. 318.), and to which again the length of πεντήκοντα, quinquaginta, runs parallel. The Zend chathware, in ພາດມະເກີນອາດິນຄ chathwaresata, "forty" (Vend. S. p. 380), is likewise stronger than cha-thru-sata, which might have been expected from §. 312. As wown sata is a neuter, to which, in Greek, κατον or κοντον would correspond, κοντα therefore, and the Latin ginta, are best explained as neuters in the plural, by which the neuter nature of τριά and τεσσαρά is still more authenticated. An auxiliary vowel, which merely facilitated the combination, and which might be assumed in έξήκοντα, would at least be very superfluous in the theme TPI; and it is much more probable that έξη, too, is a lengthened plural neuter. Compare έξά-κις, έξαπλοῦς, and the remarks on πάντα and πολλά, p. 401, G. ed.

<sup>\*</sup> The  $\omega$  for  $\bar{a}$  is explained by §. 4. As to the suppression of the vowel before the  $\rho$ ,  $\tau\epsilon\tau\rho\omega$  answers to  $\tau\epsilon\tau\rho a$  in  $\tau\epsilon\tau\rho a\kappa\iota s$ ,  $\tau\epsilon\tau\rho a\pi\lambda o\hat{v}s$ , which in like manner are based on plural neuter forms instead of the theme.

#### ORDINAL NUMBERS.

321. While, in designating the number one, the greatest variety obtains amongst the Indo-European languages, they are [G. Ed. p. 458.] almost unanimous in their designation of the first, which idea none of the languages here treated of derives from the corresponding cardinal number: Sanskrit must prathama-s (nom.), Zend 462621 frathemo (§. 56.), Latin primu-s. Lithuanian prima-s, Gothic frum'-s (for fruma-s, §. 135.), or indefinite fruma (theme FRUMAN, §. 140.), or, with newly-added superlative suffix, frumist'-s, Old High German éristér, usually indefinite éristo (from the adverb ér, "before"), Greek πρῶτος, Old Sclavonic pervyi. प्रथम prothama, from the preposition pra, has been already discussed (p. 393 G. ed.); so the Greek πρῶτος is derived from the corresponding preposition πρό, the lengthening of which to πρω accords with the Sanskrit prå in pråtar, "in the morning" (see p. 392 G. ed.). The suffix TO is an abbreviation of the Sanskrit tama or thama, which occurs even in Sanskrit in चतुर्पेश chatur-tha-s, "the fourth," and पष्टस shash-tha-s, "the sixth," as also in Latin in the form of TU in quartus, quintus, sextus, while in Greek this abbreviation extends to all the ordinal numbers, exclusive of δεύτερος, εβδομος, and όγδοος. In Lithuanian the corresponding TA of four runs through all, but in such wise, that together with septintas, asztuntas, occur also sékmas, ászmas, which correspond to the Sanskrit सप्रमस saptama-s, अष्टमस् ashṭama-s, in which the last portion of the superlative suffix tama or thama has remained; of which kind of division, also, पद्मम panchama-s, नजम navama-s, and दशमस् dasama-s, partake, which therefore complete, by their suffix, the tha of chaturtha, so that both united present the perfect word. The Zend agrees herein with the Sanskrit, only that its boundary haptatho agrees more with septintas than with समनम् saptama-s and septimu-s; and

that also be wis pug-dhô, "the fifth," belongs more to the European cognate languages, in which it comes nearest to the Lithuanian penk-ta-s. The Lithuanian, however, is more true to the original form, as its sister, the Zend, has softened two original smooth letters, as [G. Ed. p. 459.] in Greek, ὄγδοος for ὄκτοος; and, besides this, has aspirated the last, rejected the nasal (comp. p. 94, basta from bandh), and irregularly changed the a to u, as in 'ONYX, corresponding to the Sanskrit 75 nakha, "a nail." In the numbers from eleven to twenty the superlative suffix, in Sanskrit and Zend, is abbreviated still more than in the simple द्याम dasama, अ६६३३३६ dasema, and of all the derivational suffix only the a is left, before which the a of the primitive word must fall away, according to a universal principle for the derivation of words; as, TEN dwadaśa, אואסאראים dvadaśa, "the twelfth"; चतुदेश chaturdaśa, www. chathrudasa, "the fourteenth." The Latin appears to prove that this abbreviation is comparatively of recent date, and it goes beyond both the Asiatic sisters by its undecimus, duodecimus, not undecus, duodecus; but has, as it were, exhausted itself in the effort which the continuance of these heavier forms has cost it; and has given up the analogous formations in the very place in which the German cardinal numbers have lost the old compound in lif: hence, tertius decimus for the lost tredecimus, &c. An imitation, however, of the abbreviation which we have just remarked in the Sanskrit-Zend daia is supplied by the Greek and Latin in the forms octav-us, ogdo(F)-og, where, of the ordinal suffix, in like manner, only the final vowel is left: we might have expected ογδομος, octomus. In the very remarkable coincidence which here exists between the said languages, it must seem strange that, in the remaining designations of the ordinal numbers, the Latin is a much truer colleague to its Asiatic sisters than to the Greek; and it preserves this character, also, in annexing, from twenty upwards, the full superlative suffix simu-s (from timu-s=तनम् tama-s); thus vicesimus or vige-

[G. Ed. p. 460.] simus, trigesimus, as in Sanskrit vinsatitama-s, trinsattama-s.\* In Latin, however, the termination nti or nta of the primitives is rejected, and in compensation the preceding vowel is lengthened in the form of ē. Compare, in this respect, the comparative formations discussed in §, 298. The Greek shews its more rare superlative suffix, corresponding to the Sanskrit 38 ishtha, in the ordinal numbers like εἰκοστός, τριακοστός, with the loss of the ι of ιστος, as in εκαστος, πόστος. Here also, therefore, as in Latin, the τι, σι, and ντα of the cardinal number are rejected. The German languages employ in like manner the superlative suffix in numbers from twenty upwards: hence, Old High German dri-zugosto, "the thirtieth," flor-zugosto, "the fortieth": but in the numbers from four to nineteen the TAN or DAN, in Gothic, corresponds, according to the measure of the preceding letter (§. 91.), to the suffix of the cognate languages, as in चतुर्पेस् chaturtha-s, τέταρτο-ς, quartu-s, ketwir-ta-s. The N, however, is an unorganic addition, after the principle of the indefinite adjective declension (§. 285.), which is followed by the ordinal numbers, with the exception of 1 and 2 in the older dialects; while the New German has also introduced the definite-vierter. "fourth," fünfter, "fifth," &c.; hence, Gothic FIMFTAN, nom. masc. fimfta. the backy year all as as he and as

[G. Ed. p. 461.] 322. From the weakened base fg dwi "two" (p. 424), and from the ff tri, "three," contracted to \( \bar{\eta} \) tri, the Sanskrit forms the ordinal numbers by a suffix tiya; hence dwitiya-s, tritiya-s. This suffix is easily recognised in the Latin ter-

<sup>\*</sup> However, this and the higher numbers may follow the analogy of êkûdaśa-s, "the eleventh"; hence, also, vinśa, trinś-a, &c. In Zend I am unable to quote the ordinal numbers from twenty upwards.

<sup>†</sup> In compounds like fimftataihunda, "the fifteenth," the lesser number has either preserved the original theme while still free from the n, which was added more lately,—for the lesser number in these compounds does not partake of declension,—or fimfta is here the regular abbreviation of the theme FIMFTAN, since, as I have already elsewhere remarked (Borl. Ann. May 1827. p. 759), bases in n, in strict accordance with the Sanskrit, drop the n in the beginning of compounds.

tius, as also in the Old Sclavonic tretii, fem. tretiya, which, like all the ordinal numbers, has only a definite declension, in which, however, the particular case occurs, that the defining element is brought with it direct from the East, while the tyi of chetwertyi and others, in which, in like manner, a connection with and tiya might be easily conjectured, is, in fact, connected with the च tha, TO, TU of चत्रचे chaturtha, τέταρτος, quartus, and has arisen from the indefinite theme in TO (comp. the collective chetvero, §. 312.), according to §. 255. (d.), although the simple word in most of the formations falling under this category no longer exists. The same relation, then, that chetvertyi, shestyi, have to chaturtha-s, shashtha-s, sedmyi, osmyi, have to समम saptama, सप्त ashtama; and pervyi, "the first," to ya purva, "the former;" which expressions, in Sclavonic, remain only in combination with the pronominal base YO (§. 282.). The Zend has rejected the i of the suffix tiyu, and abbreviated dwi to bi; hence אונעם, bitya, פקנע bitya, in which it is to be remarked that the y, which is thus by syncope united with the t at a comparatively later period, has gained no aspirating influence (§. 47.). To this Zend tya corresponds, by similar suppression of the middle i, the Gothic DYAN (from dya, §. 285.) in THRIDYAN, nom. masc. thridya, the y of which in the Old High German dritto, has assimilated itself to the preceding t, in analogy with the Prâkrit forms and Greek comparatives, like θάσσων, κρείσσων, κρείττων, mentioned at p. 402. Still closer, however, lies the comparison with διττός, τριττός (δισσός, τρισσός), which are evidently, in [G. Ed. p. 462.] their origin, one with the corresponding Sanskrit-Zend ordinal numbers; and, in respect of their reduplicated consonant, have the same relation thereto that the Old High German dritto has to the Gothic thriyda. Regarding tvaddyê, "duorum," see p. 422, Note \*: the place of the ordinal number is supplied by the pronoun anthar (see p. 377), Old High German andar, Middle High German ander. Our zweiter, however, is a new unorganic formation. The Old Sclavonic oloryi (see §. 297.)

answers, in respect to its derivation, to the Greek δεύτερος, and, in abbreviation of the base, to the Zend bitya, only that it has lost also the *i* of the Sanskrit dwi-tiya, in regard to which we have, in §. 297., adverted to the Zend εικωνίς b-yare\*, "two years."

323. We give here a general view of the ordinal numbers in the feminine nominative singular, since in this case the agreement of all the languages strikes the eye more than in the nominative masculine. The Gothic forms which do not occur we give in parentheses, formed theoretically, and according to the Old High German.

[G. Ed. p. 463.]		NOMINATIVE FEMININE.				100 300
SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	GR. DOR.	LATIN.	cornic.	LITHUANIAN.	OLD SCIAVONIC.
prathamâ,	frathema,1	πρώτα.	prima,	fruma,	pirmà,	perva-ya.
dwitîyâ,	bitya,	δευτέρα,	altera,	anthara,	antrà,	viora-ya.
tritîyâ,	thritya,	τρίτα,	tertia,	thridyo,	tréchia,	treti-ya.
chaturtha,3	tûirya,	τετάρτα,	quarta,	(fidvôrdô'),	ketwirtà,	cheiverta-ya.
panchamā,	pugdha,	πέμπτα,	quinta,	fimftő',	penktà,	pyata-ya.s
shashthā,	ostvá,4	ёктā,	sexta,	saihst6',	szészta,	shesta-ya.
saptamâ,	haptatha,	έβδόμα,	septima,	(sibundô'),	sékma,	sedma-ya.
nshtamâ,	astěma,	ογδοά,	octava,	ahtudő,	ászma,	osma-ya.
navamā,	nâuma,	ἐννάτα,	nona,	niund6',	dewintà,\$	devyata-ya.5
daśamā,	dašěma,	δεκάτα,	decima,	taihundó',	deszimtà,	desyata-ya.
Ekâdaśā,	aévandaia,6	ένδεκάτα,	undecima,	(ainliftå'),	wienólikta,	yedina-ya-na-desya
vińsati tamâ,	vîsaititĕma ?	εἰκοστα,	vicesima,		dwideszimtà,	vtoraya-na-desyaty

<sup>•</sup> We should read thus §. 297. for byare, as accusative singular (see Olshausen, Vend. S. 43).

More usually paoirya, masc. paoiryô, by which the Sclavonic pervyĭ, pervaya, is, as it were, prepared.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Also turiya, masc. turiya-s, on which is based the Zend tûirya, masc. tûiryô. The suppression of the syllable cha might announce the looser connection of the same with the remaining portion of the word, and thereby support the conjecture expressed at §.311.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The t of pyataya, masc. pyatyi, has nothing in common with the t of the cardinal number pyaty; the proper primitive is pya (see p. 430 Note t), whence PYATI by the suffix TI, and PYATO, fem. PYATA, by the suffix TO, fem. TA (see §. 322.). The same holds good with regard to shestaya in relation to shesty, &c.

<sup>4</sup> By transposition and syncope from csvasta, as must be expected from the cardinal number www.sws.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Regarding the d for n, see §. 317. See §. 319, Note \*, p. 435.

"Remark.—As the old a of the preposition it pra has been weakened to i-as in quinque, answering to panchan -the Latin prima appears distinct from the preposition pro, and is decidedly not derived from a Roman soil, but is, as it were, the continuance of the Indian prathama, the middle syllable being cast out. A similar weakening of the vowel is exhibited in the Greek adverb moiv, which is hereby, in like manner, brought into connection with the preposition πρό. In the comparative prior only the pr of the preposition, which forms the base, is left, as the i belongs to the comparative suffix. In Lithuanian the m of the superlative formation has introduced itself also into the preposition pirm, 'before'; but the unaltered pra stands as prefix. To the same base, however, belongs also pri, 'by, before,' as well isolated as prefixed. The Gothic fruma shews the same relation to prathand that the Latin [G. Ed. p. 464.] and Lithuanian do: the u of fru has arisen from a through the influence of the liquid (§. 66.). In the cognate preposition fram, 'before, by,' &c., the original vowel has remained, and in this form, as in the Lithuanian pirm, the superlative m is contained. On m pra is based, also, faur, 'before,' with transposition of the u of fru-ma, and with a prefixed, according to §. 82.

#### NUMERAL ADVERBS.

324. The adverbs which express the ideas "twice," "thrice," "four times," have been already discussed (p. 435 G. ed.). Let the following serve for a general view of them:—

sanskrit. eend. greek. latin. old northern.
dwis, bis, δίς, bis, tvis-var (p. 436 G. ed.).
tris, thris, τρίς, ter, thris-var.
chatur,\* chathrus, ... quater, ...

<sup>\*</sup> According to §. 94. for chature.

The Greek forms in κις like τετράκις, πεντάκις, &c., in regard to their suffix, do not belong to this class, but KIS answers to the Sanskrit sas (§. 21.), the a being weakened to i; this sas, however, forms adverbs from words which express a great number, multitude or number, as satasas, "by hundreds," sahasrasas, "by thousands," bahusas, "of many kinds," ganasas, "in swarms." The original idea of the suffix in both languages is that of repetition, but e.g. śatuśas is an indefinite repetition of a hundred, while in έκατοντάκις the repetition is strictly defined by the numeral. How stands it, then, with the Latin forms like quinquies, sexies, &c.? I believe that in respect to their suffix they are connected neither with the forms in s like dwis, dic, nor with [G. Ed. p. 465.] those in KIS (śas), by suppression of the guttural; but as toties, quoties, evidently belong to this class, which are also pronounced quotiens, totiens, this probably being the more genuine form, as in Greek, in a similar case, τιθένς is more genuine than τιθείς (§. 138.), I therefore prefer bringing these forms in ens, es, into conjunction with the Sanskrit suffix vant (in the weak cases vat), which signifies, in pronominal bases, "much," but elsewhere, "gifted with," and the nominative of which is, in Zend, vans, e.g. chvans, "how much," for chivans. This suffix has, in Sanskrit, in combination with the interrogative base ki, and the demonstrative base i, laid aside the v; hence kiy-ant, iy-ant-weak form kiyat, iyat-nominative masculine kiyan, iyan; this ant for vant answers therefore to the Greek ENT (nominative masculine eig), e.g. in μελιτόεις, and also to the Latin ens, in totiens, quotiens, which indeed are, in form, masculine nominatives, but must also be considered as neuters, as in the participles, too, in nt, the masculine nominative has forced its way into the neuter. Now comes the question whether we ought to divide toti-ens quoti-ens, or tot-iens, quot-iens? In the former case tot, quot, would have preserved, in this combination, the i

which belongs to them, for they are based on the Sanskrit afa tati, "so much," afa kati, "how much "; and the ens in toti-ens would, according to that, express the "time," and toti, "so much." In the division tot-iens, however, we should have to assume that in iens, the abovementioned demonstrative इयन् iyant, "so much," is contained, but in such wise, that only the meaning of the suffix is still perceived. Under this supposition quinqu-ies [G. Ed. p. 466.] would, accordingly, express "five-somuch" (times); in the former case, however, the i, as quinqui-es, octi-es, would have to pass as representative of the e and o of quinque, octo, and that of sexies as a conjunctive vowel, or as an accommodation to the prevailing analogy. In any case, however, the identity of the suffix ens, es, with the Sanskrit ant, from vant, is highly probable. The Sanskrit expresses the idea "times" from five upwards by kritmas; as, पञ्चनस् panchakritwas, "five times." This kritwas comes from krit, "making," which in sakrit, "once," is sufficient of itself: the annexed vas, however, might, by exchange of the t for s (compare § 156. Note \*), have arisen from vat, which should be given above as the weak theme for vant; as, tavat, "so much," yavat, "how much" (rel.). With krit from kart (§. 1.) is clearly connected the Lithuanian karta-s, "time," a masculine substantive, which, like the defining number, is put in the accusative, in order to make up for the adverbs under discussion; e.g. wienan kartan, "once," dù kartù, "twice" (accusative du), tris kartùs, "three times." In Old Sclavonic the corresponding krat or kraty is not declined, and the former appears to be an abbrevia-

<sup>\*</sup> These are neuters, which, in common with the numerals using panchan, "five," &c. (§. 313.), have, in the nominative, accusative, and vocative, a singular form; in the other cases, plural terminations; while in Latin quot, tot, like quinque, &c., have become completely indeclinable.

tion of the latter, for it cannot be brought into direct comparison with the Sanskrit and krit on account of §. 255. (l.): kraty, however, is to be deduced from and kritwas, by suppression of the v. With regard to the y for as compare §. 271.

325. Through the suffix  $\mathbf{v}$  dha the Sanskrit forms adverbs in sense and in form, corresponding to the Greek in  $\chi \alpha$ , which, therefore, have altered the T sound of the suffix into a corresponding guttural, by the usual exchange of organ in aspirates, as in OPNIX for OPNI $\Theta$ , and in the forms mentioned at p. 401 G. ed. Compare,

[G. Ed. p. 467.]

डिया dwi-dhâ, δί-χα. चिया tri-dhâ, τρί-χα. चतुथा chatur-dhâ, τέτρα-χα. पद्या pancha-dhâ, πέντα-χα.

END OF VOL 1.

<sup>&</sup>quot; Divided into two parts," Sav. V. 108.

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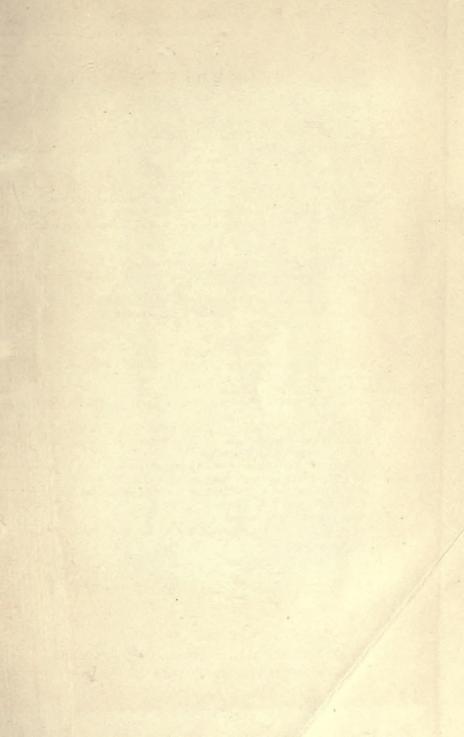
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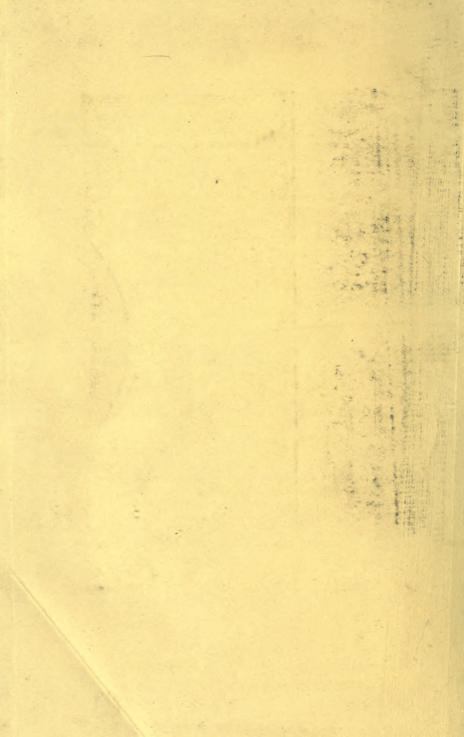
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