

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY,

1877-8-9.

PUBLISHED FOR THE SOCIETY BY  
TRÜBNER & CO., LUDGATE HILL, LONDON, E.C.

AND

KARL I. TRÜBNER, STRASBURG.

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1879.

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KARL I. TRÜBNER, STRASSBURG.

1879.

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the last few years. This, at any rate, should be the subject of a special report.

“As to lexicography I will begin with the ‘Bibliografia di vocabolari ne’ dialetti italiani’ (Bologna, Romagnoli, 1876), compiled by A. Bacchi della Lega. A second edition, much augmented and almost re-written, has appeared of the ‘Dizionario Genovese’ of Casaccia (Genoa, Schenoni). It is but slow progress that is made by the ‘Vocabolario dell’ uso fiorentino’ of Giorgini and of Broglio, as well as by the new edition of the ‘Vocabolario della Crusca.’ But, in respect to the ‘Crusca,’ I must not omit a significant and very promising fact, namely, that the illustrious academicians have taken their places among the subscribers to the Diez Foundation. Thus the old philology lends a hand to the new, and recognizes in a manner the necessity of proceeding henceforth abreast of it.”

#### THE LANGUAGES OF THE CAUCASUS.

Professor Schiefner of St. Petersburg, the first authority on the obscure and difficult languages of the Caucasus, the affinities of most of which are so little known that they are included by Lepsius in his provisional lumber-room of “Isolated Languages,” has himself contributed the following account of their geographical distribution, the philological work done upon them, and the remarkable peculiarities of structure which they present.

“The languages of the Caucasus have only partially been made the subject of scientific treatment. If we pass over the mere lists of words in Klaproth’s *Asia Polyglotta*, and the specimens in his *Kaukasische Sprachen*, the first step to a really thorough investigation was made by the Academician Sjögren, who, as the result of his own personal researches among the Ossetes, published at St. Petersburg, in 1844, his ‘*Ossetische Sprachlehre*, with a short Ossetic-German and German-Ossetic Vocabulary’ (pp. xlix. and 543, 4to.), and subsequently, in 1847, in the *Mémoires* (series vi. vol. vii. pp.

571-652), his '*Ossetische Studien*, with special reference to the Indo-European Languages'—first part, the Vowels. In 1845 there appeared in the *Transactions of the Berlin Academy* a treatise by Dr. George Rosen on the Ossetic Language (pp. 361-404). After a long interval, Schiefner had occasion to open up new sources for investigation, by the publication of Ossetic texts, viz. *Ossetic Proverbs*, Bulletin, anno v. pp. 435-453 (1862); *Supplementary Observations on the Ossetic Proverbs*, Bulletin, anno v. pp. 492-495 (1862); *Ossetic Texts*, Bulletin, anno vi. pp. 446-473 (1863); *Two Ossetian Animal Legends*, anno viii. pp. 35-43 (1864); *Ossetian Tales and Stories*, Bulletin, anno xii. pp. 180-211 (1867). P. Lerch wrote also in the Bulletin of the St. Petersburg Academy (vol. viii. pp. 13-50) on the Plural-suffix in Ossetic (1864). Simultaneously with these, Friedrich Müller was busy with Ossetic in Vienna; in the Proceedings of the Academy of that city he published his researches *On the Place of the Ossetic in the Iranian Group of Languages* (vol. xxxvi. (1861) p. 3); *Contributions to Ossetian Phonology* (vol. xli. (1863), p. 148); *The fundamental principles of the Ossetic Conjugation, treated from the side of Comparative Philology* (vol. xlv. (1864), p. 524). The most recent essay is that of C. Salemann, in St. Petersburg, *A Study upon the Ossetic Conjugation*, Part I, in A. Kuhn's *Beiträge zur vergleichenden Sprachforschung*, vol. viii. pt. i. pp. 48-90 (1874).

"From materials available in the Asiatic Museum of the Academy of Sciences, Schiefner succeeded, with the help of a native, Georg Ziskarow, in producing an exhaustive work upon the Tush language; this appeared in 1856, in the *Mémoires* of the St. Petersburg Academy, vol. ix. as a treatise upon the Tush Language (pp. 160, 4to.). Mainly through this work, Major-General Baron Peter Uslar, who had been entrusted by the Russian Government with the task of preparing an ethnographic description of the Caucasus, was urged on to similar investigations. He turned his attention to the Tshetshensian, a language which stands in the closest connexion with the Tush. This language has its chief extension in the basin of the river Sundsha, in the region of

the tributaries which fall into it from the right, but prevails also to the north of the river as far as the Terek; on the east it extends to the rivers Yaryk-su and Ak-tasch, as far as their effluence into the Kumukian plain; on the west to the river Kambileyevka, an affluent of the Terek, and even as far as the Terek. The number of the Tshetshenses amounted in the year 1868 to 170,000 souls. Uslar's work treated especially of the dialect of the plain, and was lithographed by himself in 1862. This enabled Schiefner, in 1863, in his *Tshetshensian Studies* (Mémoires of the Academy of Sciences, series vii. anno vii. No. 5—pp. viii. and 72), to show the relationship of the language to the cognate Tush, and the greater antiquity of the latter.

“Upon the basis of the materials collected by Adolf Berger and others, and in part by the help of individuals to be met with in the Caucasian Battalion at St. Petersburg, Schiefner attempted in his ‘Essay upon the Awar,’ 1862 (Mémoires, series vii. vol. v. No. 8, pp. 54), to fathom the peculiarities of the Awar tongue. This language is spoken in the heart of Daghestan, over a tract extending 160 versts from north to south, from Tshir Yurt to Novÿe Zakataly, by 70 versts in breadth, in the district of Gunib in Central, and the Awar district in Western, Daghestan. In the year 1868 the population comprised 96,000 souls. The essay of Schiefner was, however, soon superseded by the considerably more comprehensive and more copious work of Baron Uslar: ‘On the Northern Dialect of the Awar, viz. that of Chunsag’ (lithographed by the author in Russian). It was not till 1872 that Schiefner furnished a comprehensive account of these languages (Mémoires, series vii. anno xviii. No. 6, pp. viii. and 180), in which he compared the Awar grammatically as well as lexicographically with the other languages of the Caucasus.

“The next work of Baron Uslar related to the language of the *Kasikumuks*, or, as they call themselves, *Lak*. The latter name was also preferred by Baron Uslar, who entitled his work ‘A Sketch of the Lak Language.’ This tribe chiefly inhabits the Kasikumuk district in Central Daghestan;

their numbers amount to about 33,000 souls. Schiefner's full account of this work appeared in 1866 (*Mémoires*, series vii. vol. x. No. 12, pp. viii. and 136).

“Connected with this was a communication of Baron Uslar, in the Bulletin of the St. Petersburg Academy (vol. vii. No. 2, pp. 99), referring to the Artshi language, which, although it is spoken only in one village, 30 versts south-west of the Kasikumuk territory, and passes as something quite peculiar and isolated, nevertheless stands closely related to the languages of Daghestan.

“Baron Uslar next turned his attention to the languages which are spoken to the east of the highlands of Daghestan—the district which had hitherto been exclusively investigated—and first of all to the Darginian dialects, and those of the mountains Kaskak. The population of this territory amounts to some 90,000 souls, extending north as far as the Aul Kadar, which is situated close to the Awar speech-frontier, and south to the village of Tshirach, near the S.E. frontier of the Kasikumuk domain. Broadly speaking, there are three main dialects,—Akusha, Tshaidak, and Wurkun; of the former, the Akusha proper and Käba are the most widely spoken: the latter is also, after the largest village, called the *Huruk* speech, on account of which Baron Uslar designated it in his work the *Hürkilinian*, but Schiefner in his treatise (*Mémoires*, series vii. vol. xvii. No. 8; pp. iv. and 200) in 1871, in reference to the fact that the single individual is called Hürkan, has distinguished it as *Hürkanian*.

“Finally, Baron Uslar dealt also with the Kurinian language, which is spoken in the most southern part of Daghestan, on both sides of the river Samur as far as its outlet into the Caspian Sea. The total number of the Kurins amounts to about 80,000. Schiefner's report upon Uslar's work (also lithographed by himself) appeared in June, 1873, in the *Mémoires*, series vii. (vol. xx. No. 2—pp. iv. and 256). The work in which Baron Uslar was engaged, when death prematurely cut him off, on the 28th of June, 1875, is still unprinted. It is his essay on the Tabasseranian language.

“The work on the Kurinian which was the last published, stands on the other hand also in a certain relation to Schiefner’s Essay on the language of the Udes (Uden), which had appeared in the *Mémoires* as early as 1863 (series vii. vol. vi. No. 8, pp. 110). This remnant of a people has maintained its existence only in two villages (Wartashen and Nish) of the district of Nucha in Armenia, therefore quite outside the boundary of Daghestan. Both languages have been exposed to the strongest influence of the Azerbijanic dialect of the Tartar; the Tartar element has made its influence most strongly felt on the Udish, but is equally powerful as regards the Kurinian, which appears already to have lost a great part of its Caucasian peculiarities.

“If we turn now to the languages of the Western Caucasian lands, we must give prominence to the Abchasian as the object of the investigations of Baron Uslar. Of his lithographed work Schiefner furnished a report in the year 1863 (*Mémoires*, series vii. vol. vi. No. 12, pp. viii. and 61). Before him George Rosen had turned his attention to the same language, from whom a treatise upon the Mingrelian, Suanian, and Abchasian appeared in the Transactions of the Berlin Academy of Sciences for 1845 (pp. 405–444).

“From George Rosen there appeared also, as far back as 1843, a treatise upon the speech of the Lazes in the Transactions of the Berlin Academy (pp. 1–38).

“On the Tsherkessian field there are only two works to name, the Tsherkessian Dictionary compiled by L’Huillier in the Russian language, with a short Grammar (Odessa, 1846), of which work Sjögren furnished a report in 1846 in the *Bulletin Historico-Philologique*, vol. iv. pp. 165–176, and Loewe’s Dictionary English-Circassian-Turkish, and Circassian-English-Turkish, London, 1854.

“After this short survey of the more recent investigations in Caucasian philology, omitting the literary languages, we may ask what peculiarities of these languages have been brought to light by the inquiries above named.

“In our survey we have begun with an Iranian language,



the Ossetic. In addition to many other peculiarities, we would call attention particularly to the fact that here the liquids, *r* especially, do not follow the mutes but precede them. The Ossetic words *artha* and *furth* correspond to the Sanskrit *traya* and *putra*. But these peculiarities are found likewise in the Tshetshensian and Awar: thus the Tshetshensian has *korgun* 'deep,' and *merzin* 'sweet,' as compared to the Tush *khokru* and *maçri*; the Awar *gabur* 'neck,' and *ebel* 'mother,' have in the plural *garbul* and *ulbul*. Another peculiarity which the Awar and Kasikumuk share with the Ossetian, is this, that *m* can never appear finally, but *n* appears instead; only a few foreign words constitute an exception. So in the Kasikumuk final *b* is similarly inadmissible, and must pass into *u*.

"The Tush, like the Mongolian, does not admit of initial *r*; in the Udish *r* occurs initially only in a few foreign words.

"The great frequency of gutturals and sibilants is remarkable in the Caucasian languages; the former number from ten to fifteen in the languages investigated by Baron Uslar, and the number of the various sibilants is no less considerable. Besides these, mention ought to be made of the mixed sounds compounded with *l*, which approximate to the *clicks*. Of these the Tush has only one, '*l*,' while the Awar, according to the observation of Uslar, presents four of them. In the Abchasian the same inquirer has pointed out gutturals and sibilants ending in a parasitic *w*, and dentals with parasitic labials, as *t<sup>w</sup>*, *d<sup>w</sup>*.

"As we are accustomed in various languages to distinguish words by *gender*, so in the Caucasian languages there are various analogous categories, depending firstly upon the fact whether the individual words signify beings with or without reason; and secondly, among the former, whether they indicate male or female, or such as have sex not yet developed or unrecognizable. In expressing these categories, the letters *w* (*u*), *y* (*i*), *b*, *d* (*r*) are employed, and the modification partly exhibited initially. Thus in Tush we have *stag wa* 'homo est,' *bstuino ya* 'mulier est,' *do ba*

'*equus est*,' *bader da* 'infans est;,' so also the adjectives *woxo* 'magnus (vir),' *yoxo* 'magna (femina),' *boxo* 'magnus (equus),' *doxo* 'magnus (infans)'; further the nouns *waxol*, *yaxol*, *boxol*, *daxol*, 'magnitudo (viri, mulieris, equi, infantis,' respectively); in the Awar, *wagi* 'hunger (of a man),' *yagi* 'hunger (of a woman),' *bagi* 'hunger (of a beast),' *ragi* 'hunger (of several);' in the Hürkanian, *wāh'* 'face (of a man), *dāh'* 'face (of a woman),' *bāh'* 'face (of cattle,' etc.). The same change is also found in the Locative forms, especially in Awar; e.g. *rogou* 'domi' 'at home' (he), *rogoi* 'at home' (she), *rogob* 'at home' (cat, dog); plural, *rogor* 'at home' (they); *rogowe* 'domum' home (he), *rogoye* 'home' (she), *rogobe* 'home' (horse, cow, etc.), *rogore* 'home' (they).

"These languages have no diminutives.

"In Tush and Tshetshensian, the Nominative case is not the simple stem, but mostly an abbreviation of it; e.g. in Tush, *çar* 'fire,' nom. *çe*; *p̄har* 'dog,' nom. *p̄hu*; or a mutation of the stem-vowel, as *matt* 'young,' nom. *mott*; *nag* 'way,' nom. *nig*. Numerous as are the cases, these languages possess no Accusative; they dispense with it. The terminations for the plural are very numerous; in Tush, Tshetshensian, and Kasikumuk, double plural-suffixes occur.

"In the numerals, the Ossetic, Tush, Tshetshensian, Awar, Kürinian, and Udish, follow the vigesimal system, with which the Kasikumuk and Hürkanian do not agree.

"The personal pronoun in Tush, Tshetshensian, Awar, has, in the first person plural, two forms, one including, the other excluding the person addressed. The relative pronoun is wanting in most of the languages; only in Tush and Udish, it coincides in form with the interrogative.

"In the verb, the stem undergoes a peculiar strengthening when the action or occurrence has reference to a multitude. This is especially the case in Tush and Tshetshensian; thus beside the simple verbs '*toçar* 'to beat,' '*tasar* 'to fell,' '*xasar* 'to throw,' there exist the verbs of multitude '*tebçar*, '*tebsar*, and '*xebzar*. Here may be mentioned a peculiarity of

the Hürkanian; nouns expressive of a collective idea—even though they have a special plural—take with their singular number a plural attribute and predicate, e.g. *vidziti šin* 'sweet water' *dulces aqua* (sing. *vidzi* 'sweet'), *šin lir* ('the water are,' *aqua sunt* (sing. *liv-* 'is'), *sagati mura* 'fresh hay,' *recentia fenum* (*saga*, 'fresh,' 'new,' and *-ti*, plural affix).

"But the great characteristic of the verbs in these languages is the exuberance of tense and mood forms, expressing at once the beginning, continued, contemplated, and required action. The Awar presents a pluperfect; the Hürkanian has *two*. Among the preterite forms of the Awar is one restricted to actions and occurrences of which the speaker has not himself been a witness. Similarly there is in Kasikumuk an Aorist used of events which the speaker has not himself seen, but has learned by hearsay, especially of things which he has experienced in his earliest youth, and knows only by the reports of others. In Kurinian, one of the perfects expresses that which arises expectedly in connexion with a preceding event; the other that which is unexpected.

"Among the peculiarities of Syntax, one of the most striking is that in these languages the dative is used with certain verbs with which we are accustomed to use the accusative, especially with verbs denoting sensuous impressions (as *see*, *hear*, etc.), knowledge, love, obligation, power, wish, and in Udish also verbs of fear and shame. The want of an accusative (already mentioned) is also supplied by a construction in which the acting subject of a transitive verb is put in the instructive or instrumental. In Tush, moreover, the pronoun of the first and second persons, but not of the third, stand also before other verbs in the same case; e.g. *as lei* 'I speak,' *aḥ lei* 'thou speakest,' but *o lei* 'he speaks;' but if the idea of personal action is excluded, the subject is in the nominative case, as *so wože* 'I fell' (accidentally), but *as wože* 'I fell' (not without some blame or intentional action).

"The foregoing remarks have had special reference to the languages of Eastern Caucasia. The peculiarities of the

Western languages are of a different nature; but of these only the Abchasian has become partially known through the labours of Baron Uslar. In this language the most interesting feature is the remarkable prefixure of the personal pronouns. For example, the word *ab* 'father,' makes *sab* 'my father,' *uab* 'thy father' (masculine), *bab* 'thy father' (fem.), *yab* 'his father,' *lab* 'her father,' *hab* 'our father,' *šab* 'your father,' *rab* 'their father.' In the same contracted form the personal pronoun is prefixed to the verb.<sup>1</sup> Most noteworthy are the verbal forms which take the place of the Interrogative pronoun; thus from the substantive verb *qa*, we have *iqouda*, 'who is?' *iqadar* 'who was?' *iqarnda* 'who is not?' *iqarndar* 'who was not?' *iqouzi* 'what is?' *iqazi* 'what was?' *iqamzi* 'what is not?' *iqamyz* 'what was not?'

"As the Tsherkessian has not yet been treated grammatically in accordance with the requirements of philology, we may here only mention that in this language also prefixes play an important part, and that the interrogative particle appears likewise as an infix.

"The Georgian, long ago raised to the dignity of a written language, possessing a rich literature, which has also been treated grammatically by Brosset, Tschubinoff, and others, I only name in conclusion, for the sake of mentioning some forms analogous to the Abchasian, viz. *uiçer* 'I write for myself,' *wuçer* 'I write for him,' *miçer* 'thou writest for me,' *mçer* 'thou writest to me,' *micerebi* 'thou writest me.'

"In conclusion, I do not consider it superfluous to note that Frederick Müller, even in his second edition of the *Algemeine Ethnographie* (Part 1, Vienna, 1878, p. 26), has not quite correctly classified the Caucasian languages as,—

"*a. Lesghian, Awar, Akusha, Kasikumuk, Kürinian, Kubetshi.*<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the prefixed *a* of the Abchasian, we have clearly a demonstrative pronoun which has sunk down into an article; compare *aab* 'the father,' with *abyk* 'a father,' *anapy* 'the dog,' with *napyk* 'a dog.'

<sup>2</sup> Compare B. Dorn: "The present Kubätschi" in the bulletins of the St. Petersburg Academy, vol. xviii. p. 321-326 (1872), where a short vocabulary is also given.

“*b.* Tsherkessian, Abchasian.

“*c.* Kistish (Tush), Tshetshensian, *Udish*.

“*d.* Georgian, Lazian, Mingrelian, Suanian.

“Here, in the first place, *Lesghian* must be struck out, since it denotes no particular tribe or people; secondly, *Udish* has its affinities rather with Kürinian; while Kubetshi stands in more intimate relationship to Hürkanian, and ought, therefore, to follow after Akusha; I should also prefer to place Tsherkessian and Abchasian not in the second place *b*, but to put it as *d* in the fourth place.”

#### FINNISH AND LAPPISH AND THEIR MUTUAL RELATIONSHIP.

We are indebted to Doctor Otto Donner, Professor of the University of Helsingfors, in Finland, for these remarks on the Finn and Lapp languages; they have been translated from the German original. Dr. Donner is the author of the “*Vergleichendes Wörterbuch des finnischugrischen Sprachen*,” vol. i. ii. 1874-76, a work of the highest authority: he has also published translations from Sanskrit into the Swedish and Finn languages, and several grammatical works, as well as a collection of Lapp ballads.

“Amongst the Finno-Ugrian languages which form one branch of the comprehensive Altaic family, one group is marked off from the rest by several peculiar traits. This Finnic group comprises the following idioms: Mordvin and Tsheremiss, Lapp, Livonian, Vêpse, Esthonian, Karelian, Vote, and Finnish. They separated themselves from their single common stock in about the same order in which they are here enumerated, first of all the Mordvin-Tsheremiss, which alone remained behind in a southern region while the others wandered a considerable distance towards the north-west.

“The principal and most recent sources for the study of these languages are the following:—

“*Mordvin*.—For the Moksha dialect a grammar by A. Ahlqvist, and for the Ersä dialect one by F. J. Wiede-