

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

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

#### VI.—THE POLABES. By W. R. MORFILL, Esq.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### SOUTH-EASTERN BRANCH.

- |              |  |
|--------------|--|
| 1. Russian   | { Little or Red Russian.<br>White Russian.                               |
| 2. Bulgarian | { closely connected with which is the Old<br>Bulgarian or Palæoslavonic. |
| 3.           | { Servian.<br>Slovenish.   |

#### WESTERN BRANCH.

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

The characteristics as given by Dobrovsky are as follows :—

S.E.	WESTERN.
raz, razum	roz, rozum (cf. rozpravy)
iz—izdati	vy—vydati

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

peč, moč, noč	pec, moc, noc
---------------	---------------

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

zwiezda	hwiezda, gwiazda
---------	------------------

<sup>1</sup> It would have also been better to give two forms of words with the same prefix, than words with different prefixes.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. *g* before *ai* and *i* becomes *dz*: thus, *rüg* 'horn,' nom. pl. *rudzai*; *nüga* 'foot,' nom. pl. *nüdze*, Pol. *nodze*.

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

Tia rik komma='thy kingdom come,'

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

Polish: Przyjdź królestwo twoje.

Čech: Přijď království tvé.

Upper Lusatian: Přindź k nam twoje kralestwo.

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

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

The following I have noted in the vocabularies:—

wackenow=wakno<sup>1</sup>=Rus. okno—'window'

<sup>1</sup> I might add that I give the spelling of the MSS., the (supposed) correct one being added from Dr. Fühl and Schleicher.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Taussa*='soul.' Russian *dousha*.

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

*Ssapa*='sleep.' Russian *son*, root *sopn*. Cf. *spate* 'to sleep,' Greek *ὑπνος*.

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

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

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

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

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