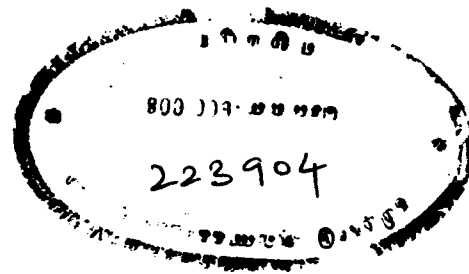
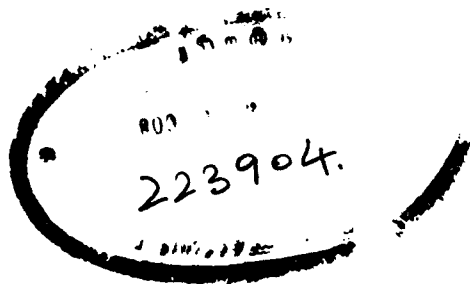


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aware of the existence of two parents it preserves the original term, which loses its primitive application to a certain individual, and being taught to affix to it the words denoting male or female, distinguishes between the male parent or father and the female parent or mother. This nomenclature prevails, *e.g.*, among the Nancowry islanders, as well as among the Hawaiians and other kindred tribes. The former call their father *Tjia nkonje* (parent male) and mother *Tjia enkana* (parent female), the latter call the same persons *Makua kana* and *Makua vahina* (parent male and parent female) respectively.

We might here mention the well known fact, that in consequence of modulation of voice, which effects a change in the sound of the letter, a word may assume a different meaning. Thus altered in pronunciation and sense it becomes in course of time a separate term, and the former identity of the two words is forgotten.

The variation of sound is often produced by means of sex. The same word is differently uttered by a man and a woman, inasmuch as their voices vary. This vocal diversity does not exercise any material influence in more highly cultivated languages, but among uncivilized tribes the organs of sense are keener: everything which attracts their attention is instantly observed and made use of.

The division of letters into hard and soft or into close and open, and the application of this principle to speech, is the foundation of the euphonic system met with among so distant tribes as the Tungusians of Asia, the Negroes of Africa, and the Redskins of America. Distinct classes of vowels exist in the Yoruba dialect.³⁸ The

(38) See: Introductory remarks on the Yoruba language to the "Yoruba Grammar," compiled by the Rev. Samuel Crowther, page 8. "The vowels of the Yoruba language are apparently made to form two separate classes, according to the closeness or openness of their sound. In the Yoruba the euphonic changes affect the vowel sound alone."

euphonic character of the South African tongues,³⁹ based as it is on the alliteral concords of the initial sounds, differs from the former in its further development, but the propensity of assimilating the sound is common to both. The principle of vocal harmony is inculcated in Mongolian, Tungusian, Turkish, Finnish and Dravidian⁴⁰ languages. Most of the dialects of America⁴¹ equally submit to its sway.

It is among Asiatic and American dialects that the diversity of sound is often employed to express the difference between male and female sex, instead of describing it by using the adjectives "male" and "female." The term which was originally adopted expressed both, but in the course of time the difference of sex was marked by difference of sound. The softer voice being peculiar to women, the softer sound, or what was considered to be so, was chosen to denote the female sex, and the harder tone was applied to designate male individuals. This mode of determining, however singular it may appear at first sight, rests upon a discrimination based on practical experience. A few examples suffice for explanation. In the Mandshu language *Chacha* signifies man, *Cheche* woman; *Ama* father, *Eme* mother; *Ahun* elder brother, *Ehun* elder sister; in

(39) See in the first volume of the Journal of the American Oriental Society the essays on the Zulu language by the Rev. James C. Bryant, page 388, and that by the Rev. Lewis Grout, pages 423-25, and compare the preface to the Rev. William J. Davis' Kaffir language, page iv.

(40) Compare "M. Alexander Castrén's Grammatik der Samojedischen Sprachen; herausgegeben von Anton Schiefner, St. Petersburg, 1854, pages 18, 23; §53." Unter Vocalharmonie versteht man in den Altaischen Sprachen das durch die Anforderungen des Wohllauts bedingte Gesetz, dass die Vocale in der ersten oder Stammsilbe des Worts in gewissem Grade die Art und Beschaffenheit der Vocale in den nachfolgenden Silben bestimmen. Dieses Gesetz zeigt in den verschiedenen Sprachen manche Verschiedenheiten, aber für die meisten Türkischen, Finnischen und Mongolischen Sprachen gelten indessen folgende allgemeine Bestimmungen.

(41) Compare F. L. O. Rohrig's Essay "On the Language of the Dakota or Sioux Indians" in the Smithsonian Report of 1871, page 437.

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Tungusian *Akmu* is elder brother, *Ekmü* elder sister; in Telentish the same relations are called *Aga* and *Ege*. In Finnish *Ukko* is "old man" and *Akka* "old woman." With this coincides Hungarian, where *Ak* stands for elder brother and *Uk* for grandmother (old woman). In the Dakota language *Cinski* means son, *Cunski* daughter; *Cin* elder brother, *Cun* elder sister; *Hepan* second son, *Hapan* second daughter.⁴² The language of the Abipones furnishes additional proof of this noteworthy peculiarity. In this concrete tongue the pronoun of the third person varies according to the situation of the person of whom we speak. If that person is present, and is a man, he is called *Eneha*; if a woman, she is called *Anaha*; if he be sitting the right term is *Hĩiha*, if she be sitting it is *Haĩiha*; if he be walking and seen it is *Ehaha*, if she walking and seen it is *Ahaha*.⁴³

The most important difference existing between children when regarded from a parental view, is offered undoubtedly by sex. Concrete languages do systematically exclude gender, they do not—a very few instances excepted—possess equivalent terms for such abstract words as "boy" or "son," "girl" or "daughter," but preferring as their starting-point the genderless or neutral expression "child," join to it the sexual determinatives "male" or "female." Occasionally even the word *child* is omitted, and the terms male or female are deemed sufficient to denote son or daughter. E.g., in the Yoruba, Hawaiian, Karen and Telugu languages "child" is respectively expressed by *Oma*, *Kaiki*, *Pho* and *Bidda*, "male" by *kuri*, *kana*, *khwa* and *moga*, and "female" by *bere*, *vahina*, *mu* and *āda*. A boy is therefore respectively called *Oma kuri*, *Kaiki kana*, *Pho khwa* and *Moga bidda*, and

(42) Compare F. L. O. Rohrig, l. c.

(43) See: An Account of the Abipones from the Latin of Martin Dobrizhoffer. London, 1822, Vol. II, page 166.

a girl *Oma bere*, *Kaiki vahina*, *Pho mu* and *Adu bidḍa*.⁴⁴ In Tulu *Án* means "male and boy," *Punnu* "female and girl." In Turkish, Tuda and Samoyedish *Kiz*, *Kukh* and *Ne* signify both "female and daughter."

When contrasting this mode of expression with that adopted by abstract dialects, we directly perceive that the words chosen for "boy" and "son," "girl" and "daughter" indicate certain **qualities** usually ascribed to children. We may remark **here**, that we do not contend that concrete expressions of relationship were never used in abstract languages, but we say that if they were used that they were **dropped at a very early stage**, so that hardly any traces of **them** can now be found in any abstract language. In the Semitic languages we meet with words signifying "son" and "daughter," but no *bonū fide* equivalent for child. From this fact we infer—and on closer investigation this conclusion will be corroborated—that a third or neuter gender does not exist in the Semitic group of languages. Its presence among the Aryan branch is evidence of the existence of a term for child.

(44) In the Sumerian language which has lately been discovered by the eminent cuneiform decipherer Professor Julius Oppert, *Tur* signifies child, *us* male, and *rak* female. *Tur-us* therefore signifies "boy, son," and *Tur-rak* "girl, daughter." In a printed letter addressed to M. E. de Ujfalvy Professor Oppert suggests, that the Sumerians can be properly styled Turanians in consequence of their language containing this word *Tur*. Professor Sayce is, I believe, mistaken, when he says, *l.c.*, page 268: "in Accadian 'daughter' was denoted by *sal-tur*, literally 'woman-son.'" As Accadian is, what is generally termed, a Semitic dialect and therefore an abstract language, such a formation is impossible. Professor Sayce alludes to the concrete Sumerian, and here *tur* means originally "child, and as the child *kal' exochōn* is the son, *tur* can be used in this sense when standing alone, but when it is joined with such a word like "female" *tur* can only signify child. When I heard that Sumerian was declared to be a Scythian or Turanian language, I was persuaded that under these circumstances no terms corresponding to "boy, son, girl, daughter, brother and sister" would be found in it, and on further inquiry, I was informed that such abstract words do not exist in Sumerian.

Languages.	Child.	Boy.	Girl.	Son.	Daughter.
Hebrew ..	..	Yeled, Ben, &c.	Yaldah, Bath, &c.	Ben ⁴⁵ .	Bath.
Arabic ..	..	Welad.	Welidet.	Ibn, Welad.	Bint.
Sanskrit ..	Toka, Apatya.	Bala, Kumara.	Bala, Kapaya, &c.	Putra, ⁴⁶ Suta.	Duhitri, ⁴⁷ Suta.
Greek ..	Teknon, Nēpion.	Pais, Koros.	Pais, Korē.	Hyios.	Thygatēr.
German ..	Kind.	Knabe.	Mädchen ⁴⁸ .	Sohn.	Tochter.

Parentage and filiation admit therefore **only two essential component parts**, those representing **kinship and sex**. The relationship existing between brothers and sisters, being of a more complex nature, includes **besides a third element**, that of age.⁴⁹ It is a significant feature

(45) "Ben" is connected with the verb *bānāā*, to build, in the sense of building a house (bayith) by progeny; *ben* is therefore, he who represents the continuation of the family, the son.

(46) Putra is *pu + tra*, the well known Kṛitaffix. The first syllable is probably only an expression of caress addressed by the parents to the child, in imitation most likely of childish sounds. The Latin *puer*, and in the reduplicated forms of *pupus* and *pupa* (compare the German *puppe*), the German *Bube*, the English *boy*, &c. are its representatives. The birth of a son ensures the happiness of his father. He clears after the death of his father the departed spirit from all mundane impurity. Hence the meaning of the root *pū*, to purify. The derivation of *putra* from *put-tra* "saving from hell (put)" already extant in the Dharmaśāstra of Manu, IX, 138—

"Punnamno narakadyasmāt trayate pitaram sutāḥ,

Tasmāt putra iti proktaḥ svayameva svayambhuva,"

though ingenious and pretty, is devoid of all real foundation. If any exact etymological meaning can be ascribed to the word *putra*, it is that of purifier.

Suta (Hyios, Sohn, Son) from *su*, to beget, bring forth, is "the begotten," "brought forth," the son.

(47) Duhitri, from *duh* to milk, the "milk-maid," indicating the principal household duty of a daughter in a primitive family. If *duhitri* is explained as *drawing milk from the mother*, it can be objected, that a boy does the same thing. In Liṅguyya Sūri's Commentary to Amarakośa we read *dogdhi dhanaharaṇena rikṭikaroti pitavau duhitā*, *i.e.*, "a daughter milks, empties her parents by taking away wealth" through her marriage.

(48) Mädchen is a diminutive of *Magd*, maid; this neuter diminutive can be compared with the Greek *neirakion*, boy.

(49) It ought not to be omitted that words expressing age are occasionally used even in connection with "father," "mother," and "child." The

that these terms of consanguinity should include age, which is subject to continual change.

paternal and maternal brothers and sisters are often distinguished in such a manner. This form of appellation is in vogue among the American Indians as well as among the Dravidians and other non-Aryan Hindus. When such terms as "youngest father," *Kanukthapita* occur in Sanskrit, their origin is due most likely to foreign influence. In the Dravidian languages these names are of frequent occurrence: in Telugu, e.g., the father's elder brother is called *peda nāyana* or *pettandri* (big father), the father's younger brother *chinnāyana* or *pinatandri* (little father), the mother's elder sister is *peddamma* or *pettalti* (big mother), and the mother's younger sister is *chinnamma* or *pinatalli* (little mother).

Australians and Americans assign according to age different names to children. Thus among the natives near Adelaide predominate the following nominations:—

		if male, is called	if female
First	child	.. Kertameru.	Kertanya.
Second	"	.. Warritya.	Warriarto.
Third	"	.. Kudnatya.	Kudnarto.
Fourth	"	.. Monaitya.	Monarto.
Fifth	"	.. Milaitya.	Milarto.
Sixth	"	.. Marrutya.	Marruarto.
Seventh	"	.. Wongutya.	Wongwarto.
Eighth	"	.. Ngarlaitya.	Ngarlarto.
Ninth	"	..	..
or in the Parnkalla dialect		if male	if female
		Piri.	Kartanye.
Do.	do.	Wari.	Wayuru (Waruyu).
Do.	do.	Kunni.	Kunta.
Do.	do.	Munni.	Munnaka.
Do.	do.	Marri.	Marrukko.
Do.	do.	Yarri.	Yarranta.
Do.	do.	Milli.	Mellakka.
Do.	do.	Wangguyu.	Wanngutu.
Do.	do.	Ngallai.	Ngallka.

See Dr. Bleek "On the Position of the Australian Languages" in the *Journal of the Anthropol. Inst.*, Vol. I, page 97, and compare besides in Vol. II, pages 263-65, the peculiar system of classification of children in use among Australians.

Mr. Morgan (l. c. page 181) notices the same fact among the Dakotas. For among these the

		in Winnebago	in Isauntie
First	son is called	Koo no ka.	Cha was ka.
Second	"	Ha na ka.	Ha pan na.
Third	"	Ha ka ka.	Ha pe na.
Fourth	"	Na khe ka.	Cha na tan.
Fifth	"	Na kha kho no ka.	Ha ka.

The non-existence of words equivalent to brother and sister in a language must be, to those who converse in abstract tongues and who are accustomed to them from their earliest childhood, a very striking phenomenon; but an examination into this subject will soon disclose the fact that the absence of such terms is the rule and their presence the exception.

The concrete tendency discloses itself in various formations, which represent pretty nearly the different stages of development. All concrete languages can possess a general expression of consanguinity⁵⁰ irrespective of sex and age, e.g., in the Khasi dialects *Para* denotes consanguinity pure and simple, but to distinguish between brother and sister

		in Winnebago	in Isauntie
First	daughter is called	E noo ka.	We no ka.
Second	"	Wa hun ka.	Ha pan.
Third	"	Ak khe a ka.	Ha pes ten na.
Fourth	"	E nuk ha ka.	Wan ska.
Fifth	"	Ah kse gaho no ka.	We ha ka.

Compare also the Rev. S. R. Riggs, M.A., *Grammar and Dictionary of the Dakota Language*, page 34.

The Hebrew word *Bachor* in the meaning of "first-born" has nothing in common with such names. The Sanskrit terms *agraja* and *anuja* apply originally to children, and are later used for elder and younger brother or sister, for the first-born child is the elder brother or sister and the later born the younger brother or sister. The French *ainé* (ains-né, ante-natus) expresses the same sense, while *cadet* comes from *capitellum*, little chief, a diminutive of *caput*.

It lies in the nature of relationship, that words which originally were intended to apply to children with respect to their age, should afterwards be used by those children to determine their respective position among each other. The terms which are thus given to children by their parents, are often employed by their children in reference to their position as brothers and sisters.

(50) The English language has no word to express the Latin *consanguinitas*. Ovidius (Her. XIV. 121; Met. VIII. 476), Statius (Theb. XI. 407), and Tibullus (III. 4, 87), use *consanguineus* for brother, and in Catullus (LXV. 118) *consanguinea* is equivalent to sister. *Consanguinitas* is used in Roman law books in the same sense as the German *Geschwisterschaft* (Pand. XXXVIII. 8, 4, Inst. VII. 44). The German word *Geschwisterschaft* points really to consanguinity by sisters, but it is used in a wider sense. Another word to describe this relationship affords the term *Germanitas*, which Cicero

the words for male and female, *shinrang* and *kynthai*, must be added, and *Para shinrang* stands for brother, *Para kynthai* for sister. In Mandengo *Ba din* (mother's child) is equivalent to consanguinity, *Ba din ke* (mother-child-man) means brother, *Ba din muso* (mother-child-woman) sister.⁵¹ The Turkish *Karindash* (from *Karn* womb, and *dash* fellow) is a womb-fellow, *Erkek* 'karindash' (or *karindash* alone) male-womb-fellow is brother, *Kiz karindash* female-womb-fellow, sister. In the same manner we find in Sumerian *Sis* (most likely for *Us-sis*) used for brother, and *Rak-sis* for sister. Children who live together under their parents' protection, differ from each other principally in sex and age. The distinction of sex is the more important of the two. It separates the children in two classes. Subdivisions are then effected by age. The distinction between Seniors and Juniors is acknowledged. The eldest or senior is the head of the family. The juniors become in their turn the successors of their seniors, unless the laws of succession are specially altered. The senior has only juniors beneath himself, and the youngest junior only seniors above him. If there are, e. g., in a Tamulian family only two brothers, the first is called *annan* and the other *tambi*; if there are three the youngest calls his eldest brother either as before *annan*, or *mūṭṭannan* or *periannan* (big elder brother); if there are four, the first remains what he is, the second is called *nadūṭṭannan* (middle elder brother), and the third *śirūṭṭannan* (small elder brother); if five the second be termed *iraṇḍāvalūṭṭannan* (second elder brother), the third

uses in this sense (e.g., pro Ligario, 33: *moveat te germanitas*). But *germanitas* (from *germen*) refers originally to relationship on the male side. Livius XL. 8 describes it as the kinship existing between the half-brothers Perseus and Demetrius, the sons of Philippos III. of Macedonia.

(51) See "Comparative Vocabularies of some of the principal Negro Dialects of Africa," by Rev. John Leighton Wilson, in the first volume of the Amer. Oriental Society's Journal, page 360; and Dr. H. Steinthal's "Mande Neger Sprachen," page 199.

mūṇrāvadiṭṭannan (third elder brother), the fourth *śirūṭṭannan*, and so forth.⁵²

The senior brother and sister being considered the more important and influential members of the family and of society at large, the terms which express seniority are preserved more carefully than those which are assigned to juniors. Thus it happens that words which define the position of the latter are often dropped in concrete languages when they have come into contact with abstract dialects, and the terms used in the latter replace the primitive concrete expressions, e.g., the Parvatiya of Nepal preserves for elder brother and elder sister the original expressions *Dāṣṣu* and *Dūḷi*, but when it speaks of younger brother and younger sister it substitutes words derived from Sanskrit, *Bhai* and *Bahini*. The same process may be observed in such Sanskritized languages as Bengali and Konkani, where the ancient idiom is retained for seniors and omitted when juniors are concerned.⁵³

(52) Compare with this mode of calling that practised among the Kamilaroi in Australia. "Brothers and sisters speak of one another by titles that indicate relative age; that is, their words for brother and sister always involve the distinction of elder or younger. In Kamilaroi 'daiādi' is elder brother; 'gullami' younger brother; 'boādi' is elder sister, 'buri' younger sister. So that in a family of seven brothers the eldest has no daiādi, but he has six gullami; the youngest has no gullami, but six daiādi; the third has two daiādi and four gullami, and so on. Of seven sisters the eldest has no boādi, but six buri; the youngest has no buri, but six boādi the fourth has three boādi and three buri."

In another Australian tribe "Of four brothers the first is 'thulguiana,' the second 'guluizindai,' the third 'mindulai,' the fourth 'thābutu.'" (See Rev. William Ridley, M.A., "Report on Australian Languages and Traditions" in the Journal of the Anthropological Institute, Vol. II, pages 266 and 283.)

(53) In Bengali "elder brother" is *Dādā* and "elder sister" *Didi* or *Mimi*, "younger brother" on the contrary is *Chota brata* (*Anuja*) and "younger sister" *Chota Bhagini*. The same forms of kinship are respectively expressed in Konkani by *Anna*, *Akka*, *Sāna Bhāwa* and *Sāni Bahini*. Such terms are remnants of the original concrete character of these languages. The use of postpositions in declension (e.g. in Hindustani), and other idiomatic formations and expressions manifest the same tendency towards concreteness.

This amalgamation of age with the expressions of consanguinity is fatal to the adoption of abstract terms equivalent to brother and sister. The irresistible influence which time exercises on everything prejudices the application of terms which include age in their definition.

Even the genderless terms of consanguinity just mentioned cannot be considered to express fully the abstract sense of consanguinity. For a stricter examination will disclose the fact that they do not describe the affinity of brother and sister in the sense in which it is generally used, as children of the same father and mother, but that they are only applicable to children of the same mother. The Mandingo and Turkish terms prove this distinctly; the same is the case with the Dravidian languages, for the terms used in

Tamil are respectively Kūḍappirandavan⁵⁴ and Kūḍappirandaval, or Uḍanpirandavan, or Uḍanpirandaval;
 Malayālam „ Uṭappirannavan and Uṭappirannaval;
 Canarese „ Kūḍahuṭṭidavanu „ Kūḍahuṭṭidavalu;
 Telugu „ Tōḍaputtinavāḍu „ Tōḍaputtinadi;
 and they denote a male or female who is born from the same mother; expressions synonymous with the Sanskrit *Sahodara* (Sodara) and *Sagarbha*.

A strangely intricate system of nomenclature arises in many concrete languages from the separation of children according to sex. The relationship existing between brothers and brothers on the one and sisters and sisters on the other side is the same. An elder brother is exactly in the same manner related to his younger brother, as an elder sister is to her younger sister, and *vice versa* (see plate No. 2).

The identical genderless terms of consanguinity (*Geschwisterschaft*) apply therefore to elder brothers and sisters as well as to younger brothers and sisters. The expression

(54) "Kūḍa" and "uḍan" mean "with."

becomes complete, when the sexual determinatives male or female have been added. In some languages, as we have already observed, the sound of the word is modulated in order to convey the necessary distinction. In the Yoruba language "elder consanguinity" is expressed by *egmo*, and "younger consanguinity" by *aburo*, male is *okuri* and female *obiri*; *egmo okuri* is therefore elder brother, *egmo obiri* elder sister; *aburo okuri* younger brother, and *aburo obiri* younger sister. Many examples of this mode of nomenclature can be quoted from the most heterogeneous languages. It exists among the Coreans in the East of Asia as well as among many nations in Africa; it is prevalent among the Polynesian islanders and on the continent of America.

So long as persons of the same sex address each other no difficulty arises, but immediately an individual oversteps this sexual barrier, *e.g.*, a brother speaks to his sister; the case is altered. Special terms become indispensable for heterogeneous persons. The principle followed in this proceeding shows that persons of the same sex, when addressing each other, use identical expressions, but that heterogeneous persons use in this case dissimilar words. A Hawaiian man, *e.g.*, calls his elder brother *Kai kua ana*, his elder sister *Kai ku wahine*, his younger brother *Kai kaina*, and his younger sister *Kai kai wahine*; but a Hawaiian woman calls the same persons respectively *Kai ku na na*, *Kai ku a ana*, *Kai ku nānā*, and *Kai kai na*.⁵⁵

This fact explains the peculiar phraseology occurring in many concrete languages, in which certain terms are confined only to one sex. A Chippewa man, when speaking to a Chippewa woman cannot call her "friend" by the

(55) In the same manner a Maori man calls the same relatives *Tua kana*, *Tua hi na*, *Te ina* and *Tahina te ina*, while a Maori woman names them *Tun ga na*, *Tua kana*, *Tunga te ina* and *Tina*.

same word as is used by her, when she addresses him.⁵⁶ Among the Eudeve tribe the same custom prevails.⁵⁷

This difference in the speech of men and women, however significant, is by natural causes limited within a narrow compass. If men and women really spoke different languages, the very aim for which speech exists, clear communication of ideas, would be frustrated. Where women, as is the case among the Caribes,⁵⁸ generally belong to another tribe and are prisoners carried away in successful raids, the difference of language is a fact easily accounted for. A female language which differs from that of males, as one language differs from another, does not exist. To quote in favor of its existence the circumstance that men speak in Sanskrit dramas Sanskrit and women Prākṛit, is a wrong application of a false opinion.⁵⁹ For neither do all men speak Sanskrit in Sanskrit dramas, nor all women Prākṛit, for both men and women speak either Sanskrit or Prākṛit according to the position they occupy in life. Different languages are spoken in Indian plays as the poets intend to give a true and real portrait, a concrete description of the individuals who appear on the scene. The multitude of Indian languages, and the

(56) Compare "Information respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States," by Henry Schoolcraft, LL.D., Vol. II, page 385, where he discourses on "the exclusive use of certain words by one or the other sex."

(57) See "The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America," by H. H. Bancroft, Vol. III, page 701: "In some cases females employ different words from those used by the male sex."

(58) See: Alexander von Humboldt's *Reise in die Äquinoctial Gegenden des neuen Continents*, Vol. IV, page 326 and ff.

(59) See: *Ernest Renan* "De l'origine du langage," pages 27 and 28. "Or, si la femme employa tout d'abord certaines flexions de préférence à d'autres, et provoqua ces flexions chez ceux qui lui parlaient, c'est qu'elles étaient plus conformes à ses habitudes de prononciation et aux sentiments que sa vue faisait naître. C'est ainsi que dans les drames Hindous les hommes parlent Sanscrit et les femmes Prākṛit." Whether the Prākṛit contained in Indian dramas represents always actually spoken language is very doubtful. I believe it is often an artificially made up jargon. My learned friend Dr. Burnell has even found in the Palace Library at Tanjore "a real grammar of a fictitious Prākṛit dialect called the Bhaṇḍarabhāṣa:" see his interesting monograph "On the Aindra School of Sanskrit Grammarians," page 107.

absence of any particular dialect which is understood everywhere and by everybody, promotes this singular habit. Even nowadays the different *dramatis personæ* speak in the modern Tamil or Telugu dramas their own vernaculars. Occasionally one can find in South Indian dramas all the Dravidian dialects besides Sanskrit and Hindustāni. This peculiar feature in Indian dramas which aims at representing the realities of life reminds one of a Chinese picture, where the objects are painted according to nature without regard to perspective.

The so-called language of the Kaffir women, which is known as the *Uku Hlonipa*⁶⁰ has a totally different origin and supplies a special want; but it is altogether at variance with the above-mentioned expressions used in certain languages by men or women, when speaking to each other. The *Uku Hlonipa* arises from the repugnance which Kaffir women have to mention the name of their fathers or fathers-in-law, or any word which resembles such names. In its tendency it reminds one of the custom of *Tabu* prevalent among the South-Sea islanders, though the anxious avoidance of the names of the king and of members of the reigning family and of all words resembling them is not confined to one sex, but shared by men and women alike.⁶¹ Such peculiar

(60) See "A Dictionary of the Kaffir Language," by the Rev. William S. Davis, Part I, page 80. "The Kaffir women have a superstitious fear or shame of being near their father-in-law or any male relation. They, and their children, avoid mentioning their own father's name. The women also avoid the cattle kraal, and in passing the kraal gate they make a circuit, so as to avoid going too near. They also refuse to pronounce or use words which have for their principal syllable any part or syllable of the father's or father-in-law's name, or that of their paramount chief. This custom of *Uku Hlonipa* is thus always coining new words, such words are known as *Ukuteta kwabafasi*, the language of the women."

(61) The meaning of the word *Tabu* is "sacred." It is originally a religious ceremony. The idols, temples, persons, and names of the king, and members of the reigning family, the persons of the priests, canoes belonging to the gods, houses, cloths, and mats of the king and priests, and the heads of men who were the devotees of any particular idol,—were always *tabu*, or sacred. See: *Polynesian Researches* by W. Ellis, Vol. IV, page 383. The word *tabooed* now in common use, is derived from this custom.

usages are found frequently; thus among the Abipones, who abolish all appellative words which bear any affinity with the names of deceased persons.⁶² Many more examples of this kind could be quoted without difficulty.

The terms of kinship hitherto considered excluded sex, but there exist some concrete languages which include it. These latter formations indicate undoubtedly a progress. If sex alone besides relationship were expressed, such words would have assumed an abstract appearance. The circumstance of their still retaining age proclaims their concrete nature.

Rank and position are, as noted before, closely connected with and inseparable from seniority. The eldest brother is, in the absence of another elder member of the family, *eo ipso* its head. The eldest sister enjoys a similar distinguished position, especially where the laws of inheritance favor the female line. The precedence granted to seniors lowers the position of juniors. Even language does not treat both with the same regard. While distinct terms are conceded to the elders, the juniors of both sexes have either only one name in common, or when they enjoy the privilege of having special terms assigned to them, these terms themselves bear often the impression of a later origin. Thus the Tamil word for younger brother *Tambi*, is, according to the well-known native explanation, composed of the possessive pronoun *tam* and the adjective *pin* "after" (the Telugu *pim* in *pimmata* afterwards), and it stands for *pin pirandavan*, he who is born afterwards, an expression corresponding to the Sanskrit *anuja*. Separate terms for "elder brother" and "elder sister," together with common ones for

(62) See: Dobrizhoffer's Abipones, II, pages 203-4. "The Abipones do not like that any thing should remain to remind them of the dead. Hence appellative words bearing any affinity with the names of the deceased are presently abolished. Hence it is that our vocabularies are so full of blots, occasioned by our having such frequent occasion to obliterate interdicted words, and insert new ones." Among the natives of Australia and of Tasmania a similar custom prevails.

"younger brother" and "younger sister," appear mostly in those languages where those special words for "elder brother" and "elder sister" originated from one and the same term being pronounced differently, as is the case, *e.g.*, in some Tungusian and Mongolian dialects. The Tungusians near Ochozk call elder brother *Akmu*, "elder sister" *Ekmu*, and "younger brother and sister" indiscriminately *Nougu*. The Kalkha Mongolians distinguish the same persons respectively by the names of *Aga*, *Ege(cy)*, and *Du*. This peculiar nomenclature exists also in American and Australian languages, though the singular mode by which in American pronouns are combined with nouns, aggravates somewhat the etymological recognition of the original roots.

Four distinct terms for these four forms of kinship, *i.e.*, one special for each, are found in the languages of the Chinese, Turks, Dravidians, Hungarians, &c. Thus in :

Chinese	elder brother is	<i>Heung</i>	elder sister	<i>Tsze</i> .
Chagatai	„ „ „	<i>Aga</i> ,	„ „	<i>Bacy</i> .
Telugu	„ „ „	<i>Anna</i> ,	„ „	<i>Akka</i> .
Hungarian	„ „ „	<i>Ba(Bacy)</i>	„ „	<i>Nene</i> .
Chinese	younger brother is	<i>Te</i> ,	younger sister	<i>Mei</i> .
Chagatai	„ „	<i>Iny</i> ,	„ „	<i>Singil</i> .
Telugu	„ „	<i>Tammudu</i> ,	„ „	<i>Cellelu</i> .
Hungarian	„ „	<i>Ocs</i>	„ „	<i>Hug</i> .

The nearest approach to expressing in a concrete language the relationship of "brother" and "sister" is, as far as I know, made in Chinese. Here the two terms senior and junior, *Heung* and *Te*, are united and *Heung-te* is used in the sense of brother, as *Tsze-mei* in that of sister. Whenever other concrete languages form similar compounds, these compounds have a plural and not a singular meaning, *e.g.*, *Aga ene* among the Kasan Tatars, and *Annan tambigül* among the Tamulians, signify "brothers," at least one pair of elder and younger brothers.

As the genderless term of consanguinity, depending on the descent from a common mother, has been previously commented upon, we need not recur to it.

We therefore distinguish between two different kinds of concrete languages. The first contains special words used in case persons of different sex address each other; the second does not possess such peculiar terms, and males and females use, when conversing with each other, the same words as if they were speaking with persons belonging to their own sex. We call the first division *heterologous*, because heterogeneous persons use different words or speech (*heteroys logoys*), and the second *homologous*, because they use in this case the same words or speech (*homoioys logoys*).

Each division is again subdivided into three classes as follows: (1) the first class marks the difference existing between elder and younger consanguinity by adopting special terms for each, and the difference of sex by adding either the words *male* and *female*, or by modulation of sound; (2) the second possesses special terms for elder brother and elder sister, but one in common for younger brother and younger sister; (3) the third has four distinct terms for each of these varieties of kinship.

These are the principal varieties in which concrete languages express the relationship between brothers and sisters. They represent approximately the different stages of development of thought which can be observed in the growth of the respective languages. The principle of concretion remains every where intact and distinct, but it appears in various phases of refinement corresponding to the mental capabilities of men. How this progress originates, how it grows, and where and why it stops, are questions difficult or impossible to be answered. All we know is, that dialects, which have started from one common source have, in consequence of later digressions, been changed to such an extent that they must be assigned to different classes. Occasionally languages afford us a means of tracing the common origin and

of explaining the subsequent deviations appearing in their ultimate development. The Hungarian *Nene* "elder sister" reveals the common origin and mutual relationship between Hungarian, and Samoyedic as well as the divergence which took place afterwards. The Samoyedic *Tebena* and *Nena*⁶³ "elder brother" and "elder sister," are derived from *Teb*, "man," *Ne*, "woman,"⁶⁴ and *Na* the genderless term for consanguinity. The origin of the Hungarian *Nena* "elder sister," can thus be traced to the primitive genderless expression of consanguinity.

Concrete languages are without terms equivalent to "brother" and "sister." Such expressions which we find in abstract languages describe a condition peculiarly applicable to the close relationship between brother and sister. The brother *Bhrātri* (from *bhrā* with the Kriaffix *tri*) is thus in Sanskrit the "supporter of the sister," and *Svasri* sister⁶⁵ (from *su* + *as* and the Kriaffix *ri*) "the soother, consoler of the brother." I do not contend, that these terms were applied from the first to denote consanguinity; their very pertinent signification suggests a later origin. There may have been, and most likely there were used in primeval times other, perhaps even concrete, terms, but if the latter has ever been the case, the innate tendency towards abstraction removed also such expressions from the language and replaced them by such abstract words as *Bhrātri*, *Svasri*, &c. The terms *Adelphos* and *Agastōr* were preferred in Greek, as the word *Phrātēr*⁶⁶ was employed in another sense.

Having thus laid stress upon the important position which terms of kinship occupy in a language, it must be

(63) *Nene* denotes at times in Samoyedic dialects "younger sister."

(64) Compare the Hungarian *Nő* and the Chinese *Nü*.

(65) "Sushthū asyati sodarāyāsam iti svasā," see Lingayya Sūri's *Lingābhaṭṭiyam*. I prefer this derivation to that of *sra stri*. The affix *ri* in *svasri* corresponds to the *tri* in *bhrātri*. Compare besides others Theodor Benfey's "Vollständige Grammatik der Sanskrit Sprache," page 159.

(66) The Greek possessed the word *phrātēr*, but used instead of it *adelphos* (from *a* and *delphos* uterus), *agastōr*, both which signify uterinus, *kasis* and *kasinētos*.

further proved that their construction is a manifestation of the general character of a dialect, and that the innate inclination reappears again in different forms of speech.

CHAPTER VII.

APPEARANCE OF THE GENERAL CHARACTER OF A LANGUAGE IN OTHER FORMS OF SPEECH.

Next to the words of relationship the pronouns, as the substitutes of nouns, have preserved most distinctly the original genius of a dialect. It has been previously observed that in some languages the terms of kinship are retained in conversation, where others would use in their stead pronouns. This fact is one of the many indications which show that both nouns and pronouns are constituted alike in many respects. The connection existing between both manifests itself in various ways. The words for "father" and "mother" differ in the Zulu language according to the pronoun with which they are associated. *Ukaba* signifies "my father," *Ukame* "my mother," *Ugihlo* "thy father," *Ungoko* "thy mother," *Uyise* "his (her) father," and *Unina* "his (her) mother."⁶⁷ The West Australian languages combine also in a peculiar manner pronouns with terms of kinship and of relationship. "We two," "you two," and "they two," when applied (a) to brothers, sisters or friends, or when (b) to parent and child or to uncle and nephew, and when (c) to husband and wife or to persons who are greatly attached to each other, become respectively (a) *Ngal-la*, *Ngal-a*, and *Ngan nitch*, (b) *Nec-bal*, *Nec-bal* and *Nec-hin*, and (c) *Bula*, *Bul-ala*, and *Bul-lana*.⁶⁸

The American languages betray in this respect likewise a strong tendency towards concretion. The terms of relationship, the names of the various members and organs of the

(67) The Zulu and other dialects of South Africa by the Rev. Lewis Grout, Journ. of the Amer. Oriental Society, Vol. I, page 404.

(68) See: Vocabulary of the Dialects of South-Western Australia, by Captain G. Grey, London, 1841, page xxii.

body, and other objects, which have a personal bearing are in American languages always connected with pronouns. An American will not attach any meaning to simple words like *father*, or *hat*, but he knows what is meant by such phrases as *my father*, *my hat*, *his father*, *his hat*.⁶⁹

On the other hand, where simple pronouns are generally used in abstract languages, concrete tongues strengthen them by a material substratum. Such sentences as "I am well," "I am not well," &c., require in concrete tongues often the introduction into the sentence of substances like body or skin. In Telugu "I am well" is *naku ollu baga unnadi*, to me the body well is; in Mande "I am not well" is *en gboro gbor e ma*, in my body skin (health) not is.

The employment of real abstract pronouns testifies to a high development, and their existence must be considered as marking an essential progress in the mental life of a language. The personal pronouns are most probably at first nouns, which, deputed to such representation, became in time a distinct class of words. The pronouns of the first and second persons have as their starting-point a firm concrete basis; it is either the *I* who speaks, or the *Thou* who is addressed. The idea of self-consciousness in the abstract *Ego* is not here implied.

Words which express the respective position of the two first pronouns are therefore used in preference to others. Reverential terms towards superiors, equal terms towards equals, and condescending terms towards inferiors are the natural outcome of such a system.

(69) See: Systems of Consanguinity... by Lewis H. Morgan, pages 137-138: "These pronominal inflections are carried much further in the Ganowanian languages than philologists have generally supposed. Terms of relationship almost universally involve the pronoun.... It would be impossible for an American Indian, in most of the nations, to use one of these terms (as father, son, nephew) in the abstract.... The pronoun also is usually found incorporated with the names of the different organs of the body, and with the names of objects which are personal."

The close relation between nouns and pronouns is exemplified by the Zulu language, which contains as many classes of pronouns, as there are varieties of nouns.⁷⁰

The great number of pronouns of the first and second persons need not, after what has been just now said, excite astonishment. The Javanese dialect possesses twenty pronouns of the first and twelve of the second person, while the Malayan contains sixteen of the first, ten of the second, and five of the third person.⁷¹

The pronoun of the third person is a truer reflection of the character of a dialect, than either that of the first or of the second person. This will manifest itself more clearly afterwards. The pronoun of the third person is an artificial *alter ego*. It originates from an inmost tendency towards abstractness. Where such an inclination is wanting, it does not exist, as in the Javanese;⁷² or it is built upon a concrete substratum, as in the languages of the Abipones, where the position occupied by the person or the object alluded to, is specially expressed.⁷³

When examining the terms of consanguinity stress was laid on their absence in concrete languages, and the importance of this fact was particularly noted. It was pointed out as an unmistakable evidence for the concrete character of a dialect. The pronoun of the first person in its dual and plural numbers supplies a corresponding exhibition of the natural tendency

(70) Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. I, pages 390 and 407: "Pronouns of the third person in the Zulu are a kind of reflection or image of the initials of the nouns for which they stand, and are used to show the condition of those nouns. There are therefore as many classes of them, as of nouns, that is twelve."

(71) See: A Grammar and Dictionary of the Malay Language, by John Crawfurd, London, 1852, Vol. I, pages xxi, 24 and 25.

(72) See: Crawfurd, page xxi.

(73) See: An Account of the Abipones, from the Latin of Martin Dobrizhoffer, London, 1822, Vol. II, page 166: "But the pronoun of the third person, he, is varied, according to the situation of the person of whom you speak. For if the object of discourse be present, he is called *Eneha*, if he be sitting *Hinika*, if lying *Hirika*, if standing *Hareha*, if walking and seen *Eshaha*, if not seen *Ekaaha*, &c."

of a language. As in concrete languages the concrete or special terms "elder brother" and "younger brother" are used, and an abstract or general term "brother" does not exist, so also is the "*We*," expressed either in a special or in a general sense. The abstract languages admit in the dual and plural only one general term for "we," but the concrete languages vary from them and acknowledge the difference in the pronoun *we* by special expressions. Strictly speaking there are two separate kinds of "we." It either includes the speaker and the party addressed, or excludes the party addressed and includes that spoken of. "We two" is either "Thou and I" or "He and I," the plural "we" signifies in the same manner "You and I" and "They and I." Every language which contains such inclusive and exclusive terms of "we," indicates by their presence its concrete tendency. The Hottentot idioms are rich in such distinctions; this fact is a sure sign of the Hottentot dialects belonging to the concrete and not to the abstract class, which includes Egyptian and Hebrew. This primitive distinction has disappeared from many concrete languages, but its existence in a large number entitles us to the supposition, that it was originally an expression common to all concrete idioms, but that it eventually fell into disuse with some of them. The presence of abstract terms as "brother" and "sister," *āch* and *āchōth* in Hebrew, *bhrātri* and *svasri* in Sanskrit, is countenanced by the existence of an abstract "we," *nachnu* and *rayam*.

Among others it survives to this day in Asia in the Mandchu,⁷⁴ Bahing,⁷⁴ Gujarāti,⁷⁵ and the Dravidian⁷⁶ languages.

(73) *We* inclusive is *be*, *we* exclusive *muri*.

(74) The Dual incl. is *gosi*, the Dual excl. *gosuku*; the Plur. incl. *goi*, and the Plur. excl. *goku*; see: Journal Bengal Asiat. Soc., Vol. XXVI, page 498, in B. H. Hodgson's Comparative Vocabulary.

(75) Plur. incl. *āpane*, excl. *ame*.

(76) In Tamil: Plur. incl. *nām*, excl. "*nāngal*," in Malayalam: Plur. incl. *nām*, excl. *nammal* (*nāngal*); in Telugu: Plur. incl. *manamu*, excl. *māmu*; in

In Africa the Hottentot⁷⁸ retains it, and it is found in the neighbouring Madagassy.⁷⁹ The Malayan⁸⁰ is not without it, and the Polynesian tongues, as Fijian,⁸¹ Tahitian⁸² and Hawaiian⁸³ use these forms. Among the American⁸⁴ languages these expressions are of frequent occurrence.

The concrete character of a language can be recognized also

Canarese: Plur. incl. *aduu*, excl. *aru*. Bishop Caldwell says in his Comparative Dravidian Grammar, page 308 (second edition) that "in all the Dravidian dialects, with the exception of Canarese, there are two plurals of the pronoun of the first person." I believe that two distinct Plurals for *we* existed formerly in Canarese; but *aru* is now obsolete, it corresponds to the Telugu *mēnu*; compare *ār'atibhayanagōdu*, we having been very much afraid. Cennabasavapurāṇa, IV. Khāṇḍa, I. Sandhi, 30 Śloka. About *aru* see the excellent edition of Kēśirāja's Śubdamr̥gīdarpana published by the Rev. F. Kittel at Mangalore in 1872, page 110.

(78) *We*, Dual masc. incl. *sakhom*, excl. *sikhom*; fem. incl. *saam*, excl. *siim*; com. incl. *saam*, excl. *siim*. *We* Plur. masc. incl. *sake*, excl. *sike*; fem. incl. *sase*, excl. *sise*; com. incl. *sada*, excl. *sida*. See Reynard the Fox in South Africa, by W. H. S. Bleek, London, 1864, pages xvi and xvii, and Elémens de la Grammaire Hottentote (Dialecte Nama), par H. de Charencey, page 10, where the Dual com. incl. is *siim* and excl. *saam*.

(79) Plur. incl. *iaikia*, excl. *izahay*; compare: Three Visits to Madagascar by the Rev. William Ellis, London, 1858, page 465.

(80) *Kāmi* is the exclusive *we*; see W. Marsden's Dictionary of the Malayan Language, page 251. In Tagala the *we* incl. is *tayo*, *we* excl. *kāmi*.

(81) *We* two, incl. *koi kedaru*; excl. *koi keirau*; *we* three, incl. *koi kedatou*, excl. *koi keitou*; *we*, plur. incl. *koi keda*, excl. *koi kai mami*; see "A Fijian and English and an English and Fijian Dictionary, and a Grammar of the Language," by the late David Hazlewood, second edition, page 23.

(82) *We* two incl. *O Taua*; excl. *O Maua*; *we* plur. incl. *O Tatou*, excl. *O Malou*; see "A Grammar of the Tahitian Dialect of the Polynesian Language," Tahiti, 1823, page 14.

(83) *We* two incl. *O Kaau*, excl. *O Maua*; plur. incl. *O Kakou*, excl. *O Makou*; see "Polynesian Researches, by William Ellis, Vol. IV, pages 467 and 468."

(84) *E.g.*, in the different dialects of the Algonquin language as in the Ojibwa of St. Mary's as Wen o wind and Nen o wind.

" " Grand Traverse Bay " Ke nuh wind " Ne nuh wind.

" " Sagunaw " Kee nue wee " Nee nue wee.

" " Michilimackinac " Neen a wind " Keen a wind.

In Miami *we* incl. is Ke lo naw, and *we* excl. Ne lo naw.

" Menomonee " " Kay nanh, " " Osh nee shay ah.

" Shawnee " " Neel ah wai, " " Neel ah wai.

" Delaware " " Neel one ah, " " Neel one nah.

See: Information respecting the history, condition and prospects of the Indian

in many expressions of daily life. The natural properties displayed by individual persons or objects, the characteristic discrepancies apparent in similar actions or conditions are keenly grasped and appreciated by the unsophisticated child of nature; but the common bond which links together the kindred members to the parent body is, if not overlooked, at all events not appreciated. The individual overshadows the species. Each single object impresses the mind of the beholder at first with its individuality. If this impression becomes overpowerful, the mind can no more distinguish between the kindred and the kind, and this difference is in consequence not expressed in speech. There exist tribes who have bestowed a name on all the animals they know, but who have never thought it necessary to use a word for "animal."⁸⁵ Some go so far as to describe by special terms the tails of all animals, yet do not know how to express "tail"⁸⁶ pure and simple; others point out each separate plant or tree by an appropriate name, and are unable to speak in general of a plant or a tree;⁸⁷ or they will distinctly define each bird, fish,⁸⁷

Tribes of the U. S., by H. R. Schoolcraft, Part II, pages 405, 467, and 479. Compare besides the Chinook dialect, where "*we two*" incl. is *Tkhaika* and excl. *Ndaika*; the "*we plur.*" incl. is *Olkhaika* and excl. *Netaika*, and the Tegua (one of the Pueblo languages) *we* incl. *Tahquirch* and excl. *Nihyeuboh*. See "The Native Races of the Pacific States," by H. H. Bancroft, Vol. III, pages 628 and 682. Compare also Morgan, page 137 N. 1 on the Cherokee pronoun.

(85) *E.g.*, the Coroados in Brazil; see: The Origin of Civilisation, by Sir John Lubbock, second edition, page 332.

(86) As the Society Islanders.

(87) A term for tree is wanting in many American languages. The Philippine islanders, the Tasmanians, the Australian aborigines and others do not possess it. "The blacks (of Australia) have no word to express 'tree.' In just the same way they have no word for 'fish' or 'bird.' The aborigines (of Tasmania) possessed no words representing abstract ideas; for each variety of gum-tree and wattle-tree, &c., &c., they had a name, but they had no equivalent for the expression 'a tree'; neither could they express abstract qualities, such as hard, soft, warm, cold, long, short, round, &c." See Crawford, Vol. I, page cxxvi; Mr. R. Brough Smyth: The Aborigines of Victoria, Vol. II, pages 27 and 413.

leaf⁸⁸ or stone,⁸⁹ or any other existing thing, but as their abstracting powers are deficient, do not understand how to name a bird or a fish, a leaf or a stone. Even such common natural phenomena as wind⁹⁰ and rain⁹¹ are occasionally subject to the same concrete view, and are missing in some languages. The same abstractive deficiency occurs in the specifying of various actions in so far as they are represented by verbs. Many languages, *e.g.*, the American Algonquin, and the Polynesian Hawaiian do not possess a term for the auxiliary "to be,"⁹² while the Karen is said to acknowledge four different varieties of it.⁹³

The Dravidian languages distinguish between two negatives, one denies, as it is generally expressed in grammar, the existence, the other a quality (an attribute) of the subject in question. These terms are in Tamil *illu* and *alla*, in Telugu *lêdu* and *kâdu*⁹⁴ in Canarese *illu* and *alla*, and in Malayalam *illa* and *alla*; *e.g.*, "the Brahman did not come" is in Telugu *brâhmanuḍu rā lēdu*, "he is not a Brahman" is *râḍu brâhmanuḍu kâdu*.

(88) "In both the Tagala and Bisaya there is no generic term for leaf, although in the Tagala are enumerated twenty-one specific names for as many various sorts of leaves;" Crawford, *l.c.*, page cxxvi.

(89) In the two Philippine languages the only generic term for "stone" is the Malay and Javanese *batu*, but the Tagala has fifteen express words for different kinds of stone; Crawford, *l.c.*, page cxxvi.

(90) "The Malayan word is the only general term in the two Philippine languages for both 'air' and 'wind,' yet for 'wind' the Tagala has eleven specific names descriptive of its force or direction," Crawford, *l.c.*, page cxxvi.

(91) Crawford, *l.c.*, page cxxvi. "In the Tagala exists no word for 'rain,' but there are five terms for the different varieties, viz., *Lavanga* little rain, *lavalava* minute or misty rain, *anuta* moderate but lasting rain, *lanrak* rain in great drops, *tikatik* gentle continuous rain.

(92) The greatest imperfections we have discovered occur in the degrees of the adjectives, and the deficiency of the auxiliary verb *to be*, which is implied, but not expressed. See "Remarks on the Hawaiian language, in the appendix to the IVth Vol. of the Polynesian Researches" by W. Ellis, page 464.

(93) Compare: Burmah, by Rev. F. Mason, D.D., page 138.

(94) *Kâdu* is the third person singular of the Negative Tense (*vyatirêkâr-thakamu*) of *aguṣa* (*avusa*) to become, Sing. 1. *kânu*, 2. *kâru*, 3. *kâdu*, *kâdu*; Plur. 1. *kâmu*, 2. *kâru*, 3. *kâru*, *kâru*. *Lêdu* is the third person singular of the Negative Tense of *uṇḍuṣa*, Sing. 1. *lênu*, 2. *lênu*, 3. *lêdu*, *lêdu*. Plur. 1. *lêmu*, 2. *lêru*, 3. *lêru*, *lêru*.

The Bisaya dialect does not exhibit any verbs⁹⁵ which correspond to the abstract sense of the English "to go," "to open," "to gather," and "to buy," but it produces in their stead 33, 27, 42, and 13 special terms, all expressing a particular going, opening, gathering or buying. The Tagala idiom expresses "to go" in 75 different ways, and has 17 representatives of the verb "to carry."⁹⁶ The Hawaiian dispenses with a general term for "to send," but indemnifies itself by a number of verbs, expressing each a peculiar mode of sending.⁹⁷ In the Tagala language food is boiled in eleven, while it is eaten in the Bisaya dialect in forty different ways.⁹⁸ Like the Burmese, so the American Cherokee⁹⁹ delights in manifold modes of washing, while the Mohican and the Burmese descant on the varieties of cutting.¹⁰⁰ Languages so different as Hawaiian⁹⁷ and the Dravidian dialects¹⁰¹ are at a loss how to express the verb "to break." Dr. Schoolcraft lays special emphasis on the fact that :

(95) See Crawford, *l.c.*, page cxx and cxxxiv. "In the Bisaya language I can find no words for the verbs 'to buy' or 'to sell' generally, yet for the first of these there are thirteen verbs, as to buy for sale, to buy wholesale, to buy in retail, to buy corn, to buy gold by barter, to buy in partnership, to buy slaves, to buy earthenware, to buy bells, and such like."

(96) See Crawford, *l.c.*, page cxx.

(97) See Ellis, page 464: "Verbs not only express the action, but the manner of it distinctly; hence to send a message would be *orru*, to send a messenger *kunu*, to send a parcel *houna*, to break a stick *haki*, to break a string *moku*, to break a cup *naha*, to break a law *houna loka*, &c."

(98) See Crawford, *l.c.*, page cxx. The Bisaya has among its 40 words for the verb "to eat" the following:—To eat generally *kamu* or *hangut*, to eat with an appetite *hakayan* and *makumaku*, to eat a little *harat*, to eat greedily *daum*, to eat all *samang*, to eat by morsels *kubkub*, to eat in the morning *aga*, to eat at noon *adtu*, to eat in order to drink *sunsun*, to eat by sipping *pungus*, to eat with another *saba*, to eat raw things *kilap* and *kilau*, to eat fruit *lagulum*, to eat fish or flesh *lodon*, to eat the flesh of the hog *pahit* and *urur*, to eat the flesh of the dog *bang*, to eat the flesh of snakes *lamu*, to eat locusts *unus*, to eat the flesh of fowls *babur*, to eat carrion *katut* and *gaduk*.

(99) See Schoolcraft, Vol. II, page 34.

(100) Compare the Burmese to cut a gash *sha-the*, to cut in slices *huyeng-the*, to cut down (as timber) *lav-the*, to cut wood *khak-the*, to cut fuel *hten-pauk-the*, to cut off *hpyat-the*, to cut with a knife *hlee-the*, to cut with scissors *huy-at-the*, &c., &c.

(101) A general term for "to break" does not exist in Telugu, *e.g.*, to break a glass is *papilatu*, to break a bone or wood *aracufa*, to break a rope *tencufa*, to break a soft substance *tencufa*, &c.

"The American Indians invariably express their ideas of objects and actions precisely as they are presented to their eyes and ears, that is, in their compound associations. A person and an act are ever associated, in their forms of syntax, with the object of the action. To love and to hate are, therefore, never heard in their analytical forms. This combination of the action of the speaker with the object is universal."¹⁰²

"The concrete tendency of the American dialects shows itself unmistakably in these strange conceptions and idiomatic expressions, but it appears not less clearly in other languages."¹⁰³

Great difficulties arise in concrete tongues when abstract ideas, especially those referring to time, have to be dealt with. In some dialects the amount of circumlocution which is required to express simple terms like "then" (at that time), "during" (while), or "afterwards" is really astonishing. A native of Sudan says instead of "Zau was then ill," *they were left there and Zau (was) ill*;^a instead of "fever was then round Woyewere," *and they remained there and round Woyewere was fever*;^b instead of "Darkness began while they went," *they were left going, darkness fell*;^c or for "he went during the feast," *they made this feast it not finished and he went*;^d for "the town was set on fire after they dispersed," *the same was completed, after it was, and the town was set on fire*.^e In a Vei manuscript first published by Mr. Koelle the sentence "on the last night of the haze moon (December)" is paraphrased as follows: (*Taru Gura she him bore*) *the night in which, then we slept, morning it dawned, we spent the day quite, evening arrived then we the haze moon great saw*!^f

(102) See Schoolcraft, Vol. II, page 341.

(103) See page 58.

(104) Compare the "Outlines of a Grammar of the Vei Language," by S. W. Koelle, page 242 and elsewhere; and "Die Mande Neger Sprachen," von Dr. H. Steinthal, Berlin, 1867, pages 212-215: (a) *anu to-a nu-wa, am' Zau kira*; (b) *ame a touro, am' Woyewere mani gbandia*; (c) *anu to-a taye-na-wa, am' difi bera*; (d) *anda da-mo-wa na, a ma ban, amo a ta*; (e) *anu nyenya-ni a biri-e banda-ni a gbaro nu amu sanda binda*; and (f) *Taru Gura, ara wuru difi-muro mu ke kia sama gbaa mu tere ghen, dserema kea amu moa Duru karo kerema dze*."

The expression of the comparative degree manifests in many concrete languages a tendency towards concreteness. The Telugu *kante* and the Tamil *kāṭṭilum* or *pārkkilum*, which are equivalent to our *than* mean originally *if* or *though seen*, being derived respectively from the Telugu *kānu* and the Tamil *kān* or *pār*. The sentence "a dog is bigger than a cat," is expressed as follows: "a cat if seen a dog is big" (*pilli kante kukka peddadi or pūnaiyai kāṭṭilum (pārkkilum) nāi peridu*).

"Brother" is, as was seen before, expressed in Chinese by the compound *Heung-Te* (elder-younger brother). An abstract term for brother does not exist in Chinese. An equivalent of it can only be formed by uniting the two words which contain the idea of consanguinity, blended though it be with the admixture of age. This combination of two concrete expressions is the representative of an abstract term. Other abstract words are formed in a similar manner, e.g., *to-sao*, "much-little," is equivalent to quantity; *chung-king*, "heavy-light" to weight. We can also compare with this process the mode which frames the names of a species by joining together the words denoting the individual male and female animal, as *juan-jiang*, the mandarin duck, contains in its first part the word for drake and in the second that for duck.¹⁰⁵

Analogous terms to *Heung-te*, and conveying the same meaning, do not, so far as the author's knowledge goes, occur in other concrete languages—for compounds as the Telugu *annadammulu* can only be used in a plural sense,—but the principle which gives rise to such expressions is acknowledged far and wide. It appears in a different guise in the juxtaposition of contrasts, or of affirmatives and negatives, in order to intimate the meaning of indecision, uncertainty,¹⁰⁶ approxi-

(105) Compare page 55, and the "Chinesische Sprachlehre von W. Schott," Berlin, 1857, page 14.

(106) Uncertainty is also expressed in the Shan language by combining affirmation and negation, e.g., "perhaps they may go" is rendered thus: *an kwah, kwah*; *an angkwah, angkwah*, those who go, go; those who go not, go not. See: Rev. T. N. Cushing's Shan Grammar, page 54.

mation, &c. *E.g.*, compare the Telugu phrases *cacci bratikindānu* (the Tamil *sethū piṇaittōm*), being dead we lived, *i.e.*, we were half dead; or *Vastunnādō rādō* (in Tamil *varuvānō vara mātṭānō*), he may come, may not come, *i.e.*, he may perhaps come; *uḍiki uḍakani* (in Tamil *venḍi reḥāda*), being boiled, being not boiled, *i.e.*, half boiled; *pani tiri tiraka unnadi* (in Tamil *ēlai tirṇadadum tirādadum āy irukkiradu*), the work being finished, being not finished is, *i.e.*, the work is hardly finished; *cūci cūḍaka munupē*, (in Tamil *pārttu pārkḱādudarkku munnamē*), having seen, having not seen before, *i.e.*, having scarcely seen; *pillaku paṇḍlu vacci rākundā unnari* (in Tamil *kujandaikku pallu mulaittū mulaiṇmal* (or *vandu varāmal*) *irukkiradu*), to the child teeth having come without coming are, *i.e.*, the child's teeth are incomplete; or *vāniki aravanu telisi teliyaka unnadi* (in Tamil *aranukku terindu teriṇmal irukkiradu*), to him Tamil being known being not known like is, *i.e.*, he knows a little Tamil. The Turkish *ular ulmas* (he dies does not die), he nearly dies, expresses the same tendency.

Many more examples from various languages could be produced, if the proof contained in these will admit of any doubt respecting the innate concrete tendency of the individual reappearing in his speech.

CHAPTER VIII.

ON GENDER.

GENDER-IGNORING AND GENDER-DENOTING LANGUAGES.

The ideas, which language expresses are defined by gender, number, space, time, and other qualifying attributes. These attributes are found everywhere, and everywhere the same. They exist previously to that period when man could testify to their presence by alluding to them in speech. For the individual man belongs himself to a sex, he is one of his species, and lives at a certain place during a limited time.

These categories never change; but how does language deal with them? This is the question now before us, but the answer to it is by no means simple. The position which a language adopts towards these attributes—whether it ignores them or not, and if they are acknowledged, in what manner it is done—these are points of paramount importance.

The two principal forms of speech, the noun and the verb, are also those which most clearly exhibit the rules of grammar. While noun and verb, as arising from one common source, may be even identical in form,¹⁰⁷ or still preserve a certain affinity to each other, so that a noun can produce a verb and a verb a noun,¹⁰⁸ and have also in common

(107) See above page 23. "It is probable that all intransitive Vei verbs may be used as adjectives and substantives." Koelle, *Outlines of a Vei Grammar*, page 40. In the Californian dialect *Gaiin mero*, the word *chaduna* may signify either seeing, or to see, or sight or watchful. In the Mexican *Euderi* all verbs are used as nouns, and as such are declined as well as conjugated; *hiōguan*, "I write" also means writer; *neoutzan*, I bewitch, is also wizard. In *Otom* one and the same word can be a substantive, adjective, verb and adverb. See H. H. Bancroft's work, *The Native Races of the Pacific States*, Vol. III, pp. 645, 700 and 739. In the *Fiji* language simple forms of the verbs are used as nouns, *e.g.*, *butaka* to thieve and theft, *soko* to sail and sailing, *masu* to pray and prayer; see David Hazlewood's *Fijian Grammar*, page 7. Nouns and verbs coincide in many respects in the *Samogedje* languages; see Castrén's *Grammatik der Samogedischen Sprache*, pages 105 and 365. From *Sanskrit* we can quote many examples, the few following suffice: *kshudh* to be hungry, and *kshudh*, *f.* hunger; *guh* to conceal, and as a *f. n.* noun, hiding place (Vedic); *cit* to perceive, and *f. n.* thought; *ya* to conquer, and victorious, or victor; *jyā* to oppress, and *f. n.* overpowering force; *tan* to extend, and *f. n.* continuation; *tur* to run, and *m. n.* warrior; *du* to show, and *f. n.* direction, quarter; *dris* to see, *f. n.* sight, eye; *dyut* to shine, and *f. n.* splendour; *drūh* to hate, and *f. n.* injury; *dht* to think, and *f. n.* thought; *nu* to praise, and *f. n.* praise; *nyit* to dance, and *f. n.* dancing; *ya* to adorn, and *f. n.* ornament; *bhī* to fear, and *f. n.* fear; *bhoy* to enjoy, and *f. n.* enjoyment; *bhū* to be, and *f. n.* substance, earth; *mū* to bind, and *f. n.* tying; *rup* to break, and *f. n.* fracture; *rud* to cry, and *f. n.* cry; *rut* to enter, *m. n.* a settler, *f. n.* entrance, house; &c. &c.

(108) In the Kafir language the infinitive of the verb is used as a verbal noun, *e.g.*, *ukutanda* to love and love; *usutamba* to go and journey. See: Rev. Davis' *Grammar of the Kafir Language*, page 6. In the *Fiji* dialect verbs are occasionally derived from nouns, as *bukana* to add fuel, from *buka* fuel; *rubuna* to put into a box, from *rubu* a box, &c. See *Fijian Grammar*, page 29. Compare in *English* the book, to book; the pocket, to pocket; the ticket, to ticket, &c. &c.

the power of expressing, where possible, gender and number,¹⁰⁹ they differ in so far, that the noun moves in and is subject to space, whereas the verb lives and acts in time. This constitutional diversity, founded on the distinction between space and time, is expressed respectively by declension and conjugation. Owing to the near relationship, or rather to the approximate identity between space and time, the declension of a noun and the conjugation of a verb are guided in every language by one and the same linguistic principle. This principle, revealed by its manner of expressing or ignoring gender, number, space and time, assigns to a language the position it occupies among the groups of the families of speech.

Our attention must then be directed to observe how a language deals with gender, how it expresses number, denotes space and time, and all the other modalities connected with the ever changing variations of mind and matter.

The most striking feature which is impressed on our mind, when we look about and regard the various objects around us, is no doubt the fact, of which we soon become aware, that they are either endowed with life or not. This difference is so evident that it is even observed by children. Though we may be quite ignorant of the real nature of what constitutes life, nevertheless the distinction is so plain, that as a rule no mistakes can be made in distinguishing animate creatures from inanimate objects. We all know that imperfect knowledge may falsely ascribe life to inanimate matter, or ignore life in animate creation; but these mistakes only prove ignorance, while they manifest the inclination to constitute vitality as the principal criterion. It affects our senses with all the strength of a concrete substance; for as such appears life. If the existence of life is once admitted as the characteristic mark of distinction, a further subdivision is attempted by separating animate beings, who are credited with possessing the faculty of

(109) *E.g.*, in the Semitic languages.

reasoning, from those who are supposed to be deprived of it. Man, as the representative of mankind, even to the detriment of woman, generally takes upon himself the arrangement of this vexed question. Where knowledge forsakes him, conceit helps him. The complete classification into animates and inanimates, and the division of the former into rationals and irrationals is occasionally lost sight of, and its place is taken by distributions which acknowledge either only rationals, irrationals and inanimates, or which, ignoring any difference between the latter two, distinguish simply between rational and irrational beings.

A closer observation devoted to the creatures around us, soon discovers the diversity of sex which pervades the whole creation. The existence of sex is no less a reality than is the presence of life; but if the former is accepted as the starting-point of a methodical system, wherein to arrange living beings, inanimate objects, and abstract ideas, it is soon obliged to have recourse to imagination. The presence or absence of life is moreover a *primi facie* fact, while the existence of gender and its varieties are discerned in their connections with and dependence upon life. This circumstance intimates that a classification issuing from life as a reality, has a tendency, towards concreteness; while a division founded on a quality, in which life is the predominant test, inclines towards abstractness.

The admission of gender, the grammatical representative of sex, as a standard of classification, is evidence of an imaginative turn of thought. It requires the personification of inanimate beings. Imagination endows them with artificial life, assigning to them a gender, as if they were living creatures. This is a necessary result, where languages as, *e.g.*, the Semitic group, recognize only two genders; but it is not the less a case in dialects which possess three distinct genders, as the Aryan tongues do, and where inanimate objects are regarded as male or female beings, according to the whim of the speaker.

and tried to explain ingeniously its intricacies. The peculiar rules of concord and the genderless character of most of these dialects induced him (who had probably not paid previously much attention to the subject of gender, and who had perhaps never regarded it as an important subject before he became aware of it in Africa) to connect both systems with each other, and to establish a sort of relationship between both. In this effort I believe he failed. Dr. Bleek would have escaped this error of judgment, if he had been more intimate with the general character of gender, as it appears, or rather is hidden, in other genderless languages. The study of Dravidian dialects and some knowledge of other concrete languages attracted my attention in this direction long before I became acquainted with the scientific researches of Dr. Bleek.

This eminent scholar starts with the assumption :

"As a proven fact, that the system of concord by which one part of a noun was taken to represent the whole, is identical in origin with that of the genders of nouns as found in our languages."¹¹³

The sixteen different classes of nouns, which we meet in the Otyiherero and other languages of the west coast of South Africa, the thirteen varieties which exist in the Kaffir and Zulu dialects,¹¹⁴ are a most peculiar phenomenon indeed, but they can never be considered as genders, in the strict meaning of the word gender, whose varieties are confined to three, to male, female, and neuter. They are on the contrary only classes or species of nouns.

"The distinction of genders,¹¹⁵ which is of so much importance in the grammars of most languages, has but little influence in the Kaffir language : only four prefixes, out of sixteen by which

me they do it hear (the) voice of me, *ee*, my sheep hear my voice. Here the euphonic letter *z* in *zamu*, and the pronoun *zi*, point directly to the initial *zi* of the noun *izance* ; while the pronoun *ti*, and the euphonic letter *t* in *lami*, point to the initial *ti* of the noun *dzila*." Journ. Americ. Or. Soc., p. 491.

(113) Compare Bleek "On the Concord," *l.c.*, page lxxii.

(114) See Bleek "On the position of the Australian languages," *l.c.*, page 99.

(115) Rev. William J. Davis counts in his "Grammar of the Kaffir Language," page 8, 16 prefixes

the forms of the nouns are distinguished, vary in their plurals, and only *two* in their government, according as they apply to *persons or things* ; with the exception of these *two* cases, the *prefix* of the noun, without reference to number or gender, determines the changes which must take place in its adjective, pronoun, or verb. Thus the words *indoda*, man, *intombi*, girl, and *intaba*, mountain, although of different genders, have precisely the same pronominal and tense form, and the same grammatical government, simply because they have the same *nominal prefix*, and consequently belong to the same *species of nouns*."¹¹⁶

And Dr. Bleek, with the sincerity which characterizes a true scholar, himself admits as much. He says :

"When we inquire into the probable etymologies of the Hottentot derivative suffixes of nouns, not one of them seems to have originally any meaning implying sex ; and the meanings which the suffixes impart to nouns in which a difference of sex is not discernible, is frequently of so decided a character as to assign to these suffixes a distinct signification which could only with great violence be deduced from any analogy with the distinctions of sex."¹¹⁷

And further on he even suggests what we should call a concrete process, for according to him :

"It is highly probable that the whole relation of the Hottentot classes of nouns to the distinction of sex, arose from the circumstance that the nouns respectively indicating "man" and "woman" had been formed with different derivative particles

(116) Compare "The Zulu and other Dialects of Southern Africa" by Rev. Lewis Grout. "The distinction of objects with regard to gender is scarcely recognized in the grammar of this dialect. The changes which must be made in the adjectives, pronouns or verbs, are all determined by the initial element of the noun. A distinction is made however between persons and things in the first and sixth classes, all nouns in *um* which denote persons belonging to the first class, and those which denote things belonging to the sixth. . . . So strong is the influence of this inclination to concords produced by the repetition of initials, that it controls the distinction of number and quite subordinates that of gender, and tends to mould the pronoun after the likeness of the initial element of the noun to which it refers." See : Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. I, pages 493 and 424.

(117) Compare Bleek "On the Concord," *l.c.*, page lxxvi.

(suffixes) possessing representative power. If the word for "man" were formed with one suffix (-P or -Bi), and the word indicating "woman" with another (-S), then other nouns of each sex would be formed, with the same derivative suffixes, in analogy with these."

All these excerpts prove that whatever may be the origin and the aim of these concords in the African languages, they are by their very nature distinct from gender, which may be incidentally, but not intentionally expressed by them.

The explanation of what constitutes gender as we find it in the excellent "Principles of Comparative Philology"¹¹⁸ is, in other respects, open to criticism. Professor Sayce says there as follows :

"Gender, consequently, is by no means engrained in the nature of things. It is a secondary accident of speech, ornamental, perhaps, from an æsthetic point of view, but practically highly detrimental ; and it is curious that modern English has, in this, as in so much else, gone back to the simple beginnings of the sexual relations, and distinguishes gender only by means of the corresponding pronouns."

It is evident, that Professor Sayce does not sufficiently appreciate the nature and the importance of gender. It is a grammatical distinction of a very high class, and is the product of reflection. It may take time to mature the results of such reflection, but a certain power of abstraction is required in order to conceive the idea of gender. This power of abstraction is wanting in concrete languages, it is existing in abstract languages. Gender is therefore engrained in the nature of all abstract languages ; it need not show itself present in form, but it is present in spirit. The existence of gender in languages is in fact a proof of their abstract character.

It is very instructive to follow the Sanskrit grammarians in their investigations, which regard to questions of this kind.

(118). See loc. cit. page 272

As Yaska enters deeply in his Nirukta into the subject of the respective origin and derivation of nouns and verbs¹¹⁹ so also have Indian Grammarians inquired into the nature of gender.

The constitution of nouns is differently viewed by various scholars, and Bhartrihari mentions that there exist five different opinions about the condition of nouns.¹²⁰ Nouns are declared to denote either species ; or species and individual ; or species, individual and gender ; or species, individual gender and number ; or species, individual, gender, number and verbal connection.

Gender itself—and this subject interests us here mainly—is then specified, as a quality inherent in the constituents of nature.¹²¹ Though Sanskrit grammarians view the question of gender merely from its relation to the language they have studied and endeavoured to explain, and did not refer in their researches to foreign languages, as comparative philologists do nowadays, yet their decision on this point is very important, as it is a proof of their sound reasoning and high intellectual attainments.

If M. Renan would have confined the sentence "that the older are the languages, the more distinctly do they

(119) See : Jaska's Nirukta sammt den Nighaptavas herausgegeben von Rudolph Roth, Göttingen, 1852 pages 35 and 36, also in the "Erläuterungen zum Nirukta," pages 9 and 10 ; and Professor Max Müller's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, pages 164—168.

(120) In the Vakyapadiya is the following Śloka :

Ekam dvikam trikaṇḍaiva catuskām pañcakam tatha
Namartha iti sarveṣu pakṣaḥ sastre vyavasthitah.

Species, individual, gender, number and verbal connection are in Sanskrit : Jati, vyakti, līgam, saṅkhyā and karakam.

According to a sixth opinion the word is its own meaning, as the object implied by it is not affected, e.g., Vishnum uccaraya ; gajādadabam uccaraya, pronounce Vishnu, pronounce ga ja, da, da, ba ; there Vishnu, and ga, ja, da, da, ba, mean merely the words "Vishnu" and "gajādadaba."

(121) Compare the sentence "Tattacchabalanishtham vācyam" in Kaṇḍa-bhatta's Vaiyākaranabūshanāsara. Kar. 25, Calcutta, 1872, page 44, and "Līngatvaṇa prakṛitaguṇa gatavasthatmakō dharma eva" in Taranatha Turakavachaspati's Śabdārtharatnam, Calcutta, 1872, page 118.

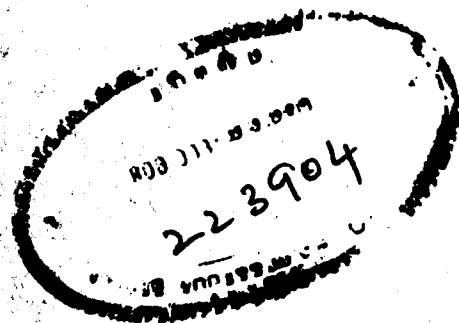
If we now return to the classification from which we started, we will see that the South African, the great bulk of the American, and some Asiatic languages acknowledge a classification founded on the difference between animate and inanimate creatures, while some other similar concrete tongues, as Hungarian and the Dravidian dialects, prefer a division between rationals and irrationals. In the Telugu and Tamil grammars the latter go by the name of majors or high caste words, and of minors or low caste words.

“The mind of the South African divides, as it were, the whole creation into two halves, of which the one is governed by the principle of spontaneity of movement and of creative activity, whilst the other follows the principle of passiveness and necessity. The South African mind distinguishes the animate creation from the inanimate, and again distinguishes in the animate creation rational and irrational beings, men and brutes. Furthermore, in the inanimate creation it distinguishes between life and death as it were. In general, it would seem that the South African mind, in the formation and cultivation of its language, was guided by the impression of life, which pervades the whole creation in various gradations or modifications.”¹²³

(122) See: Renan, pages 25, 26 : " Plus les langues sont anciennes, plus la distinction des flexions féminines et masculines y est marquée : rien ne le prouve mieux que le penchant, inexplicable pour nous, qui porta les peuples primitifs à supposer un sexe à tous les êtres, même inanimés."

(123) See "Outlines of Elements of the Kisuaheli Language," Part II, Chap. II, page 36, as quoted in Rev. S. C. Ogden's Yoruba Grammar, page 7.

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