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Sounding sacred: The adoption of biblical archaisms in the Book of Mormon and other 19th century texts

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SOUNDING SACRED: THE ADOPTION OF BIBLICAL ARCHAISMS IN THE BOOK OF MORMON AND OTHER 19TH CENTURY TEXTS

by

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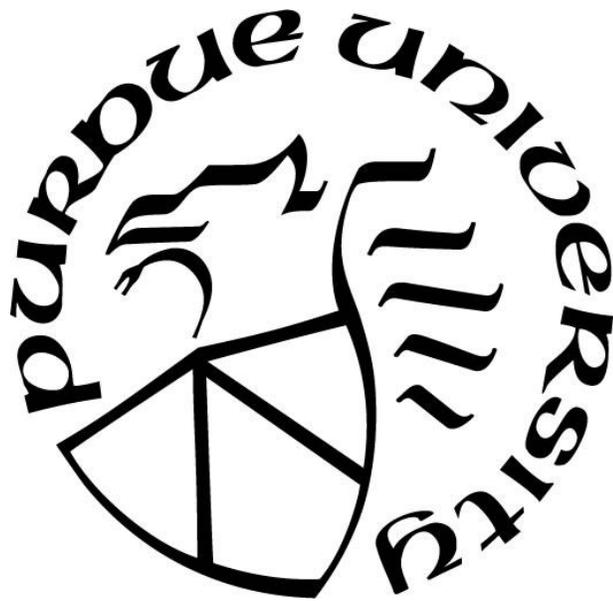
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For my father

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The Book of Mormon ......BoM
A Holy, Sacred and Divine Roll and
    Book ....Holy Roll
The Living Oracles ....Oracles
The Berean ....Berean
Sermons of Charles G. Finney
    ....Finney
The Mabinogion...............Mab.
The Iliad ....Iliad
Grettis Saga.....................Grettis
Letters of Joseph Smith....JS Letters
The Late War between the United States
    and Great Britain ....Late War
Last of the Mohicans........LotM
King James Bible ....KJB
Revised Standard Version
    ....RSV

New Revised Standard Version
    ....NRSV
New International Version
    ....NIV
Doctrine and Covenants...D&C
Corpus of Historical American English
    ....COHA
Corpus of Contemporary American
    English ....COCA
Oxford English Dictionary
    ....OED
British English ....BrE
American English.............AmE
Optical Character Recognition
    ....OCR
Old English ....OE

Books of the Bible[1]

Genesis ....Gen
Exodus.............................Ex
Leviticus..........................Lev
Numbers ....Num
Deuteronomy....................Deut
Joshua..............................Josh
Judges..............................Judg
1 Samuel..........................1 Sam
2 Samuel..........................2 Sam
1 Kings ....1 Kings
2 Kings ....2 Kings
2 Chronicles ....2 Chr
Nehemiah ....Neh
Job ....Job
Psalms ....Pss
Isaiah ....Isa
Jeremiah ....Jer
Daniel...............................Dan
Micah ....Mic

Malachi ....Mal
Wisdom of Solomon ....Wis
Sirach ....Sir
1 Maccabees.....................1 Macc
2 Maccabees.....................2 Macc
Matthew ....Matt
Mark.................................Mark
Luke ....Luke
John..................................John
Acts of the Apostles ....Acts
Romans ....Rom
1 Corinthians ....1 Cor
2 Corinthians ....2 Cor
Galatians ....Gal
Colossians ....Col
2 Thessalonians................2 Thess
1 John ....1 John
Revelation ....Rev

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[1] Biblical books not used in the analysis are not included in this list.

Books of the Book of Mormon[2]

1 Nephi	1 Ne	Helaman	Hel
2 Nephi	2 Ne	3 Nephi	3 Ne
Jacob	Jac	4 Nephi	4 Ne
Enos	Enos	Mormon	Morm
Omni	Omni	Ether	Eth
Mosiah	Mos	Moroni	Moro
Alma	Alma		

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[2] Book of Mormon books not used in the analysis are not included in this list.

ABSTRACT

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Title: Sounding Sacred: The Adoption of Biblical Archaisms in the Book of Mormon and Other 19th Century Texts.
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The Book of Mormon is a text published in 1830 and considered a sacred work of scripture by adherents of the Latter-day Saint movement. Although written 200 years later, it exhibits many linguistic features of the King James translation of the Bible. Such stylistic imitation has been little studied, though a notable exception is Sigelman & Jacoby (1996).

Three hypotheses are considered: that this is a feature of 19th century religious texts, and the Book of Mormon adopts the style of its genre as a religious text; that this is a feature of translations of ancient texts, and the Book of Mormon adopts the style of its genre as a purported translation of ancient records; that Joseph Smith, who produced the Book of Mormon, absorbed the idiom of the King James Bible and used it in his writings generally.

A selection of 19th century religious and translated texts are evaluated, along with personal letters of Joseph Smith, with consideration given to a wide range of archaic features, including lexemes, morpho-syntactic features, and idiomatic expressions. The rates are compared to those in the King James Bible and to the Corpus of Historical American English, which serves as a control for 19th century usage.

Archaic features are indeed used extensively in a number of the investigated texts, at rates far in excess of contemporary usage. The most widely used features are address pronouns starting with T, such as *thou*, the verbal *–th* inflection, as in *saith*, the archaic preterite form *spake*, the preposition *unto*, and the expression "to come to pass." Writers who used archaic features used a suite of such elements rather than one or two. 19th century use also indicated discomfort in the use of some such features, either mixing

them with modern alternatives (*hath* alongside *has*) or extending them to unexpected contexts (hypercorrections such as *–th* with plural subjects or *ye* in object positions).

Archaic features are characteristic of the translated texts, which make the most consistent and standard use of archaisms. They are not characteristic of 19th century religious texts generally, but are common to two texts, both of which claim to be new revelations of scripture: The Book of Mormon and the Holy Roll. These lack the consistency of the translations, and have more mixing and hypercorrection.

In Joseph Smith's letters, archaic features are concentrated in portions where he is relaying revelations, in contrast to other tasks, such as managing church business. Smith and the other prophetic writer lacked credentials as religious clergy, and lacked the education in historic English of the translators. Their use of archaisms shows the most reliance on the King James Bible in particular. This inexpert use by writers with a need to establish a sense of spiritual authority indicates that biblical imitation was an active choice used to project an identity as a prophet.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

> O God, the Eternal Father, we ask thee in the name of thy Son, Jesus Christ, to bless and sanctify this bread to the souls of all those who partake of it; that they may eat in remembrance of the body of thy Son, and witness unto thee, O God, the Eternal Father, that they are willing to take upon them the name of thy Son, and always remember him, and keep his commandments which he hath given them, that they may always have his Spirit to be with them. Amen. (Moro 4:3)

Congregants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (known colloquially as Mormons) hear these words repeated aloud every week in their worship services. *Thee*, *thy*, *unto*, *hath*: relics from the linguistic past made familiar by their regular use in the present day. Other fossilized remnants are revived in prayers and scripture reading among Mormons and some other Christian sects, in high school literature classes diving into the works of the Bard, in the occasional retelling or film adaptation of the Arthur story, and so forth. Modern English speakers often try their hand at imitating the language of the past, in mockery of the pretentious affect an anachronistic *saith* or *verily* can suggest, or in serious attempts to emulate the speech of historical personas.

This adoption of archaic English is not a new phenomenon. The passage above is taken from the Book of Mormon, published by founding Mormon prophet Joseph Smith in 1830, but the language includes features that are two or three centuries older still. Other 19th century texts also featured antiquated language, drawn from older literature, but especially the King James translation of the Bible. Most of these other texts have fallen into obscurity in the time since, but the Book of Mormon, kept relevant by its revered status among Mormons, is still read today, making it not only an example of such imitative language, but also a model for further imitation, a vector for introducing archaic language features to new generations of English speakers. Outside of Mormon circles, however, the Book of Mormon has received very little scholarly attention (Ostling &

Ostling 2007: 273). For that matter, the imitation of archaic English in general has also rarely been studied (Traxel 2012: 42).[3]

The present study seeks to help rectify these oversights by investigating how the linguistic features of the King James Bible are interpreted in the Book of Mormon and other contemporary texts. We will see that some features, such as the use of verbs ending in –*th* (*hath*, *giveth*, *knoweth*) and address pronouns beginning in T (*thou*, *thee*, *thyself*) are used very widely, while other archaic features, such as the use of *his* to mean *its* or the use of *shew* rather than *show*, had little or no influence on 19th century imitators.

Some features were only partially adopted. The archaic grammar was used in competition with its modern descendant, resulting in a Frankenstein hybrid stitched together from the two. *Thou* might be mixed haphazardly with *you*, or *hath* with *has*. Other features were adopted to excess, used at rates or in contexts that went beyond that of the older grammar. *Thou* might be used in plural contexts, or *betwixt* repeated astonishingly often.

In some texts, archaic features are limited to biblical quotation, but are not actually imitated in original material. In others, they are used in original material, but only in certain portions of the text, where the context licenses their use, such as prayer to God or God's supposed responses. This last point especially indicates that writers turned to the English of the Bible with purpose, and used it to project a desired identity to their readers. Biblical English might be used to indicate either a sense of great age, or of an authoritative and trustworthy status. It was especially useful for indicating that a new text should be treated, like the Bible, as the word of God.

1.1 Archaic English in a Modern Setting

English has evolved continuously over the 1500 or so years it has existed as a distinct language, to the point that its earliest recorded form would be completely unrecognizable to the average speaker of modern English. Much of what once characterized the English language is entirely outside the experience of those who have

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[3] And yet, such imitation can have a noteworthy impact on the language. For example, the word *delight* has been respelled as a result of an attempt at archaic English taking root and becoming a part of standard English (Traxel 2012: 54).

not explicitly studied English language history, but certain influential works of literature have nonetheless preserved a sense of *Ye Olde Englisshe*, the notion that things used to be said somewhat differently, and that the imitation of this archaic style is appropriate in certain contemporary settings.

Oliver Traxel dubs this imitative form of English "Pseudo-archaic English," due to its usual failure to accurately reproduce the language of the past, substituting innovative modern simulacra in place of genuine archaisms. Attempts to recreate Old and Middle English are limited mostly to scholars of language and literature, and tend to result in relatively convincing prose, but Early Modern English is much more accessible, and lends itself to a great deal of amateur imitation (Traxel 2012: 45). It is used today in spoken, printed, and especially electronic form, in parody blogs, on private websites, in forum discussion threads, in sketch comedy routines, at medieval and Renaissance fairs, and in religious observance. In spite of this wide use, and the exceptional degree of linguistic creativity usually involved, this kind of imitative archaic language has received little attention in the scholarly literature (Traxel 2012: 42).

Common features of this archaic English include the use of old verbal inflections (*–th* and *–st*),[4] main verb raising (*What say you?*), and obsolescent pronouns (*thou*, *thee*, *ye*, etc.), along with the imitation of olde spelling convenciouns and some outmoded vocabulary items. Because so many of those using this imitative language lack formal training in historical grammar, these features are often employed in ways that were not a part of their historical use. Traxel gives the following examples gleaned from various online sources:

- Verbal endings used with the wrong subjects: *I shouldst*; *I loveth*; *I madeth*; *thou speaketh*; *you speaketh*
- Both verbal endings used together: *one canst speaketh*
- Use of verbal endings on other word classes: *browneth*; *thiseth*; *whyeth*
- DO-support combined with main verb inflection: *Dost thou knowest the time?*
- DO-support with a non-finite verb: *His Royal Majesty doth to recommend the following Royal Innkeepers*
- Unexpected pronoun selection: *How fare thee?*; *Ye art quite handsome!*

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[4] In the case of the *–th* ending, there is a dialectal as well as a chronological component. The form was retained in the West Midlands well after it was replaced elsewhere by *–s*, and its use in the Wycliffe Bible, along with the conservative tendencies in biblical translation, contributed to its long retention.

A similar example was featured prominently in the 2012 *Avengers* film. When Tony Stark is mocking Thor for his odd appearance and speech and compares him to a performance of Shakespeare in the park, he asks, "Doth mother know you weareth her drapes?", encapsulating several of these mismatches with archaic grammar in a single, pithy line.

For the general public, there is the idea of a single historic form of English, an "Old English" modeled on Early Modern English that is thought appropriate for all pre-modern periods. The primary models for this archaic form of the language are the language of Shakespeare's plays and of the King James Bible, whose continuing popularity means they and their outdated linguistic features remain familiar to modern English speakers. Other texts play a lesser role as well, such as Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* or Malory's *Le Morte Darthur*. Access to the texts, and especially to the two older ones, is often indirect, mediated by a modern interpretation such as film adaptations of Shakespeare's plays or Terence White's 1958 retelling of Malory's Arthurian tales (Traxel 2012: 46).

The adoption of archaic features is not just a modern phenomenon, but has a history in English going back at least to the Renaissance, when it was common among authors like Edmund Spenser. Ben Jonson commented on the reasons some authors would use antiquated language, evoking a sense of majesty or authority with the venerable words.

> Words borrow'd of Antiquity, doe lend a kind of Majesty to style, and are not without their delight sometimes. For they have the Authority of yeares, and out of their intermission doe win to themselves a kind of grace-like newnesse (Herford et al. 1947: 622, quoted in Traxel 2012)

In Britain and then especially in America in the 18th and 19th centuries, a pseudo-biblical style became popular in history writing, with modern historians using the flowery biblical language either for parody, or to lend weight and significance to the events of recent history (Shalev 2010: 801, 805; Parsons 1989).[5] The use of archaic English was

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[5] Some writers at the time even used pre-biblical archaisms. Thomas Sharp, the editor of the paper in Warsaw Illinois, and an enemy to the Mormons in neighboring Nauvoo, made use of the archaic participial prefix, writing "We have received the first number of a new six by nine, recently started at Nauvoo, **yclept** 'The Wasp'" (emphasis added) (quoted in Brodie 1983 [1945]: 288).

also popular among translators of ancient texts, who could use the outdated but still familiar form of English to convey the antiquity of the works they were translating (Barlow 1991: 27). William Annis, commenting on various linguistic blogs, offers the designation "Old High Translationese," for the tortured language produced by classicists rendering ancient texts in English.[6] The use of such "translationese" continues in the present, and is characteristic of writers following in the footsteps of J. R. R. Tolkien.

The King James Bible (KJB) was particularly influential in early America, where it was ubiquitous in the lives of both Protestants and Jews, coloring the language and thought patterns of many religious citizens (Barlow 1991: 15, 51). The practice of historians writing in archaic English conditioned Americans to reading about America in biblical language, and the use of the KJB in religious practice linked the archaic forms to sacred discourse as well.

1.1.1 The King James Bible Influence

And God said, Let there be light: and there was light … Thus saith the LORD God of Israel, Let my people go … Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do. The Bible has had a tremendous formative effect on Western culture, as both a religious and literary text, and it has shaped politics, law, art, ethics, and countless other facets of society. It has also had profound effects on language.[7] The Bible has been translated into English numerous times, but perhaps the most significant version was that commissioned by King James I of England in the early 17th century.

The King James Bible spent most of three centuries essentially unchallenged as THE English version of the Bible, and "Its language, archaic even in 1611, … [came] to seem like the language spoken by God."[8] It has reached more people over a longer time than any other Bible translation, and today it remains the most iconic version of the text, and the one used most often in quotations.[9] It remains the preferred Bible translation for Baptists, Pentecostals, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Mormons (Gryboski 2016). And

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[6] For instance: http://languagelog.ldc.upenn.edu/nll/?p=3255; http://languagehat.com/for-for-or-against/
[7] Crystal introduces his 2010 book on the KJB, *Begat: The King James Bible & the English language*, by listing several authorities commenting on its linguistic influence, Crystal 2010: 1–3.
[8] Nicolson 2003: 233.
[9] Crystal 2010: 9.

although the New International Version (NIV) has surpassed it in sales, the KJB also remains the preferred version for personal reading by the majority of American Christians, and is especially popular with African Americans and readers with lower incomes or educational attainment (Goff, Farnsley, & Thuesen 2014: 12–13). There is even a King James Only movement that considers it the only reliable English translation, believing its translators received special divine aid or that later translations corrupted the text by reliance on faulty manuscripts.

1.1.2 KJB Features in Modern Mormonism

Features of KJB English remain in use today as part of Mormon devotional practice, mostly through prayer and scriptural recitation. The King James Bible was the *de facto* bible version of early Mormonism, simply due to absence of competition, but was not afforded any special status in the religion until after rival translations such as the Revised Standard Version (RSV) started becoming available in the mid-20th century. The modern translations worried some church leaders, whose conservative efforts elevated the KJB to a sort of semi-official status within the church (Barlow 1991: 156–158), after which it was enshrined as the official Mormon bible version with the church's 1979 printing of its own edition (Barlow 1991: 177). It is used almost universally in Mormon worship today, and its language is present in scriptural reading and also in prayer. The archaic address pronouns—*thou*, *thee*, *thy*, *thine*—have received particular attention, along with the attendant verb conjugation. Many church leaders have counseled that these forms should be used when addressing God in prayer, rather than the modern *you*.

- I think, my brethren, that in the quorums and in the classes, you would do well, as in the homes also, to teach the language of prayer—'Thee and Thou,' rather than 'you.' It always seems disappointing to me to have our Father in Heaven, our Lord, addressed as 'you.' (Stephens 1951: 175)
- The Father and the Son should always be honored in our prayers in the utmost humility and reverence. … The changing of the wording of the Bible to meet the popular language of our day, has, in the opinion of the writer and his brethren, been a great loss in the building of faith and spirituality in the minds and hearts of the people. (Smith 1958: 15–17)
- We use the sacred language of prayer (that of the King James Version of the Bible—thee, thou, thine, not you and your). (McConkie 1976)

- Historically, the pronouns *thou, thee, thy,* and *thine* have always been the usage of English scripture and prayer: therefore, these forms come to us as the traditional language of religious respect and reverence. (Norton 1976)
- Second, use the sacred language of prayer. We should always address Deity by using the sacred pronouns *thou, thee, thy,* and *thine.* (Perry 1983)
- When we address prayers to our Heavenly Father in English, our only available alternatives are the common words of speech like *you* and *your* or the dignified but uncommon words like *thee*, *thou*, and *thy* which were used in the King James Version of the Bible almost five hundred years ago. Latter-day Saints, of course, prefer the latter. In our prayers we use language that is dignified and different, even archaic. (Oaks 1993)

The variations in pronoun systems and prayer conventions across languages and cultures complicate the issue considerably, as do the changing ways *you* and *thou* were used historically. Apostle Dallin H. Oaks notes that the respectful connotations of *thou* are an innovation, not supported by its historical usage, but encourages members nonetheless to use the archaic pronoun with its modern understanding (Oaks 1993). Such admonitions to use unfamiliar and outdated language are not usually accompanied by explicit grammatical instruction, which leads to many imperfect adoptions of the archaic system. Norton's 1976 article laments the incorrect use of the archaic morphology by many Mormons, and reviews the grammatical rules to govern the pronoun and verbal system. He also provides quizzes to practice their use. Nonetheless, in 2014, Roger Terry asserts that "Modern Mormon usage is as unruly as anything [Mormon prophet Joseph Smith] ever dictated. Listen carefully to any prayer in any LDS meeting, and you will probably hear mis-conjugated verbs or mixed pronouns" (Terry 2014: 25). I have personally experienced a fair number of such non-standard uses, including the following:

- as thou and thy son art one
- blessings thou bestows upon us
- we ask that thee will bless this food
- for the covenants we have made with thee, and thee with us
- that thy spirit be upon thine prophet

The language of the KJB is also perpetuated within Mormonism through 19th century works written in the KJB idiom, particularly the religion's most distinctive text, the Book of Mormon (BoM), which remains influential "long after Americans abandoned the practice of recounting their affairs in biblical language" (Shalev 2010: 826). The Book of Mormon itself has received limited academic attention. Those outside the faith

do not accept it as the ancient literature or sacred text it claims to be, and it has been largely ignored by literary scholars even as a work of 19th century American literature (Ostling & Ostling 2007: 273). Much of the work on the Book of Mormon has been by Mormons, for Mormons, isolated from the larger scholarly community. Most Book of Mormon research has also focused on establishing or challenging the book's credibility, with questions involving its authorship, relationship to the archaeology of the Americas, genetic implications, complexity, and so forth, and whether these support an ancient or modern origin for the text. A discussion of such scholarship is presented in Chapter 4.

Very little attention has been paid to the text's linguistic merits in their own rights, or to its relationship to the King James Bible outside of the authorship question. One exception to this is an MA thesis by Lyle Fletcher, who makes an in-depth investigation into the use of address pronouns in the two works. Fletcher attributes the inconsistent number of BoM pronouns to a probable imitation of KJB language combined with Smith's lack of a formal education (Fletcher 1988: 302). While the similarities between KJB English and Book of Mormon English are readily apparent to observers, they have not yet received a thorough examination, and most commentators have not backed up their statements with evidence or analysis. Fletcher does provide evidence, but limits his study to the address pronouns. The most thorough analysis of the linguistic features in the Book of Mormon is that of BYU linguist Royal Skousen, who has spent many years creating the definitive critical text of the Book of Mormon. While comparison between the Book of Mormon and the King James Bible is not central to Skousen's project, he frequently mentions the KJB and other Early Modern English texts to show that non-standard attributes of the archaic BoM language were present in some historical texts as well. For example, he shows that *ye* and *you* were not consistently distinguished in case by reference to Shakespeare (Skousen 2016: 1270–1271).

- Sir, I never loved you much, but I have praised **ye** when **you** have well deserved ten times as much as I have said you did. (*Anthony and Cleopatra*, Act 2, Scene 6)

1.2 Imitation and Style in Language

Work on quantifiable imitation in literature has largely been confined to the field of stylometrics, an analysis of linguistic features in texts focused especially on establishing the authorship of disputed texts. This approach, with its origins dating back to 1887, defines authorial style by the frequency of assorted linguistic features, or combinations of features (Sigelman & Jacoby 1996: 11). Usually these are basic grammatical features authors would use without conscious thought, in order to provide extensive data and a consistent style for each author, independent of content and conscious stylistic choices on the author's part. Stylometrics has undergone significant criticism and refinement over the years. Its reliability remains an open question, and the methodology used varies considerably (Juola 2012).[10]

Work addressing conscious stylistic elements, and imitation of other authors' styles, is much less common. A noteworthy study is that of Sigelman and Jacoby, who apply statistical stylometric methodology to a set of short stories by a variety of authors imitating the style of Raymond Chandler. Unlike traditional stylometrics, concerned with the forensic assignation of authorship and focusing on subconscious linguistic tics, Sigelman and Jacoby investigate conscious elements of style, the kind of things readers notice and identify as attributes of the writer's language. The authorship of their texts is already known, but complicated by the recognized imitation of another author's style.

The authors are not linguists, and they are perhaps somewhat naïve in some of their assumptions about how their chosen metrics relate to particular stylistic features— the ratio of verbs to adjectives as an indicator of action in the story, for instance—but many of the metrics could be treated as aspects of authorial style in their own right. Chandler's writing might be characterized by a relative paucity of adjectives, whether this corresponds to high levels of action or not. Such features fall into an interesting and little-considered middle ground between the very conscious aspects of style that might be discussed in a literary analysis of the text, and the intentionally unconscious aspects that characterize most stylometric approaches. This semi-conscious approach to style involves

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[10] As authorship is the most frequently investigated question for the Book of Mormon, and the relevance of stylometry to this question is readily apparent, several stylometric studies have been performed. I address one of the most careful of these in Chapter 4.

elements that can be consciously identified with a little effort, and will be recognized on some level when reading the text, but which are still fairly integral and grammatical aspects of the language, inserted without particular attention.

Sigelman and Jacoby found that their measures were highly effective at distinguishing Chandler's own work from that of his imitators, and that there was much more variation among the imitative works than there was in Chandler's own stories (Sigelman & Jacoby 1996: 19–24). Their work demonstrates the potential of quantitative research into conscious and central aspects of a text's style, especially when assigning authorship is not the central object.

In this project, I will be taking a somewhat similar approach to the stylistic influence of the King James Bible. There are many 19th century texts written in an archaic English style, where the Bible is a known or likely stylistic influence. I will be investigating how this influence manifests in various texts, whether it is consistent across the texts generally, or within certain genres, and how the imitative texts differ from the language of the archaic source material. I will be paying particular attention to the Book of Mormon, the most successful imitator of KJB style from this period (and perhaps ever). I will be comparing it to several contemporary religious texts, including revival sermons, theological argumentation, more modern scriptural translation, and even another attempt at promoting a novel scriptural text. I will also compare it to other texts translating ancient works such as Homer, using a style of English to match the antiquity of the source material. And I will be comparing it to other products of Joseph Smith, and to a historical genre of the time. Previous comparative research across texts from this time has been limited by the shortcomings in optical character recognition (OCR) technology, which can have difficulty with older texts due to unfamiliar typefaces, the low quality of some older printings, and deterioration of texts. Studies might exclude mangled bits of text by limiting searches to phrases occurring more often than a certain threshold. However, this may remove many of the features being studied, and especially for some texts, could remove large portions of the total (McGuire 2013: 335–336). In this case, considerable effort has been put into processing the texts to correct for OCR errors, so that the entire text may be used and the data taken will be more comprehensive.

Rather than focusing on a specific feature, or a small set, I am taking a fairly holistic approach, considering a wide array of archaisms across several levels of the grammar and lexicon, including words that had fallen out of use, words that were still used but with notably lower frequency, morphological and syntactic features, and idiomatic expressions. We will see that where an archaic style is adopted, it tends to involve a suite of such elements rather than one or two specific features.

Some of the texts do not really make use of the archaic style found in the KJB, while others are saturated with archaism, and still others make situational use of it. This raises the question of why authors adopt these features. It is apparent that a single motivation does not account for all uses of archaic style. A useful approach to the question of motivation is the study of identity as social performance. A number of researchers, such as LePage and Tabouret-Keller, or more recently Penelope Eckert, have explained variation in language practice as a conscious projection of how the speaker wishes others to perceive them: stylistic imitation as behaved identity. Individuals choose their linguistic behavior from among the available set of those practiced in their language community with the intent to match the behavior of the groups they wish to identify with (LePage & Tabouret-Keller 1985: 181; Coupland 2007: 109). In this case, the writers are not necessarily imitating their 19th century peers, though this may indeed be contributing to some level of consistency within genres. They are instead imitating the features of a historical text, projecting an identity connected to the age or high social status of this other written work. In this adoption of KJB English, 19th century writers created works that feel old, established, reliable, important, or even sacred.

1.3 Chapter Preview

Chapters 2 through 4 provide some historical background for the texts to be analyzed. Many of these texts were created in a complex and fascinating period of religious transformation, and one that is likely unfamiliar to many modern readers. The Book of Mormon, and Mormonism itself, are likewise niche topics, and likely need some introduction. In Chapter 2, I provide a brief history of the Second Great Awakening, the period of Christian revival that resulted in religious movements such as the Mormons, Seventh-day Adventists, Disciples of Christ, and more. The idea of America as a

Christian nation had its origin in this period, along with the movements to abolish slavery and to prohibit alcohol. I give particular attention to the Burned-over District, the region in upstate New York that was the focus of revivalism in the north. In Chapter 3, I offer more details on the history of Mormonism, sketching the life of its founding prophet, Joseph Smith. I address his childhood and education, his experiences with folk magic, his founding of a new church, his tenure as its leader, and his violent death and continuing legacy. In Chapter 4, I address the founding document of the Mormon movement, the Book of Mormon. I cover its plot, the story Smith provided of finding and translating this text, contemporary and modern reactions to the book, features of its language, and a brief textual history since the initial publication.

Chapter 5 presents information on all the texts used in the study, including details about their significance and relevance, their authors, their contents, and the versions of the text I selected. I also describe how I processed the texts in preparation for their analysis.

Chapters 6 through 9 contain the textual analysis itself, divided by topic. In Chapter 6, I cover lexical influence of the King James Bible on the later texts, comparing the frequencies of archaic lexemes such as BEGET, VERILY, or WROTH, along with some changes in grammatical contexts. Chapter 7 addresses the preservations of certain word-forms containing different vowels than their modern counterparts, such as *spake* or *shew*. Here we compare the proportion of relevant forms with the archaic variant to those with the modern variant. Chapter 8 addresses an array of morphological and syntactic features, including archaic subject-verb agreement, address pronouns, and verb placement, again comparing the proportional selection of archaic versus modern alternatives. Chapter 9 deals with the idiomatic use of expressions and words from the King James Bible. This includes phrases like *it came to pass*, as well as words like *lord* or *behold*, which, even if not obsolescent in the 19th century, are nonetheless much less frequent than in the KJB. Here again relative frequencies are compared.

Chapter 10 reviews the findings of the analysis by text, giving a summary of the archaic features found in each of the documents under examination, and continues on to some general concluding remarks.

CHAPTER 2: THE SECOND GREAT AWAKENING

2.1 Introduction

At the beginning of the 19th century, the United States was a very secular nation. Twenty-four years earlier, it had been declared independent by a group of men steeped in the intellectualism, deism, atheism, and rationalism of an age when long-pervasive religious beliefs had come into question. But with the new century came a backlash against this focus on reason, and a resurgence of faith, with the major Protestant religions in the nation—Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists—making great efforts to win converts from among the skeptical and the apathetic, and from less compatible faiths such as the Catholics and Unitarians. Evangelists worked to raise religious enthusiasm through a series of revivals across the country, with itinerant preachers arriving to give daily sermons, hold additional smaller prayer meetings, and even individual sessions with locals to encourage them to repent and join a church. The revivals could involve several visiting preachers, as well as exhortations from local clergy or laypeople, and often drew crowds from all over the surrounding countryside. Later scholars gave this movement a name, noting its similarities to an earlier surge in American Christianity and calling it the Second Great Awakening.

Efforts to convert and perfect individuals extended to efforts to improve society as a whole, and the enthusiasm spilled over into numerous moral crusades, including efforts to improve access to Bibles, to provide Sunday school education, to ensure Sabbath day observance, to reform prostitutes, and to fight the evils of alcohol and slavery. Temperance and abolitionist agitation were the most influential of the social reform efforts. These movements continued on after the revival fervor had passed and each was eventually made law by constitutional amendment, with a significant transformative effect on American society.

In addition to the growth of the traditional Christian sects, the religious enthusiasm of the Awakening also found expression in a number of unorthodox movements. The Shakers, who had branched off from the Quakers in England, settled in America early in the revival period, bringing their practices of celibacy, communism,

pacifism, and sexual equality. Alexander Campbell and others led the Restoration Movement, seeking to reunite Christianity by a return to the primitive practice and organization of the New Testament. Campbell's organization continues today in the Disciples of Christ. William Miller predicted that Christ's return would come in 1843, and initiated a widespread millennial excitement across the nation. Many of his followers were disaffected after the predicted date passed by uneventfully, but a part of Miller's group would eventually develop into the Seventh Day Adventists. Joseph Smith claimed to receive direct revelation from God, produced the Book of Mormon, and started the Latter-day Saint movement (Mormonism). John Humphrey Noyes founded a perfectionist community at Oneida known for practicing communism and free love. The community was outlived by its silverware industry, which became its most lasting influence. In the later years of the Awakening, phrenology, mesmerism, Swedenborgianism, and Spiritism enjoyed some popularity before the overall surge of enthusiasm had run its course and the period came to a close.

2.2 Progress of the Movement

The religious enthusiasm of the Second Great Awakening was a nationwide phenomenon, but the intensity varied with time and place. The movement had its origins in small-town New England, but it was only after a huge revival in Cane Ridge, Kentucky that it really took off (Stone 2010: 1309). The Cane Ridge revival, held in 1801, was the start of the southern revival tradition and the origin of the multi-day camp meeting (Meyer 2011: 145). It was characterized by the kind of emotional abandon that troubled some of the more conservative New England clergy, with participants dropping to the ground at the prospect of their sinful natures, lying motionless for minutes or even hours (Meyer 2011: 143).

Awakening fervor was also particularly pronounced in Ohio and in upstate New York. Western New York was more intensely engaged in revivalism than any other part of the northeast (Cross 1981 [1950]: 11), and it was there that many of the most peculiar innovations of the Second Great Awakening arose. This area has come to be known as the Burned-over District, a name which comes from the revival preacher Charles G. Finney, who called Jefferson County a "burnt district," meaning that the prospect of

spiritual renewal had been damaged or burned up by irresponsible preachers who had preceded him. Modern scholars have adopted the term in a positive sense and applied it to upstate NY more broadly (Hambrick-Stowe 1996: 39).

The settlement of New York west of the Appalachians had begun around 1790, with most of the settlers coming from New England. These earliest settlers were mostly younger sons, with limited prospects and great ambition, and they came primarily from the hill country, rather than the more prosperous cities and valleys (Cross 1981 [1950]: 4–6). The revival didn't reach its peak, however, until well after the area had lost its frontier status, and the more adventurous residents had moved on further, to Ohio, Missouri, or beyond. There were earlier surges of revivalism, with particularly strong waves in 1800 and again in the years immediately following the War of 1812, but the climax of the Awakening came between 1825 and 1837 (Cross 1981 [1950]: 10–13). 1825 saw the completion of the Erie Canal, a project which linked western New York to the more developed east, accelerated economic development, and saw the pioneering first generation of settlers replaced by a second (Cross 1981 [1950]: 55).

It was this more settled population that was most responsive to evangelistic outreach, and the revival spirit flourished in both the agricultural counties and the growing manufacturing towns of the Burned-over District (Rogers 2010: 695). The increase in membership among the leading Christian denominations—Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Congregationalist—was phenomenal. Between independence in 1776 and the close of the Second Great Awakening around 1850, the growth of these churches outpaced population growth by a factor of two to one (Rogers 2010: 694). According to the revivalist Lyman Beecher, 1830 saw 100,000 people in the nation make a religious affiliation, an event he considered "unparalleled in the history of the church" (Cross 1981 [1950]: 156). Revivals often resulted in mass conversions, especially among women, who "constituted a majority of the membership of most early churches" (Cross 1981 [1950]: 38). By the end of the Awakening, as many as one third of all Americans were associated with a Christian church (a huge increase compared to revolutionary times) (Stone 2010: 1328).

There was a complicated mixture of cooperation and competition between the major sects operating in western New York.[11] They professed a spirit of nonsectarian benevolence and frequently joined forces in revivals and social reform efforts, and they were united in their opposition to atheists, Unitarians, and other less compatible professions of religion, but this cooperation was accompanied by bitter interdenominational strife (Cross 1981 [1950]: 40).

> The different campaigns made up a sectarian hierarchy. All Protestant churches united in condemning Catholics. All evangelical sects united, too, against Universalists and Unitarians. Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians could share their hatred of Christians. Baptists and Presbyterians co-operated in damning Methodists and Freewill Baptists. Presbyterians all too often proved disagreeably intolerant of Baptists. To cap the climax, both Baptists and Presbyterians, particularly the latter, maintained a constant and bitter strife between the enthusiasts and the conservatives in their own ranks. (Cross 1981 [1950]: 43)

The primary means of winning converts during the Second Great Awakening was the revival meeting. Charismatic itinerant preachers would join the local clergy in an area for an extended period of daily preaching, whipping the population into a religious frenzy, letting the sense of communal religious excitement build, and calling sinners to repentance. Revivals were held across the nation, in the countryside and in major cities such as New York or Boston, but the focus fell particularly on growing manufacturing towns surrounded by agricultural areas, where participants would come in from the countryside for miles around to join in the spectacle (Rogers 2010: 699).

In contrast to more traditional Christian practice, revivals foregrounded emotionalism and shame, with physical manifestations such as falling down unconscious as a prominent feature (Meyer 2011: 148). Learning was often seen as incompatible with revivalism, and the most enthusiastic participants tended to have little education (Cross 1981 [1950]: 202), though they were often literate and had read their Bibles from childhood (Cross 1981 [1950]: 93). Women played a huge role in the revivals. In addition to composing the great majority of the membership in all the churches, they "dominated

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[11] Namely Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians—Congregationalists had united with the Presbyterians in New York by the "pact of union" (Rogers 2010: 696).

revivals and praying circles, pressing husbands, fathers, and sons toward conversion and facilitating every move of the evangelist" (Cross 1981 [1950]: 177). The rampant emotionalism of the revivals, along with the very public role of women, was cause for concern among the more staid New England clergy, but the success of revival methods in winning converts was unquestionable.

The Second Great Awakening saw many skilled evangelists practice their art, but the preeminent revivalist of the era was Charles Grandison Finney. Finney was a Presbyterian preacher who managed to bridge the gap between two religious traditions: the traditional, conservative, orderly approach to faith, with trained clergy and settled churches, and the populist, unpredictable, folk religion of the revivals, with lay preachers, outpouring of emotion, and challenges to authority (Rogers 2010: 697). Finney was both acceptable to the conservative clergy and extremely popular with those who attended his many revivals.

Like many in the Burned-over District, Finney had his roots in New England, his parents having migrated from Connecticut to New York when he was two (Hambrick-Stowe 1996: 4). Finney planned to be a lawyer and was training in an apprenticeship when he had his conversion experience and turned to religion instead. His legal training likely helped him perfect his methods as a preacher, as he was "instinctively able in the pulpit to combine hot passion and cold logic" (Hambrick-Stowe 1996: 35). He "felt tremendous power in preaching to people eye to eye, extemporaneously" (Hambrick-Stowe 1996: 36). His career started in the Burned-over District, though as his fame spread he was asked to hold revivals in the larger cities such as New York, Philadelphia, and Boston. He spent years as an itinerant with no home of his own before eventually retiring from revival preaching to teach at Oberlin in Ohio, itself also a product of the Burned-over District (Cross 1981 [1950]: 249). Wherever he went, Finney had a mesmerizing effect on his listeners, though his revivals maintained a dignity uncommon to the time (Cross 1981 [1950]: 155). He saw his greatest success at revivals held in Utica in 1826 and in Rochester in 1830 where the populace thronged to his sermons and new converts joined the local congregations *en masse* (Hambrick-Stowe 1996: 53, 111–112).

Finney introduced several innovations in revival practice that were adopted by many of the other preachers of his time, including demanding an immediate response

from his audiences, addressing individuals directly and by name, rather than just collectively, and the erection of an "anxious bench" at the front, where those hoping to experience conversion could sit and be featured prominently (Hambrick-Stowe 1996: 36–39). He focused his attention particularly on young and middle-aged business and professional people, and was often able to leverage the conversion of prominent members of the community into a general excitement (Hambrick-Stowe 1996: 107). Finney was just as much a product of the area's radical revivalism as an innovator, though, adopting many elements from those who preceded him rather than inventing the process himself (Hambrick-Stowe 1996: 45).

Theologically, Finney was mostly in line with traditional Calvinist thinking, though he differed from the orthodoxy on certain key points regarding original sin and the atonement. He favored individual responsibility for sin and an atonement available to all who seek it out rather than inherited sin and a limited atonement for the elect only (Hambrick-Stowe 1996: 25). Of more concern to the establishment were the displays of emotion at his revivals and the prominent public role played by women, and some of the leading New England clergy objected to his practices, especially Asahel Nettleton, who despised Finney and considered his brand of revivalism "abrasive, divisive, irreverent, and judgmental" (Hambrick-Stowe 1996: 63). Finney eventually won over his other detractors, however, and came to be looked to as a model for running successful revivals.

2.3 Social Crusades

As the religious enthusiasm built, the scope of the Awakening expanded, and many Christians turned their concern from the reform of individual sinners to the community as a whole. "Revivalism was frequently a two-stage process in which the battle for individual souls preceded a struggle for the soul of a depraved society" (Altschuler & Saltzgaber 1983: 36).

Early efforts at social reform included the establishment of Bible societies and Sunday schools. There were at least seven auxiliaries of the American Bible Society formed in the Burned-over District prior to the establishment of the national society, and by 1829, a sixth of its US subsidiaries were in New York state (Cross 1981 [1950]: 25). Sabbath day observance and the reform of prostitutes also figured among the moral

crusades of the day, but the largest and most noteworthy social causes were agitation for abolition and especially for temperance (Cross 1981 [1950]: 226). Alcohol was seen as an evil substance that frustrated the Lord's purpose for the human body, turning men from honest labor and sowing discord within families. This disapproval extended to other drugs as well, including coffee, tea, and tobacco, though alcohol was the primary focus of the movement (Cross 1981 [1950]: 212). During the period, there were over 5,000 temperance societies in the nation, with over a million members, concentrated especially in New York and Ohio (Brodie 1983 [1945]: 166). Although the struggle for women's rights came after the Awakening, many who would go on to be among its leaders— including Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Amelia Bloomer, Susan B. Anthony, Antoinette Brown Blackwell, the Grimké sisters and others—first participated in the moral reforms of the Burned-over District, and the prominent role of women in both revivals and reform efforts likely contributed to this later social reform movement as well (Cross 1981 [1950]: 237).

Reformers did not limit themselves to persuasion, but also sought to impose Christian morality on the nation by law, with efforts to legislate Sabbath observance, punishment for blasphemy, prohibition of alcohol, the abolition of slavery, and the repression of sexuality (including opposition to pornography, birth control, and especially masturbation) (Stone 2010: 1314–28). The reform movement also had a divisive effect, however, with differences of opinion within the churches on whether such social reform should be pursued. Some were unhappy with the diversion of energy away from calls to repentance, or with challenging individuals' personal freedoms. The abolition movement was particularly controversial, with strongly divided opinions in the northern and southern churches, and many leaders downplaying activism in an attempt to preserve harmony, however much they might agree with the cause (Altschuler & Saltzgaber 1983: 57).

2.4 Radicalism

One of the most noteworthy characteristics of the Burned-over District was the many radical and innovative religious movements that arose there during the Second Great Awakening. The region experienced high levels of religious emotionalism and

enthusiasm, which led to several experimental doctrines (Cross 1981 [1950]: 173). Prior to 1825, none of these agitations became large-scale movements, but after that point the region earned its reputation for innovations (Cross 1981 [1950]: 40). Areas left out of economic development after the completion of the Erie Canal were particularly fertile in this respect (Cross 1981 [1950]: 76).

Even early in the period there were some noteworthy eccentricities, however. Seminary-trained preachers were rare west of the Appalachians—most clerics were faith-healers and circuit riders (Brodie 1983 [1945]: 13), and a plentiful sprinkling of preachers inaugurated unusual beliefs in the early history of the Burned-over District (Cross 1981 [1950]: 37). Isaac Bullard, one of the more eccentric Burned-over District figures, wore only a bearskin, championed free love and communism, considered washing a sin, and boasted he hadn't changed his clothes in seven years. He led his followers from Vermont into New York, and later on to Ohio and Missouri (Brodie 1983 [1945]: 12). Jemima Wilkinson, who termed herself the "Universal Friend," thought herself to be Christ, and broke away from the Quakers to govern a colony of followers on Keuka Lake by revelation. She swore she would never die, but failed to fulfill that prophecy in 1819 (Brodie 1983 [1945]: 13, Cross 1981 [1950]: 30).

The most substantial early group of unorthodox believers were the Shakers, who preceded the Awakening but were present as an influence throughout its course. Mother Ann Lee, the leader of the movement, had come to America from England in 1774. After a time in New England she and her commune settled in New York, establishing their main colony at New Lebanon (Brodie 1983 [1945]: 12). Similar to other beliefs that would arise later in the period, the Shakers were "established upon a theory of the Second Coming and the Millennium. Ann Lee represented the second embodiment in human flesh, this time of the feminine spirit of a bisexual God" (Cross 1981 [1950]: 31). The Shakers practiced communism, celibacy, nonresistance, and full equality for women, and sought the direct guidance of the Holy Ghost, perfectionist behavior, and the mystic powers of healing.[12]

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[12] The Shakers were a significant presence throughout the Awakening period, but have experienced decline since, with only 70 members remaining in 1970 and 3 in 2010: http://www.thearda.com/Denoms/D_1407.asp

As the Awakening progressed, innovative religion flourished, and the early 1830s saw increasingly radical beliefs and doctrines emerging, including the Restoration Movement, Millennialism, Perfectionism (embodied especially in the Oneida Commune), and Mormonism (Cross 1981 [1950]: 15). The pervasive revivals may have deadened a normal antipathy towards religious experimentation, resulting in the numerous prophets of the era (Brodie 1983 [1945]: 15).

One trend of the period was the desire for Christianity to return to its roots. Alexander Campbell, a Scots-Irish immigrant, broke away from the Baptists with his father to found the Restoration Movement. He worked alongside other like-minded individuals, such as the Cane Ridge revival leader Barton Stone, pioneering non-denominational Christianity in an attempt to return to the simple and united Christian organization of the New Testament period (Brodie 1983 [1945]: 91). Campbell published his views through his journal, the *Millennial Harbinger*, and compiled a New Testament translation titled *The Living Oracles*. When Campbell's and Stone's groups merged, they adopted the name "Disciples of Christ," and the organization continues today with about a half million members.[13]

Another trend was millennial expectation. William Miller was a Baptist who spent 14 years on a personal crusade to reconcile all the contradictions in the Bible. His study, based primarily on a prophecy in Daniel, led him to the conclusion that the advent of Christ must come in 1843 or 1844 (Cross 1981 [1950]: 290, Brodie 1983 [1945]: 15). He began publishing his views in 1831, and several of his devotees preached in the Burned-over District before Miller travelled there himself three times in the early 1840s (Cross 1981 [1950]: 287). Millerism became a nation-wide movement, but caused a particular sensation in upstate New York (Cross 1981 [1950]: 287).

When Christ failed to return by Miller's appointed deadline in March of 1844, he reluctantly endorsed a series of new calculations placing the advent on successively later dates of that year, but after October 22nd passed, Miller withdrew from public life, and his numerous followers were faced with the "Great Disappointment," with public mockery overshadowed by their own shock, grief, and disenchantment (Cross 1981 [1950]: 308). Some Millerite groups joined the Shakers (including Miller's own nephew William),

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[13] http://www.thearda.com/Denoms/D_1071.asp

while others sought explanations for the failed prophecy, including the idea that Christ had indeed returned by the appointed time, but had come only in Spirit rather than in body (Cross 1981 [1950]: 313). The most successful answer was that the Biblical prophecy was misunderstood, and Christ had not come to earth, but instead risen to a more significant position in heaven. This interpretation was adopted by Ellen G. Harmon (later Ellen G. White), who led a seventh-day Baptist group and eventually established the largest surviving Millerite group, the Seventh-day Adventists (Cross 1981 [1950]: 316), with about a million members in the United States today and 18 million worldwide.[14]

Yet another trend was perfectionism, with a number of Christian splinter groups attempting to bring about the Millennium by becoming free of sin and perfect in the world, not just in heaven. Most of the perfectionist cults were short-lived, usually brought down by sexual promiscuity (Cross 1981 [1950]: 241), but one saw particular success and had a lasting influence. It was led by the preacher John Humphrey Noyes, who believed Christ's return had already taken place, and his reign on the Earth was in progress. This post-millennial view meant that Christians were obligated to reform and perfect society, and Noyes set about founding a society modeled on the early communist Christians of the New Testament (Altschuler & Saltzgaber 1983: 38, Brodie 1983 [1945]: 15). The group started in Vermont before social and legal pressure forced a relocation to Oneida, New York.

Noyes extended the practice of communism not only to economics but to sex as well, and is thought to have coined the term "free love." The Oneida community's sexual communism was one of many sexual experiments from this period, justified on social and religious grounds. It was also the community's most distinctive trait, and the one that caused the most tension with their neighbors (Cross 1981 [1950]: 338). Noyes's group formed a number of successful industrial enterprises to support themselves and grew to 300 members, but the community declined after Noyes's death and eventually dissolved. One of its industries, however—the production of silverware—was particularly successful and outlived the commune. Oneida Limited is still a major producer of

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[14] http://www.thearda.com/Denoms/D_1108.asp

flatware today, though it recently moved its manufacturing operations outside of the United States.

Another successful innovation of the Burned-over District was the establishment of the Mormon Church by Joseph Smith, which will be covered in more detail in the following section. Smith claimed to receive direct revelation from God like the prophets of old, and to be able to translate mysterious ancient texts by God's power. In 1830 he published the Book of Mormon, an historical account of the ancient Americans delivered to Smith by an angelic messenger, and then he founded a church which was ultimately named the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Later in 1830, Smith's followers in New York relocated to Ohio, where they were joined by a disaffected Campbellite preacher, Sidney Rigdon, along with much of his congregation. Over the course of the 1830s, there was another, more gradual migration, this time to Missouri, and then an abrupt move to Illinois in 1839. Smith's leadership practices and innovative doctrines made him enemies wherever he went, and in 1844 he died at the hands of an Illinois mob, but his followers relocated once again, and settled permanently in the Utah territory. There are now about six million Mormons in the United States and 15 million worldwide.[15]

Still more unorthodox practices found popularity in the late years of the Second Great Awakening. Swedenborgianism rose in popularity in the United States in the 1840s, exposing the nation to the writings of Emanuel Swedenborg. Swedenborg was an 18th century Swedish visionary who claimed revelations from God and called for the replacement of the traditional Christian church with a New Church based on his teachings. He gained a reputation as a clairvoyant in 1759 after reporting a fire in Stockholm while 300 miles away (Williams-Hogan 1988: 18). Swedenborg combined liberal religious doctrines with many of the scientific and sociological ideas of his day (Cross 1981 [1950]: 343). Some of Swedenborg's innovative doctrines included the idea of a spirit world which spirits enter at death, that angels were once living people and have distinct sexes, that people/angels continue to develop spiritually in the afterlife in an eternity of activity and progress, that heaven is divided into three realms of increasing quality, that the highest heaven is called the celestial kingdom, and that marriage

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[15] http://www.thearda.com/Denoms/D_1117.asp

continues in heaven (Lang 1988: 312–329). The best-remembered of his followers is John Chapman, the semi-legendary Johnny Appleseed, a Swedenborgian missionary admired for his kindness and generosity to both humans and animals, and famed for his nurseries of apple trees which he sold to settlers in the Ohio River Valley (Cross 1981 [1950]: 341).[16] Chapman was actively preaching Swedenborgianism through Pennsylvania and Ohio during the 1830s and 1840s.

One of the last unorthodox practices to become popular was Spiritualism, which adopted some Swedenborgian ideas and added a belief in communication with departed spirits. The Fox sisters, mediums from the Rochester area, were particularly famous for their séances. Although they later admitted they were frauds, the movement continued on without them. Spiritualism had an affinity to the ideas that would come together in Mary Baker Eddy's Christian Science, and although that group was born after the Awakening had come to an end, some of the earlier Spiritualists likely lived to join it (Cross 1981 [1950]: 348).

Two common practices of the more radical movements were communism and sexual experimentation. Communism was inspired by New Testament practices in the Book of Acts, and was present in Jemima Wilkinson's New Jerusalem, the Shaker colonies, and John Humphrey Noyes's Oneida Community, and would be practiced by the Mormons as well under the name United Order (Cross 1981 [1950]: 328, Brodie 1983 [1945]: 104). Several secular communist colonies were also founded during the period, but all were short-lived. Some European religious communes persisted for some time, but only by remaining small and isolated. The only communist group to achieve economic success was Noyes's commune (Cross 1981 [1950]: 335). The major sexual experiments were celibacy, practiced by Jemima Wilkinson's group, the Shakers, and some others; the free love of Noyes's commune; and the polygamy practiced by the Mormons (Brodie 1983 [1945]: 185). These were significant departures from the sexual norms of the time, but in each case they were justified by reference to the Bible.

The radical experiments of the Second Great Awakening have left a lasting mark on the nation. According to Burned-over District historian Whitney Cross:

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[16] Swedenborg's New Church continues today, with around 1500 members in the US and 10,000 worldwide: http://www.thearda.com/Denoms/D_835.asp

The American tradition has been greatly enriched by the legacies of this kind of radicalism. The Mormon Church, several Adventist denominations, two species of Methodism, and a sprinkling of spiritualist groups survived the period. The thirteenth and eighteenth amendments of our Constitution, though currently of no great significance, were at least once important, each in its time. Both developed from movements inspired in the same fashion. Oneida Community was one of the most daring social experiments in our national history. Courageous nonconformity, whatever its purposes, ought of itself to constitute a precious heritage to the twentieth century. (Cross 1981 [1950]: 356)

2.5 Conclusion

The Second Great Awakening as a whole has also left behind a significant legacy. Membership in Christian churches soared, and began the trend towards Christian practice as the national norm. Major new denominations such as the Mormons and Adventists were added to the country's religious roster. Movements were begun that would eventually lead to the abolition of slavery and the nationwide prohibition of alcohol. The press for social reform also gave rise to the idea of America as a Christian nation, and the many attempts to infuse Christian values into the country's legal system (Stone 2010: 1328). And an attitude of American optimism was strengthened by combining the political idea of the American system leading the world to equality and justice with the religious idea of an early Millennium inaugurated by American revivals (Cross 1981 [1950]: 79).

CHAPTER 3: JOSEPH SMITH AND MORMONISM

3.1 Introduction

You would be hard pressed to find a major figure in American history more controversial than Joseph Smith. A man who claimed to be a prophet and speak directly to God, he gathered a following of thousands and formed what would prove to be the most successful and enduring religious innovation to come out of the Burned-over District. Opinions of the man today vary across a great spectrum. Among the Mormon faithful, he is treated like a saint, a man whose goodness and virtue were surpassed only by Jesus Christ. He is venerated in statue and song, painting and video. Children grow up steeped in stories of his exploits and example, and the church he founded frequently has to reassure skeptical outsiders that they worship Jesus, not Joseph. Many non-believers hold him in contempt rather than esteem, considering him an obvious conman who duped his friends and neighbors into believing his wild claims and took advantage of their credulity to benefit himself and his family (Ostling & Ostling 2007: xv). Still others form an opinion somewhere between the extremes, considering Smith[17] a pious fraud, a self-deluded mystic, or a mostly good but seriously flawed holy man.

The new church Smith brought into being grew from about 30 members at its inception in 1830 to around 26,000 at the time of his death in 1844, and to around 15 million today. His teachings inform the beliefs, morals, and behavior of those brought up in or converted to any of the sects within the Latter-day Saint movement. The largest of these, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, is headquartered in Utah, a state whose population is predominantly Mormon. It has considerable cultural and political influence in Utah and in the nation as a whole, with the leadership occasionally weighing in on political issues they consider particularly important and connected to the church's interests.

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[17] The general convention within the LDS church is to refer to Joseph Smith and other early church figures generally by their first names, though later church leaders are referred to by their last names. Bushman, for example, consistently refers to him as "Joseph" rather than as "Smith" when not using his full name. I will be following the more formal style of referring to him as "Smith" for the most part, but will also call him "Joseph" at times, such as when talking about him in the context of his family.

Of those who have penned biographies of Smith, two stand out in particular. Fawn Brodie, a history professor at UCLA and niece of Mormon prophet David O. McKay, wrote *No Man Knows My History* in 1945. She presents Smith as a pious fraud, a fascinating and charismatic young man whose prophetic career was the result of coincidence rather than design, who rose to meet each opportunity presented to him with confidence, genius, and a generally good intent, though he was hampered throughout by his own human failings. Her critical take on Joseph Smith resulted in her excommunication from the church. Richard Bushman, a history professor at Columbia, offers a more faith-promoting account of Smith's life in his 2005 *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling*. He does not shy away from the controversial aspects of Smith's history, but remains ultimately convinced of Smith's prophetic role, and the genuineness of his experiences. Most of the information below comes from these two accounts.

3.2 Childhood

Joseph Smith was born just before Christmas, on the 23rd of December, 1805, in the tiny town of Sharon, Vermont. He was the fourth of ten children in a poor farming family. New England suffered a depression during his early years, triggered by embargos against England and France and then exacerbated by the War of 1812 (Brodie 1983 [1945]: 7). Smith's parents had started out in reasonably good shape, with some inherited funds and a supportive family network. They'd bought a farm and started a general store in Massachusetts, but after being cheated by an investment partner, they were forced to sell the farm and become tenant farmers, which resulted in frequent moves for the family (Bushman 2005: 19).

In 1812–1813, the Smith family was wracked by typhoid fever. Everyone survived, but six-year-old Joseph experienced complications that resulted in some nasty infections, and required extensive surgery to the bones of his left leg. He spent the next three years on crutches convalescing, and had recovered by age ten, though he walked with a slight limp for the rest of his life (Bushman 2005: 20). The family's meager finances were ruined by the medical expenses, and they were forced to move again. They lasted two hard years in their new home in Vermont before being driven out by the

unseasonable cold of 1816, termed the "year without a summer," or "eighteen-hundred-and-froze-to-death" (Bushman 2005: 27, Brodie 1983 [1945]: 8–9).

Once again the family relocated, this time to Palmyra, New York, in the heart of the Burned-over District. The town was booming in 1817 as never before or since, thanks to the construction of the Erie Canal. The Smiths had to pay particularly high prices for land and started life in their new home with a large debt. Land prices would plummet soon afterwards (Brodie 1983 [1945]: 10). Their misfortunes and repeated moves, effected by a combination of bad luck and poor judgment, led some unsympathetic neighbors to view the family as squatters or shiftless frontier drifters (Cross 1981 [1950]: 141).

3.3 Religion and Education

Joseph Smith's mother, Lucy, whose memoirs are the primary source for his early life, was raised in the Congregational church (Bushman 2005: 13). His father, also named Joseph, came from the periphery of Christianity, as *his* father, Asael, had drifted away from orthodoxy and taken to following the Universalist preacher John Murray (Bushman 2005: 17). Joseph Sr. avoided institutional religion, but was nonetheless deeply spiritual, praying with the family and experiencing dream visions (Bushman 2005: 25). The town of Palmyra contained Presbyterian, Quaker, Baptist, and Methodist Churches (Ostling & Ostling 2007: 23), augmented by a revival in 1808 and another one ongoing as the Smiths arrived in 1817 (Bushman 2005: 36). Lucy and several of the children joined the Presbyterian church, the most established local sect, while Joseph Sr. and the remaining children, including Joseph, remained aloof (Bushman 2005: 37).

Joseph Smith had little formal education, a fact often cited in discussions of whether he could have written the Book of Mormon, but learning was important to the Smith family. Prior to Joseph's birth, his father took up school-teaching in the winter to help pay the bills (Bushman 205: 19), and while the family was living in New Hampshire they saved up enough money to send Joseph's elder brother Hyrum, aged 11, to Moor's Charity School, a boarding school associated with Dartmouth (Bushman 2005: 20). "Joseph may have attended school briefly in Palmyra, and a neighbor remembered the Smiths holding school in their house and studying the Bible" (Bushman 2005: 42).

Joseph also joined the young men's debating society, and could read well, though his writing and arithmetic were mediocre, and he seems overall to have had a rather typical education for a poor farmer in the area (Cross 1981 [1950]: 142). Such an education was not specifically religious, but the Bible often served as a reader, and the teachers were usually evangelically-minded church members (Cross 1981 [1950]: 92). It likely set Smith in good stead for the religious adventure he was to embark on.

3.4 Money Digging

While living in Palmyra, Smith worked on the family farm, but he also found other ways to help support the family. Superstition ran strong on the American frontier, and the folk religion of the rural populace blended Christian belief in angels and devils with belief in guardian spirits and magic (Bushman 2005: 50). Magical belief would later be eroded by a spreading cosmopolitan influence, but it was firmly entrenched during the Awakening, and credulity extended even to the better educated parts of society. Cross provides a sampling of beliefs held by prominent Burned-over District residents: that the alcohol in the stomach of an inebriated person might spontaneously combust, blowing the drunkard apart; that hairs placed in water change color and then begin to squirm; that carrying a horse chestnut could cure piles; that a pound of shot boiled in milk and taken several times daily could cure boils (Cross 1981 [1950]: 80).

Perhaps most widespread was a belief in buried treasure and the efficacy of magical means of locating it. The numerous Indian mounds that dotted the area, and the ancient artifacts they contained, may have helped plant the notion of buried treasure in the region. Tales of pirates and Spanish gold may have contributed as well. One account tells of a moonlight treasure-seeking excursion where a black cat's throat was cut, with the spurting blood used to direct the seekers to the right spot. Other treasure seekers looked into glasses or stones for insight into where riches might be hid. A group of gold-diggers was active in the Palmyra area, and Smith and his father both joined them. Smith found a strange, smooth stone while he was helping a neighbor dig a well, and this would become his primary seer stone, in which he would see ghosts, spirits, and mountains of gold and silver (Brodie 1983 [1945]: 20). He used the stone to help patrons find lost items or buried treasure, though there is no indication that the treasures ever materialized.

In spite of that, like countless other contemporary practitioners of folk magic, Smith was able to convince quite a few people of his gift.

Such money digging was epidemic in upstate New York. Spirits guarded treasure or hidden mines, and dreams, stones, or divining rods could reveal their locations (Bushman 2005: 50). Oliver Cowdery, a school teacher who would become one of Smith's closest associates, had been part of a millennial sect that believed in direct revelation and treasure hunting, and was experienced in the use of the divining rod, presumably in attempting to locate water or minerals (Cross 1981 [1950]: 39, Bushman 2005: 73). However bizarre such activities may seem today, they were not at all peculiar for the time (Cross 1981 [1950]: 81).

They were, however, unconventional enough that much of what is known about Smith's treasure digging comes from his enemies, as he himself would later downplay his activities. After he had moved to Ohio, one of his disaffected followers, the delightfully named Dr. Philastus Hurlbut, would travel to New York to gather information from the Smiths' neighbors, and his findings were published in 1834 in a smear tract entitled "Mormonism Unvailed" (Bushman 2005: 49, Brodie 1983 [1945]: 17). Hurlbut's testimonies corroborate evidence from Palmyra's local paper, the journals of Smith's associates, and an 1826 court record from Bainbridge, New York, where Smith was found guilty of disturbing the peace with his treasure digging and stone gazing.

3.5 Prophetic Calling

Joseph Smith's treasure seeking was not what would define him, and he gave up the practice at age twenty-one, turning from magic to religion (Brodie 1982: 21). According to Smith, his religious calling began when he was fourteen. The Palmyra area had experienced another revival, and he found himself confused by the bitter sectarian strife, and unsure which church to join. He turned to God for an answer, praying alone in the woods, and was there visited by God the father and Jesus Christ, who commanded him to join none of the churches: instead, they would later be restoring the true Church of Christ through Smith himself (Smith 1948: 5).

Smith recounted this experience several times, and the earlier accounts are sparser in detail than the later ones. Instead of a prophetic calling, in his earliest accounts his

prayer is rewarded by an assurance that his sins were forgiven. Similar visions and dreams were common at the time (Brodie 1983 [1945]: 22). Charles Grandison Finney's own conversion came with a vision of Jesus Christ, which at first seemed to be a face-to-face meeting, though he later realized it was wholly a mental state (Hambrick-Stowe 1996: 14). The time of Smith's calling is somewhat confusing, as the big local revival began in 1824, some years after his fourteenth birthday (Brodie 1983 [1945]: 14, Palmer 2002: 240–244). The Smiths were caught up in the excitement: young Joseph participated as a lay exhorter, and his mother's conversion came at the same time.

The interdenominational strife Smith responded to is well documented, with the various Christian churches at the revivals locked into a complex relationship of cooperation and competition (Cross 1981 [1950]: 40). But while Smith's first vision is now a central part of the founding myth of Mormonism, it didn't lead to any immediate changes for him or his family. The big turning point, where Smith transitioned from a practitioner of folk magic to a religious innovator, came several years later, in 1828, when he began his translation of the Book of Mormon (Bushman 2005: 69). This project will be covered in detail in the next section, but the basic outline is as follows:

Smith had a second visitation from a heavenly being a few years after the first, when he was awakened in the night by an angel who introduced himself as Moroni. Moroni claimed he was the last survivor of an ancient Native American civilization, and gave his people's meticulously kept records into Smith's care, to be translated and published as the Book of Mormon. The record was inscribed on thin sheets of gold in a long-lost language, which Smith would be able to interpret with divine assistance. He was forbidden to show these golden plates to anyone else, and after the translation was complete he returned them to Moroni. Between 1827 and 1829, Smith worked on translating the plates, dictating the English text to a series of scribes and relying on the assistance of his seer stone. In 1830, he published the book, and then formed a new church with the small group of followers who had coalesced around him and his translation project.

3.6 Later Prophetic Career

Smith's life as a prophet was turbulent and was cut short fourteen years after it began. The new church would remain in New York for only a few months. Many of Smith's neighbors were upset by the publication of his book, considering it blasphemous, and his mother was forced out of the local Presbyterian congregation for refusing to disavow it (Bushman 2005: 81). Smith sent out missionaries to share the Book of Mormon and his prophetic claim through the country. Probably the most important early convert was Sidney Rigdon.

Rigdon was a Campbellite preacher, an associate of Alexander Campbell and his Restoration movement, though he'd come to be on bad terms with Campbell (Brodie 1983 [1945]: 103). He led a congregation in Kirtland, Ohio, which converted with him, more than doubling the size of the fledgling church, and Smith and his New York followers moved to Ohio to join them. Rigdon contributed more than just numbers to the church, though, as he became Smith's second-in-command, and some of Rigdon's personal enthusiasms, including communism and temperance, would play a major role in the early church.

While leading the church from Ohio, Smith received a revelation that his followers were to build the New Jerusalem on the Missouri frontier, and a Mormon colony was established in Jackson county, in western Missouri. The early church had very limited funds, and in 1837 it experienced a financial catastrophe when a speculative banking enterprise by Smith and Rigdon failed spectacularly, and Smith was forced to flee the state. Many of the church's members, facing financial ruin, defected after this disaster. The bulk remained and followed Smith to the Missouri colony, but Missouri held only greater troubles for the Mormons.

Their neighbors in Missouri, mostly rough frontier folk, weren't pleased by these immigrants, with their unorthodox religious beliefs, strict moralism, friendliness to the Indians, and communal uniformity (especially troublesome in matters such as voting). Perhaps worst of all, the Mormons were northerners, and owned no slaves. Most of the Missourians had come from slave states, and with the abolition movement gaining momentum nationally, this difference was a particular source of discord (Brodie 1983 [1945]: 131).

Things turned ugly when vigilantes began harassing Mormon settlers, intimidating them and destroying property in an attempt to force them to leave. Infuriated by the mob justice, some Mormon groups began responding in kind, and the conflict escalated. Most of the fighting involved property destruction and forced relocation, but there were also some skirmishes, with deaths on both sides. The height of the violence occurred at the Mormon settlement of Haun's Mill, where 17 Mormon men and boys were killed in a mob attack. The state governor, whose sympathies lay with the mobs rather than the Mormons, called in the militia and ordered that the Mormons be either exterminated or driven from the state. The militia besieged the primary Mormon settlement in November of 1839, and, seeing no alternative, Joseph Smith surrendered.

The Mormons were forced out of Missouri with their lands confiscated, and were received on the other side of the Mississippi River by a sympathetic Illinois. Smith and some other Mormon leaders were held in prison for several months on charges of treason, but the charges were overblown and his imprisonment became an embarrassment for the state. During a transfer between prisons, Smith escaped, probably with the complicity of his guards, and he joined his followers in Illinois, where they established the city of Nauvoo.

Horrified by the Mormons' treatment in Missouri, the Illinois legislature took great pains to welcome them to Illinois, granting Nauvoo a charter including exceptional privileges. In Nauvoo, Smith was able to form a powerful militia of his own, and enjoyed considerable legal protections. He and his church remained in Nauvoo for the next six years, and built a thriving city. Smith had been sending missionaries to gather converts throughout the church's existence, and during the comparatively peaceful years in Nauvoo, the church grew tremendously. This growth, combined with the church's unorthodox beliefs, once again led to conflict with neighbors.

Smith had introduced quite a few innovations by revelation in the years after producing the Book of Mormon, including an ordained priesthood, temple worship, baptism for the dead, and most divisively, plural marriage (Bushman 2005: 108). Smith had married his first wife, Emma Hale, shortly before starting the Book of Mormon project. Book of Mormon collaborator Oliver Cowdery became disaffected with Smith in Ohio, after catching him in a relationship with his maid Fanny Alger. Smith defended

himself by claiming it was not an affair but another marriage, in accord with the practice of the biblical patriarchs. In Nauvoo the practice of polygamy was further developed, and Smith married many additional wives, including teenagers and women already married to other men. Some of Smith's close associates in the church leadership were also permitted to take additional wives, but the early Mormon polygamy was practiced in secret until after Smith's death and the move to Utah.

Smith also expanded his political influence. Determined not to see a repeat of the exodus from Missouri, he built up the city's militia, the Nauvoo Legion, into an intimidating defensive force. He set about seeking redress for the crimes committed in Missouri, and after trying and failing to win assistance in this endeavor from the federal government, he began campaigning for president himself. As Smith's economic and political power grew, the Mormons' Illinois neighbors became increasingly nervous. When the Missouri governor who had signed the "Extermination Order" survived an attempted murder, there were suspicions Smith might have been behind it, and Missouri initiated attempts to extradite him, which were repeatedly foiled by the protections of the Nauvoo charter.

Rumors of polygamy began to seep out into the church at large, and to their neighbors, and it became the leading source of strife within the organization. Many prominent members and leaders opposed the practice, including Smith's first wife Emma. In 1844, William Law, who had been Joseph Smith's third-in-command, established a printing press in Nauvoo to expose Smith's polygamy and theocratic political tendencies. Joseph Smith declared Law's newspaper, the *Nauvoo Expositor*, libelous, and called up the Nauvoo Legion to destroy the press.

This violation of the freedom of the press would cost Smith his life. He was arrested and taken to nearby Carthage to await trial. While he was being held there, along with his brother Hyrum and two other friends, a mob stormed the prison. On 27 June 1844, Joseph Smith was shot dead.

Smith's death shook the fledgling church, as his charismatic presence had been such a central part of it. The succession of church leadership had not been clearly established, and the crisis resulted in the movement splintering into several parts, the largest moving west to Utah under the leadership of chief apostle Brigham Young. Yet

Smith's death also provided his church with a stronger conviction. He died a martyr for his cause. According to John Taylor, one of Smith's apostles and a survivor of the attack, Joseph Smith "sealed his mission and his works with his own blood" (D&C[18] 135:3). In the relative isolation of the western desert, beyond the reach of persecution and oversight, the Mormons flourished and grew into the present-day church, with millions of believers worldwide, all worshiping based on the prophetic teachings of Joseph Smith.

3.7 Legacy

Brodie characterizes Joseph Smith as "a gregarious, cheerful, imaginative youth, born to leadership, but hampered by meager education and grinding poverty" (Brodie 1983 [1945]: 18). Bushman compares him to Abraham Lincoln, both poor farmboys with little education, no social standing, and no institutional backing, who came out of nowhere and left a mark on America (Bushman 2005: xx). Cross notes that several of his converts were quite well educated for the time. While Smith lacked education, he was clearly sophisticated enough to be very convincing (Cross 1981 [1950]: 143).

Joseph Smith was gifted with creative genius and tremendous charisma. He rose above his humble beginnings and lived large, though not long. As a crystal gazer, a translator, a prophet, a church leader, a banker, a mayor, a militia lieutenant general, a presidential hopeful, and ultimately a martyr, he spent his life in the spotlight, the focus of attention of the many devoted followers who coalesced around him. The religion he founded went on to become "the most successful religion of American origin" (Cross 1981 [1950]: 353), and continues to keep his influence alive today. Millions of people revere him, adhere to his teachings, and treat the Book of Mormon he published as an equal to the Bible.

3.8 Burned-over District Context

Joseph Smith started his church while living in the Burned-over District, and he and the church were both strongly influenced by the currents that surrounded him (Ostling & Ostling 2007: 20). The early years of the Awakening had seen numerous

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[18] The Doctrine and Covenants, a record of revelations received directly by Joseph Smith (and some of his successors), and an additional Mormon book of scripture.

preachers with unusual beliefs, such as Isaac Bullard or Jemima Wilkinson, and by the time Smith founded his church, unorthodox beliefs were seeing much more widespread acceptance in the region (Cross 1981 [1950]: 37, 40). Smith's own personal history was akin to other major religious figures of the time. He and Charles Grandison Finney, for example, were both born in New England, moved to upstate New York as children, and began their religious careers with a personal vision (Hambrick-Stowe 1996: 4, 14). Smith and his family were quite typical of the people they lived among, poor farmers with limited education, familiarity with the Bible, and a religious experience that combined traditional religion with folk magic and mysticism. The whole array of spiritual experiments in western New York were genuine expressions of the people's religious enthusiasm (Cross 1981 [1950]: 143–144). All of Smith's earliest converts were neighbors living in the area, and although the church spent little time in New York before moving away, and left little impression on the area, its ties to the Burned-over District remained (Cross 1981 [1950]: 138). Census data from the Utah territory suggests that the bulk of the early Mormon converts came from New York, so even as the church relocated to Ohio, Missouri, Illinois, and eventually Utah, its missionaries continued to find new members among the religiously engaged people of western New York to come and join it (Cross 1981 [1950]: 149).

CHAPTER 4: THE BOOK OF MORMON

4.1 Introduction

Alongside the church that he founded, Joseph Smith's most lasting and tangible legacy is the Book of Mormon. The translation and publication of this book was the commencement of his life as a prophet. It thrust him onto the public stage, and promptly led to the founding of the church that keeps his memory alive to this day. The book remains one of the main elements holding Mormons together, and separating them from mainstream American Christianity. It has been an object of intense controversy from its first announcement—before a single word had been put to paper—down to the present day (Peterson 1997).

Yet for all its significance, it has received little attention, at least from non-Mormon scholars. It is not taken seriously as a work of ancient literature, and it is simultaneously neglected as a work of American literature (Ostling & Ostling 2007: 273). It is hoped that the current study can help to reverse this indifference and further the study of this most American book of scripture.

4.2 The Story of the Book of Mormon

The Book of Mormon begins with the story of a young man named Nephi, living in Jerusalem about 600 B.C. When his father receives a vision from on high, warning him of his nation's impending defeat at the hands of the Babylonians, the family sets off into the wilderness on the Lord's instructions. After several adventures—including gaining a copy of the Hebrew scriptures, finding wives for Nephi and his brothers, and finding food in the desolate wilderness—Nephi is instructed to build a ship and the family is led by the Lord across the great sea to the Land of Promise, which in the Book of Mormon is the Americas.

After arriving in their Promised Land, Nephi and his older brothers, who had never gotten along, experience a complete falling out and the group separates into two parts, one led by Nephi and labeled Nephites, the other under his oldest brother Laman,

called Lamanites. Over the next several hundred years the two groups both grow and develop into civilizations, with Nephi's descendants also encountering and merging with another separate group of Jewish refugees in a land called Zarahemla. The Nephites transition from priestly leadership by Nephi and his offspring to a royal dynasty, that endures several generations before being replaced by democratically elected Judges. The book details the Nephite conflicts at length, including both external wars against the now savage Lamanites, and internal fights against factions who wish to overthrow the government and/or church.

The book overflows with plot and characters. There are a multitude of names—Lehi, Nephi, Laman, Mosiah, Alma, Ammon, Moroni, Helaman, etc.—with some of the most popular being reused repeatedly through the generations. Stories of wars and intrigue alternate with sermons and evangelism until the time of Christ's death and resurrection, after which the risen Lord, about whom the Nephites had had much more explicit prophecies than their old-world kin, descends to visit the Nephites for several days, preaching his gospel among them and erasing all their divisions. They live in harmony for the next couple of centuries,[19] after which the old factions reemerge, and the conflict gradually builds towards an epic showdown in which the Nephites are annihilated entirely, leaving only the Lamanites remaining.

The Book of Mormon, like the Bible, is divided into smaller books, each named after a prophet or other significant figure, though it differs in that most of these books are united by a single narrator, Mormon, whose name is thus also attached to the work as a whole. Mormon is one of the last Nephites, and leads his people in the great battle that is their ultimate doom. Having inherited the various records of all the previous generations, and with prophetic foreknowledge of his people's swiftly approaching end, he sets about creating an abridgement of their history so that their story will not be lost to the world. He painstakingly inscribes it all onto thin sheets of gold before handing it off to his son Moroni. Moroni then carries it away and buries it, though not before adding his own thoughts to the end, along with an addendum recounting a still earlier group of immigrants to the New World, the Jaredites, whose culture had similarly divided into

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[19] This period of peace is recounted in about two pages of text, in contrast to the hundreds of pages spent on more action-packed and occasionally lurid events.

rival factions and ultimately culminated in a war of extinction, though in this case both groups were obliterated rather than just one.

The Lamanites would continue to inhabit the Americas, and were the ancestors of the Native Americans later encountered by Europeans. The Book of Mormon thus offers an explanation of the origins of the peoples of America, claiming a migrant Jewish source, and it also dwells extensively on religious themes, with accounts of Jesus both from prophets and a personal, public visitation. For Mormons, it augments and accompanies the Bible, having equal authority but generally granted a greater degree of trust. Whereas scholars and churchmen Mormons would consider uninspired have played a great role in the Bible's transmission, the Book of Mormon is supposed to have passed directly from the hands of ancient prophets to modern ones, its production managed entirely by men divinely appointed to the task and empowered with the spirit of God.

4.3 The Production of the Book of Mormon

The modern revelation of the Book of Mormon was initiated, according to Joseph Smith, by an angelic visitation when he was seventeen years old. Moroni, last of the Nephites and now a resurrected being, appeared to Smith in his room at night, and called upon him to publish the story of his people. The account was buried on a nearby hill, written in Egyptian characters in the golden book. It was another four years, however, before Smith was allowed to retrieve the plates, which he was forbidden to show to anyone else and would ultimately return to Moroni's care after completing his mission. By the time he was to collect them, the story had spread enough that he went for them in the middle of the night to avoid the prying eyes of curious neighbors.

While he purportedly had these golden plates in his possession for quite some time, Smith took care to keep them concealed. They were always covered around others, and one of his first priorities after bringing them home was to have a box made to lock them inside. Immediately after returning home with the plates, Smith showed his mother Lucy another object he had retrieved along with the plates, a translation aid he referred to as the Urim and Thummim, which was apparently in the shape of a pair of spectacles. When he showed these to her, however, they were covered with a silk handkerchief, and she could only feel them (Bushman 1984: 82). When he moved in for a time with his

father-in-law, Isaac Hale, the man was allowed to hold the box and feel the weight of the plates, but not to look at them (Bushman 1984: 85). His wife Emma was often working in the same room as Smith, with the plates out on the table, but they were always covered by a linen cloth. She never looked at them, but did move them about the table when cleaning, and after Smith's death she told their son that "They seemed to be pliable like thick paper, and would rustle with a metalic sound when the edges were moved by the thumb, as one does sometimes thumb the edges of a book" (quoted in Bushman 1984: 96).

Smith's old acquaintances from his money-digging days, led by Willard Chase, were particularly interested in the plates. Whether skeptical, or else jealous that one of their own had finally found something and was refusing to share, they wanted a look at this golden book, and repeatedly attempted to find where Smith was hiding it. Chase and a friend came to the Smith farm with divining rods to try to ascertain the plates' location, and then returned in the night. Aided by Chase's sister, scrying with a green stone, they located the box buried under the floorboards of the cooper's shop in the yard, and broke it open … only to find it empty. While this might give the impression that the plates were not in fact real, Smith reassured his friends that he had had the foresight to conceal the plates separately in a pile of flax in the loft (Bushman 1984: 84).

Under pressure from Chase's gang, Smith moved with Emma to her father's home in Harmony, Pennsylvania in December 1827 for a quieter place to work on the project, though Hale, unhappy he wasn't allowed to see the plates, wouldn't allow them in his house, and Smith had to hide them in the woods nearby. Smith remained in Pennsylvania until June of 1829, when he moved once again to avoid hostile neighbors, this time settling in Fayette, New York, in the household of Peter Whitmer, a German immigrant (Bushman 1997).

From 1827–29, Smith went about converting the text into English, dictating it to a succession of scribes, though the great bulk of the work was done in the course of about sixty-three days in the spring and summer of 1829. Smith never described what he did in detail, stating merely that it was "by the gift and power of God,"[20] but associates, relatives, and scribes left their own, more extensive, accounts. According to these

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[20] From The Testimony of Three Witnesses, in the Book of Mormon.

witnesses, the process evolved over the course of the project. Smith called it "translating," though the method was not what the term would suggest. Early in the project, Smith did copy some characters from the plates, along with his renderings into English, but apart from that he didn't consult the actual plates while translating at all (Palmer 2002: 4). Instead, he would use the Urim and Thummim, or more often, the old seer stone he had found digging a well for Chase back in 1822 (Bushman 1997). He would place his stone inside his hat, and then gaze at it, using the hat to block out the light, and would dictate the text as he claimed it appeared to him. Meanwhile the source text he was translating from would lay covered, sometimes on the table, and sometimes more carefully concealed, buried under the floorboards or even hidden in the woods away from the house (Bushman 2005: 71, Skousen 1997).

Initially the role of scribe fell to his wife Emma, but it was soon taken over by a prosperous local farmer named Martin Harris. Harris was respectable, but tended to superstition and visionary belief. He had previously been a Quaker, a Universalist, and a Restorationist, and would later go on to enthusiastically participate with various other groups as well (Bushman 2005: 62, Brodie 1983 [1945]: 38). Harris was fascinated by Smith's project, but not entirely convinced, so he talked Smith into allowing him to take the characters Smith had copied for scholarly verification. He visited a professor of classical studies at Columbia College, Charles Anthon, and asked his opinion. According to Harris, Anthon initially confirmed that the characters belonged to authentic near Eastern scripts of Egyptian, Chaldaic, Assyriac, and Arabic, but recanted after hearing about their source. Anthon himself later denied this account, claiming he saw through Smith's hoax immediately (Bushman 1984: 87). Whatever actually transpired, Harris was satisfied with the result, especially after Smith indicated that the episode with Anthon itself included the fulfillment of a biblical prophecy, in Isaiah 29:11–12 (Brodie 1983 [1945]: 52).

Harris served as Smith's primary scribe in 1828, but his wife Lucy remained suspicious of Smith, worrying that he would try to cheat her husband out of his farm. She wanted to see the plates herself, and accompanied Martin to the Smiths' cabin in Harmony, which she ransacked inside and out looking for the plates. She found nothing, as once again, Smith had apparently anticipated the danger and concealed the plates away

from the house (Bushman 1984: 90). After continued pressure from his wife, however, Harris managed with difficulty to persuade Smith to let him at least show her the translated manuscript, and in June of 1828 Harris returned to Palmyra with the 116 pages he had filled, showing them to Lucy and other acquaintances. Not long afterwards, Harris returned to Smith in tears with the tragic news that the manuscript had gone missing. The loss of the 116 pages was devastating to Smith. The project went on hold for six months, and Harris would not scribe for him again (Bushman 1997). Smith's mother Lucy suspected Lucy Harris had stolen the manuscript with the intention of altering it to discredit Smith when he set about retranslating that portion of the text (Bushman 1984: 92), though a skeptic might think such alterations would be readily identifiable and that Smith would have more reason to worry he might not be able to reproduce the lost text accurately.

When Smith resumed translation work, in April of 1829, it was with a new scribe, a young school teacher named Oliver Cowdery. Smith still didn't know what to do about the lost material, so he and Cowdery took up where he and Harris had left off, at the beginning of the Book of Mosiah. As a result, the earliest translated material in the current Book of Mormon text is actually in the middle of the book. They would return to the beginning of the story only after finishing all of the remainder (Bushman 2005: 74). In May, Smith found an answer to the conundrum of the lost 116 pages, as he was instructed in a revelation not to retranslate the lost portion of the text. This revelation confirmed his mother's suspicions that the lost manuscript would be altered and used to discredit him, but fortunately, the Lord would provide another way forward. Included in the plates, it turned out, was another, independent version of the same events he and Harris had translated, which he could now translate in their place.[21] This explains why the Book of Mormon begins with six books of first-person accounts before transitioning to Mormon's abridgement of others' accounts that makes up the bulk of the text (Bushman 1984: 99).

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[21] Ultimately, the 116 lost manuscript pages never resurfaced. Whether Lucy's prediction was accurate, and the translation of the parallel text nullified the hostile intentions, or whether they had simply been destroyed or misplaced, they remain lost to this day.

The translation project was finished by June of 1829 and printed in Palmyra by E. B. Grandin in 1830. Grandin was reluctant to take on the project, and became increasingly skittish as many in the local community denounced the book and threatened a boycott. Smith needed a way to pay for the publication up front to ensure Grandin would complete the job, so he sent Oliver Cowdery and Hiram Page to Canada in an attempt to sell the book's copyright. In spite of his assurances, though, they were unable to find a buyer (Bushman 1984: 110). Ultimately, Martin Harris did end up mortgaging, and eventually selling much of his farm to pay the printing costs of the Book of Mormon.

4.4 Reactions to the Book of Mormon

Many of Joseph Smith's contemporaries found the Book of Mormon quite convincing. His family, the Whitmers who were hosting him, Harris, Cowdery, and others in the area joined him and the new church he founded, and after his western missionaries converted Sidney Rigdon and his congregation the movement became much more widely significant, and knowledge of the Book of Mormon spread. Many more who read the book, however, were not convinced, and thought Smith a fraud or an imposter. The book was large and complex enough that some were skeptical Smith even wrote it himself. Abner Cole, the publisher of the local *Palmyra Reflector* newspaper, speculated that the work was the product of a fortune-teller named Walters who had passed through the area previously, though he could find no connection between Walters and the Smiths (Bushman 1984: 124).

Another newspaper editor, E. D. Howe, with the help of disaffected Mormon Philastus Hurlbut, published critical testimony from the Smith family neighbors in a take-down piece entitled *Mormonism Unvailed* [*sic*] in 1833. Howe advanced a conspiracy theory about the book's origins, suggesting that it was the work of Rigdon, Cowdery and other more educated associates of Smith, plagiarizing a romance set in pre-Columbian America by a fellow named Solomon Spalding, which some of those interviewed remembered reading twenty years earlier, and thought similar to the Book of Mormon. Spalding's story, *Manuscript Found*, had not been published, and Hurlbut had to track down Spalding's widow to examine the manuscript. It turned out the similarities to the Book of Mormon were the result of faulty memory, and Howe suppressed the manuscript

for many years. When it did eventually come to light, the Spalding theory was thoroughly discredited (Midgley 1997, Bushman 2005: 90).

Perhaps the most vociferous and well-spoken critic of the Book of Mormon was Alexander Campbell, founding member of the Restoration movement. His detailed criticism of the book indicates he had read it closely, and unlike other contemporaries, he did not see any reason to posit an author other than Smith himself (Midgley 1997). He published his critique in 1831 in his periodical, *The Millennial Harbinger*, and had it reprinted as a book the following year (Bushman 2005: 89). Campbell was unimpressed with Smith's command of standard English grammar, and still more so with his grasp of theology,[22] and found inspiration for the book's themes in Smith's local environment, including distrust of Masonry, enthusiasm for republican government, Yankee idiom, and current theological controversies such as "infant baptism, ordination, the trinity, regeneration, repentance, justification, the fall of man, the atonement, transubstantiation, fasting, penance, church government, religious experience, the call to the ministry, the general resurrection, eternal punishment," and so forth (quoted in Bushman 1984: 125).

4.4.1 Modern Apologetics and Criticism

The Book of Mormon has remained controversial in the nearly two centuries that have passed since its initial publication, and the great majority of the scholarly work that has been written about it has been either that of critics trying to debunk the book's claims or of apologists defending them. A number of themes have remained important to this debate, while others have been added as new avenues for investigating the book's claims have been developed.

Probably the most debated question remains that of the book's authorship. Smith's name was listed in the first edition as author, but this was merely due to a legal requirement, and Smith claimed only to have translated the work of other, long-dead writers (Midgley 1997). For those who accept Smith's claim, there remain questions

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[22] The theological aspects Campbell took issue with included Nephi exercising the priesthood without being a descendant of Levi and Aaron, a land other than Palestine being the promised land, kings being taken from a tribe other than Judah, and the Jews practicing Christianity hundreds of years before Christ's birth, mingling baptism and the Christian name with keeping the Law of Moses, observing the Sabbath, and worshiping at temples with high priests (Bushman 1984: 126).

regarding the nature of his divine "translation." Did he receive the English version of the text word-for-word, or even letter-for-letter, or did he receive only the meaning, and put it into words himself?

Some of those who assisted Smith in the project, including Emma Smith and David Whitmer, left written accounts indicating that Smith received the text in its exact English spelling, and had miraculous knowledge of what his scribes had written, even without seeing their manuscript. According to these claims, Smith could not go on if a word was written incorrectly until the scribe had gone back to correct it. Royal Skousen, the premier scholar of the early Book of Mormon text, recognizes the valuable information these witnesses provide, but asserts that evidence from the manuscript itself, such as the many misspelled English words that are not corrected until later versions, prove this claim incorrect (Skousen 1997). Skousen is nonetheless convinced by his study of the text that Smith received the text word-for-word, and received the exact spelling at least in the case of some proper names. He is not convinced by arguments that the nonstandard grammatical features in the text point to a human author, thinking it an unwarranted assumption that God would necessarily use standard English grammar. For Skousen, Smith remains a passive instrument in the translation process, and both the wording and the content of the book are divine.

Other apologists have studied the text and come to different conclusions. Brant Gardner notes many features which suggest that Smith himself was responsible for the words used. The Book of Mormon contains mention of animals, agricultural implements, social practices, and so forth, such as asses or harrows, that were not native to the Americas (Gardner 2011: 188–189). In the Book of Mormon, and also in his later revision of the Bible, Smith paid particular attention to those words that are italicized in the KJB, indicating he was physically consulting a bible for the portions that are shared between the two books of scripture (Gardner 2011: 218, 254). Perhaps most significantly, Joseph Smith himself made extensive later revisions to the text, indicating he did not consider the wording, but only the content, divine (Gardner 2011: 230, Palmer 2002: 9). Philip Barlow comes to a similar conclusion: that Smith received the ideas of his revelations from on high, but created the language of the texts himself, even when writing in the first person as "the Lord" (Barlow 1991: 23).

Those incredulous of Smith's prophetic claims also differ on the details of how the book may have been written. Apart from those who think it was the work of co-conspirators rather than Smith himself, there is the question of whether Smith wrote the book as a conscious fraud, whether he was self-deluded (or for some early critics, perhaps even subject to demonic possession), or whether the book is an inspired fiction. This last position is popular among some more liberal Mormons, who find themselves convinced by the evidence against the Book of Mormon's antiquity, but who nonetheless find inspiration in its stories and lessons (Midgley 1997, Hutchinson 1993).

4.4.2 Joseph Smith's Education and Abilities

The primary argument deployed by apologists against the claim that Smith wrote the book himself is that Smith was a poorly educated farm boy, the narrative is long and complicated, and the time spent translating the published version covered only a few months in 1829. Surely such a man would not have been capable of producing such a work. This sentiment was expressed by some of Smith's contemporaries, including his wife Emma, who told her son Joseph III, "it would have been improbable that a learned man could do this, and for one as unlearned as he was it was simply impossible" (quoted in Bushman 1997). Hiram Page, a Whitmer family in-law and witness to the latter part of the translation process, asserted that Smith couldn't even pronounce the name Nephi, and certainly didn't have the capacity to create a book of 600 pages, as correct as the Book of Mormon, without the help of supernatural power (Anderson 1997).

This argument remains popular today among Mormon apologists. Richard Bushman notes the complexity of the Book of Mormon narrative, sagging under the weight of its plot and characters, with migration, war, and intrigue alternating with prophecy, sermon, and conversion. (Bushman 1984: 119). He notes that Smith was 23 years old at the time, and dictated the book without any practice runs or previous writing experience. "It came in a rush, as if the thoughts had been building for decades" and "Joseph seemed to be in the grip of creative forces outside himself, the pages pouring from his mind like *Messiah* from the pen of Handel" (Bushman 2005: 105). Melvin Thorne similarly argues that the complexity of the Book of Mormon narrative is evidence for its authenticity, and that it is not credible that the ignorant Smith could have managed

to maintain consistency within such a complex and interwoven narrative, at least not considering the time constraints on the book's creation (Thorne 1997). Louis Midgley is also incredulous that the young, inexperienced, and poorly educated Smith could have composed and dictated those 590 pages of published text in the time involved (Midgley 1997). Hugh Nibley goes even further, asserting that "It would have been quite as impossible for the most learned man alive in 1830 to have written the book as it was for Joseph Smith" (quoted in Peterson 1997).

Critics have not been impressed by this argument from incredulity. For one thing, while the compressed time frame of about sixty-three days is accurate for the current text of the Book of Mormon, Smith had had a practice run with Martin Harris, giving him a chance to develop his translation technique. He had also had the six-month hiatus between the loss of the first manuscript and the arrival of Oliver Cowdery, in which he could have worked through the remaining story in his head and prepared for the dictation that was to come.

Grant Palmer and others have objected to the claims about Smith's lack of schooling, suggesting said lack has been somewhat overstated. Although Smith did indeed receive little formal schooling, education was clearly important to the Smith family. His father, Joseph Sr., worked as a schoolteacher in addition to farming and making barrels, and he taught his children in their Palmyra home. They saved up enough money to send Joseph's older brother Hyrum to a boarding school at age eleven, and he would eventually become a school teacher as well (Palmer 2002: 42, Bushman 2005: 19–20). At the time of the Book of Mormon's publication, Hyrum was a respected school board member in his community (Anderson 1997). Smith's wife Emma was a schoolteacher prior to their marriage (Avery & Newell 1979), and his primary secretary in the translation process, Oliver Cowdery, was similarly a school teacher. Smith may not have attended school, but he was nonetheless surrounded by teachers. He was noted as a capable reader, though his writing and arithmetic were lacking. He participated in a youth debating society, and had extensive familiarity with the Bible; he seems to have had an altogether typical education for a poor farmer in his area (Palmer 2002: 43, Cross 1981 [1950]: 142). According to Palmer, while the "unlearned" label accurately describes his

formal education, it understates Smith's knowledge of the Bible, of Evangelical Protestantism, and of American Antiquities (Palmer 2002: 44).

Critics such as Palmer or Brodie also consider the question of Smith's education altogether inadequate as a reason to dismiss his storytelling ability, asserting he had a creative genius and a profound religious imagination (Bushman 1997, Midgley 1997). B. H. Roberts, the official church historian in the 1920s and a faithful Mormon, investigated the Book of Mormon in great depth, and concluded that Smith was uneducated but brilliant, and exhibited a degree of genius (Palmer 2002: 40). According to some of Smith's Palmyra neighbors such as Daniel Hendrix, he had a reputation as a fantastical story-teller with a fertile imagination (Brodie 1983 [1945]: 26). In his mother's account, during the interim between Moroni's visit and the reception of the golden plates, Joseph entertained the family with vivid tales of the Book of Mormon peoples:

> During our evening conversations, Joseph would occasionally give us some of the most amusing recitals that could be imagined. He would describe the ancient inhabitants of this continent, their dress, mode of traveling, and the animals upon which they rode; their cities, their buildings, with every particular; their mode of warfare; and also their religious worship. This he would do with as much ease, seemingly, as if he had spent his whole life among them. (Smith 1902)

Indeed, Bushman's comparison to Handel's composing may be particularly apt. Numerous artists across the centuries have exhibited startling personal genius in their creative abilities. Exceptional people routinely accomplish things that most people simply could not do. Joseph Smith may have been just such an individual.

4.4.3 Possible Sources for the Book of Mormon Content

According to Smith, the content of the Book of Mormon came from the hands of ancient prophets, writing under divine inspiration, with his own contributions limited to converting the text into English and promulgating it among his modern countrymen. Critics have looked to other possible sources for the text. If Smith created the story himself, where did he draw his inspiration from? One such source which will be considered below is the Bible, available as a model for both content and language, but a number of possible contemporary sources have been suggested as well. One particularly

noteworthy one is *View of the Hebrews*, by Ethan Smith. This book was first published in 1823 in Vermont, and offered an answer to a question that troubled many in Smith's day: Where had the Native Americans come from? Western New York and Ohio were both dotted with burial mounds left by the native Hopewell culture. Eight such mounds were within twelve miles of the farm where Smith grew up (Brodie 1983 [1945]: 19). A common legend held that there had once been a terrible slaughter in the area, and that these mounds were the cemeteries of an entire race, an especially compelling idea since many considered the natives they had encountered incapable of such sophisticated construction work—the builders must be a lost, more advanced race (Brodie 1983 [1945]: 34).

Many of the clergy at the time thought the Indians must be the descendants of the lost ten tribes of Israel, and Ethan Smith, himself a Congregationalist minister, published his book to make this case. It contains numerous striking parallels to the Book of Mormon account, including the Israelite origin of the Indians, along with the division of that group into two parts, one civilized and the other savage, the eventual destruction of the civilized portion by the other, a transition from monarchy to republican government, the preaching of the gospel in ancient America, and extensive quotation from Isaiah. The book was quite popular in Smith's area, and some of his associates at least are very likely to have encountered it. Oliver Cowdery, for instance, at one time lived in the same town as Ethan Smith. It's unknown whether Joseph Smith had read this book, but it's not at all implausible, and the shared content is suggestive.

Another contemporary book which has recently been proposed as a possible source for the Book of Mormon is *The Late War*, by Gilbert Hunt, a narrative retelling of the War of 1812, written in biblically-inspired English. The book was marketed as a reader for schools, and told a patriotic story of the war that had taken place when Smith was seven years old. Proposed parallels to the Book of Mormon include the use of archaic English, extensive and detailed descriptions of guerilla warfare in the Americas, and similar phrasing, such as references to weapons of "curious workmanship." Book of Mormon critics have been considering a possible link to Hunt's work since 2008, though methodological flaws may have led them to overstate the similarities between the two books (McGuire 2013: 325).

Another identified possible influence on the Book of Mormon is anti-Masonic sentiment. In 1826, William Morgan, a disaffected Mason who was threatening to reveal the order's secrets publicly, disappeared under mysterious circumstances, and was generally thought to have been kidnapped and murdered by the Masons. In 1828, Andrew Jackson, a southerner and a Mason, ran for president, and the opposition mobilized around fear of a shadowy Masonic conspiracy seeking to take over the government. The Book of Mormon contains a group known as the Gadianton Robbers, a secret faction within the Nephites, bound together by oaths and ceremonies, and prone to assassinations and trying to overthrow the government. Their behavior, and the fear and loathing they inspire, parallel these 19th century attitudes towards the Masons.

Yet another possible influence, championed especially by Grant Palmer, is the Christian revivalism that was raging throughout much of the country. In the same vein as Alexander Campbell, he notes many parallels in the book to the emotional religion of Smith's contemporaries, including disdain for costly apparel, Deism, Catholicism, secret combinations, and a paid clergy; the notion of creating a New Jerusalem in America, concern over the name of the church, the mode of baptism, whether infants should be baptized, and the nature of Godhead (Palmer 2002: 118). Also shared is the identification of emotion as evidence of truth (Palmer 2002: 131). Even the common emotional practice of the time, falling unconscious upon conviction of one's utter sinfulness, is prominent in the Book of Mormon, experienced by characters such as Lamoni and Alma the Younger at their conversions, sometimes with entire groups of people sharing the overwhelming experience and falling to the ground together.

4.4.4 Archaeological, Genetic, and Literary Analysis

Other avenues for apologetic and critical argument have included analysis of Native American archaeological evidence, population genetics, and the literary features of the Book of Mormon text. The discovery of the extensive Mayan cities of Central America seemed very promising as a means of confirming the Book of Mormon narrative, and considerable efforts have been made to link the book to such locations or artifacts. Considerable speculation abounds, with John L. Sorenson, a retired BYU anthropologist, as the current leading voice in this endeavor. However, while biblical

archaeologists can point to Ur, Jericho, and other recognized and accepted biblical sites, no such definite links have been established for the Book of Mormon (Ostling & Ostling 2007: 264). Meanwhile, critics have used the archaeological record to attack the text, noting many seemingly anachronistic features, such as the presence of horses, elephants, barley, chariots, coins, and steel swords in pre-Columbian America (Peterson 1997). Apologists have responded to these objections with various explanations, and the arguments have gone back and forth. For example, in the case of horses, it has been proposed that ancient American horses may have survived much longer than the fossil record indicates, or that this may be an unfortunate choice of word to describe some other animal, such as a deer or a tapir (Ash 2007). The absence of horse bone remains in former Hun-controlled areas supports the possibility of horses failing to leave behind material evidence of their existence, though in that case there are plenty of other evidences for the horses having been there (Bushman 2005: 93).

Others have tried to test the Book of Mormon's claims by turning to population genetics, investigating the DNA of Native American groups to see if they share distinctive markers with ancient Middle Eastern peoples. Anthropologist Thomas Murphy and geneticist Simon Southerton published critical accounts, arguing that the DNA evidence shows no such connections, with the greatest similarities being instead to Central Asian populations (Murphy 2003, Southerton 2004). Apologists such as BYU geneticist Michael Whiting have responded by criticizing methodology and suggesting that the Jewish migrant groups in the Book of Mormon were absorbed into neighboring, unmentioned Native American populations, causing any distinctive features to be diluted beyond detectability (Whiting 2003). This suggestion also offers an answer to the problem of the astonishing population growth necessary for the small founding group to grow into great warring civilizations in the necessary timeframe (See Smith 1997 for an apologetic analysis of BoM population growth, and Kunich 1993 for a critical analysis). This idea has apparently proved influential to church leadership, as the introduction added to the Book of Mormon in 1981—which claimed the Lamanites to be "the principal ancestors" of the American Indians—was changed in 2006 to say only that they were "among the ancestors" of the American Indians (Stack 2007).

Still others looking to defend or discredit the Book of Mormon have turned to the text itself, comparing its literary forms to those of Hebrew literature and applying forensic linguistic analysis to the text. Donald Parry, a professor of Hebrew at BYU, investigates the parallelism and repetition found in the Book of Mormon text. The book's penchant for repetition is no secret, and likely contributed to Mark Twain's famous description of it as "chloroform in print" (Twain 1872: 58–59). Parry finds great variety and intricacy within the parallel structures, and considers this evidence of inspiration on the part of the book's authors (Parry 1997).

John Welch has gained considerable attention for pointing out many notable instances of chiasmus, or inverted parallelisms, in the Book of Mormon text. As most prior investigation of chiasmus has been in Hebrew literature, he thinks this indicates a possible Hebraic origin for the text, though he is rightly cautious in qualifying his conclusions, as the analysis of chiasmus often involves individual interpretation and accompanying bias, and there has been no systematic study of the presence of chiasmus in other bodies of literature, especially American literature, to establish that it is indeed a distinctively Hebrew literary form (Welch 1997). Indeed, critic Robert Patterson has responded with a reduction to absurdity, demonstrating the extensive use of chiasmus in Dr. Seuss's *Green Eggs and Ham* and facetiously arguing that it is evidence of a previously unrecognized ancient Hebrew origin for the text (Patterson 2000).

Edward Ashment has responded to many of the claims for literary evidence of an underlying Hebrew or Egyptian source text, concluding that such apologetics must ignore the possible influence of the King James Bible (Ashment 1993: 338). He presents many examples of proposed Egyptian and Hebraic features and demonstrates their presence in the KJB and Smith's other prophetic writing. He also protests that some such apologetic arguments are disingenuous, misrepresenting Hebrew grammar and actual English usage to make the proposed parallels seem more convincing (Ashment 1993: 366).

John Hilton, a BYU statistician, has been among those who have analyzed the Book of Mormon text using wordprint methodology. This approach compares a text of disputed authorship to known works by various authors to determine the likeliest author for the disputed text among those involved in the comparison. The data is taken from the frequencies and co-occurrences of low content function words in the text, referred to as

noncontextual word patterns, and the technique has been applied to some anonymous texts, such as identifying James Madison as the probable author of several anonymous *Federalist Papers*. Interestingly, Hilton provides evidence that in cases of close and careful translation, the wordprint of an original author can even survive the translation process. He concludes from his analysis of the Book of Mormon that neither Joseph Smith, nor Oliver Cowdery, nor Solomon Spalding were likely authors for the Book of Mormon, and that sections of the text attributed respectively to Book of Mormon prophets Nephi and Alma are statistically quite different (Hilton 1997). Hilton does acknowledge that the conscious imposition of an external structure by an author can make accurate wordprint analysis difficult. It's unclear whether the stylistic imitation of other scriptural texts such as the King James Bible might have such an effect.

Wordprint approaches to authorship attribution have received considerable criticism, and Hilton's group made great efforts to avoid common pitfalls of the process. There are nonetheless significant limitations to this method, which are worth keeping in mind. Its results are most reliable in cases with a lengthy anonymous text and a small set of potential authors, each with plenty of text available for comparison, and it is used to identify the most likely author from among the set (Koppel et al. 2012: 284). The Book of Mormon is indeed lengthy, but the set of potential authors is not closed, and if its authors were indeed ancient Nephite prophets, they left no other control texts for modern comparison. Ashment, furthermore, accuses wordprint studies concluding multiple authorship of circularity, as they're based on an analysis that divided the text already based on those proposed divisions (Ashment 1993: 372). Patrick Juola's analysis of various stylometric approaches to a single set of data found that existing approaches all had shortcomings, and claimed that even the best scoring method used may still be too inaccurate for use in a court setting (Juola 2012: 281). In fact, in his findings, the most reliable features proved to be punctuation-based. In the case of the Book of Mormon, the punctuation was added by the printers after the fact, and is thus useless for determining authorship.

4.5 The Language of the Book of Mormon

The Book of Mormon is not written in present-day English, and it's not written in the kind of English that was typical of 1830s America, either. The striking similarity to the language of the King James Bible has attracted frequent comment:

- The original edition was 588 pages long, with diction resembling King James English. (Ostling & Ostling 2007: 27)
- the prose had the familiar ring of the King James Bible (Brodie 1983 [1945]: 43)
- On opening the book, a reader hears the intonations of King James Version diction. (Bushman 2005: 99)
- The Book of Mormon's imitation of King James translation language and style is so obvious it does not need demonstration. (Gardner 2011: 192)
- The nascent Prophet was telling a sacred story, and this demanded a sacred language, which for him meant the English of the King James Bible. (Barlow 1991: 14)
- One of the first things [Smith's contemporaries] noticed was that the Book of Mormon sounded like the King James Version of the Bible. (Hardy 2009: xxiv)

Of course, the KJB is not the only conceivable source for archaic, Early Modern English features in 19th century American English. According to Palmer, "some writers suggest that Elizabethan English was commonly used in Joseph Smith's community and that he absorbed it as he grew up," but he goes on to dismiss the suggestion as there is no evidence to support it (Palmer 2002: 47).

The other major Early Modern English text significant enough to continue exposing modern readers to archaic features is of course the Shakespearean corpus. However, there are good reasons to think that in the case of the Book of Mormon, any influence Shakespeare may have had is vastly overshadowed by the influence of the KJB. For one thing, we have already discussed Smith's limited formal education prior to the book's publication. For another, there is a connection between the Book of Mormon and the Bible in genre, with no such link to Shakespeare's plays. There are shared themes, motifs, structure, and purpose. The narrative of the Book of Mormon even connects directly into that of the Bible, branching off from Jewish history at the time of Zedekiah, with links also to the Tower of Babel and the birth and death of Jesus.

Grant Palmer identifies several close narrative parallels between the Bible and the Book of Mormon, arguing that Joseph Smith created the Book of Mormon story using episodes from the Bible and from his own surroundings as source material. The story of

Lamoni's conversion, found in Alma chapter 19, has many similarities—both in narrative detail and in the phrases used—to the biblical story of Lazarus, but also contains themes belonging to the 19th century evangelical conversion experience (Palmer 2002: 48). Palmer similarly provides parallels between the Book of Mormon beheading of Laban and the biblical beheading of Holofernes (Palmer 202: 55), and between the Book of Mormon departure of Nephi's family and the biblical story of the Exodus (Palmer 2002: 78). He concludes that: "The textual evidence shows that the Bible was a primary source for the miracles, quotations, stories, names, and prophesies in the Book of Mormon," and that: "It is reasonable to conclude that Joseph knew the Bible text intimately and used it extensively" (Palmer 2002: 84).

Stan Larson explores the relationship between the versions of the Sermon on the Mount that appear in the King James Bible and the Book of Mormon, finding textual evidence that the BoM text was based on this particular bible text (Larson 1993: 125).[23] Philip Barlow notes that the Smiths were a Bible-believing family in a Bible-believing culture, that Joseph's grandfather Asael had urged the family to turn to the Bible rather than to organized religion, and that Joseph probably knew the Bible better than was supposed by some of his early followers (Barlow 1991: 10–13).

In addition to Gardner's observation that Smith paid particular attention to the italicized words in the Bible, indicating he may have been visually consulting an open bible while translating those portions (Gardner 2011: 218, 254), Palmer draws attention to statements by Martin Harris that Smith occasionally hung a curtain or blanket between himself and his scribe. This couldn't be to keep the plates concealed, since he wasn't using them anyway, so Palmer speculates that it was to hide the consultation of a bible from his collaborators (Palmer 2002: 10).

Perhaps the most conclusive evidence of biblical influence on the Book of Mormon is the very extensive and direct borrowing of biblical wording. At times, entire chapters are reproduced more or less verbatim, and phrasal allusions pervade the text.

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[23] For example, the Book of Mormon includes the doxology at the close of the Lord's Prayer, as does the KJB, even though it is absent from the earliest biblical manuscripts and then varied in its form for a time before settling into the familiar phrasing; Larson considers 8 such examples of variability in the biblical text, and the BoM matches the Textus Receptus and the KJB in all cases, rather than the earliest manuscripts or other variants (Larson 1993: 129).

The *Skeptic's Annotated Book of Mormon* includes extensive notes on parallel wording between the two texts, and is a great source for such a comparison (Wells). The use of Old Testament text in the Book of Mormon is relatively limited, with the exception of Isaiah. There are allusions to Genesis, Exodus, Deuteronomy, Judges, Isaiah, Hosea, Micah, and Malachi, including two full chapters of Malachi and nineteen full chapters from Isaiah. New Testament allusions are all but constant. The gospels are all well-represented, especially Matthew, with the Matthew references including the three full chapters of the Sermon on the Mount. The epistles are also well-represented, with references from Romans, 1st and 2nd Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, 1st Thessalonians, 1st Timothy, Hebrews, James, 1st and 2nd Peter, and 1st John. There are also frequent allusions to the Acts of the Apostles and to Revelation. Below I include all the allusions identified in 1st Nephi, the opening book of the Book of Mormon, as an illustration of just how ubiquitous biblical wording is in the Book of Mormon. In many cases, the same biblical passage is reflected in multiple places in the Book of Mormon, sometimes with incidental differences. For each of these cases, I give the text only from the first occurrence listed.

Table 1: Biblical Allusions in the Book of Mormon

Biblical Source	BoM Passages
1 Cor. 4:1—the mysteries of God	**1 Nephi 1:1, 2:16**—the mysteries of God
Rev. 15:3—Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty	**1 Nephi 1:14**—Great and marvelous are thy works, O Lord God Almighty
Mark 3:5—Being grieved for the hardness of their hearts	**1 Nephi 2:18, 7:8, 15:4**—being grieved because of the hardness of their hearts
2 Peter 1:13—To stir you up by putting you in remembrance	**1 Nephi 2:24**—to stir them up in the ways of remembrance
Judges 7:13—Behold, I dreamed a dream	**1 Nephi 3:2**—Behold I have dreamed a dream
Acts 3:21—Spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began	**1 Nephi 3:20**—spoken by the mouth of all the holy prophets, which have been delivered unto them by the Spirit and power of God, since the world began
John 11:50—It is expedient for us, that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not	**1 Nephi 4:13**—It is better that one man should perish than that a nation should dwindle and perish in unbelief
Acts 12:11—Now I know of a surety that the Lord hath	**1 Nephi 5:8**—Now I know of a surety that the Lord hath

Rev. 14:6—every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people	**1 Nephi 5:18, 11:36, 14:11, 19:17, 22:28**—all nations, kindreds, tongues, and people
John 17:14—they are not of the world	**1 Nephi 6:5**—those who are not of the world
John 1:23—I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness, Make straight the way of the Lord	**1 Nephi 10:8**—Yea, even he should go forth and cry in the wilderness: Prepare ye the way of the Lord, and make his paths straight
Luke 3:16—One mightier than I cometh, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to unloose **John 1:26–27**—There standeth one among you, whom ye know not … whose shoe's latchet I am not worthy to unloose	**1 Nephi 10:8**—for there standeth one among you whom ye know not; and he is mightier than I, whose shoe's latchet I am not worthy to unloose
John 1:28—in Bethabara beyond Jordan	**1 Nephi 10:9**—in Bethabara, beyond Jordan
John 1:29—Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world	**1 Nephi 10:10**—he should behold and bear record that he had baptized the Lamb of God, who should take away the sins of the world
Heb. 13:8—Jesus Christ the same yesterday, and to day, and forever	**1 Nephi 10:18**—For he is the same yesterday, to-day, and forever
Matt. 25:34—the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world	**1 Nephi 10:18**—the way is prepared for all men from the foundation of the world
John 1:34—bare record that this is the Son of God	**1 Nephi 11:7**—bear record that it is the Son of God
Romans 5:5—the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts	**1 Nephi 11:22**—the love of God, which sheddeth itself abroad in the hearts of the children of men
Rev. 21:14—the twelve apostles of the Lamb	**1 Nephi 11:35, 36, 12:9, 13:41, 14:20**—the twelve apostles of the Lamb
Matt. 24:6—wars and rumours of wars	**1 Nephi 12:2, 21, 14:15**—wars, and rumors of wars
Rev. 7:14—and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb	**1 Nephi 12:10**—because of their faith in the Lamb of God their garments are made white in his blood
Acts 13:10—pervert the right ways of the Lord	**1 Nephi 13:27, 22:14**—pervert the right ways of the Lord
Matt. 19:30—But many that are first shall be last; and the last shall be first	**1 Nephi 13:42**—and the last shall be first, and the first shall be last
Rev. 17:1—the great whore that sitteth upon many waters	**1 Nephi 14:11**—the whore of all the earth, and she sat upon many waters
Rev. 17:5—the Mother of Harlots and Abominations of the Earth	**1 Ne. 14:17**—the mother of harlots, which is the great and abominable church of all the earth
John 15:1—I am the true vine	**1 Nephi 15:15**—receive strength and nourishment from the true vine

Eph. 6:16—the fiery darts of the wicked	**1 Nephi 15:24**—the fiery darts of the adversary
Rev. 14:11—And the smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever and ever	**1 Nephi 15:30**—the brightness of a flaming fire, which ascendeth up unto God forever and ever
John 6:40—and I will raise him up at the last day	**1 Nephi 16:2**—they should be lifted up at the last day
Isaiah 66:1—Thus saith the Lord, The heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool	**1 Nephi 17:39**—He ruleth high in the heavens, for it is his throne, and this earth is his footstool
Ex. 20:12—Honour thy father and thy mother: that thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee	**1 Nephi 17:55**—honor thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long in the land which the Lord thy God shall give thee
Isa. 48–49—[the entire chapters]	**1 Nephi 20–21**—[the entire chapters]
Malachi 4:1—For, behold, the day cometh, that shall burn as an oven; and all the proud, yea, and all that do wickedly, shall be stubble: and the day that cometh shall burn them up	**1 Nephi 22:15**—for the day soon cometh that all the proud and they who do wickedly shall be as stubble; and the day cometh that they must be burned
1 Cor. 3:15—but he himself shall be saved; yet so as by fire	**1 Nephi 22:17**—they shall be saved, even if it so be as by fire
Acts 2:19—blood, and fire, and vapour of smoke	**1 Nephi 22:18**—blood, and fire, and vapor of smoke
Deut. 18:18–19—I will raise them up a Prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee, and will put my words in his mouth; and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him. And it shall come to pass, that whosoever will not hearken unto my words which he shall speak in my name, I will require it of him **Acts 3:22–23**—A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you of your brethren, like unto me; him shall ye hear in all things whatsoever he shall say unto you. And it shall come to pass, that every soul, which will not hear that prophet, shall be destroyed from among the people	**1 Nephi 22:20**—A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you, like unto me; him shall ye hear in all things whatsoever he shall say unto you. And it shall come to pass that all those who will not hear that prophet shall be cut off from among the people
John 10:16—and there shall be one fold, and one shepherd	**1 Ne. 22:25**—and there shall be one fold and one shepherd
Matt. 24:13—But he that shall endure unto the end, the same shall be saved	**1 Ne. 22:31**—if ye shall be obedient to the commandments, and endure to the end, ye shall be saved at the last day

In contrast, only one potential allusion to Shakespeare's plays has been proposed. 2nd Nephi 1:14 includes the phrase "the cold and silent grave, from whence no traveler can return." The wording is similar to a passage in Hamlet, "That undiscovered country from whose bourn no traveler returns" (*Hamlet*, Act 3, Scene 1). The identity between these passages is weaker, however, and there are even similar phrases in the Bible itself:

- Before I go whence I shall not return, even to the land of darkness and the shadow of death; (Job 10:21)
- When a few years are come, then I shall go the way whence I shall not return. (Job 16:22)

Considering that this proposed allusion is both solitary and relatively weak, Shakespeare seems not to have had an identifiable influence on the language of the Book of Mormon, while the King James Bible has had an enormous influence upon it.

The text of the Book of Mormon has not remained constant from 1830 to the present. Instead, much like the KJB itself between 1611 and 1769, the Book of Mormon has seen considerable revision over the course of its many printings. The first form the text took was in the Original Manuscript drafted primarily by Oliver Cowdery at Smith's dictation. Made cautious by the earlier loss of the 116 pages, Smith had Cowdery copy out a separate Printer's Manuscript version to deliver to the printer. The first edition of the Book of Mormon was printed in 1830 in Palmyra, and two further editions were printed during Smith's lifetime: a second edition in Kirtland in 1837, and a third in Nauvoo in 1840. Further editions have been produced over the years since by the various branches of Mormonism, with the most current edition used by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints dating to 1981.[24] In addition to textual changes, these later editions have also reshaped the format of the book considerably, adding the current chapter and verse divisions, footnotes, summaries, introductions, and so forth.

Royal Skousen has undertaken the monumental task of comparing all editions of the Book of Mormon, including the earliest manuscript evidence, and cataloguing all the changes that have been made. All told, there have been thousands of changes made to the

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[24] Other editions include British editions from 1841, 1849, 1852, and 1879; editions by the RLDS branch of Mormonism (now the Community of Christ) from 1874, 1892, 1908, and 1953, along with a privately published edition from 1858 which they had used previously; large-print editions from 1888, 1906, and 1911; a pocked edition from 1907; missionary editions from 1902 (Kansas City) and 1905 (Chicago); and the later editions of the main LDS branch from 1920 and 1981 (Skousen 2004).

text. This is sometimes leveled as a criticism against the text, but the number of changes makes this seem like a more significant issue than it actually is (Peterson 1997). Many of the changes were corrections of errors introduced during the printing process, due to carelessness or a lack of clarity in the manuscript provided to the printer. Some aspects of the text even originated with the printer: for example, the manuscript versions contained no punctuation from beginning to end, so all decisions regarding the punctuation had to be made by the printer or his typesetters (Bushman 2005: 80). Skousen concludes that other changes were corrections of obvious errors made by the scribes during dictation, where words were misheard or misspelled. Some changes were accidental and introduced errors which may or may not then be fixed in later editions. Other changes were introduced to bring the text closer to standard English grammar:

- had spake > had spoken (1 Ne 3:30)
- they was > they were (1 Ne 15:5)
- drownded > drowned (1 Ne 4:2)
- have not written but > have written but (1 Ne 14:28)

Some of the changes made involve the kinds of constructions I will be analyzing, and so are particularly worth noting. Many instances of relative *which* used with human antecedents are changed to *who*. Some cases of *thou* used in addressing multiple individuals are changed to *ye*. Some cases of the modern –s verbal ending are altered to the archaic –th, and in other cases the tense is changed, so that *saith* becomes *said*, for instance. Some of the phonological archaisms are removed, such as changing *bare* to *bore* or *shew* to *show*.

Overall, the great majority of changes have involved minor alterations to the spelling or grammar, without any real effect on the book's content, though there are some exceptions. For example, the phrase "a white and delightsome people" in 2 Ne 30:6 was changed to "a pure and delightsome people." This change was first made in the 1840 edition, but later editions failed to reproduce it until 1981. This change has the effect of toning down the sometimes unfortunate racial implications of the story. For another example, Jesus is referred to in the first edition as "the Eternal Father" in 1 Ne 11:21 and elsewhere, but in the 1837 edition these references are changed to read "the Son of the Eternal Father" (Peterson 1997), which has the effect of toning down the Trinitarian implications of the text as Smith's conception of Christology evolves.

The text underwent a particularly large revision for the 1837 Kirtland edition, with many of the planned changes first marked on the Printer's Manuscript in Smith's own hand, so we have clear evidence of Smith personally participating in the refining of the Book of Mormon text.

4.6 Conclusion

The Book of Mormon is a fascinating, unusual, and historically significant book, its origins shrouded in mystery and claims of the supernatural, its authenticity hotly debated between believers and doubters. There is controversy over whether its story is historical, whether Joseph Smith could have created it, whether the words are his or God's. I will be setting aside the rather charged question of the book's divinity, which has received the bulk of attention to this point anyway. My interest lies instead with the nature of the text itself, and like some others, such as Skousen or Hilton, that is where I will be turning my attention, looking especially to its unusual grammatical characteristics, and how they relate to other contemporary texts and the King James Bible. I find the arguments presented for Joseph Smith being at least responsible for the wording of the book more compelling than the alternative, and considering especially his willingness to revise the text, I will be working primarily from the last edition published during his lifetime, considering that the closest thing we have to a definitive version of what he thought the text should be, though I will note as much as is feasible where this version differs from the book's original and current forms.

CHAPTER 5: THE TEXTS

5.1 Introduction

In this investigation, I will be comparing the archaic language style found in the Book of Mormon to the Bible and to an assortment of contemporary 19th century texts, examining whether the BoM style is specific to this text or shared across a larger genre of texts from the time. In this chapter I will discuss those texts I am including in the survey, and will detail the sources I have used to obtain them and any alterations I have made to prepare them for the comparison. I will be discussing the King James Bible, the Book of Mormon, other religious texts, other translations of ancient texts, history texts, Joseph Smith's non-scriptural writings, and control texts.

5.2 The King James Bible

The King James Bible was the culmination of nearly a century of English Bible translation. The surge of translation was sparked by Tyndale's unauthorized translation, first put into print in 1525. Tyndale's efforts were rewarded with his execution, but soon afterwards the English Church split from Rome and a translation of the Bible went from being forbidden to desirable. Numerous translations followed, with Tyndale's phrasing having an enormous influence on his successors. It's been estimated that 83% of the King James Bible derives from Tyndale (Campbell 2010: 15). At the beginning of the 17th century, the two leading bible versions were the Bishop's Bible, officially sanctioned by the Church of England but unpopular with many congregants, and the Geneva Bible, produced in exile during the reign of Mary I. The Geneva bible was readable and scholarly, and immensely popular for private use, especially among English puritans, but monarchists and conservative churchmen found it threatening due to the content of its extensive annotations.

Shortly after his accession to the English crown, James I, trying to bring together the conservative and puritan factions in his new kingdom, ordered a new translation to be made, which would ultimately replace both the Bishop's Bible and the Geneva Bible,

becoming the dominant English Bible version for hundreds of years—even today it remains the most iconic version of the biblical text in English. The translation was undertaken by a group of 48 translators divided into six companies. Three companies translated the Old Testament, two the New Testament, and one the Apocrypha, before their results were compiled and subjected to a final revision. The first edition was printed by the King's Printer in 1611. It has often been called the Authorized Version, or AV, but strangely enough, there is no record of its ever having been formally authorized. Such a record may have been lost to a 1618 fire at Whitehall, which destroyed several years' worth of Privy Council registers (McGrath 2001: 206–207), but Norton argues that the wording used in the front matter of the early editions suggest that such authorization never took place (Norton 2005: 46). I will not be using the term Authorized Version to refer to it here, but will call it rather the King James Bible, or KJB.

The language of the King James Bible was decidedly archaic. Even at the time of its publication, many of its features, such as the retention of *thou* or the verbal *–th* suffix, had already mostly fallen out of use (Campbell 2010: 73). This was not accidental, as the translators were explicitly instructed to be conservative in their wording (Nicolson 2003: 72). Nicolson suggests the language was not just old-fashioned, but that due to the syntactic influence of its source material, particularly the Hebrew of the Old Testament, it represents a form of the language that was never actually spoken (Nicolson 2003: 195, 227). After publication, the KJB text saw extensive further revision, with editors seeking to eliminate printing mistakes and supposed mistakes by the translators themselves, modernizing the spelling, and striving for greater consistency in its grammatical features. This process continued until around 1769, when a revised edition was released by the Oxford printer Benjamin Blayney (Norton 2005: 3, 106). Blayney's text became established as the standard, and very little has been changed since (Norton 2005: 114, 119).

Some of the efforts to improve internal consistency and better reflect the grammar of the Greek and Hebrew texts involve features we will be considering below. The translators often needed to add words to the text for the sake of English grammar or idiom, where there were no corresponding words in the source texts. In the 1611 printing, these were differentiated by the use of small print for these words (modern editions

generally use italics), but the practice was not followed consistently, and many such added words were not distinguished from the others. This defect was improved incrementally over the following editions until all were identified and marked (Norton 2005: 49). There was also some inconsistency in the use of the archaic verbal ending –*th*. This ending was used throughout the Old and New Testaments, but on five occasions in the Apocrypha the more modern –*s* ending was used instead. Four of these were changed to –*th* by Blayney in the 1769 edition, improving the overall consistency, though he missed one which remains in the text to this day (Norton 2005: 110). Another inconsistent aspect was the distribution of *ye* and *you*. The original use of *ye* as nominative and *you* as oblique had become muddled by the time of the translation, an early development in the ultimate loss of *ye* altogether as a distinct case form. The 1611 version has the forms switched in about 4% of all occurrences, usually with *you* intruding into subject position, but occasionally the reverse as well. Later editions changed this to make the text both more consistent and more conservative, establishing the original distinction with only one or two overlooked instances (Norton 2005: 111–113).

Some of the later editions made changes to the address pronouns, which we will be considering in some detail. Some of these changes have since been reverted, such as the one in Jeremiah 5:15, where the 1611 "vpon you," following the Hebrew, was changed to singular "vpon thee" in the second edition (Norton 2005: 70). The current text matches both the first edition and the Hebrew.

- Lo, I will bring a nation upon **you** from far, O house of Israel, saith the LORD: it is a mighty nation, it is an ancient nation, a nation whose language thou knowest not, neither understandest what they say. (Jer 5:15)

Other changes have been retained, such as one made by F. S. Parris for the 1762 Cambridge edition. The 1611 translators had slightly simplified a passage from Deuteronomy where the Hebrew includes a complex alternation between singular and plural, switching from singular to plural, back to singular, and then finishing once again in the plural. For the first edition, the first change of number was delayed until the reflexive *yourselves*, removing the particularly jarring number mismatch between parallel subject pronouns. Parris brought the passage in line with the Hebrew source by restoring

the transition at *ye* (underlined below), and thus the current text follows the Hebrew choice of address pronouns exactly in this passage (Norton 2005: 107).

- When **thou** shalt beget children, and children's children, and **ye** shall have remained long in the land, and shall corrupt *yourselves*, and make a graven image, or the likeness of any thing, and shall do evil in the sight of the LORD **thy** God, to provoke him to anger: I call heaven and earth to witness against **you** this day, that *ye* shall soon utterly perish from off the land whereunto *ye* go over Jordan to possess it; *ye* shall not prolong your days upon it, but shall utterly be destroyed. (Deut 4:25–26)

The 1611 translators were quite scrupulous in following the Hebrew and Greek address pronoun alternations, and, similar to other features, later revisions have only made the KJB more exact and consistent in this respect.

The King James Bible has had a tremendous influence on American culture, but it was not the first Bible brought to the Americas. In 1608, a group of religious separatists left England who would later settle the Plymouth Rock colony in America in 1620 (Nicolson 2003: 174). At the time, the process of translating the KJB was underway, but the Bible they took with them was the Geneva Bible, the preferred text of English puritans and the pilgrims who left the country (Nicolson 2003: 75, 229). It was not long, however, before the KJB replaced the Geneva Bible in America, and came to be treasured by Americans (Nicolson 2003: 230). Alter claims, "it was in America that the potential of the 1611 translation to determine the foundational language and symbolic imagery of a whole culture was most fully realized" (Alter 2010: 1). The archaic language of the KJB established the expectation that matters of high import should be discussed in elaborate, old-fashioned language, and the content, idiom, and lexical items of the KJB found their way into the writings of Melville, Hemingway, and others (Alter 2010: 13–14).

Except for a brief interruption during the Revolutionary War, American bibles were imported from Britain, and after the war it is presumably Blayney's text that would have been in circulation (Campbell 2010: 151–2). Its influence was massive in America between the Revolutionary and Civil wars, its language pervasive in politics, literature, and of course religion (Noll 1982: 39). It has served as a vessel for promulgating numerous idiomatic expressions that have further changed the English language (Crystal 2010: 2). It remains popular today as well. For many conservative sects, its old-fashioned language, remaining fixed in spite of the passage of time, is a signal of its reliability, its

traditional status (Norton 2005: 115), and many prefer it to newer rival translations, viewing it as the only "authentic" word of God (McGrath 2001: 299). Its continued use is particularly prominent among Mormons, the last major sect to use it exclusively (Terry 2014: 11).

For the biblical text, I have used a modern printing of the KJB. The text has remained extremely stable since Blayney's 1769 edition, so current versions have the same wording as those used in the early 19th century. There is also textual evidence that Joseph Smith used such an edition rather than an earlier one (Palmer 2002: 10; Larson 1993: 130). More specifically, I have used the version hosted on University of Michigan's digital collection.[25] I copied it onto text files to use for searching and counting, making only minimal formatting changes (e.g. adding line breaks after many punctuation marks to make search results easier to analyze). The University of Michigan version was taken from the Oxford Text Archive, which in turn took the text from Project Gutenberg. Project Gutenberg does not specify which printed editions were used to create the electronic text (beyond noting that all were in the public domain). I have excluded chapter titles, verse numbers, and any other supplementary text from the word count and from the analysis. This leaves a text of 767,458 words (the largest in my investigation by far). To investigate high-frequency grammatical features, I will be using the text of Genesis and the Gospel according to Matthew, a sample of 61,943 words.

5.3 The Book of Mormon

The origins and transmission of the Book of Mormon text have been covered in the previous chapter. Considering the many changes that have been made to the BoM text after Joseph Smith's death, including changes to features I will be examining, a current edition of the Book of Mormon would be a poor representation of the language Smith used in the book's production. There were three editions published during Smith's lifetime: the 1830 Palmyra edition, the 1837 Kirtland edition, and the 1840 Nauvoo edition. One reasonable choice would be to use the first edition. This was the original printed form of the book, the one that initiated the whole Mormon experience, and the

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[25] http://quod.lib.umich.edu/k/kjv/index.html

best known of the three editions today, as replicas of this edition have been popular with Mormon collectors.

However, I have also noted that Smith's willingness to personally change the text in later editions is an important reason to conclude that he did not consider the language of the book divine, but implicitly acknowledged it as being his own. As such, it seems important to take those revisions into account, so I will be using the final edition he had creative control over, the 1840 third edition, considering this the best reflection of how Smith thought the text should read. For the features under investigation, I will note cases where the 1840 edition differs from the versions that came before or after, but the numbers and counts used in the analysis will all come from the third edition.

I have taken the text from Internet Archive,[26] copying it into text files for editing and searching. As with many of the texts used, the optical character recognition (OCR) program used made numerous errors, and the text as copied would not return accurate search results. It required extensive manual editing, which I performed, comparing it to the .pdf version of the text. For example, here are the transcription errors present in the first two paragraphs of the text, along with their corrections.

Table 2: OCR Errors in the Book of Mormon

pre-edit	post-edit	pre-edit	post-edit
NsPHi	Nephi	Egjrptians	Egyptians
haTing	having	tho	the
bom	born	fmake	I make
ail	all	toj^ass	to pass
&tlilr	father	roign^	reign of
afliictions	afflictions	days^j	days;
cour8&	course	pass«	pass,
m	in	Iioidf	Lord,
rav	my	»U	all
langnaffe	language		

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[26] https://archive.org/details/bookmormon01smitgoog

I also standardized some apparent misspellings and variant spellings that may have interfered with searches (e.g. *brethern* for *brethren*, *angle* for *angel*, *contsruct* for *construct*), as long as the spelling in question was unrelated to the variations I would be examining. In addition to correcting OCR and spelling errors, I made various formatting changes to the text, removing line-breaking hyphens, adding line breaks after major punctuation, and removing supplemental text I would not be including in my analysis (introductory statements, the statements of the three and eight witnesses, book and chapter headings or summaries). There were seventeen cases in the book where an error, either in the original printing or in the transmission to .pdf and text, had resulted in a pair of pages being repeated twice back to back.[27] In each such case I removed the duplicate material. The resulting text is 267,266 words long. For the grammatical analysis, I will use the first book within the text, the book of 1st Nephi, which Palmer also identifies as one of the most important books within the Book of Mormon (Palmer 2002: 70). This provides a sample of 25,122 words.

5.4 19th Century Religious Texts

The Book of Mormon is a book of scripture, published in the early 19th century by Joseph Smith and used as devotional literature by the various branches of the Latter-day Saint movement. As such, its archaic biblical language may be part of a broader religious idiom, and it is worth considering other contemporary religious texts to see if there are consistent patterns to the way archaisms are deployed in them. For this investigation, I will be using four other religious texts from the time:

- The Holy, Sacred and Divine Roll and Book (a collection of Shaker prophecies)
- The Berean (a religious instruction manual by John Humphrey Noyes)
- The Living Oracles (a contemporary translation of the New Testament published by Alexander Campbell)
- A selection of sermons by revival preacher Charles G. Finney

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[27] One such case in 1st Nephi, 3 in Mosiah, 7 in Alma, 3 in Helaman, 3 in 3rd Nephi, and 1 in Ether.

5.4.1 The Holy Roll

The Holy, Sacred, and Divine Roll and Book was a book of prophecy produced by the Shaker community in New Lebanon, New York. In many respects it is similar to the Book of Mormon, though it faded into obscurity shortly after publication while the BoM became the major sacred text of a significant world religion.[28] It was received in the midst of the Millerite excitement, with many American Christians watching expectantly for the impending Millennium, and was largely a response to Millerism. It lays out the Shaker gospel, namely that the second coming had already taken place in the person of Ann Lee, and that the Millennium was in progress (Stein 1996: 357). It is clearly patterned after the Bible. It imitates Jacobean English, is structured with chapters and verses, and duplicates much biblical content, with several chapters made up primarily of biblical quotations, augmented by interpretive commentary. The bulk of the text was revealed through a Shaker named Philemon Stewart, but a second part includes revelations from many other visionaries in the Shaker community (over 90 altogether), testifying of the accuracy and truthfulness of Stewart's vision.

Stewart himself was born in the opening years of the 1800s in New Hampshire, to a family that joined the Shaker community at New Lebanon when he was seven. He spent his life as a Shaker, and claimed only a common country school education (Stein 1996: 361).[29] He was mostly excluded from the community's power structure, with the exception of a period of significant influence resulting from his spiritual visions. These started some years before the revelation in the Holy Roll and continued to the end of his life, but this particular revelation was the most influential. Stewart produced the Holy Roll over a period of fourteen days, writing for six hours a day (Stein 1996: 357). According to him, he had no part in the content of his text, but only recorded, word for word, the declarations of angelic messengers—messengers who he perceived not with his natural, but with his spiritual, eyes.

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[28] The Holy Roll's decline, in contrast to the Book of Mormon, is partly due to its author's fall from prestige within the community, and partly due to a corresponding decline of the Shaker community itself (Stein 1996: 374).

[29] The Bishop of New York, John Hughes, was entrusted with sending copies of the text to his superior the Pope. Hughes included a letter of explanation, including a wry comment on Stewart's education: "They boast that the writer of it, was an uneducated man, which can be readily believed by those who read it" (Stein 1996: 369).

The text was printed in 1843 at another Shaker community, in Canterbury, New Hampshire, and copies were sent to many prominent public figures throughout the world, including Queen Victoria, Pope Gregory XVI, the King of Sweden, the governor of New York, and the President of the United States. It was generally received with polite indifference. Although it was written as a new Shaker Bible, a companion to the previous Bible, it failed to have a lasting influence even within the Shaker community, largely because Stewart, whose revelations and criticism of the community's administrators proved a constant irritation to the ministry, was relegated back to the margins of the community shortly after publication (Stein 1996: 371–373).

I have taken the text from Internet Archive.[30] As with other cases, the OCR used in making the text version of the file produced many errors, especially when dealing with smudged or dirty pages, changes in font, or italics. I corrected these errors by reference to the .pdf version of the text, to allow effective searching of the text. I also removed supplementary material, including footnotes, prefaces, tables of contents, page headers, and the extensive appendices containing testimonies of the truthfulness of the preceding revelations. As in other texts, I also altered the formatting by removing line-breaking hyphens and adding line breaks after major punctuation. The text amounts to 94,579 words. For the grammatical analysis, I have used the introductory proclamations and the first five chapters, which amount to a sample of 11,730 words.

5.4.2 Living Oracles

The Living Oracles was a translation of the New Testament produced by Alexander Campbell, a founding leader in the Restoration movement. Campbell undertook his translation in response to the growing obsolescence of the KJB's language, looking to make the content of the Bible more accessible to modern English speakers. In producing the text, he relied heavily on previous translations by George Campbell, James MacKnight, and Phil Doddridge, as well as consultation of the Greek New Testament. The first edition of his text was published in 1826, under the title, "The Sacred Writings of the Apostles and Evangelists of Jesus Christ." Five more editions were published

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[30] https://archive.org/details/holysacreddivinestew

during Campbell's lifetime and still more afterwards, and over time the Living Oracles name became associated with the work. Campbell himself used it only infrequently, and never printed it on the title page, but it has nonetheless become the common name for Campbell's New Testament (Thomas 2011: 62). Like the Book of Mormon, The Living Oracles is an early 19th century religious text and a book of scripture, and it is also a translation of an ancient religious text, as the BoM claims to be. Unlike the BoM, it consciously steers away from the archaism of the KJB, and one would expect its language to be (deliberately) much more modern. However, the KJB text has a definite effect, and many older linguistic features are retained nonetheless. The question of which features are modernized and which are not, or of how thoroughly a given feature is modernized, may be influenced by more general contemporary trends in religious writing.

Campbell was a Scots-Irish immigrant, born in the late 1700s and raised in Protestant Ireland, the son of a Presbyterian minister. He attended the University of Glasgow, where he became interested in the Scottish Enlightenment and the writings of John Locke, then moved to America at age 21, where he ultimately settled in what is now West Virginia. He joined his father in a Baptist ministry there, but later broke away to help found the Restoration movement.

For the Living Oracles, I have again consulted the text on the Internet Archive, which hosts the 1828 second edition.[31] However, the quality of the printing is not fantastic, and OCR errors are particularly extensive. I was also able to locate a transcription of the 1835 fourth edition, made for a 1994 research project and hosted on a Christian website.[32] There are some differences between the texts, presumably editorial reassessments on Campbell's part, such as changing *Messiah* to *Christ*, *worthy* to *virtuous*, or *messenger* to *angel*. There is little indication of changes to the features I am exploring, and both editions were released in the timeframe of the project. Since the fourth edition text required much less processing, I have used it for my data, after correcting any typographical errors in the transcription I was able to identify (e.g. *th* for *the*, *prist* for *priest*, *fromCrete* for *from Crete*). The full text of the Living Oracles comes

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[31] https://archive.org/details/sacredwritingsof00cam
[32] http://wwjdtoday.com/ChurchDocs/LivingOracles_updated_1203230700_Word.pdf

to 172,636 words, and for the grammatical analysis, I have used the Gospel of Matthew (as with the KJB), for a sample of 21,398 words.

5.4.3 The Berean

The Berean was a text written by John Humphrey Noyes, the founder of the Oneida community. Its name references the Greek town of Berea, whose people, according to the book of Acts, received Paul's teaching readily and searched the scriptures diligently.[33] Noyes's book takes the form of a manual, instructing the Christian novice in right belief. It includes 74 chapters on a diverse range of subjects, such as "The Bible," "Perfectionism," "Paul's Views of the Law," and "Apostolical Succession." These were originally published as individual articles between 1834 and 1846, before being combined into this single volume in 1847. It is written in Noyes's voice, as an educated member of the clergy instructing members of his congregation, and espouses his views based on his reading of the Bible and his training in Christian theology, so it does not purport to be a book of revelation as the Book of Mormon or the Holy Roll do. It is nonetheless a noteworthy example of religious writing from the same time and region that produced these other works.

Noyes himself was born in Vermont in the early 1800s, to a Presbyterian father who devoted himself to business, politics, and occasionally preaching.[34] Noyes attended Dartmouth College, and later studied at the Andover and Yale seminaries, where his studies led him to the conclusion that Christ's second coming had already happened, and the millennium was in progress. This thought led to the idea that humanity must and could perfect itself. Noyes went on to claim personal sinlessness, which drove a wedge between him and his colleagues. He was expelled from Yale for his heresy and lost his license to preach. Undismayed, he continued preaching anyway and went his own way, forming his perfectionist community that eventually settled in Oneida.

I have taken the text for the Berean from Internet Archive.[35] Once again, OCR errors required extensive work to make the text electronically searchable, and I made

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[33] Acts 17:10–11.

[34] Incidentally, John Humphrey Noyes was also a first cousin to Ruthorford B. Hayes, who would later become the 19th president of the United States.

[35] https://archive.org/details/bereanmanualforh00noyerich

corrections as necessary by reference to the .pdf version. I removed the preface, section headers and line-breaking hyphens, and added line breaks after major punctuation. Due to the length of the text, I used only the first 35 chapters, resulting in a text of 144,505 words, comparable to most of the other texts in my analysis. For the grammatical analysis, I used the first five sections, which make for a sample of 12,064 words.

5.4.4 Charles G. Finney Sermons

As discussed in chapter 2, Charles G. Finney was the most celebrated of the many revival preachers who aroused the religious passions of so many people during the Second Great Awakening, and whose manner of language would have been familiar to Joseph Smith and others in the Burned-over District. His most famous text was a pair of linked sermons, "Sinners Bound to Change Their Own Hearts" and "How to Change Your Heart" (Hambrick-Stowe 1996: 13). He published a collection of his sermons in 1834, and an 1839 edition is available through the Internet Archive.[36]

Charles Grandison Finney was born in Connecticut in the late 1700s, but was raised in upstate New York, where his family attended a Baptist congregation. He was apprenticed to a lawyer, but left the legal profession behind after his conversion experience. He never attended college or seminary, but completed his theological training in private study with Presbyterian minister George Washington Gale, after which he obtained his license to preach and embarked on his celebrated career as a revivalist.

A transcription of these twelve sermons, without OCR problems, is also available from Gospel Truth Ministries, a California-based ministry with a website devoted to Finney, hosting his complete works.[37] The sermons were presented during his revival tours in New York and surrounding states during the 1830s, and together they amount to 99,694 words. For the grammatical analysis, I will be using the text of "Sinners Bound to Change their Own Hearts," which is 14,725 words long.

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[36] https://archive.org/details/SermonsOnImportantSubjectsByRev.CharlesG.Finney-Dated1839-Brought
[37] http://www.gospeltruth.net/sermindex.htm

5.5 19th Century Translations

In addition to being a book of scripture, the Book of Mormon also makes the claim that it is a translation of an ancient text, written in the otherwise unknown language "Reformed Egyptian." It was then converted into English by Joseph Smith, who accomplished this translation by means of "the gift and power of God." The King James Bible is also a translation into English of an ancient religious text, and as its own style of English was archaic yet still familiar in the 19th century, it could serve as a model for anyone wishing to express a sense of antiquity. Several writers of the time, translating ancient texts into English, incorporated features of archaic English into their translations, communicating the age of the text to the reader by means of the outmoded language (Barlow 1991: 27). This practice had fallen out of favor in the 18th and 19th centuries, in preference for fluent, contemporary English, but was not abandoned entirely (Venuti 2008: 58, 63, 65). As these texts are not themselves religious, and the translators have a linguistic education with less focus on ancient religious texts, there is a greater chance of influence from other archaic literature, not just the KJB. The KJB is nonetheless a very prominent and familiar text, and likely played some role in shaping these translators' conceptions of archaic English. If there is a consistent idiom of archaic "translationese," it is possible the Book of Mormon could fall into this same pattern to indicate the great age of its source documents, so it is worth comparing its language to that of other contemporary translations employing archaisms. For this study, I have identified and will be using three translated texts that include relevant archaic features:

- The Mabinogion, translated by Lady Charlotte Guest (a collection of ancient Welsh mythology)
- The Iliad, translated by Francis Newman (one of Homer's ancient Greek epics)
- Grettis Saga, translated by William Morris (an Old Norse prose narrative)

In this case, there is a confounding variable worth noting, as all three of these translators were English rather than American, so it is possible that some distinct shared features of their texts may be a result of dialect rather than genre.

5.5.1 The Mabinogion

The Mabinogion are a collection of ancient Welsh tales, compiled in prose during the Middle Ages, and containing an early portrayal of King Arthur, along with other Welsh heroes. They were translated into English in the 1830s and 1840s by Lady Charlotte Guest.

Guest was an English aristocrat, born to the Earl of Lindsey in the early 1800s, who dedicated her life to political causes and learning. In her youth, she taught herself Arabic, Persian, Latin, Greek, French, and Italian. In 1833 she married John Josiah Guest, a Welsh industrialist and member of parliament, and settled in southern Wales, where she raised ten children and became deeply involved in local philanthropy, literary scholarship, and her husband's iron business. She also took an interest in church politics, working to counter the revival of some Catholic elements in the Church of England (Reynolds 1998: 82). She learned Welsh, and began translating the Mabinogion into English in 1837, publishing it in seven volumes between 1838 and 1845. A second edition published in 1877 became widely popular.

The Internet Archive hosts a copy of a 1906 printing,[38] and there is a transcription without OCR errors available through the Internet Sacred Text Archive.[39] I have removed the introductory remarks and the notes for each section, along with the labelled page numbers, and the occasional footnote or bracketed comment. The text comes to 104,836 words. For the grammatical analysis, I used the story of the Lady of the Fountain, a sample which contains 10,369 words.

5.5.2 The Iliad

The Iliad is among the oldest and most influential works of western literature, attributed to the legendary Greek poet Homer and composed probably in the seventh or eighth century BC. It has been translated into English innumerable times, including a mid-19th century translation by Francis Newman. Newman's translation is of interest

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[38] https://archive.org/details/mabinogion00schrgoog
[39] http://www.sacred-texts.com/neu/celt/mab/

because it was made during the Second Great Awakening and incorporates many features of archaic English.

Newman was an English scholar and writer, who studied at Ealing and then Oxford. His older brother, John Henry Newman, was an Anglican priest and academic, who was drawn into the contemporary movement embracing the church's Catholic heritage, later leaving to join the Catholics, who ultimately made him a cardinal. Francis participated in unorthodox belief as well, though in the other direction, joining the Plymouth Brethren for a time until differences of opinion drove him from the group. He would spend much of his life as an agnostic before returning to the Church of England in his old age. He worked as a tutor for a time before becoming a classics professor at Manchester New College in 1840, and later a Latin professor at University College, London in 1846. Newton gained a reputation as an eccentric, advocating for vegetarianism and women's suffrage, and against vaccination and vivisection, and writing on a wide array of religious and scholarly topics. Among his writing projects was a metrical translation of the Iliad, which he published in 1856 while he was working at University College, London.

I have taken the text from the Internet Archive.[40] As with many of the other texts, there were many OCR errors requiring correction according to the .pdf version. I also made a number of changes to the spelling to assist in searchability, undoing the ubiquitous contractions Newman used (e.g. *compass'd* for *compassed*, *pray'r* for *prayer*, *reign'st* for *reignest*, *o'er* for *over, e'en* for *even*, *e'er* for *ever*, *heav'n* for *heaven*, etc.). I also removed the preface, footnotes, end material, and other additions to the base text. The resulting text has 156,852 words. For the grammatical analysis, I used the first two books, giving a sample of 15,032 words.

5.5.3 Grettis Saga

Grettis Saga is an Icelandic story of the adventures of Grettir, who is cursed after defeating an undead monster and spends most of his life as an outlaw. The work was

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[40] https://archive.org/details/iliadhomerfaith00newmgoog

written towards the end of the 14th century, and was translated into English in the mid-19th century by William Morris.

Morris was a Victorian businessman, writer, and political activist. He came from a middle-class English family, and attended Marlborough College and then Oxford, where he studied Classics in the 1850s. He was raised an Anglican, and confirmed by the Bishop of Salisbury in 1849, but he became interested in the church's Catholic heritage and the romanticist aesthetic of the time. Later, he would come to identify as an atheist. After graduation, he founded a textile firm along with some friends, and designed patterns for tapestries, wallpaper, fabrics, furniture, and stained-glass windows. In addition to his textile business, Morris published numerous poems and novels, and came to have a particular fascination with the medieval literature of Iceland. He began learning Icelandic in 1868 and developed a partnership with the Icelandic scholar and theologian Eiríkr Magnússon. Together they translated a good number of Icelandic sagas into English, including Grettis Saga, first published in 1869. This places Grettis Saga a little later than the other texts I am examining, which were all written in the 1850s or earlier.

I have taken the text for Grettis Saga from the William Morris archive, hosted by the University of Iowa.[41] I have removed the preface, chronology, notes, and indices, and have not counted chapter labels or page numbers in the word count, but there were no OCR errors to correct. The text comes to 77,330 words. For the grammatical analysis, I have used the first twenty chapters, a sample of 17,815 words.

5.6 Joseph Smith's Letters

There is also the possibility that the archaic style of the Book of Mormon text is not connected to any contemporary genre, but is instead an expression of a unique written idiom developed by Smith himself. Indeed, he published other later revelations in a similar style, and there are also many other extant texts he wrote or dictated. For this investigation, I will be considering a collection of letters sent by Smith in the early years of his prophetic career, to see whether the stylistic effects in the BoM are shared in his personal writings.

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[41] http://morrisedition.lib.uiowa.edu/grettir.html

For this, I have turned to the Joseph Smith Papers project, a recent undertaking by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints to make many of the church's early documents freely available online, in both facsimile and transcript.[42] For my sample, I have taken all the personal letters signed by Smith between 1828 and 1834, a total of forty documents sent to siblings, friends, fellow church leaders, and his first wife, Emma. The contents of the letters are quite diverse: some involve sharing personal or church news, a good number involve preaching and proselytizing (including a letter to a newspaper editor, intended for publication), many involve instruction in religious behavior or leadership, and many involve various aspects of church business, including paying for and promoting church literature, making leadership assignments, relocating church members to new towns, rebuking disapproved conduct, enforcing church discipline, and responding to conflicts with neighboring communities. In terms of archaisms, there is not a clear divide between letters to church leaders and communities on the one hand, and more personal letters to family, including his wife. The letters to Emma include lines like the following:

- "God is merciful and has forgiven my Sins and I rejoice that he Sendeth forth the Comforter unto as many as believe and humbleth themselves before him" (June 1832)
- "God who holdeth all things in his hands" (Oct 1832)

Some of the letters are written in Smith's own hand, but most were dictated to scribes. I have removed from the word count formulaic salutations and closings, as well as the names of addressees and signers. Many of the letters have multiple signatures, sent by Smith in company with his counsellors or other associates, and in some cases it is possible the wording is not the product of Smith alone. In cases where a single letter contains multiple sections with different signatures, I have excluded those sections lacking Smith's signature. The letters contain numerous in-line corrections, with words added or crossed out. I have used the final form indicated, incorporating any such changes. I have, however, made extensive changes to the spelling, standardizing the many phonetic spellings for the sake of machine searching, to make the text more

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[42] http://www.josephsmithpapers.org/

compatible with the others in the study. For example, I made the following changes in Smith's 22 October 1829 letter to BoM scribe Oliver Cowdery:

Table 3: Altered Spellings in Joseph Smith's Letters

pre-edit	post-edit	pre-edit	post-edit
journy	journey	persacutors	persecutors
evry	every	enimies	enemies
axactly	exactly	untill	until
formadable	formidable	attonement	atonement

The combined letters form a text of 38,628 words. For the grammatical analysis, I have used those letters from 1828 through the first half of 1833, a sample of seventeen letters and 15,438 words.

5.7 The Late War

In addition to religious texts and translations of archaic texts, there are other contemporary texts, especially histories, that have been noted for apparent links to the Book of Mormon. Ethan Smith's *View of the Hebrews* shares many themes with the BoM text, though its style is modern. Other contemporary history texts are written in a biblically-influenced style, including Gilbert Hunt's *The Late War*, an account of the War of 1812 in America, and Modest Gruau's *First Book of Napoleon*, dealing with the concurrent fighting in Europe. I will be including The Late War in my comparison, to see if the Book of Mormon more closely follows this historical style, rather than that of religious or translated texts. I have been unable to find any information on Hunt's education or upbringing, but he wrote as a patriotic American and published his book in New York City in 1816 and the following years.

I have taken the text once again from the Internet Archive,[43] cleaning up OCR errors and formatting it like the rest. I have removed the preface, as well as a number of shorter texts appended at the end (a snippet about another early American war in North Africa, and the contents of several related treaties). The result is a shorter text than most of those I am examining, coming to 42,895 words. For the grammatical analysis, I have used the first twenty chapters, a sample of 14,300 words.

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[43] https://archive.org/details/latewarbetween_00hunt

5.8 Control Texts

Finally, it is important to establish a control, to be able to clearly see where the texts depart from the contemporary English of the early 19th century. Some archaic features may have still been in common use at the time, and only passed into obsolescence afterwards, and the proportions and rates for many of the features have likely changed between the 19th century and the present.

To establish what might be expected from writers in general in Smith's time, I have turned to the Corpus of Historical American English, part of the BYU family of corpora managed by Mark Davies.[44] COHA contains over 400 million words, arranged by decades spanning the years from 1810 to 2010. I have limited my data to a fifty-year window, considering only the decades of the 1810s through the 1850s. This lines up fairly closely with both Smith's life and the general progress of the Second Great Awakening, and the Book of Mormon's creation falls toward the center of the span. This subcorpus contains 54,422,694 words, a sample much larger than my others and containing a wide range of genres. The corpus is tagged, which makes the larger data set much easier to manage for some of my analysis, such as the examination of lexical data, but it is not parsed, which limits its usefulness for the grammatical analysis.

For this reason, I will be using another contemporary control text alongside COHA to examine grammatical features such as archaic verbal suffixes and the choice of singular address pronouns. For this purpose, I have selected *The Last of the Mohicans*, by James Fenimore Cooper. Cooper grew up in Cooperstown, New York, within the Burned-over District, about 120 miles southeast of Smith's home in Palmyra, and through the area's religious excitement he remained a lifelong member of the Episcopal Church. He turned to writing after a stint in the United States Navy, and became famous for his historical romances set on the early American frontier. *Last of the Mohicans*, first published in 1826, has become his best known work. It tells a story set in 1757, during the French and Indian War, and its New York setting and Native American themes make for some interesting connections to the Book of Mormon, published just four years later. It is, however, not a religious text, and is not written in a biblical style, so its modern

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[44] http://corpus.byu.edu/coha/

language provides an example of what an early 19th century New York resident writing a narrative in a historical setting might be expected to produce without such an archaic stylistic influence.

For the *Mohicans* text, I have used the version hosted by Project Gutenberg, based on the 1933 printing.[45] As this text was needed only for the grammatical analysis, I have not used the entire book, but only the first five chapters, which provide a sample of 17,250 words. This makes for a sample size comparable to the others used in the grammatical analysis. I have excluded the small poetic epigraph from the beginning of each chapter, as these were written by other authors and are not incorporated into the rest of the text. Several of these, written by Shakespeare, contain archaic features which have thus been excluded from the count.

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[45] http://www.gutenberg.org/files/27681/27681-h/27681-h.htm

CHAPTER 6: LEXICAL ANALYSIS

6.1 Archaic Lexemes in the King James Bible and in COHA

In this section we will be examining lexical items that had fallen mostly out of use in the early 19th century, but were retained in archaic English styles. A significant problem for such an investigation is the enormous size of the English lexicon. A comprehensive study to identify all words which were then archaic is far beyond the scope of this project. Fortunately, there are some factors which make the project much more manageable.

First, we are concerned particularly with the influence of the King James Bible, so we can limit ourselves to those terms which feature in it. Second, the KJB is still used extensively today, including by people who lack training in Early Modern English. There are resources online in which religious organizations explain archaic biblical terms to their constituents,[46] and these offer an easy means for compiling a set of archaisms to study. I have sorted through several such lists and selected a set that I deemed most likely to prove influential. Some further lexical items, not necessarily archaic but much less frequent than in the KJB, will be considered as well in Chapter 9.

I have considered a few aspects while paring this list back. Some noteworthy archaisms, such as LET (meaning 'prevent' or 'hinder'), are present in the KJB, but very rare, as the term was already mostly obsolescent in the 17th century. One example occurs when Pharaoh denies Moses' request for permission to hold a Hebrew feast in the wilderness:

- And the king of Egypt said unto them, Wherefore do ye, Moses and Aaron, **let** the people from their works? get you unto your burdens. (Ex 5:4)[47]

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[46] Some examples include the following:
http://www.bbcmorehead.org/index.php?id=545
http://www.cprf.co.uk/pamphlets/archaisms.htm
http://www.preservedwords.com/wordlist.htm
http://www.christiananswers.net/dictionary/kjvwords.html

[47] Other instances occur at Isaiah 43:13, Romans 1:13, and 2 Thessalonians 2:7 (2 tokens); there is also 1 occurrence in the Apocrypha: Wisdom of Solomon 7:22.

I excluded terms such as LET which occur in the KJB at a rate of less than 20 words per million. I also excluded archaic terms with specific technical meanings unlikely to be needed in later texts. For example, the KJB uses the word *taches* to refer to the fasteners used for the curtains of the tabernacle. This word is limited to Exodus, and identifies something not relevant to the Christian worship context of 19th century America. And I also excluded words which were not yet obsolescent in 19th century America. To test this, I used the Corpus of Historical American English (COHA) to investigate their frequency in the first half of the 19th century (from the 1810s through the 1850s), and compared these frequencies to the KJB. Some terms, such as HENCE and WHILST, were actually more frequent in COHA, so however archaic they may be today, it does not make sense to consider them among the archaisms in this study. HITHER is less frequent in COHA, but the difference is not great, and it likely would not have stood out as distinctively archaic either.

For most of the terms (e.g. NIGH), checking their frequency in COHA was quite straightforward, but for others, homography or polysemy required restricting the search. For SAVE (meaning 'except' or 'unless'), I searched for tokens tagged as prepositions or conjunctions rather than as verbs, which proved fairly effective. The tagging is not perfect, however, as shown by these examples where prepositional SAVE has been mis-tagged as a verb:

- a slanderous wrong to doubt if any other can be mistress of his heart, **save** her to whom he gave it at the altar. (1810)
- All the rest of us, men, women, and livestock, **save** only these four porkers, are bedevilled with one grief or another; (1852)

Such instances are uncommon, but the overall rate for SAVE is surely somewhat higher than that indicated by the numbers. Adjectival MEET proved problematic, as a search limited to adjectives returned no results. But there are definitely instances of MEET with its adjectival meaning ('suitable') in the corpus.

- Yes; much that it is not **meet** for me to repeat to you. (1834)
- And then a nation's tears Fell down like rain, for it was **meet** to mourn. (1837)
- Then tell me, is it **meet** that I should seek the bridal wreath? (1849)

A search for *wise* as a noun ('manner') does return some results, unlike *meet*, but still fails to catch most of the relevant examples, and it still includes some instances as an adjective, a substantive adjective, or a proper noun, none of which are relevant.

- In this **wise** did the unfortunate Hidalgo plead for the meanest boon which it was in their power to grant; (1839)
- **Wise** are his ways, and free from guile his thought. (1827)
- But with the **wise** who retain the esteem of youth, there must also be concealments. (1848)
- The great Brompton Nursery of Loudon and **Wise**, during the early part of the eighteenth century, disseminated vast quantities of fruit trees over the kingdom. (1850)

For PROVE, both the intended meaning ('test') and the competing one ('demonstrate') shared the same part-of-speech, namely verbs. For MEET, WISE, and PROVE, I checked a random sample of 100 occurrences to see how many were instances of the archaic meaning, and then used this rate to extrapolate an approximation of how many archaic tokens are in the full corpus.

- Elizabeth saw one way to **prove** him. She would order him to appear against Essex at the trial! Then the fact would appear. He was more than willing. He wished to be brought to the test. (1852)
- Oh, suffer me to **prove** my innocence. (1815)

There are also a number of cases in which inflectional paradigms or alternative spellings required searching for multiple forms, such as *wax*, *waxes*, *waxing*, *waxed*, and *waxen*, or *naught* and *nought*.[48] For the adjective PRIVY, I also included the derived adverb *privily*, on the assumption that they would have a shared effect if any in terms of lexical influence, and because neither was sufficiently frequent to pass the threshold for inclusion alone, yet they seem quite characteristic of KJB style and are frequent enough together.

I settled on the following list of 18 words, with their frequencies indicated in words per million:[49]

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[48] Likewise BEGET, BESEECH, GIRD, and WIT.

[49] Throughout, I will be using SMALL CAPITALS to indicate lexemes and *italics* to indicate specific word forms, so BEGET, for example, includes counts for *beget*, *begets*, *begetteth*, *begettest*, *begat*, *begot*, *begatst*, *begetting*, and *begotten*. For many of the terms, (e.g. UNTO) this makes no practical difference.

Table 4: Archaic Lexemes in the KJB

	COHA	KJB		COHA	KJB
BEGET 'to father'	2	344	SAVE 'except'	15	76
BESEECH 'beg'	15	91	THENCE 'from there'	32	189
BETWIXT 'between'	6	21	THITHER 'to there'	25	128
GIRD 'put on'	6	102	UNTO 'to'	64	13166
MEET 'suitable'	7	38	VERILY 'truly'	12	182
NIGH 'near'	32	130	WAX 'grow'	7	94
NOUGHT 'nothing'	21	51	WISE 'manner'	7	40
PRIVY 'private'	5	25	WIT 'know'	2	35
PROVE 'test'	<1	46	WROTH 'angry'	<1	64

Many of these terms are quite rare in COHA. BEGET, BETWIXT, GIRD, MEET, PRIVY, PROVE, WAX, WISE, WIT, and WROTH all have rates under 10 wpm, and BESEECH, SAVE, and VERILY are all under 20 wpm. NAUGHT, NIGH, THENCE, and THITHER have rates in the twenties and thirties, but still well below their respective rates in the KJB.[50] UNTO manages a full 64 wpm, but this is dwarfed by the KJB's 13,166 wpm.

6.2 The Book of Mormon

Comparing the rates of these lexemes in the Book of Mormon to the rates in the KJB and in COHA shows considerable variation from one term to another. Some— BESEECH and NIGH—occur at rates comparable to COHA (within 25% higher or lower). These show no sign of influence from KJB style as their frequencies are in line with contemporary 19th century norms. Others—BEGET, GIRD, MEET, PRIVY, PROVE, THENCE, THITHER, and WIT[51]—fall between the rates in COHA and the KJB, pointing to a potential but limited KJB influence in raising their frequencies. Still others—BETWIXT, UNTO, and WISE—fall quite close to the rate in the KJB (within 25% higher or lower) and are much more frequent than in COHA. These rates suggest considerable influence from the KJB on their BoM frequencies.

The remaining terms—NOUGHT, SAVE, VERILY, WAX, and WROTH—have rates in the Book of Mormon so far elevated that they surpass even the KJB, where they are

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[50] NAUGHT is 2.5 times as common in the KJB; THENCE is nearly 6 times as common. The others fall between.

[51] WIT has only two tokens in the BoM, both preterite *wist*, so the evidence for its occurring at a higher than contemporary rate is rather thin—the data is simply too limited.

already much more frequent than in contemporary 19th century usage. This seems to be a case of hypercorrection. Joseph Smith may have been particularly impressed by the biblical feel of these terms, enthusiastically incorporating them into his new scriptural text. For NOUGHT, WROTH, WAX, and VERILY, they occur at rates that are raised between 30% and 60% over their respective KJB frequencies, but the clear outlier is SAVE. This term is about ten times as frequent in the Book of Mormon as it is in the King James Bible, and approaches fifty times the frequency recorded in COHA.[52] It is easily the most distinctive BoM lexical item on this list, and will be investigated in more detail below.

Table 5: Archaic Lexemes in the Book of Mormon

Frequency in wpm[53]		COHA	**BoM**	KJB
matches COHA	BESEECH 'beg'	15	15	91
(no apparent influence)	NIGH 'near'	32	37	130
falls between	BEGET 'to father'	2	195	344
COHA and KJB	GIRD 'put on'	6	37	102
(minor influence)	MEET 'suitable'	7	22	38
	PRIVY 'private'	5	15	25
	PROVE 'test'	<1	7	46
	THENCE 'from there'	32	41	189
	THITHER 'to there'	25	56	128
	WIT 'know'	2	7	35
matches KJB	BETWIXT 'between'	6	19	21
(considerable influence)	UNTO 'to'	64	13432	13166
	WISE 'manner'	7	34	39
rate exceeds COHA	NOUGHT 'nothing'	21	67	51
(hypercorrection)	SAVE 'except'	15	730	74
	VERILY 'truly'	12	283	178
	WAX 'grow'	7	142	91
	WROTH 'angry'	<1	90	64

6.3 Religious Texts

Many of these archaic lexemes are present in other 19th century religious texts as well, though for most texts, they are less common than in the Book of Mormon, and the

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[52] Though as noted above, this frequency is probably a little lower than it should be on account of some inaccurate tagging.

[53] In this chapter and those that follow, I will be providing the data in normalized forms: either as rates of words per million, as here, or as proportions between an archaic and modern alternative. Because all of the texts besides COHA are under a million words in length, the frequencies provided are actually higher than the number of tokens they represent. The token counts themselves are given in the appendix.

selection of archaisms is not consistent. The Holy Roll, which is closest to the BoM in genre, is also the most similar in its biblical archaisms, while texts that do not purport to be scripture, such as the Berean or the sermons of Charles G. Finney, are the least alike.

Some of these lexical items are poorly represented among the religious texts. BETWIXT doesn't occur in any of them, and PRIVY, THENCE, WAX, WIT, and WROTH are all rare. Others are rather well represented. BEGET is frequent in all of them, NIGH is common in all but Finney, BESEECH is common in all but the Berean, and VERILY and UNTO are common in all but the Living Oracles. Finney's sermons and the Berean show less evidence of KJB archaisms than the others, while the Holy Roll makes the most use of them. The Living Oracles has high rates for some of these lexemes while many of the others are entirely absent.

6.3.1 The Holy Roll and Book

Table 6: Archaic Lexemes in the Holy Roll

Frequency in wpm		COHA	**Holy Roll**	KJB
matches COHA	BETWIXT 'between'	6	0	21
(no apparent influence)	PRIVY 'private'	5	0	25
	THENCE 'from there'	32	0	189
	THITHER 'to there'	25	0	128
	WIT 'know'	2	0	35
falls between	BEGET 'to father'	2	159	344
COHA and KJB	BESEECH 'beg'	15	32	91
(minor influence)	GIRD 'put on'	6	42	102
	MEET 'suitable'	7	21	38
	NIGH 'near'	32	95	130
	UNTO 'to'	64	5403	13166
	VERILY 'truly'	12	116	178
	WAX 'grow'	7	11	91
	WROTH 'angry'	<1	11	64
rate exceeds KJB	NOUGHT 'nothing'	21	243	51
(hypercorrection)	PROVE 'test'	<1	74	46
	SAVE 'except'	15	233	74
	WISE 'manner'	7	53	39

In the Holy Roll, NOUGHT and WISE are quite frequent, though they are not very common in the others. PROVE occurs at a particularly high rate, exceeding any of the other texts under investigation, including the KJB. SAVE and UNTO are not as frequent as

in the Book of Mormon, but more so than in any of the other 19th century texts. GIRD,

MEET, and VERILY are also fairly well represented.

- But my sacred words have been trampled under their feet; my law of nature disregarded and set at **nought**; (2–3)[54]
- Though as yet, I have scarcely suffered [my angels], saith the Lord, to begin to make themselves known to the children of men: for I will first **prove** the inhabitants of the earth in this age, as I have **proved** them in times and ages long past. (44)
- For my people are inoffensive, and will sooner suffer, even **unto** death, than resist **unto** blood. (4)
- And thus will the Lord suffer strong delusions to come upon those who seek to climb to Heaven some other way, **save** by that which God has laid out for all souls; (246)

The Holy Roll is similar to the Book of Mormon in its choice of archaic lexemes, and often in their frequency as well. It is much more like it in this respect than any of the other 19th century religious texts.

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[54] References for the Holy Roll will be given in page numbers from Stewart et al. 1843.

6.3.2 Living Oracles

Table 7: Archaic Lexemes in the Living Oracles

Frequency in wpm		COHA	**Oracles**	KJB
matches COHA	BETWIXT 'between'	6	0	21
(no apparent influence)	MEET 'suitable'	7	0	38
	NOUGHT 'nothing'	21	6	51
	SAVE 'except'	15	6	74
	UNTO 'to'	64	0	13166
	VERILY 'truly'	12	0	178
	WAX 'grow'	7	0	91
	WISE 'manner'	7	0	39
	WIT 'know'	2	0	35
falls between	GIRD 'put on'	6	52	102
COHA and KJB	PRIVY 'private'	5	17	25
(minor influence)	WROTH 'angry'	<1	6	64
matches KJB	BEGET 'to father'	2	365	344
(considerable influence)	NIGH 'near'	32	133	130
	PROVE 'test'	<1	41	46
	THENCE 'from there'	32	156	189
	THITHER 'to there'	25	139	128
rate exceeds KJB	BESEECH 'beg'	15	249	91
(hypercorrection)				

In the Living Oracles, BEGET is particularly frequent. It occurs often in all of the 19th-century religious texts, but is about twice as common here as in the others, and its rate is very similar to that of the KJB. This is driven largely by the use of *begot* in the genealogy of Jesus, found at the beginning of Matthew, and helped along by the fairly frequent use of *begotten* in the epistles. The rate for BESEECH is much higher even than the KJB, though one of the translated texts has an even higher rate still. NIGH is also quite frequent in the Living Oracles, while maintaining a reasonable presence in the other religious texts, and THITHER is frequent here but not in the others. On the other hand, Campbell makes no use of UNTO, preferring modern *to*, even though the archaic preposition still sees some use in contemporary American English generally.

- Abraham **begot** Isaac. Isaac **begot** Jacob. Jacob **begot** Judah and his brothers. Judah had Pharez and Zarah by Tamar. Pharez **begot** Ezrom. Ezrom **begot** Aram. Aram **begot** Aminidab. Aminadab **begot** Nashon. Nashon **begot** Salmon. Salmon had Boaz by Rahab. Boaz had Obed by Ruth. Obed **begot** Jesse. Jesse **begot** David the king. (Matt 1:2–6)[55]

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[55] References for the Living Oracles will be given in biblical book, chapter, & verse.

- And the fiends **besought** him, saying, If thou expel us, permit us to go into the herd of swine. (Matt 8:31)
- Draw **nigh** to God, and he will draw **nigh** to you. (James 4:8)
- Then Judas, having got the cohort and officers from the chief priests and the Pharisees, came **thither** with lanterns, and torches, and arms. (John 18:3)

6.3.3 The Berean

Table 8: Archaic Lexemes in the Berean

Frequency in wpm		COHA	**Berean**	KJB
matches COHA	BESEECH 'beg'	15	14	91
(no apparent influence)	BETWIXT 'between'	6	0	21
	GIRD 'put on'	6	7	102
	MEET 'suitable'	7	7	38
	NOUGHT 'nothing'	21	0	51
	PRIVY 'private'	5	0	25
	PROVE 'test'	<1	0	46
	THITHER 'to there'	25	0	128
	WROTH 'angry'	<1	0	64
falls between	BEGET 'to father'	2	125	344
COHA and KJB	NIGH 'near'	32	90	130
(minor influence)	SAVE 'except'	15	21	74
	THENCE 'from there'	32	42	189
	UNTO 'to'	64	1543	13166
	WAX 'grow'	7	28	91
	WISE 'manner'	7	14	39
	WIT 'know'	2	14	35
matches KJB (considerable influence)	VERILY 'truly'	12	138	178

The Berean makes much less of archaic lexemes. Most of the terms occur at typical contemporary rates or are only partially elevated. What's more, many of the times they do occur are in quotations from the KJB embedded in the text. If these quotations were excluded from the examination, the rates would be lower still.

- Do these words declare, as some suppose, that the law was given four hundred and thirty years after the gospel? No, **verily**; for then as we have seen, the new covenant was four hundred and thirty years older than the old. (140)[56]
- "for **verily** I say **unto** you, till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no **wise** pass from the law, till all be fulfilled." (quoting Matt 5:18) (219)

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[56] References for the Berean will be given in page numbers from Noyes 1847.

- "God forbid that I should glory, **save** in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by which the world is crucified **unto** me, and I **unto** the world." (quoting Gal 6:14) (132)

6.3.4 Charles G. Finney Sermons

Table 9: Archaic Lexemes in Finney's Sermons

Frequency in wpm		COHA	**Finney**	KJB
matches COHA	MEET 'suitable'	7	0	38
(no apparent influence)	NIGH 'near'	32	20	130
	NOUGHT 'nothing'	21	10	51
	PRIVY 'private'	5	0	25
	PROVE 'test'	<1	0	46
	SAVE 'except'	15	0	74
	THENCE 'from there'	32	0	189
	THITHER 'to there'	25	20	128
	WIT 'know'	2	0	35
	WROTH 'angry'	<1	0	64
falls between	BEGET 'to father'	2	120	344
COHA and KJB	BESEECH 'beg'	15	40	91
(minor influence)	BETWIXT 'between'	6	10	21
	GIRD 'put on'	6	20	102
	UNTO 'to'	64	150	13166
	VERILY 'truly'	12	30	178
	WAX 'grow'	7	20	91
	WISE 'manner'	7	10	39

Charles G. Finney's sermons, like the Berean, are written in a more modern idiom, with little recourse to archaic lexemes. These sermons also lack the extensive biblical quotations of Noyes's manual, and so the rates are even lower. BEGET is the most notable for its higher than contemporary frequency. This term, absent from most of the non-religious texts but frequent in all the religious ones (even if there is little other evidence of archaism), is apparently an indicator of the religious genre rather than of archaic language use.

6.4 Archaic Translations

The translations of archaic texts show a considerably higher presence of archaism than the contemporary religious texts, even including the Book of Mormon. More archaic lexemes are used, and usually at higher rates, often surpassing the KJB. There is also

considerably more consistency. Grettis Saga makes particularly extensive use of archaic lexical items, while the Iliad and the Mabinogion have considerable overlap in their selection and frequencies.

A few of the lexemes are nonetheless uncommon in this group. In contrast to the religious texts, BEGET is not used except in the Iliad, and even there it is considerably less frequent. PRIVY and PROVE are also not well represented. Some of the least common items in the religious group, on the other hand, are very well represented here. BETWIXT, which was absent from all the 19th century religious texts except the BoM, is frequent in all three translations, as is NOUGHT, which was infrequent except in the Holy Roll. MEET, SAVE, THENCE, THITHER, UNTO, WISE, and WROTH are also quite common in all three translation texts., and though VERILY is not present in Grettis Saga, it occurs at high rates in both the Iliad and Mabinogion.

6.4.1 The Mabinogion

Table 10: Archaic Lexemes in the Mabinogion

Frequency in wpm		COHA	**Mab.**	KJB
matches COHA (no apparent influence)	BEGET 'to father'	2	0	344
	GIRD 'put on'	6	0	102
	NIGH 'near'	32	29	130
	PRIVY 'private'	5	0	25
	WIT 'know'	2	0	35
falls between COHA and KJB (minor influence)	MEET 'suitable'	7	19	38
	PROVE 'test'	<1	10	46
	UNTO 'to'	64	2480	13166
	WAX 'grow'	7	10	91
matches KJB (considerable influence)	THITHER 'to there'	25	105	128
rate exceeds KJB (hypercorrection)	BESEECH 'beg'	15	420	91
	BETWIXT 'between'	6	38	21
	NOUGHT 'nothing'	21	67	51
	SAVE 'except'	15	191	74
	THENCE 'from there'	32	334	189
	VERILY 'truly'	12	534	178
	WISE 'manner'	7	86	39
	WROTH 'angry'	<1	114	64

For the Mabinogion, the most distinctive lexical item from the set is BESEECH. It is more than four times as common as in the KJB, and approaches twice the frequency of

the Living Oracles. Meanwhile, its frequency in the Iliad is similar to contemporary usage, and it is absent from Grettis Saga. The Mabinogion also has the highest rate for SAVE among these translations, though it does not compare to the rate in the BoM. THENCE, VERILY, and WROTH are also quite frequent.

- And when it was known that thou wast come to dwell in the land, my household came and **besought** me to transform them into mice, that they might destroy thy corn. (59–60)[57]
- "Lord," said he, "behold, yonder is Gwenhwyvar, and none with her **save** only one maiden." (231)

6.4.2 The Iliad

Table 11: Archaic Lexemes in the Iliad

Frequency in wpm		COHA	**Iliad**	KJB
matches COHA	NIGH 'near'	32	38	130
(no apparent influence)	PRIVY 'private'	5	0	25
	WIT 'know'	2	0	35
falls between	BEGET 'to father'	2	77	344
COHA and KJB	BESEECH 'beg'	15	19	91
(minor influence)	PROVE 'test'	<1	26	46
	THENCE 'from there'	32	102	189
	UNTO 'to'	64	1938	13166
	WAX 'grow'	7	19	91
	WISE 'manner'	7	26	39
	WROTH 'angry'	<1	45	64
matches KJB	GIRD 'put on'	6	89	102
(considerable influence)	MEET 'suitable'	7	32	38
	SAVE 'except'	15	57	74
rate exceeds KJB	BETWIXT 'between'	6	236	21
(hypercorrection)	NOUGHT 'nothing'	21	128	51
	THITHER 'to there'	25	230	128
	VERILY 'truly'	12	567	178

The Iliad stands out from the other translations in its use of BEGET, and has a higher rate for VERILY than any other text under consideration, though it's only slightly higher than the Mabinogion.

- Minos in turn a son **begat**, Deucalion the spotless; / But me **begat** Deucalion, for lordship of the peoples / Over the ample Crete: (13:451)[58]

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[57] References for the Mabinogion will be given in page numbers from Guest 1906.
[58] References for the Iliad will be given in book and line numbers.

- Ye Spirits! **verily**, I wis,[59] the gods to death have called me. (22:297)

6.4.3 Grettis Saga

Table 12: Archaic Lexemes in Grettis Saga

Frequency in wpm		COHA	**Grettis**	KJB
matches COHA (no apparent influence)	BEGET 'to father'	2	0	344
	BESEECH 'beg'	15	0	91
	PROVE 'test'	<1	0	46
	VERILY 'truly'	12	0	178
falls between COHA and KJB (minor influence)	PRIVY 'private'	5	13	25
	UNTO 'to'	64	310	13166
matches KJB (considerable influence)	GIRD 'put on'	6	116	102
rate exceeds KJB (hypercorrection)	BETWIXT 'between'	6	621	21
	MEET 'suitable'	7	155	38
	NIGH 'near'	32	530	130
	NOUGHT 'nothing'	21	1345	51
	SAVE 'except'	15	129	74
	THENCE 'from there'	32	349	189
	THITHER 'to there'	25	388	128
	WAX 'grow'	7	181	91
	WISE 'manner'	7	815	39
	WIT 'know'	2	194	35
	WROTH 'angry'	<1	181	64

Grettis Saga has the highest rates of any of the texts for BETWIXT, GIRD, MEET, NOUGHT, THENCE, THITHER, WAX, WISE, WIT, and WROTH. In some cases the differences in frequency are extreme. BETWIXT, NOUGHT, and WISE all occur at rates of more than twenty times that in the KJB.

- Says he, "Herewith I establish peace **betwixt** all men, but most of all **betwixt** all men and this same Guest who sits here, (73, ¶1)[60]
- and with the other hand drew the short-sword that he was **girt** withal, and drave it at his neck, so that off the head flew. (40, ¶9)
- **Nought** else befell worth telling of at the feast, and men went home; (36, ¶5)
- So he fared south through the land, and **thence** to the Eastfirths; (61, ¶18)

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[59] The translated texts also include a number of archaisms such as this, which are not characteristic of KJB style. This is further evidence that these texts, with creators more experienced in ancient literature, draw from other sources as well in deriving their archaic style. Newman also makes frequent use of the verb WEEN.

[60] References for Grettis Saga will be given in chapter and paragraph numbers from Morris & Eiríkr 1869.

- Grim bade him come **thither** if he should have any need of safeguard. (47, ¶26)
- Then Kormak bade them take the challenge in manly **wise**, and do their best. (30, ¶6)
- Now the sheep troubled him and he **waxed wroth**, and caught up two of those men, and cast them down over the hill-side, so that they lay stunned; (59, ¶12)
- I **wot** not how **meet** it may be for you to be together; (50, ¶2)

6.5 Joseph Smith's Letters

Archaic lexemes are not only characteristic of Smith's prophetic writings, but are also present, at least to some degree, in his personal letters as well.

Table 13: Archaic Lexemes in Joseph Smith's Letters

Frequency in wpm		COHA	**JS Letters**	KJB
matches COHA	BEGET 'to father'	2	0	344
(no apparent influence)	BETWIXT 'between'	6	0	21
	GIRD 'put on'	6	0	102
	NOUGHT 'nothing'	21	26	51
	PRIVY 'private'	5	0	25
	THENCE 'from there'	32	0	189
	THITHER 'to there'	25	0	128
	WIT 'know'	2	0	35
	WROTH 'angry'	<1	0	64
falls between	BESEECH 'beg'	15	26	91
COHA and KJB	NIGH 'near'	32	78	130
(minor influence)	SAVE 'except'	15	52	74
	UNTO 'to'	64	3547	13166
	WAX 'grow'	7	26	91
matches KJB	PROVE 'test'	<1	52	46
(considerable influence)				
rate exceeds KJB	MEET 'suitable'	7	155	38
(hypercorrection)	VERILY 'truly'	12	518	178
	WISE 'manner'	7	78	39

Joseph Smith's letters differ from the Book of Mormon in his use of these archaic lexemes. Some of the most high-frequency terms in the Book of Mormon are missing (NOUGHT, WROTH) or else not nearly so common (WAX, SAVE, UNTO). On the other hand, there certainly are archaisms present. VERILY, already frequent in the BoM, occurs at nearly twice that rate in Smith's letters, and MEET and WISE also occur at a quite elevated rate, exceeding the KJB. Other terms, such as PROVE and UNTO, occur frequently as well.

Smith's personal writing, like the Book of Mormon, is characterized by the use of archaic lexemes, though the rates and preferences for specific words differ.

- but know this when men thus deal with you and speak all manner of evil of you falsely for the sake of Christ that he is your friend and I **verily** know that he will speedily deliver Zion (Aug 1833 letter to church leaders in Jackson County, MO)
- We Learn by Bro Phelps that the brethren have surrendered their arms to the enemy and are fleeing across the river if that is the case it is not **meet** that they should recommence hostilities with them but if not you should maintain the ground as Long as there is a man Left. (Dec 1833 letter to Edward Partridge)
- and I cannot account for this, only on this **wise**, that the saying of the savior has not been strictly observed: (Dec 1833 letter to Edward Partridge and others)
- I have decreed in my heart saith the Lord that I will **prove** you in all things whether you will abide in my covenant even unto death (Aug 1833 letter to church leaders in Jackson County, MO)
- But the time, and the season, Brethren, ye have no need that I write **unto** you, for ye yourselves perfectly know that the day of the Lord so cometh as a thief in the night: (Dec 1830 letter to the church in Colesville)

6.6 The Late War

This biblical historic genre, represented here by the Late War, also makes use of archaic lexemes in evoking the desired style.

Table 14: Archaic Lexemes in the Late War

Frequency in wpm		COHA	**Late War**	KJB
matches COHA (no apparent influence)	BEGET 'to father'	2	0	344
	BETWIXT 'between'	6	0	21
	PRIVY 'private'	5	0	25
	PROVE 'test'	<1	0	46
	THENCE 'from there'	32	23	189
falls between COHA and KJB (minor influence)	BESEECH 'beg'	15	23	91
	GIRD 'put on'	6	23	102
	THITHER 'to there'	25	70	128
	UNTO 'to'	64	3940	13166
	WROTH 'angry'	<1	23	64
matches KJB (considerable influence)	MEET 'suitable'	7	47	38
	NOUGHT 'nothing'	21	47	51
	VERILY 'truly'	12	187	178
	WISE 'manner'	7	47	39
rate exceeds KJB (hypercorrection)	NIGH 'near'	32	1259	130
	SAVE 'except'	15	140	74
	WAX 'grow'	7	163	91
	WIT 'know'	2	93	35

Hunt's history of the War of 1812 shows extensive use of the archaic lexemes that characterize KJB prose. Like the Book of Mormon, this text makes significant use of SAVE and WAX,[61] though the rate for SAVE is not nearly so great as in the BoM. UNTO is also quite elevated, as in several of the texts (Smith's letters, the Holy Roll, the Mabinogion, and to a lesser extent the Berean and the Iliad), though again at nowhere near the rate of the Book of Mormon. There is also evidence of archaic influence in the use of VERILY, WISE, NOUGHT, MEET, AND WROUGHT, but the standout term for the Late War is NIGH. NIGH occurs in the Late War at a rate much higher than any of the other texts, including the KJB. It is frequently followed by *unto*, in the construction *nigh unto X*.

- For lo! the strong hold of Michilimackinack which lieth **nigh unto** the Lakes of Michigan and Huron fell an easy prey unto the men of Britain and their red brethren; (47)[62]
- So when they found they were **nigh** being made captive, they departed in haste from the town and from the strong hold thereof, **save** about two score. (101)
- Howsoever, the battle **waxed** hot, and they began to rush one upon another with great violence. (75)

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[61] Always in the phrase, *the battle waxed hot*.
[62] References for the Late War will be given in page numbers from Hunt 1816.

6.7 Usage of *Save*

While a number of biblical archaisms are used extensively in the Book of Mormon, the preposition SAVE stands out by far the most prominently. Here we will look at this lexeme in greater detail, examining the contexts it occurs in in the KJB and how those compare to the BoM and other texts that use it frequently. The word is a French borrowing (from *sauf* 'except'), and is used to mean 'except' or 'unless.' The word's etymology is distinct from that of the verb SAVE, also a French borrowing and also frequent in scripture, but remaining in current English where the preposition has become very uncommon.

The preposition SAVE occurs 58 times in the King James Bible. The biblical occurrences take a variety of complements. In 41 cases the complement is a noun phrase, in 9 it is a prepositional phrase, and in 7 cases the complement is a subordinate clause. The final case is more difficult to categorize, as the structure is apparently complicated by some ellipsis.

- NP: For who is God, **save** the LORD? and who is a rock, **save** our God? (2 Sam 22:32, Pss 18:31)[63]
- PP: He that sacrificeth unto any god, **save** unto the LORD only, he shall be utterly destroyed. (Ex 22:20)[64]
- Clause: And he could there do no mighty work, **save** that he laid his hands upon a few sick folk, and healed them. (Mark 6:5)[65]
- Unclear: Then answered all the wicked men and men of Belial, of those that went with David, and said, Because they went not with us, we will not give them ought of the spoil that we have recovered, **save** to every man his wife and his children, that they may lead them away, and depart. (1 Sam 30:22)

This preposition occurs much more often in the Book of Mormon. There are 195 tokens in the considerably shorter book, in stark contrast to contemporary 19th century usage, where prepositional SAVE was quite rare. The distribution of complements is very different, as well. Whereas the KJB has mostly noun phrases, with a handful of prepositional phrases and clauses, the vast majority of tokens in the BoM take a clause as

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[63] See also Gen 14:23-24 & 39:6, Ex 12:16, Num 14:30, 26:65, & 32:11-12, Deut 1:35-36, Josh 11:13 & 14:4, Judg 7:14, 1 Sam 21:9 & 30:17, 2 Sam 12:3, 1 Kings 3:18, 8:9, 4:2, & 24:14, 2 Chr 5:10, 21:17, & 23:6, Neh 2:12, Matt 11:27, 17:8, & 19:11, Mark 5:37, 6:8, & 9:8, Luke 8:51, 17:18, & 18:19, John 6:22 & 6:46, 1 Cor 2:2 & 2:11, 2 Cor 11:24, Gal 1:19, & Rev 13:17.
[64] See also 1 Kings 15:5 & 22:31, 2 Chr 18:30, Dan 6:7 & 6:12, Matt 13:57, Luke 4:26, & Gal 6:14.
[65] See also Deut 15:3-4, 2 Kings 15:3-4, 2 Chr 2:6, John 13:10, & Acts 20:22-23 & 21:25.

a complement. Altogether, in 176 cases the complement is a clause, in only 18 cases it is a noun phrase, and there is only 1 case where it is a prepositional phrase. In most cases where the complement is a clause, it is sort of a dummy clause with an expletive subject and a subjunctive copula (*save it were* or *save it be*), followed 76 times by a noun phrase, 35 times by a prepositional phrase, 12 times by a further embedded clause, and 9 times by either an adjective phrase or a passive verb phrase. In the cases where an NP, PP, or clause follows, the intervening *it were/be* is almost always grammatically unnecessary. If removed, the results would be much closer to the KJB distribution for complements of SAVE, with most instances being NPs, and the remainder comprising PPs and clauses in similar but smaller amounts.

- NP: the day must surely come that they must be destroyed, **save** a few only, who shall be led away into captivity. (1 Ne 17:43)[66]
- PP: the Lamanites could not get into their forts of security by any other way **save** by the entrance (Alma 49:18)
- Clause: for there is nothing which is good **save** it comes from the Lord (Omni 1:25)[67]
  - Clause with NP: yea, all were naked, **save** it were the Zoramites and the Amalekites (Alma 43:20)
  - Clause with PP: giving them no time to assemble themselves together **save** it were in small bodies (Hel 1:24)
  - Clause with Clause: there is none other people that understand the things which were spoken unto the Jews like unto them, **save** it be that they are taught after the manner of the things of the Jews. (2 Ne 25:5)

The Book of Mormon is not the only text heavily characterized by prepositional SAVE. Except for Finney's sermons, it is present in all the texts in this study, and common in several. In addition to the Book of Mormon, it occurs at a rate higher than the KJB in the Holy Roll, the Late War, the Mabinogion, and Grettis Saga. For all the other texts in the study with at least 10 occurrences of SAVE,[68] apart from the Book of Mormon, NP

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[66] See also 1 Ne 14:10, 2 Ne 3:8, 8:20, & 25:18, Omni 1:11 & 1:28, Mos 4:8, 19:18, & 27:18, Alma 19:9, 23:14, 40:3, & 58:22, Morm 8:36, Moro 7:44, 9:8, & 9:19.

[67] Other instances of *save* with clause complements too numerous to list individually—13 in 1 Nephi, 39 in 2 Nephi, 10 in Jacob, 3 in Enos, 1 in Omni, 5 in Mosiah, 32 in Alma, 16 in Helaman, 25 in 3 Nephi, 5 in 4 Nephi, 7 in Mormon, 14 in Ether, & 6 in Moroni.

[68] The Iliad, the Late War, The Berean, Joseph Smith's letters, and the Living Oracles contain prepositional *save* as well, though at lower rates. The Iliad includes 4 tokens with an NP complement, 2 with a PP, and 3 with a clause; The Late War includes 4 with an NP, and 1 each with a PP and a clause; the Berean contains 2 with NPs and one with a PP (all in biblical quotations); JS letters contain 1 with a PP and 1 with a clause; and the Living Oracles contains one with an NP.

complements predominate, as in the KJB. This ranges from 50% of the total in Grettis Saga to 70% in the Mabinogion. Also like the KJB, the proportions of PP complements and clausal complements are fairly similar. The Book of Mormon's rate of 90% clausal complements is far from the pack. With the intervening *it were* or *it be* removed, the proportions are still unusual, though less so. This adjustment makes NP complements the most common option, but at only 44% of the total, and clauses still make up a full third of the total.

Table 15: Complements of SAVE

	KJB	BoM1	BoM2[69]	Holy Roll	Mab.	Grettis
Total Occurrences	58	195	195	22	20	10
Proportions with:						
NP	71%	9%	44%	59%	70%	50%
PP	16%	<1%	18%	18%	10%	20%
Clause	12%	90%	33%	23%	20%	20%
Other	1%		5%			10%

The expanded SAVE construction in the Book of Mormon, using either *save it were* or *save it be*, does not occur in the KJB, nor in any of the other 19th century texts in our analysis. It is also exceptionally rare in COHA for the early 19th century. There are only two instances of *save it were*, both in *The Scarlet Letter*:

- no human sympathy could reach her, **save** it were sinful like herself (1850)
- '**Save** it were the cankered wrath of an old witch, like Mistress Hibbins,' added he, attempting to smile, 'I know nothing that I would not sooner encounter than this passion in a child.' (1850)

Save it be occurs only once, in an *Atlantic Monthly* article which is in fact quoting the Book of Mormon. This construction with SAVE and a dummy clause has remained rare after Smith's time as well. *Save it were* occurs two more times later in COHA.[70] The first of these occurs in a poem by Thomas Dunn published in an 1894 collection.

- How he first came … to notice me … Was hard to fathom, **save it were** that he Was flattered by the earnest admiration I showed at all … times when … he deigned to mix with men. (1894)

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[69] Adjusted by the removal of *it were/it be*.

[70] There is also a false positive from a 1971 article on the Vietnam War published in *The Nation*: The importance of Indochina and the need to **save it were** the recurring themes of the news provided by these three papers.

The second is another quotation from the Book of Mormon itself, in a book by Lowell Bennion. There are no occurrences of *save it were* in COHA's modern sister corpus COCA, the Corpus of Contemporary American English. *Save it be* occurs twice in the later portion of COHA, in another *Atlantic* article, this time dealing with political reform, and in a 1927 *New Republic* article by Waldo Frank, "The Re-discovery of America."

- The party has not a policy or a fragment of policy, **save it be** one demanding honesty and capacity in the consul for each port and inland city in a foreign country. (1878)
- Any conclusion, however logical and bright, is false **save it be** the fruit of sound first principles. (1927)

It also occurs once in COCA, but this is in another Book of Mormon quotation, from a 2011 *Dialogue* article.

This expanded construction with prepositional SAVE is thus present in other American writings, but is exceptionally rare, whereas it is ubiquitous in the Book of Mormon text. It is telling that of the eight occurrences of either variant, *save it were* or *save it be*, in the entire 920 million words of the combined COHA and COCA corpuses, three are quotations of the Book of Mormon. The construction appears to be peculiar to Joseph Smith's writing in the Book of Mormon. Perhaps, with Smith wanting to use SAVE in its archaic sense but writing at a time when it was essentially lost to the language, this expanded construction made the term feel more natural to him. There is another indication that prepositional SAVE was awkward for Smith. In two cases where it is followed by a noun phrase, it could not be grammatically replaced by its synonyms *except* or *unless*. In these cases, it is apparently being used with the meaning 'only,' and the best substitution would probably be *only* or *but*. There are also a couple similar instances using the *save it were/be* construction, in a place where the Book of Mormon condemns polygamy.

- Behold there are **save** two churches only; the one is the church of the Lamb of God, and the other is the church of the devil; (1 Ne 14:10)
- for there is **save** one Messiah spoken of by the prophets, and that Messiah is he who should be rejected of the Jews. (2 Ne 25:18)
- For there shall not any man among you have **save it be** one wife; and concubines he shall have none; (Jac 2:27)

- that they should have **save it were** one wife, and concubines they should have none, (Jac 3:5)

This extension of SAVE is likely made on the analogy of *but*, since *but* can be used to mean 'only' or to mean 'except/unless,' and many biblical uses of SAVE could be replaced by *but*. However, this meaning of SAVE does not occur in the KJB, and I am not aware of its use with this meaning elsewhere at all. It is not present in the OED's entry for SAVE, and an examination of COHA shows no instances of "there is save," compared to 422 instances of "there is but." An examination of more modern English using COHA's sister corpus, the Corpus of Contemporary American English, again reveals no evidence for the use of "there is save," and while the alternative string, "there is but," has seen some decline, it still occurs 91 times in COCA. Like *save it were/be*, the use of SAVE to mean 'only' is apparently an innovation of Joseph Smith's in creating the distinctive English of the Book of Mormon.

6.8 Conclusion

The use of archaic lexemes, rare in both Present-day English and the American English of the early 19th century but characteristic of the English preserved in the King James Bible, is common to a great many of the texts surveyed here. It is characteristic of all three of the translations of ancient texts, reinforcing their sense of antiquity through the words used; of the historical writing in the Late War, casting the events of recent American history in the sense of grandeur and significance of biblical writing; and of the prophetic texts of the Book of Mormon and the Holy Roll, each advanced as new additions to the scriptural canon, to be treated as new bibles alongside the old. In each case, the biblical language helps project an identity to readers in support of their writers' messages.

Archaic lexemes are also present in the writing of Joseph Smith's letters and the more modern biblical translation of the Living Oracles, though at a lesser rate. They are not characteristic of the more modern writing of the Berean or of Charles G. Finney's sermons, at least outside of biblical quotation.

While many of the texts make use of this method of projecting antiquity, they do not match each other in their selection of terms and the rates of occurrence. Some are

limited by genre, such as BEGET, which is common to all the religious texts, but of the translations and history occurs only in the Iliad. Within these groups there are further differences in particulars, with some terms being wholeheartedly adopted by particular authors, but not nearly so prominent in other texts (e.g. BESEECH in the Mabinogion, NOUGHT and WISE in Grettis Saga, or SAVE in the Book of Mormon).

The translated texts make more extensive use of archaic lexemes than the religious texts, even with the Book of Mormon included. The Mabinogion and Grettis Saga in particular use many terms at rates higher than the King James Bible, sometimes to extreme degrees. Of course, there is also less expectation that their rates might match the KJB, as their authors, with more extensive training in linguistics and ancient literature, are likely drawing on a wider array of models than their contemporaries in the American clergy.

To the extent that the KJB is the intended linguistic model among the texts, there are a few interesting observations to be made. Lexical imitation is one way in which the biblical sense of antiquity and sacred authority is projected in modern texts. The selection of archaic lexemes to use varies among texts, as does the preciseness with which biblical rates are matched. And in many cases, the modern authors overshoot the mark, using the outmoded terms at rates far in excess of the model: a case of hypercorrection, perhaps reflecting a lack of comfort in using the archaic idiom.

Particularly interesting is the use of prepositional SAVE in the Book of Mormon. This term, common in the KJB but rare by the early 19th century, is pervasive in the Book of Mormon: The BoM contains over three times as many occurrences as the older text, in spite of being a third its length. But the term is noteworthy not only for this quantitative difference, but for qualitative differences in its distribution as well. There are two innovative aspects of Smith's employment of SAVE, absent from the other texts in the study and more or less absent from other use generally. For one, in more than 60% of the cases where SAVE occurs in the BoM, its complement is delayed by a semantically vacuous filler clause, giving the Book of Mormon its distinctive *save it were* / *save it be* construction. And for another, SAVE has taken on a new and possibly unique meaning, probably on the analogy of *but*. In this term, the Book of Mormon exhibits a fascinating

intersection of imitation and innovation, appropriating a biblical term but employing it in ways that depart from both the presumed source material and contemporary usage.

The lexemes in this section were selected based on their unfamiliarity to modern readers of the King James Bible. Other words may be archaic but still relatively familiar, or may still be in use in modern English, but at a much reduced rate compared to their use in the KJB. Such words can be identified by corpus techniques, sorting words by frequency and comparing their rates to 19th century usage. We will be using such techniques to investigate idiomatic phrase and word use in the KJB in Chapter 9, and so we will be returning to the topic of individual lexemes then. In the meantime, we shall shift focus to consider some archaic grammatical features, starting with the preservation of older vowel mutations in the verbal morphology.

CHAPTER 7: VOWEL ALTERNATION ANALYSIS

7.1 The King James Bible

In this chapter we will be examining words that did not fall out of use, but which did change their appearance between Early Modern and Present-day English. The use of the older form in these words can be another feature of archaic English styles. The spelling used in the 1611 edition of the King James Bible was considerably more archaic than is now readily apparent, because efforts to modernize the spelling and make it more consistent made up the bulk of the revisions done over the next 150 years.[71] A comparison of a verse in the 1611 text and Benjamin Blayney's 1769 revision, which remains in essence the standard text to this day, illustrates the sort and extent of the changes made to the orthography.

- **1611 text**: For God so loued ye world, that he gaue his only begotten Sonne: that whosoeuer beleeueth in him, should not perish, but haue euerlasting life. (John 3:16)
- **1769 text**: For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life. (John 3:16)

Even after these revisions, however, the text still preserves a number of conspicuous archaic spellings, many of which likely reflected archaic pronunciations that have since fallen out of use. The bulk of these are connected to a morphological change in the strong verb system, in which a new preterite vowel, <o>, spread analogically through a number of verbs, replacing the archaic <a> that was used previously. Also noteworthy are the use of LADE rather than LOAD and the spelling SHEW where modern English has SHOW.

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[71] Norton 2005: 93.

Table 16: Vowel Selection in the KJB

Preterite verb forms[72]	total tokens	proportion with <a>
BEAR: *bare* / *bore*	177	100%
BREAK: *brake* / *broke*	78	100%
DRIVE: *drave* / *drove*	21	62%
GET: *gat* / *got*	25	80%
BEGET: *begat* / *begot*	225	100%
FORGET: *forgat* / *forgot*	8	100%
SPEAK: *spake* / *spoke*	597	100%
SWEAR: *sware* / *swore*	83	100%
TEAR: *tare* / *tore*	4	100%
WEAR: *ware* / *wore*	1	100%
	total tokens	proportion of *lade* / *shew*
LOAD: *lade* / *load*	18	89%
SHOW: *shew* / *show*	405	100%

- For Sarah conceived, and **bare** Abraham a son in his old age, at the set time of which God had spoken to him. (Gen 21:2)
- And Jacob **begat** Joseph the husband of Mary, of whom was born Jesus, who is called Christ. (Matt 1:16)
- And as they were eating, Jesus took bread, and blessed it, and **brake** it, and gave it to the disciples, and said, Take, eat; this is my body. (Matt 26:26)
- Then **spake** the chief butler unto Pharaoh, saying, I do remember my faults this day: (Gen 41:9)
- All these things **spake** Jesus unto the multitude in parables; and without a parable **spake** he not unto them: (Matt 13:34)
- And Jacob said, Swear to me this day; and he **sware** unto him: and he sold his birthright unto Jacob. (Gen 25:33)

For BEAR, SPEAK, and TEAR, and for the compound forms BEGET and FORGET, the KJB has only the older form with <a> in the preterite. For BREAK, SWEAR, and WORE, only the <a> form is present in the Old and New Testaments, but the newer form with <o> was used in the translation of the Apocrypha.[73] For GET and especially DRIVE there is more variation, but the older form with <a> is still preferred in each case.

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[72] For some of these terms, the same spelling is used for past participles. *Got* and *Forgot* are used frequently in both the preterite and participial roles, the 1840 BoM has an instance of *wore* in "should have wore," and the Living Oracles has an instance of *spake* in "had spake." For consistency, I have excluded all such participial occurrences from the a/o preterite verbs. I have also excluded *laden* in the charts that follow this one, since it has remained in use while other inflections of *lade* have become obsolescent. I do however include instances of participial *shewed/shewn* in the counts for *shew*, since the older vowel has become obsolescent in all its inflected forms.

I have also taken care to exclude homographs such as *bare* ('naked'), *bore* ('penetrate'), *ware* ('merchandise'), and *tare* ('weed').

[73] *Broke* occurs in 1 Macc 6:62 and 2 Macc 10:36, *swore* in Wis 14:30, and *wore* in 1 Macc 8:14.

- And the LORD was with Judah; and he **drave** out the inhabitants of the mountain; but could not drive out the inhabitants of the valley, because they had chariots of iron. (Judg 1:19)
- And when he had made a scourge of small cords, he **drove** them all out of the temple, and the sheep, and the oxen; and poured out the changers' money, and overthrew the tables; (John 2:15)
- And Abraham **gat** up early in the morning to the place where he stood before the LORD: (Gen 19:27)
- And she caught him by his garment, saying, Lie with me: and he left his garment in her hand, and fled, and **got** him out. (Gen 39:12)

Some of these terms are quite rare, without enough occurrences to provide much evidence alone, but they are nonetheless in accord with the larger pattern. This is not a case of a universal sound change, but rather a sporadic change affecting only a set of lexical items, likely spreading by analogy.[74] An examination of the OED's earliest citations for the <o> forms shows that most started showing up in the 16th and 17th centuries. *Bore*, *spoke*, and *tore* are particularly late, consonant with their complete absence from the KJB. For *bore* and *spoke*, the innovative forms with <o> were probably a response to a phonological merger, eliminating the phonetic distinction between the present and preterite. While the <o> forms restored the tense-marking, it was perceived as vulgar for speakers without the merger, which could also be playing a role in the retention of the "refined" alternative for the sacred text (Görlach 1999: 491). The earliest attestations of forms with <o> are for *swore* (present even in OE but apparently fallen out of favor in the translators' day) and for *drove*, with an attestation c. 1200—with its longer history of use, and likely higher social currency, *drove* sees the most use of any of the <o> forms.

There is another unrelated alternation between these two vowels in the case of LADE vs. LOAD.[75] Here the original verb, LADE, would eventually fall out of use, replaced by LOAD, a zero derivation of the related noun. The past participle of the archaic form, *laden*, still sees extensive use, but the present and preterite forms (*lade* and *laded*) have

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[74] In the case of WEAR, there was also an analogical change from weak verb to strong: for OE *werian* the preterite was *werede*.

[75] For LADE and SHEW, the archaic vowel choice is present throughout the paradigm, rather than just in the preterite. This introduces an apparent inconsistency in the typeface: for the other words considered in this section, the archaic form will be indicated by italics, since only the preterite (e.g. *spake*) is archaic; for LADE and SHEW, I will be using small capitals unless I'm referring to a specific form of the word, such as *shews*. The two typefaces continue to indicate whether I am referencing the lexeme or the word form.

become obsolescent. The KJB has 16 tokens of LADE in its various inflectional forms, 6 of which are *laden*. It also has two tokens of LOAD (one of which is *loaden!*).

- Then they rent their clothes, and **laded** every man his ass, and returned to the city. (Gen 44:13)
- Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy **laden**, and I will give you rest. (Matt 11:28)
- Blessed be the Lord, who daily **loadeth** us with benefits, even the God of our salvation. Selah. (Pss 68:19)
- Bel boweth down, Nebo stoopeth, their idols were upon the beasts, and upon the cattle: your carriages were heavy **loaden**; they are a burden to the weary beast. (Isa 46:1)

A final noteworthy spelling in the KJB is SHEW for modern English SHOW. According to the OED, the two variants date back to distinct forms of Old English *sceawian*, one with a rising diphthong (resulting in modern SHOW) and one with a falling diphthong (resulting in SHEW). Based on the evidence of rhymes (such as *view* or *true*), SHEW had a distinct pronunciation, and remained in use throughout the 18th and even the early 19th century. It is used consistently throughout the KJB, occurring 405 times, with no competition from SHOW.

- But the LORD was with Joseph, and **shewed** him mercy, and gave him favour in the sight of the keeper of the prison. (Gen 39:21)
- Again, the devil taketh him up into an exceeding high mountain, and **sheweth** him all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them; (Matt 4:8)
- **Shew** me the tribute money. And they brought unto him a penny. (Matt 22:19)

The great majority of these are verbal, as the noun SHOW is a relatively recent addition to the lexicon, but 5 tokens are nouns (there are also 18 tokens of the compound form *shewbread*, the bread offerings kept in the Jewish temple).

- The **shew** of their countenance doth witness against them; (Isa 3:9)
- Which devour widows' houses, and for a **shew** make long prayers: (Luke 20:47)
- As many as desire to make a fair **shew** in the flesh, (Gal 6:12)
- he made a **shew** of them openly, triumphing over them in it. (Col 2:15)
- Which things have indeed a **shew** of wisdom in will worship, (Col 2:23)

Again, it is important to establish that these older forms were already archaic in the early 19th century, so once again we turn to COHA. The corpus data shows a clear preference for the more modern <o> forms in all the preterite forms with one exception: BEGET. This word is unlikely to be used except in religious contexts, where the effect of

the KJB would be particularly pronounced, and even for BEGET the newer form *begot* is used sometimes, unlike in the KJB, where it is always *begat*. For LOAD, 29% use the older vowel, but the vast majority of these are instances of the past participle *laden*. Taking these out reduces the percentage to under 3%, with most of the remaining tokens being the gerund *lading*. Because of the continued use of *laden* even today, I will be excluding this from the count for *lade*. For SHEW/SHOW, about 6% retain the older spelling. As noted above, this variant was still in use during the early 19th century, though it was on its way out.

7.2 The Book of Mormon

The Book of Mormon is mixed in its adoption of KJB spellings. In some cases it has incidental spelling differences. It consistently has *succor* where the KJB has *succour*, *shouldst* where the KJB has *shouldest* (with the spelling in quotations altered, as in 1 Ne 20:5). In other cases, it is meticulously faithful to KJB spelling features. Both texts consistently distinguish between *doth/dost* (used as auxiliary verbs)[76] and *doeth/doest* (used as main verbs). The adoption of the archaic preterite spellings is also mixed, though in many cases the sample size is very small, a problem that will return with many of the other texts to be examined. In this chart and those that follow, I have placed brackets around values based on a sample of less than ten.

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[76] Though the BoM lacks any instances of *dost*, and shows variation between *doth* and *does* in the auxiliary role.

Table 17: Vowel Selection in the BoM

Proportion with \<a\>[77]	COHA	**BoM**	KJB
SPEAK	6%	100%	100%
BEGET	64%	100%	100%
BEAR	2%	[63%]	100%
BREAK	<1%	[38%]	100%
SWEAR	<1%	[33%]	100%
DRIVE	<1%	[0%]	62%
GET	<1%	[0%]	80%
FORGET	<1%	[0%]	[100%]
Archaic proportion	COHA	**BoM**	KJB
SHOW	6%	92%	100%
LOAD	3%	[0%]	83%

For SPEAK and BEGET, The BoM follows the KJB in using only the form with \<a\>.

- And the brother of Jared also **begat** sons and daughters. (Eth 6:15)
- And it came to pass that the angel **spake** unto me saying, look! And I looked and beheld many nations and kingdoms. (1 Ne 13:1)

WEAR and TEAR, rare in the KJB, simply don't occur in the BoM. There is variation for BEAR, BREAK, and SWEAR, all of which used only \<a\> in the KJB—in the BoM, one to two thirds of their occurrences have \<a\>, though the sample sizes for each are small. In each case there is also some confusion in the spelling, as there are some instances where the homophonous present tense spelling is used where the context makes it clear that these should be preterites, likely the result of scribal error during dictation.[78] These misspellings have been changed in later editions, with some instances being updated to the modern \<o\> variants. For example, *bare* in Mosiah 14:12 was changed to *bore* in the 1920 edition, *break* in Alma 14:26 (an apparent error for *brake*) was changed to *broke* in the 1906 edition, and *swear* in Ether 1:33 (an apparent error for *sware*) was changed to *swore* in 1907.

- Look unto Abraham, your father, and unto Sarah, she that **bare** you: (2 Ne 8:2)
- … they **bore** with patience the persecution which was heaped upon them. (Alma 1:25)
- And when the disciples had come with bread and wine, he took of the bread, and **brake** and blessed it; (3 Ne 18:3)

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[77] TEAR and WEAR are excluded, since they do not occur in the BoM in the preterite.
[78] For instances of *bear* in place of *bare*, see 2 Ne 18:3, 3 Ne 17:21, and 3 Ne 18:37; For instances of *break* in place of *brake*, see Alma 14:26 and 3 Ne 18:3; For *swear* in place of *sware*, see Eth 1:33.

- … but as he raised his sword, behold, one of Moroni's soldiers smote it even to the earth, and it **broke** by the hilt; … (Alma 44:12)
- And it came to pass that they all **sware** unto him, … that whoso should vary from the assistance which Akish desired, should lose his head; … (Eth 8:14)
- And now there was a man among them whose name was Gideon, and he … **swore** in his wrath, that he would slay the king. (Mos 19:4)

And for DRIVE, GET, and FORGET, only forms with the newer <o> are used, though again, the sample sizes are quite small.[79]

- And it came to pass that the Lamanites did beat them, and **drove** them back, and slew many of them; (Mos 21:8)
- Now the object of these lawyers was to get gain; and they **got** gain according to their employ. (Alma 10:32)
- They were slothful, and **forgot** to exercise their faith and diligence (Alma 37:41)

For some of the texts in this study, archaic features are present, but are limited to biblical quotations rather than occurring in original material. This is not the case for the archaic preterites in the Book of Mormon. Some occurrences are present in material reproduced from the KJB, but each of those words where the archaic <a> forms are used (BEGET, SPEAK, BEAR, BREAK, and SWEAR) occurs in new material as well.

There are few instances of LOAD in the BoM. The modern vowel is used once in a gerund (1 Ne 18:6), and the archaic one occurs only twice, both times in participial *laden* (1 Ne 17:25, Mos 2:14). Since *laden* never fell out of use, this offers no evidence of biblical influence on this lexical item. On the other hand, SHEW proved very influential. Of the many instances of SHEW/SHOW in the BoM, 92% retain the archaic vowel. This is also one of the archaic elements that has been particular affected by editorial changes over the years. The preference for SHEW was even higher in the initial manuscripts, with only 8 of 167 tokens containing the modern <o> vowel. Early editions included sporadic changing between the forms, in both directions, until efforts at consistency began in the late 19th century. Within the main LDS branch of Mormonism, editions after 1888 replaced the archaic *shew* with *show*, though some were overlooked until 1911. Meanwhile the RLDS branch moved in the opposite direction, replacing the small

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[79] There is another interesting difference between the two works involving *get*. For the past participle, the British KJB uses *got* twice and *gotten* 27 times. The American BoM has *got* 10 times and *gotten* only thrice. This is a complete reversal of the modern distinction between British and American English where BrE uses *got* and AmE *gotten*.

numbers of modern *show* with the archaic variant, though a few instances were never caught (Skousen 2016: 854–855). All editions of the Book of Mormon printed during Joseph Smith's lifetime thus followed the KJB in preferring *shew*, but most copies of the Book of Mormon today contain no indication of this.

- But behold, I, Nephi, will **shew** unto you that the tender mercies of the Lord are over all those whom he hath chosen, (1 Ne 1:20)
- nevertheless, the Lord God **sheweth** us our weakness, (Jac 4:7)
- And Jesus again **shewed** himself unto them, for they were praying unto the Father in his name; (3 Ne 27:2)

Overall, the archaic spellings in the KJB had an inconsistent effect on the BoM. Archaic preterites with <a> were retained in some of the most high-frequency cases. SPEAK and BEGET are the most common of these in the KJB, and BEGET has a particularly iconic association with the book. These were adopted fully. SHEW, also very frequent in the KJB, was adopted at a very high rate as well. For other relatively high-frequency items, BREAK, BEAR, and SWEAR, the archaic preterites were partially but not completely adopted, and the less frequent archaisms had no apparent effect.

7.3 Religious Texts

As with the lexical items in the previous chapter, the other 19th century religious texts show a lesser adoption of biblical archaisms than the Book of Mormon, though like the BoM, many of the figures are based on quite small samples. Unlike the Book of Mormon, occurrences in the other religious texts is almost entirely limited to direct quotations of the King James Bible, or to close paraphrases of specific passages that borrow elements of their phrasing from the original. The only cases where the archaic variants are used in original material are two uses of *spake* in the Holy Roll. *Spake* and SHEW are also the most common terms in the quotations, which is not surprising, considering that of the words analyzed in this chapter, they are by far the most frequent in the KJB.

7.3.1 The Holy Roll and Book

The Holy Roll has a relatively high use of some of the archaic variants, especially for SPEAK and SHEW, but this is almost entirely due to quotations from the King James

Bible. The original text within the Holy Roll is not characterized by archaic vowel use in the verbal morphology.

Table 18: Vowel Selection in the Holy Roll

Proportion with <a>[80]	COHA	**Holy Roll**	KJB
BREAK	<1%	[100%]	100%
SWEAR	<1%	[100%]	100%
SPEAK	6%	80%	100%
BEAR	2%	[0%]	100%
FORGET	<1%	[0%]	[100%]
WEAR	0%	[0%]	[100%]
Archaic proportion	COHA	**Holy Roll**	KJB
SHOW	6%	16%	100%
LOAD	3%	[0%]	83%

There are eight instances of *spake*, two of *brake*, and one of *sware*. For the other preterites that appear in this text, only forms with <o> are used. These eleven tokens with the archaic vowel are actually more numerous than those with modern vowels (of which there are only ten), but in all but two cases they are used in biblical quotations or close paraphrases. The Holy Roll also includes nine instances of the archaic SHEW, but these are again all contained within biblical quotations, while original material uses only SHOW.

- Do you look for the stone, cut out from the mountain without hands, that should grow and fill the whole earth; that smote the great image, and **brake** if in pieces, and caused it to be carried away of the wind, as the chaff of the summer threshing floor? (101)
- And I heard the man clothed in linen, which was upon the waters of the river, when he held up his right hand and his left hand unto heaven, and **sware** by him that liveth forever, that it shall be for a time, times, and a half; and when he shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people, all these things shall be finished. (61–62)
- As for me, I **spake** in the day, and I held not my tongue by night. (167)
- For there shall arise false christs, and false prophets, and shall **shew** great signs and wonders; insomuch that, if it were possible, they should deceive the very elect. (62)

The two instances where archaic preterites are used in original material are both uses of *spake*, in the testimonial revelations that follow Stewart's portion of the Holy Roll.

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[80] DRIVE, GET, BEGET, and TEAR do not occur in the Holy Roll in the preterite.

- and if you believe the words which I **spake** in days of old, believe me now, (224)
- For verily, as the Lord, in the days of old, **spake** unto the children of men through mortal clay, even now He doth, by the mouths of holy messengers, make known his decrees; (242)

7.3.2 Living Oracles

Table 19: Vowel Selection in the Living Oracles

Proportion with <a>[81]	COHA	**Oracles**	KJB
BEAR	2%	[14%]	100%
BREAK	<1%	0%	100%
DRIVE	<1%	0%	62%
GET	<1%	[0%]	80%
BEGET	64%	0%	100%
SPEAK	6%	0%	100%
SWEAR	<1%	[0%]	100%
WEAR	0%	[0%]	[100%]
Archaic proportion	COHA	**Oracles**	KJB
LOAD	3%	[33%]	83%
SHOW	6%	0%	100%

The Living Oracles is very modern in its preterite morphology. It uses the archaic forms in just one instance each of BEAR and LADE.

- for the days are coming, in which they shall say, Happy the barren, the wombs which never **bare**, and the breasts which never gave suck! (Luke 23:29)
- He answered, Alas, for you! lawyers! also; because you **lade** men with intolerable burdens—burdens which you yourselves will not so much as touch with one of your fingers. (Luke 11:46)

In all other cases (which are many), it consistently uses the modern form. It even uses the modern <o> vowel for SPEAK and BEGET, the ones most likely to occur with the archaic vowel across the full set of texts.

- Then the disciples understood, that he **spoke** concerning John the Immerser. (Matt 17:13)
- Abraham **begot** Isaac. Isaac **begot** Jacob. Jacob **begot** Judah and his brothers. (Matt 1:2)

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[81] FORGET and TEAR do not occur in the Living Oracles in the preterite.

7.3.3 The Berean

Table 20: Vowel Selection in the Berean

Proportion with <a>[82]	COHA	**Berean**	KJB
BEAR	2%	[100%]	100%
BREAK	<1%	[50%]	100%
SPEAK	6%	50%	100%
DRIVE	<1%	[0%]	62%
GET	<1%	[0%]	80%
BEGET	64%	[0%]	100%
Archaic proportion	COHA	**Berean**	KJB
LOAD	3%	[25%]	83%
SHOW	6%	0%	100%

Much like the Holy Roll, the Berean does contain a fair number of verbs with the archaic forms, but here they are entirely restricted to biblical quotations and close paraphrases. Noyes uses one instance of *brake*, four of *bare*, seven of *spake*, and one of *lade*.

- The Lord Jesus, the same night in which he was betrayed, took bread; and when he had given thanks, he **brake** it, and said, Take, eat; this is my body, which is broken for you: (148)
- See also verse 4, &c., where it is said that the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they **bare** [giant] children unto them, &c. (100)
- Who does not believe that the prophets were free agents when they **spake** as they were moved by the Holy Ghost? (173)
- Surely, these are they who **lade** men with burdens grievous to be borne, and they themselves touch not the burdens with one of their fingers. (200)

In his original material, Noyes uses only the modern alternatives.

- Christ never **spoke** disrespectfully or doubtingly of the Old Testament. (12)
- Eve's natural desire of food and wisdom was not sinful, but it was a womb in which the serpent, by words of falsehood, **begot** sin. (114)
- Phrenologists, neurologists, and physiologists, generally teach with much **show** of certainty, that the brain is the seat, not only of perception, but of sensibility, passion, and volition (60)

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[82] FORGET, SWEAR, WEAR, and TEAR do not occur in the Berean in the preterite.

7.3.4 Charles G. Finney Sermons

Table 21: Vowel Selection in Finney's Sermons

Proportion with <a>[83]	COHA	**Finney**	KJB
BEGET	64%	[100%]	100%
SPEAK	6%	[50%]	100%
BREAK	<1%	[0%]	100%
FORGET	<1%	[0%]	[100%]
Archaic proportion	COHA	**Finney**	KJB
SHOW	6%	0%	100%
LOAD	3%	[0%]	83%

Finney's sermons include very little relevant data for most of these terms. The only one to occur an appreciable number of times is SHOW, always in its modern form. The only archaic forms are two instances of *begat* and one of *spake*, all in biblical quotations.

7.4 Archaic Translations

As before, the translations, and especially the Iliad and Grettis Saga, make more use of the archaic features than the religious texts, though this is mostly limited to the preterite forms with <a>, as there are only a few instances of *lade* or *shew*, in the Iliad and Mabinogion respectively. In the Iliad especially, there seems to be an effort to consistently use the archaic variants in each case, so this aspect of Early Modern English is a defining feature of that work's archaic style.

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[83] BEAR, DRIVE, GET, SPEAK, SWEAR, TEAR, and WEAR do not occur in Finney's sermons in the preterite.

7.4.1 The Mabinogion

Table 22: Vowel Selection in the Mabinogion

Proportion with <a>[84]	COHA	**Mab**.	KJB
SPEAK	6%	22%	100%
BEAR	2%	[0%]	100%
BREAK	<1%	0%	100%
DRIVE	<1%	[0%]	62%
GET	<1%	[0%]	80%
TEAR	<1%	[0%]	[100%]
WEAR	0%	[0%]	[100%]
Archaic proportion	COHA	**Mab**.	KJB
SHOW	6%	11%	100%
LOAD	3%	[0%]	83%

The Mabinogion makes less use of the archaic variants than do the other two translations, but it does make some use of *spake* and, alone among the translated texts, of SHEW. There is nonetheless a strong preference for modern *spoke* and SHOW, and all other terms used occur only in the modern variant.

- And when he came to the Ford, a knight arose and **spake** thus. (16)
- Then the black savage besought Owain to spare his life, and **spoke** thus: (175)
- And every one that beholds the light, and every one that opens and shuts the eye, let them **shew** him respect, and serve him, (99)
- The man looked upon me, and he smiled and said, 'If I did not fear to distress thee too much, I would **show** thee that which thou seekest.' (153)

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[84] BEGET, FORGET, and SWEAR do not occur in the Mabinogion in the preterite.

7.4.2 The Iliad

Table 23: Vowel Selection in the Iliad

Proportion with <a>	COHA	**Iliad**	KJB
GET	<1%	[100%]	80%
BEGET	64%	100%	100%
FORGET	<1%	[100%]	[100%]
SPEAK	6%	100%	100%
SWEAR	<1%	[100%]	100%
BEAR	2%	99%	100%
DRIVE	<1%	83%	62%
TEAR	<1%	[83%]	[100%]
BREAK	<1%	55%	100%
WEAR	0%	[0%]	[100%]
Archaic proportion	COHA	**Iliad**	KJB
LOAD	3%	[50%]	83%
SHOW	6%	0%	100%

The Iliad makes the greatest use of archaic preterite forms, with the <a> variant predominating for every lexeme except *wear*, often exclusively. It has some of the most frequent uses of *spake*, *bare*, and *drave* among any of the texts. Especially common is *spake*, with a full 487 occurrences; the KJB has only about a hundred more, though it is five times the Iliad's length. While *drave* is much less frequent at only 33 occurrences, it surpasses the KJB not just in frequency, but in proportion as well. The Iliad is also the only one of the translations to include *begat*, in its frequent but short genealogical digressions. Newman's preference for the archaic forms surpasses the other translated texts and all of the religious texts, including the Book of Mormon.

- He donned his beauteous arms, and **gat** two javelins, and hurried In fashion as a lightning-bolt, (13:241–242)
- And Glaucus in his turn **begat** spotless Bellerophontes, (6:155)
- then their bosom Was all bewitched with fear, and straight **forgat** impetuous ardour. (15:321–322)
- Then bright Apollo **spake** his thought among the gods immortal: (24:32)
- Then Hector held his sceptre forth, and **sware** an oath upon it: (10:328)
- Me did a noble sire beget; a goddess mother **bare** me. (21:109)
- Thus from the beach he **drave** them off, and quenched the fire that sparkled; (16:293)
- His corpse, the Achaian horses **tare** amid the foremost struggle With wheels overpassing: (20:394–395)
- but Thrasymedes, Ere Maris might a wound implant, did instant fix his weapon Into the shoulder, **brake** the bone, and stript the limb of sinew: (16:320–322)

- then do thou **lade** a galley From all the Achaian booty, ere we make awards to any. (9:279–280)

7.4.3 Grettis Saga

Table 24: Vowel Selection in Grettis Saga

Proportion with <a>[85]	COHA	**Grettis**	KJB
SPEAK	6%	92%	100%
DRIVE	<1%	77%	62%
BREAK	<1%	56%	100%
GET	<1%	14%	80%
BEAR	2%	8%	100%
SWEAR	<1%	[0%]	100%
TEAR	<1%	[0%]	[100%]
Archaic proportion	COHA	**Grettis**	KJB
LOAD	3%	[0%]	83%
SHOW	6%	0%	100%

Grettis Saga makes considerable use of the archaic forms as well, though not to the same level as the Iliad. The archaic form is the preferred variant only for SPEAK, DRIVE, and BREAK, and an occasional variant only for two more of the words. This is nonetheless more use of the archaic preterite forms than any of the other 19th century texts except the Iliad and the Book of Mormon.

- Grettir smiled thereat, but **spake** little. (59, ¶11)
- then they **drave** Grettir from their ship and would not have him with them; (38, ¶20)
- and therewithal the door **brake** asunder. (84, ¶14)
- Eric **gat** no revenge therefor, but went home straightway. (7, ¶6)
- They laid both the brothers in cairn on the island there; and thereafter took Grettir's head, and **bore** it away with them, and whatso goods there were in weapons or clothes; but the good short-sword Angle would not put into the things to be shared, and he **bare** it himself long afterwards. (85, ¶12)

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[85] BEGET, FORGET, and WEAR do not occur in Grettis Saga in the preterite.

7.5 Joseph Smith's Letters

Table 25: Vowel Selection in Joseph Smith's Letters

Proportion with <a>[86]	COHA	**JS Letters**	KJB
SPEAK	6%	[100%]	100%
BEAR	2%	[0%]	100%
BREAK	<1%	[0%]	100%
GET	<1%	[0%]	80%
Archaic proportion	COHA	**JS Letters**	KJB
SHOW	6%	45%	100%
LOAD	3%	[0%]	83%

Joseph Smith's letters provide only limited data on these vowel alternations. He does have two instances of *spake* (and none of *spoke*), and a fairly even use of the archaic and modern SHEW/SHOW. For the other words that occur, the forms used are all modern, but many of the words do not occur in the preterite, and those that do have few tokens to consider.

- Why was it that the Lord **spake** to him concerning the same promise, after He had made it once to Abraham, and renewed it to Isaac? (Sept 1833 letter to Silas Smith)
- We expect shortly to publish a political paper weekly in favour the present administration, the influential men of that party have offered a liberal patronage to us and we hope to succeed for thereby we can **shew** the public the purity of our intention in supporting the government under which we live (Dec 1833 letter to Edward Partridge)

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[86] DRIVE, BEGET, FORGET, SWEAR, TEAR, and WEAR do not occur in Joseph Smith's letters in the preterite.

7.6 The Late War

Table 26: Vowel Selection in the Late War

Proportion with <a>[87]	COHA	**Late War**	KJB
SPEAK	6%	100%	100%
GET	<1%	94%	80%
FORGET	<1%	[67%]	[100%]
BEAR	2%	[0%]	100%
BREAK	<1%	[0%]	100%
DRIVE	<1%	0%	62%
SWEAR	<1%	[0%]	100%
Archaic proportion	COHA	**Late War**	KJB
SHOW	6%	[0%]	100%

The Late War is fairly inconsistent across the range of words: in some cases, Hunt shows a strong preference for the archaic variant, and in others a strong preference for the modern variant. There are 18 instances of *spake*, and none of *spoke*. There are 17 instances of *gat*, and only one of *got*. On the other hand, there are 16 instances of modern *drove*, and none of *drave*, and BEAR, BREAK, SWEAR, and SHEW/SHOW also occur only in their modern forms, though there are fewer tokens for each of these. The use of *gat* is particularly distinctive, as apart from some limited use in the Iliad and Grettis Saga, this form is absent from all of the other 19th century texts.

- About this time a stripling, from the south, with his weapon of war in his hand ran up to Zebulon, and **spake** unto him, saying, Behold! a man of Britain appeareth in the fort; suffer me, I pray thee, to slay him, (102–103)
- And Round-Head, the chief captain of the warriors, and the savages under him, **gat** great praise from Proctor, the chief captain of the host of Britain. (77)
- Inasmuch as they slew about two hundred of the men of Britain that day; and **drove** the host of them from the island. (118)

7.7 Conclusion

The high consistency of the KJB, with the archaic variant being used exclusively for most of these lexical items and being the preferred form for all of them, is not reproduced in any of the 19th century texts, though the Iliad comes close. Nonetheless, the Book of Mormon, the translated texts, and the Late War all make use of these alternations

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[87] BEGET, TEAR, and WEAR do not occur in the Late War in the preterite; nor does verbal LOAD occur.

in their portrayal of archaic English, so this is clearly a noteworthy and useful way to convey the antiquity of a text.

There is a sharp divide between the religious texts and the translations with respect to these vowel alternations. For most of the religious texts, the archaic forms are limited to use in biblical quotations, and modern forms are used elsewhere. For the translated texts, the archaic forms are used extensively in original material (though the Mabinogion makes considerably less use of them than the other two). The Book of Mormon departs from the other religious texts in its very extensive use of the archaic variants, in both quotations and new material, though it is less consistent in this than the KJB or the Iliad.

As one might expect, those words that occur with the highest frequency in the KJB generally have the greatest influence on the later texts. *Spake* in particular is widely used, being the preferred preterite form for SPEAK in the BoM, the Iliad, Grettis Saga, and the Late War. *Bare*, *brake*, and *sware* see a fair amount of continued use as well, especially among the translated texts, and *begat* remains common in those texts where genealogy is important. Terms which occur less frequently in the KJB, such as *gat*, *drave*, *ware*, *tare*, and *lade*, are overlooked in most texts, though some of the translations use the archaic forms even for these lower-frequency words. SHEW stands out as the term that fails to achieve much traction in spite of its high frequency in the KJB, with extensive use only in the Book of Mormon.

CHAPTER 8: GRAMMATICAL ANALYSIS

8.1 Features

In this section we will consider archaic syntactic and morphological features. The King James Bible preserves a number of grammatical elements that are no longer in use, such as older subject-verb agreement suffixes, address pronouns, and main verb raising. These are among the most recognizable aspects of archaic style, and their influence is surely helped by their relatively high frequency.

8.1.1 Address Pronouns

One set of differences between the Early Modern English of the King James Bible and modern English involves the address pronouns. KJB English used two systems of address pronouns. One began with Y, and is still in use today, with forms such as *you*, *your*, *yours*, *yourself*, and *yourselves*. The other, now fallen out of general use, began with T, and included *thou*, *thee*, *thy*, *thine*, and *thyself*. It also retained an additional form in the Y paradigm—*ye*—which has also been lost.

- For he shall give his angels charge over **thee**, to keep **thee** in all **thy** ways. They shall bear **thee** up in their hands, lest **thou** dash **thy** foot against a stone. (Pss 91:11–12)
- But of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden, God hath said, **Ye** shall not eat of it, neither shall **ye** touch it, lest **ye** die. (Gen 3:3)

The distinction between the two address pronoun paradigms—T (e.g. *thou*) and Y (e.g. *you*)—was originally one of number: T was singular and Y plural. In the Middle English period the situation was complicated by the extension of Y to singular use as a marker of respect or politeness. Over the next few centuries Y saw increasing use at the expense of T, until the mid-17th century, when T fell out of use altogether in standard English,[88] though its use in significant literary texts such as the KJB and the works of Shakespeare have ensured its survival in associated registers, often with an attendant

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[88] It has since remained in use in some regional dialects, particularly in rural Lancashire and Yorkshire—see for instance Shorrocks 1996: 171.

reinterpretation of its function. In Shakespeare's time T was used to address either inferiors or intimates. When used to address non-intimate equals or superiors, it carried offensive connotations, implying their inferiority, and this offensive use may have contributed to its demise. However, due to its use in the KJB (and other contemporary devotional material such as the Common Book of Prayer) as the way to address God (because God is singular), T is sometimes used in modern religious settings as a special form of respect, in stark contrast to its often disrespectful function in Early Modern English.

The King James translation was undertaken only a short time before T's demise, and Y was already well established as a singular form of address,[89] but the pronoun choices of the translators are not reflective of the current usage norms of their day. Instead, their pronoun choice is highly conservative, ignoring the social dimension of pronoun choice and instead relying on the original number distinction, with Y used only for instances of plural address, and T used in all cases of singular address, however respectful the salutation. There are a few reasons that may have contributed to this decision.

Using a somewhat prescriptive approach to language, and relying on classical Latin grammar, some churchmen identified the singular use of Y as an error and urged adherence to the original number distinction as the correct usage. The scholarly training of the translators, combined with their religious convictions, may have left them particularly susceptible to such conservative trends in language use.[90]

Also, the translation was not undertaken in a vacuum, but relied extensively on the century's worth of previous efforts to render the Bible in English, starting with William Tyndale's New Testament translation published 1525–26. The more old-fashioned choices from these previous translations may have influenced the translators in the direction of more conservative pronoun choice.

Finally, the work was not an original English composition, but a translation. The Hebrew and Greek of the source texts distinguished pronominal number, but did not have

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[89] While Y was extended into singular contexts, there was no corresponding extension of T into plural contexts, so the contemporary English of the KJB translators included Plural Y, Singular Y, and Singular T.
[90] See David Burnley. The T/V pronouns in later Middle English literature. In Taavitsainen & Jucker, 36–37.

the kind of social dimension present in the English of the time. In most cases, the pronoun choice in the KJB is a direct reflection of the distinction contained in the source texts, rather than an interpretation of which of the two competing singular options would be more appropriate to the context in Early Modern Britain. Indeed, this is one reason cited by modern supporters of the KJB for its preference over more modern translations: it retains explicit number distinctions in the address pronouns which are at times lost in more recent translations, and which provide additional access to the meaning of the original language texts.[91]

In addition to the T paradigm, the KJB retains a case distinction in the Y paradigm that has since been lost, distinguishing nominative *ye* from accusative *you*. In modern English, *ye* has been abandoned, and *you* now serves both subject and object functions.

8.1.2 Verbal Inflection

A second set of differences between KJB English and modern English is related to verbal inflection. KJB English includes two verbal suffixes that are no longer present in standard English, 3rd person singular *–th* and 2nd person singular *–st*. The first of these is the equivalent of modern *–s*, and is illustrated by the contrast between forms such as *says* and *saith*, *goes* and *goeth*, *has* and *hath*. The two suffixes have their origin in different dialectal regions of England, with *–s* beginning as a northern innovation and slowly spreading southward, eventually displacing *–th* from the standard dialect. In fact, it had already reached across England by the time the translation was undertaken, and the translators responsible for the Apocrypha used it several times in place of *–th* (though all but one was changed by later editors working toward greater consistency in the text) (Norton 2005: 110). There is some evidence that the change was even more complete in Spoken English, and that priests reading aloud from the KJB may have read *–th* but pronounced it as *–s*.[92] The written form used in the translation, however, was

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[91] See for example: http://www.kjvtoday.com/home/Features-of-the-KJV

[92] 17th century grammarian Richard Hodges, in his *Special Help to Orthography* (1643), notes the correspondence of the verbal ending *–th* in writing with the pronunciations –s or –z. Referenced in McGrath 2001: 272–3 and quoted in Lass 2006: 103

conservative enough to retain the older spelling throughout the Old and New Testaments, and for the great majority of the Apocrypha as well.

- For every one that **asketh receiveth**; and he that **seeketh findeth**; and to him that **knocketh** it shall be opened. (Matt 7:8)
- A slothful man is compared to the filth of a dunghill: every man that **takes** it up will shake his hand. (Sir 22:2, the one remaining instance of verbal –*s* in the KJB)

The –*th* ending is used with 3rd person singular subjects (*he*, *she*, *it*, and singular noun phrases) in the present indicative. It is not used with plural subjects such as *they* (*they goeth),[93] in the past tense, (*she wenteth), or in the subjunctive, which will be discussed further below.

The second archaic suffix, –*st*, is tied to the similarly archaic pronoun system, and shows agreement with the 2nd person singular T pronoun, in its subject form *thou*. The loss of this verbal suffix from the standard dialect of English was a side effect of the loss of T. Like –*th*, the –*st* suffix is used in the singular indicative, but unlike –*th*, it also extends to the past tense.

- And he said unto him, Thou **knowest** how I have served thee, and how thy cattle was with me. (Gen 30:29)
- His lord answered and said unto him, Thou wicked and slothful servant, thou **knewest** that I reap where I sowed not, and gather where I have not strawed: (Matt 25:26)

There is some orthographic variation present for both of these suffixes. Sometimes <th> corresponds to modern <s> and sometimes to <es>, and sometimes <eth> corresponds to modern <s> (she does/doth, he has/hath, it seems/seemeth, etc.). Some words have alternate forms with the –*st* suffix either adding an additional syllable to the word or not (shouldst/shouldest, wouldst/wouldest), and for DO, the KJB shows variation depending on whether it is being employed as an auxiliary—single-syllable *doth* or *dost*—or as the main verb—disyllabic *doeth* or *doest*. There are also some verbs, particularly auxiliaries, whose 2nd or 3rd person singular agreement markers are irregular, e.g. *he was*, *she is*, *he shall*, *thou art*, *thou shalt*, and so forth.

In addition to archaic subject agreement, KJB verbs show distinctive inflection in the use of the subjunctive. This verbal mood, all but lost in modern English, was already

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[93] Though a similar plural suffix did exist in still earlier stages of English, and is preserved in the motto of Oxford's New College: "Manners Makyth man."

much reduced by the Early Modern period. After various sound changes, the present subjunctive ending had eroded, so the form was unmarked, spelled and pronounced identically to the base or infinitive form of the verb. Since 1st person and plural verbs are also generally unmarked, the distinction between indicative and subjunctive is in many cases not formally apparent. But there are some cases where it remains formally distinct. Because the distinctive 2nd and 3rd person singular suffixes of the KJB were limited to the indicative, subjunctive verbs connected to such subjects are distinctively unmarked (and in the 3rd person, this remains the case in modern English). And since the base form of the copula, *be*, is distinct from all its finite indicative forms, its subjunctive form is recognizable regardless of the subject's person or number. Constructions that trigger the use of the subjunctive in the KJB include *if*, *whether*, *till/until*, *lest*, *beware* (sometimes accompanying *lest*), *heed*, *except*, and *adjure*, along with purpose clauses in general.

- or **if thou depart** to the right hand, then I will go to the left. (Gen 13:9)
- Then **beware lest thou forget** the LORD, which brought thee forth out of the land of Egypt (Deut 6:12)

However, this is not a categorical distinction, as the indicative is often used in the same constructions. There is even at least one case where a subjunctive verb is coordinated with an indicative one.

- Therefore **if thou bring** thy gift to the altar, **and** there **rememberest** that thy brother hath ought against thee; (Matt 5:23)

We see here a transitional state: the subjunctive is maintained much more so than in current English, but the distinction has already begun to break down.

There are some difficulties in assessing the use of the subjunctive quantitatively in modern English. The subjunctive has undergone a long and gradual decline, but it was still in use in the early 19th century, including in many of the same constructions that licensed it in the KJB. It is in competition with the indicative, however, and the frequent lack of formal distinction allows only tentative conclusions regarding its prevalence. Without more reliable measures, it is unclear whether the use of the subjunctive in the texts to be investigated departs from contemporary norms and indicates possible biblical influence. The subjunctive is present in each of our texts, with rates varying from text to text and from construction to construction. Most texts lack any particularly unusual or

interesting uses of the subjunctive, but there are a few noteworthy uses in the Book of Mormon. We will discuss these briefly when discussing BoM verbal inflection, but without making any attempt at quantification, or extensive comparison to the other texts.

8.1.3 Verb Raising

A third difference between the Early Modern English of the King James Bible and the English of today is the loss of main verb raising in interrogative and negative clauses. Main clause questions in English involve a verb preceding the subject instead of following it. Modern English verbs (apart from BE) generally require an auxiliary verb to fill this role, but the Early Modern English of the KJB allowed main verbs to be moved to this position as well. A similar situation holds for negative clauses, where modern English generally requires an auxiliary before the *not*, but KJB English allows main verbs as well.

- Question with auxiliary raised: **Hast thou eaten** of the tree, whereof I commanded thee that thou shouldest not eat? (Gen 3:11)
- Question with main verb raised: **Thinkest thou** that I cannot now pray to my Father, and he shall presently give me more than twelve legions of angels? (Matt 26:53)
- Negation with auxiliary raised: Hast thou eaten of the tree, whereof I commanded thee that thou **shouldest not eat**? (Gen 3:11)
- Negation with main verb raised: Howbeit this kind **goeth not** out but by prayer and fasting. (Matt 17:21)

For modern English, if no auxiliary is required by the sense, the syntax still requires one, and DO is used, without contributing any meaning to the sentence. This contentless auxiliary was available for use in KJB English as well, where there is variation between DO-support and main verb raising, a variation absent from modern English

- Modern English: I **do not like** green eggs and ham. vs. ungrammatical *I **like not** green eggs and ham.
- How is it that ye **do not understand** that I **spake it not** to you concerning bread, that ye should beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and of the Sadducees? (Matt 16:11)
- But he denied before them all, saying, I **know not** what thou sayest. … And again he denied with an oath, I **do not know** the man. … Then began he to curse and to swear, saying, I **know not** the man. And immediately the cock crew. (Matt 26:70–74)

8.1.4 Additional Grammatical Differences

Along with differences in the address pronouns, verbal inflection, and movement possibilities for main verbs, we will consider three other grammatical changes between KJB English and current English: the unemphatic use of DO in affirmative clauses, the use of *his* as the genitive form of IT, and the use of *which* as a relative pronoun with human antecedents.

8.1.4.1 Affirmative DO

As discussed above, modern English uses auxiliary DO in interrogative and negative clauses, but also occasionally in affirmative clauses, usually to indicate emphasis (examples here drawn from the Corpus of Contemporary American English).

- **Interrogative clauses**: Ah, so how much **did** he pay you? (2010)
- **Negative clauses**: The same tool **does** not work on every problem. (2012)
- **Emphatic contexts**: But they really **do** reflect something of the reality of the period. (1995)
- **With inversion after some adverbs**: Only then **did** many news organizations, including NPR, report on the story. (2008)

In Early Modern English, the use of DO in affirmative clauses was much more widespread, peaking in the latter 16th century (Rissanen 1999: 240), and it didn't require the context to be emphatic.

- There **did** I see that low spirited Swaine. (Shakespeare, *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act I, Scene 1)

This unemphatic DO is clearly present in the KJB, and in fact, DO is more common in affirmative clauses than in negative and interrogative clauses.

- And the woman said, The serpent beguiled me, and I **did** eat. (Gen 3:13)
- And it came to pass after these things, that God **did** tempt Abraham, and said unto him, Abraham: and he said, Behold, here I am. (Gen 22:1)
- Blessed are they which **do** hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled. (Matt 5:6)
- Watch therefore: for ye know not what hour your Lord **doth** come. (Matt 24:42)

In some cases, such as those below, the use would still be normal in modern English, due to emphasis or inversion, but the great majority do not fit these categories.

- **Emphatic *do***: And the LORD said unto Abraham, Wherefore did Sarah laugh, saying, Shall I of a surety bear a child, which am old? Is any thing too hard for the LORD? At the time appointed I will return unto thee, according to the time of life, and Sarah shall have a son. Then Sarah denied, saying, I laughed not; for she was afraid. And he said, Nay; but thou **didst** laugh. (Gen 18:13–15)
- **With inversion**: Ye hypocrites, well **did** Esaias prophesy of you, saying, This people draweth nigh unto me with their mouth, and honoureth me with their lips; but their heart is far from me. (Matt 15:7–8)

8.1.4.2 Neuter His

Modern English uses *its* as the genitive form of the neuter 3rd person singular pronoun, but this is a relatively new development, apparently an innovation of the late 16th century,[94] extending to the neuter pronoun the genitive *–s* found on many nouns and on pronouns such as *his*, *hers*, *ours*, *yours*, and *theirs*. Prior to this the neuter genitive shared its form with the masculine: *his*. This is the form found in the KJB.

- And the earth brought forth grass, and herb yielding seed after **his** kind, and the tree yielding fruit, whose seed was in itself, after **his** kind: and God saw that it was good. (Gen 1:12)
- Then said Jesus unto him, Put up again thy sword into **his** place: for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword. (Matt 26:52)[95]

Its had already entered the language by the time the translation was undertaken, but it was a recent change and the language used in the translation was conservative, especially since it kept much of the wording from previous editions which predated *its*.

8.1.4.3 Human Which

Modern English also makes a distinction in the relative pronoun, using *who(m)* for antecedents which are human (or personified as such), and reserving *which* for non-human antecedents. This distinction did not hold for Early Modern English. Although *who* was strictly for humans, *which* could be used for any antecedent, human or otherwise, so there was variation for human antecedents between *which* and *who*, sometimes with both options showing up in the same verse.

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[94] The earliest attestation in the OED is from 1577.
[95] See also Gen 1:11, Gen 1:21-25, Gen 6:12, Gen 6:20, Gen 7:14, Gen 22:13, Gen 29:3, Gen 49:17, Matt 5:13, Matt 12:33, Matt 24:32.

- And he blessed Joseph, and said, God, before **whom** my fathers Abraham and Isaac did walk, the God **which** fed me all my life long unto this day, (Gen 48:15)

8.2 The King James Bible and 19th Century English

There are some challenges involved in assessing these grammatical features, at least in a comprehensive way. This is largely due to their high frequency, and limitations in the tagging of the available corpus data. COHA makes no distinction between Y pronouns with singular or plural referents, between subjunctive and other base-form verbs, between *which* with human and non-human antecedents, etc. The 19th century texts such as the Book of Mormon or the Holy Roll and Book are not tagged at all, and there is, for example, no single string that will match all 3rd person singular verbs ending in *–th* but not any other words. Examining every instance of *his* in each of the texts to determine whether its antecedent is masculine or neuter would be a massive undertaking for such a high-frequency word.

As such, I will instead be examining a smaller sample from each of the works for much of the data in this section. For the KJB, I will be using Genesis and the Gospel according to St. Matthew. These are the first books from each of the two testaments, each contain numerous well-known stories, they are widely read compared to some of the other books, and are particularly likely to have had an influence on later writers. This sample also includes both original Hebrew and Greek text, to allow consideration of relevant grammatical factors in both of the major source languages. For the other texts, I have similarly used the opening portions of each work, generally a portion of between ten and twenty thousand words each. For the Book of Mormon, for example, I will be using the book of 1st Nephi, the opening book of the Book of Mormon and almost certainly the most read. This provides a sample of each text that is short enough to permit a manual examination of each of these grammatical features. For a control text to augment COHA, I have selected the opening portion of James Fenimore Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans*, published in 1826. This novel shares an interesting overlap in content with the Book of Mormon, as it is set in upstate New York and its story concerns Native Americans. It is one of the most popular and influential works of fiction from that decade, and is written in modern English rather than the archaic style of the BoM.

A comparison of the selected grammatical features in the King James Bible to *The Last of the Mohicans* and to COHA makes a few things apparent. As expected, many of these features are clearly archaic in 19th century English. The T paradigm of address pronouns, while still present, occurs at a much lower rate, replaced in general use by Y, and the *–st* verbal inflection has gone along with it. The *–th* inflection is also quite rare, and neuter *his* and human *which* are all but completely absent. Affirmative DO, while still present, as it is today in emphatic contexts, is much less frequent. But this does not hold for all features. Main verb raising is surprisingly robust in the 19th century text and may not be as good an indicator of archaic style as current usage would suggest.

8.2.1 Address Pronouns

Altogether, there are 263 tokens of Y and 850 tokens of T in Genesis, and 492 tokens of Y and 366 of T in Matthew. This means that between the two, Y occurs at a rate of 12,233 wpm and T at a rate of 19,703 wpm, and nearly 62% of all address pronouns in the KJB, with singular and plural combined, are T. Although there is no evidence for the social distinction between the formal or polite Y and the intimate or impolite T in the KJB, there are some problematic cases which seem inconsistent with the number distinction as well, particularly when speakers alternate between the use of T and Y while addressing the same listener(s). In most of these cases, a plausible explanation relying on number alone is possible, but some resist easy explanation. Altogether, I identified 19 tokens of Y as particularly ambiguous, 6 in Genesis and 13 in Matthew (308 wpm combined). These problematic cases are listed below.

In Genesis 17, God addresses Abraham, blessing him and his posterity. He addresses Abraham primarily with T, but partway through has some shifting back and forth between T and Y. The shifts are striking, but most tokens of Y can be explained as including Abraham's posterity along with him (and some are unquestionably intended as such). One in particular, however, is difficult to attribute to such a purpose. The first *you* is coordinated with *thy seed*, so presumably doesn't include it and refers only to Abraham. The Hebrew text similarly shifts to the plural form here. I have added superscripts to the text to show where the Hebrew and English correspond.

- Wayyōmer ʾĕlōhîm ʾel-ʾaḇrāhām, wə**ʾattāh**[1] (sg. pro.) ʾeṯ-bərîṯî ṯišmōr; **ʾattāh**[2] (sg. pro.) wəzarʿăḵā[3] (sg. suff.) ʾaḥăreḵā[4] (sg. suff.) ləḏōrōṯām. Zōṯ bərîṯî ʾăšer tišmərū[5] (pl. suff.), bênî ūḇênêḵem[6] (pl. suff.), ūḇên zarʿăḵā[7] (sg. suff.) ʾaḥăreḵā[8] (sg. suff.); himmōwl lāḵem[9] (pl. suff.) kāl-zāḵār. (Gen 17:9–10)
- And God said unto Abraham, **Thou**[1] shalt keep my covenant therefore, **thou**[2] and **thy**[3] seed after **thee**[4] in their generations. This is my covenant, which **ye**[5] shall keep, between me and **you**[6] and **thy**[7] seed after **thee**[8]; Every man child among **you**[9] shall be circumcised. (Gen 17:9–10)

In Genesis 18, God comes to visit Abraham, and brings two companions with him. Abraham addresses them, first using T but then shifting to Y. Presumably he shifts from addressing God alone to including all 3 in his address, especially since his initial use of T is accompanied by the singular nominal address form *my Lord* and his later use of Y includes the explicitly plural reflexive form *yourselves*. This instance seems consistent with an entirely numerical distinction between the two forms.[96]

- And he lift up his eyes and looked, and, lo, three men stood by him: and when he saw them, he ran to meet them from the tent door, and bowed himself toward the ground, And said, **My Lord**, if now I have found favour in *thy* sight, pass not away, I pray *thee*, from *thy* servant: Let a little water, I pray *you*, be fetched, and wash *your* feet, and rest **yourselves** under the tree: And I will fetch a morsel of bread, and comfort *ye your* hearts; after that *ye* shall pass on: for therefore are *ye* come to *your* servant. And they said, So do, as thou hast said. (Gen 18:2–5)

In Genesis 31, Laban is angry at his son-in-law Jacob for slipping away from him, and reprimands him, using T. In one verse, however, he shifts to Y while first threatening Jacob and then reassuring him. The first Y may be meant to include Jacob's household (wives, children, servants) with him. The second is a little odder, since there is no mention of Jacob having brought anyone with him when he first came to Laban's home. Jacob would presumably be the only one included in the Y of "the God of your father." The Hebrew text similarly uses the plural form for this part.

- Wherefore didst *thou* flee away secretly, and steal away from me; and didst not tell me, that I might have sent *thee* away with mirth, and with songs, with tabret, and with harp? And hast not suffered me to kiss my sons and my daughters? *thou* hast now done foolishly in so doing. It is in the power of my hand to do *you* hurt: but **the God of your father** spake unto me yesternight, saying, Take thou heed that thou speak not to Jacob either good or bad. (Gen 31:27–29)

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[96] In this passage and those that follow, I will be placing address pronouns in general in italics, and using boldface for the most noteworthy aspects of each passage, such as a sudden transition, an exceptional use, or an important collocate.

In Genesis 45, Pharaoh, having heard of Joseph's brothers' visit, instructs Joseph to command his brothers to return to Canaan and return with their entire household. He first uses singular T to address Joseph, but then switches to Y because he is telling Joseph how to address his (plural) brothers. He then switches back to T for a single token, which could mean he has stopped giving words intended for Joseph's brothers and is instead again addressing Joseph himself, except that he then immediately returns to Y and further instructions intended for the larger group. The shifting is similar in the Hebrew.

- And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, Say unto *thy* brethren, This do *ye*; lade *your* beasts, and go, get *you* unto the land of Canaan; And take *your* father and *your* households, and come unto me: and I will give *you* the good of the land of Egypt, and *ye* shall eat the fat of the land. **Now thou art commanded, this do ye;** take *you* wagons out of the land of Egypt for *your* little ones, and for *your* wives, and bring *your* father, and come. (Gen 45:17–19)

In Genesis 48, Jacob gives a blessing to his grandchildren (Joseph's children) Ephraim and Manasseh, adopting them as his own and placing them on an even level with his sons as the founders of distinct tribes. There are a few complications regarding pronoun choice, where the pronoun's number is inconsistent with other textual cues. First, after the text establishes that Jacob is addressing both boys, using *them*, the pronoun choice is T. Then, the text establishes that he is addressing Joseph, but the pronoun choice is first Y, then T. The Hebrew is the same.

- **And he blessed them that day, saying, In thee** shall Israel bless, saying, God make *thee* as Ephraim and as Manasseh: and he set Ephraim before Manasseh. **And Israel said unto Joseph, Behold, I die: but God shall be with you**, and bring you again unto the land of **your** fathers. Moreover I have given to *thee* one portion above *thy* brethren, which I took out of the hand of the Amorite with my sword and with my bow. (Gen 48:20–22)

In Matthew 5, 6, and 7, during the Sermon on the Mount, Jesus addresses a "multitude," instructing them on how they should live. During the sermon, he repeatedly shifts between Y and T with no apparent shift from plural to singular addressee. Perhaps he is addressing the crowd sometimes collectively, and sometimes individually, but the alternation is certainly remarkable.

- **Ye** have heard that it was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not commit adultery: But I say unto *you*, That whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart. And if **thy** right eye offend

thee, pluck it out, and cast it from *thee*: for it is profitable for *thee* that one of *thy* members should perish, and not that *thy* whole body should be cast into hell. (Matt 5:27–29)

- But I say unto **you**, Swear not at all; neither by heaven; for it is God's throne: Nor by the earth; for it is his footstool: neither by Jerusalem; for it is the city of the great King. Neither shalt **thou** swear by *thy* head, because *thou* canst not make one hair white or black. But let **your** communication be, Yea, yea; Nay, nay: for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil. (Matt 5:34–37)
- But I say unto **you**, That *ye* resist not evil: but whosoever shall smite **thee** on *thy* right cheek, turn to him the other also. (Matt 5:39)
- Take heed that **ye** do not *your* alms before men, to be seen of them: otherwise *ye* have no reward of *your* Father which is in heaven. Therefore when **thou** doest *thine* alms, do not sound a trumpet before *thee*, as the hypocrites do in the synagogues and in the streets, that they may have glory of men. Verily I say unto **you**, They have their reward. (Matt 6:1–2)
- Moreover when **ye** fast, be not, as the hypocrites, of a sad countenance: for they disfigure their faces, that they may appear unto men to fast. Verily I say unto *you*, They have their reward. But **thou**, when *thou* fastest, anoint *thine* head, and wash *thy* face; That *thou* appear not unto men to fast, but unto *thy* Father which is in secret: and *thy* Father, which seeth in secret, shall reward *thee* openly. (Matt 6:16–18)
- Judge not, that **ye** be not judged. For with what judgment *ye* judge, *ye* shall be judged: and with what measure *ye* mete, it shall be measured to *you* again. And why beholdest **thou** the mote that is in *thy* brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in *thine* own eye? (Matt 7:1–3)

In Matthew 11, Jesus addresses the cities of Chorazin and Bethsaida individually with T, then together with plural Y. Things become more complicated when he addresses Capernaum, using both T and Y (an alternation present also in the Greek).

- Woe unto **thee**, Chorazin! woe unto *thee*, Bethsaida! for if the mighty works, which were done in **you**, had been done in Tyre and Sidon, they would have repented long ago in sackcloth and ashes. (Matt 11:21)
- And **thou**, Capernaum, which art exalted unto heaven, shalt be brought down to hell: for if the mighty works, which have been done in *thee*, had been done in Sodom, it would have remained until this day. But I say unto **you**, That it shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom in the day of judgment, than for **thee**. (Matt 11:23–24)

In Matthew 17, some tax collectors address Peter using Y, but presumably they intended the address to include the disciples as a whole. This instance seems consistent with an entirely numerical distinction between T and Y.

- And when they were come to Capernaum, they that received tribute money came to Peter, and said, Doth not **your** master pay tribute? (Matt 17:24)

In Matthew 18, Jesus delivers another sermon, and as in the earlier Sermon on the Mount, he frequently transitions between addressing the crowd with Y and with T.

In Matthew 20, James' and John's mother approaches Jesus to ask for special treatment for her sons. Before her request, Jesus addresses her with T, but in his reply he uses Y instead. Perhaps he inferred that the sons were complicit in the request and addresses the three all together. The text is consonant with the Greek on this matter, and an entirely numerical interpretation is not difficult.

- And he said unto her, What wilt **thou**? She saith unto him, Grant that these my two sons may sit, the one on thy right hand, and the other on the left, in thy kingdom. But Jesus answered and said, **Ye** know not what *ye* ask. Are *ye* able to drink of the cup that I shall drink of, and to be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with? They say unto him, We are able. (Matt 20:21–22)

In Matthew 23, Jesus denounces the scribes and Pharisees for hypocrisy, using Y, then turns his ire against the city of Jerusalem, which he addresses first with T, but then with Y. The alternation is similar to that involving Capernaum earlier.

- Jerusalem, Jerusalem, **thou** that killest the prophets, and stonest them which are sent unto *thee*, how often would I have gathered *thy* children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and **ye** would not! Behold, *your* house is left unto *you* desolate. For I say unto *you*, *Ye* shall not see me henceforth, till *ye* shall say, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. (Matt 23:37–39)

In Matthew 26, During Jesus' trial, the high priest asks him an accusing question. Jesus replies to the high priest, using T, but then switches promptly to Y. He may be shifting from responding to the high priest individually to addressing the entire assembly. The same alternation is in the Greek. Here again, it is not hard to imagine the distinction is entirely numerical.

- But Jesus held his peace. And the high priest answered and said unto him, I adjure thee by the living God, that thou tell us whether thou be the Christ, the Son of God. Jesus saith unto him, **Thou** hast said: nevertheless I say unto **you**, Hereafter shall *ye* see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven. (Matt 26:63–64)

As indicated, in many of these cases of ambiguity, there is a plausible number-based explanation. When Jesus addresses his audiences, he may be using the shift in pronouns to indicate shifts between addressing the crowd individually and collectively,

and when he addresses himself to cities, it may be a shift between conceiving of them as individual personified entities and as collections of inhabitants. Even in the oddest of cases, the decision is not an innovation of the translators, but rather a faithful representation of the choices made in the source texts. For example, here I repeat a passage from the Sermon on the Mount, comparing the Greek source text with the English translation. The address pronouns in the KJB translate either Greek pronouns, or the subjects implied by inflected Greek verbs. I have again added numeral superscripts to indicate the relevant correspondences between the two passages.

- **Ēkousate[1]** (pl. vb.) hoti errethē, *Ou moicheuseis[2]* (sg. pro. & vb.): egō de legō **hymin[3]** (pl. pro.), hoti pas ho blepōn gynaika pros to epithymēsai autēn, ēdē emoicheusen autēn en tē kardia autou. ei de ho ophthalmos **sou[4]** (sg. pro.) ho dexios, skandalizei **se[5]** (sg. pro.), exele auton kai bale apo **sou[6]** (sg. pro.); sympherei gar **soi[7]** (sg. pro.) hina apolētai hen tōn melōn **sou[8]** (sg. pro.), kai mē holon to sōma **sou[9]** (sg. pro.) blēthē eis geennan. (Matt 5:27-29)
- **Ye have heard[1]** that it was said by them of old time, *Thou shalt not[2]* commit adultery: But I say unto **you[3]**, That whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart. And if **thy[4]** right eye offend **thee[5]**, pluck it out, and cast it from **thee[6]**: for it is profitable for **thee[7]** that one of **thy[8]** members should perish, and not that **thy[9]** whole body should be cast into hell. (Matt 5:27–29)

If all cases of ambiguous Y in the KJB were treated as singular, there would still be a 98% preference for T in cases of singular address. If, as seems more likely, most or all of these cases should be treated as plural, the rate is closer to 100% T.

In COHA, Y paradigm pronouns occur at a rate of 7406 wpm in the first half of the 19th century, and T pronouns occur at 1595 wpm. This means the overall proportion of T in COHA is just under 18%, compared to the KJB's 58%. Determining how many of those Y pronouns are singular is problematic, as there are over 400 thousand tokens of Y to consider, and they are formally identical, with one noteworthy exception: the Y paradigm has developed distinct singular and plural forms for the reflexive, *yourself* and *yourselves*. Approximately 87% of the reflexive forms in the early 19th century are singular. If this rate were similar across all forms of the Y system, then singular Y would occur in COHA at around 6420 wpm, and just under 20% of all singular address would use T pronouns.

In the sample from *Last of the Mohicans*, there are 156 instances of Y and only 3 of T. Of the 156 instances of Y, 122 are clearly addressed to single individuals, while the remaining 34 are either clearly plural, generic, or ambiguously addressed to either a single individual or to a larger group to which they belong. Of the three instances of T, one is addressed to a psalmist who joins the group of travelers (and is used in combination with singular Y), while the other two are later uttered by that psalmist, one addressed to a dead horse, and the other to a personified Egypt.

- "I am glad to encounter **thee**, friend," continued the maiden, … "**You** have all the manifestations of a soft and rich treble;" (2, ¶29)[97]
- "Poor Miriam!" murmured the stranger; "**thy** foal was foreordained to become a prey to ravenous beasts!" (5, ¶47)
- "O, Egypt! wonders sent 'midst **thee**, On Pharaoh and his servants too!" (5, ¶48)

The religious and poetic overtones of the continued modern use of T are clearly in evidence in this sample. Based on this data, for all cases of singular address, at most 2% would use T pronouns. This is quite a bit lower than the overall data from COHA would suggest, but whether the true usage of early 19th century America was closer to 2% or 20%, it is certainly much lower than the 98–100% rate of the King James Bible.

Along with the T paradigm, KJB English retained a more complex Y paradigm, with the distinct nominative form *ye*. This form would be used for the subjects of finite verbs, including cases where an explicit subject pronoun was used in the imperative, as well as for the vocative function and predicate nominals.

- Finite Verb Subject: For God doth know that in the day **ye** eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened, and **ye** shall be as gods, knowing good and evil. (Gen 3:5)
- Imperative Subject: And you, be **ye** fruitful, and multiply; bring forth abundantly in the earth, and multiply therein. (Gen 9:7)
- Vocative: Hear my voice; **ye** wives of Lamech, hearken unto my speech: (Gen 4:23)
- Predicate Nominal: For it is not **ye** that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you. (Matt 10:20)

You was used for oblique or objective functions, such as direct and indirect objects, objects of prepositions, reflexives, disjunctives, and subjects of non-finite verbs.

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[97] References for *The Last of the Mohicans* will be given in chapter and paragraph numbers from Cooper 1933.

- Direct Object: But I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse **you**, do good to them that hate **you**, and pray for them which despitefully use **you**, and persecute **you**; (Matt 5:44)
- Indirect Object: even as the green herb have I given **you** all things. (Gen 9:3)
- Prepositional Object: And the fear of **you** and the dread of **you** shall be upon every beast of the earth, and upon every fowl of the air, upon all that moveth upon the earth, and upon all the fishes of the sea; (Gen 9:2)
- Reflexive: Up, get **you** out of this place; for the LORD will destroy this city. (Gen 19:14)
- Disjunctive: And **you**, be ye fruitful, and multiply; bring forth abundantly in the earth, and multiply therein. (Gen 9:7)
- Non-finite Verb Subject: O generation of vipers, who hath warned **you** to flee from the wrath to come? (Matt 3:7)

There are some indications that the pronunciation distinction between *ye* and *you* may have deteriorated by the time of the translation, resulting in inconsistencies in the use of *ye* and *you* in the text. Treated as errors, these were "cleaned up" in later editions, resulting in a pretty consistent system for both paradigms by Blayney's 1769 edition (Norton 2005: 106, 111). I was, however, able to find one instance which apparently slipped past the later editors, where *you* is used in a context where nominative *ye* would be expected.

- So now it was not **you** that sent me hither, but God (Gen 45:8)

Unlike in modern English, the nominative was the norm after the copula, and is the form generally found elsewhere in the KJB.

- But it was **thou**, a man mine equal, my guide, and mine acquaintance. (Pss 55:13)
- And they knew that it was **he** which sat for alms at the Beautiful gate of the temple: (Acts 3:10)

There may be a few similar instances in other books, but considering the total number of tokens of *ye* and *you* in Genesis and Matthew, I expect such exceptional cases to be quite rare. The KJB as it existed in the 19th century (and still does today) is overall quite consistent in distinguishing subject and object forms of address pronouns. In COHA, *ye* makes up only a tiny fraction of the total occurrences of Y, and it does not occur in the Mohicans sample at all. The norm in 19th century English is clearly for *you* to be used as both subject and object, in contrast to the KJB.

- "If **you** journey to the lake, **you** have mistaken your route," said Heyward, haughtily; "the highway thither is at least half a mile behind **you**." (2, ¶21)

8.2.2 Verbal Inflection

There are 410 3rd person singular verbs in Genesis and Matthew ending in the *–th* suffix, and none ending in *–s*. In this respect the KJB is, at least orthographically, completely consistent (with the exception of the one remaining *–s* verb in the Apocrypha). The archaic suffix occurs in the sample at a rate of 100%.

As COHA has 3rd person singular verb agreement tagged, it is relatively easy to compare the rates for these verbal endings. Verbs with the *–th* suffix occur at a rate of about 221 wpm, while those ending in *–s* occur at a rate of at least 5587 wpm. Based on this, the archaic suffix is used less than 4% of the time. The *Last of the Mohicans* sample contains 8 *–th* verbs and 87 *–s* verbs, or a rate of about 8%. Of the archaic verbs in *Mohicans*, some occur in scriptural quotations, one in a poem, one alongside the use of the T address pronoun, and one while talking about David's psalms.

- "Nay, nay, I think not of it now; but this strange man **amuses** me; and if he '**hath** music in his soul,' let us not churlishly reject his company." (2, ¶28)

The use of 2nd person singular *–st* is closely tied to the use of T pronouns, since agreement with *thou* triggers the use of the suffix. It is consistently used in the KJB, occurring at a rate of about 3127 wpm, except in cases where the verb is subjunctive and thus unmarked. It is more difficult to count using COHA, since there is no tag for 2nd person singular verbs. By searching for all verbs ending in <st> and counting only those where it is in fact the archaic suffix, we arrive at an estimate of around 212 wpm. This includes most of the auxiliaries and some other common verbs, but the list is far from complete, so this figure is certainly low. The rate for the nominative form *thou* is considerably higher, at 541 wpm, and this provides another means for estimating the rate of verbs with the *–st* suffix, since these forms show subject agreement with *thou*. Not every instance of *thou* will be accompanied by a verb with the *–st* inflection, however, so 541 wpm is surely high. The true rate for verbs bearing the *–st* inflection in COHA is probably between these two rates of 212 and 541 wpm. Even at the high end of this range, this is much lower than the rate in the KJB, and corresponds to the much lower frequency of T compared to the KJB.

- I know thee not—wert thou my son, ye gods Thou **would'st** tear off this sycophantic robe (1819)
- "Monster! well **dost** thou deserve thy treacherous name," cried Cora, in an ungovernable burst of filial indignation. (1826)
- **Mayst** thou fall Into the grave as softly as the leaves Of the sweet roses on an autumn eve, Beneath the small sighs of the western wind, Drop to the earth! (1833)
- What **sayst** thou of carving men's throats by the wholesale, thou prating manakin? (1838)
- Miscreant, **canst** thou deny it? (1844)
- When thou **goest** abroad, on thy bosom wear A nosegay (1851)
- Thou **may'st** of double ignorance boast, Who **know'st** not that thou nothing **know'st** (1855)

There are no instances of *–st* verbs in the Mohicans sample, which is unsurprising since none of the three occurrences of T are nominative.

8.2.3 Verb Raising

In Genesis and Matthew, there are 74 instances of questions where the main verb is raised, compared to only 29 where auxiliary DO is used, and 174 instances of negation where *not* follows the main verb, compared to only 21 where auxiliary DO is used. In other words, based on these two sections, in the absence of an auxiliary verb, the KJB uses main verb raising about 72 percent of the time in questions and 89 percent of the time in negations, and uses DO-support for the remainder. DO is much more likely to see use, though, in clauses which are both interrogative and negative at the same time. In these cases, main verbs are raised only 38% of the time, compared to about 81% in positive questions, and again, 74% in all questions. DO is thus about 3.5 times more likely to be employed in negative questions than in positive ones. Negative interrogative clauses also include some variation in the placement of the negative *not*: in some cases it is shifted ahead of the subject along with the raised main verb or DO, but in other cases it is left behind after the subject.

- And Pharaoh called Abram, and said, What is this that thou hast done unto me? **why didst thou not** tell me that she was thy wife? (Gen 12:18)
- And it came to pass, that in the morning, behold, it was Leah: and he said to Laban, What is this thou hast done unto me? **did not I serve** with thee for Rachel? wherefore then hast thou beguiled me? (Gen 29:25)

- **Wherefore didst thou flee** away secretly, and steal away from me; and didst not tell me, that I might have sent thee away with mirth, and with songs, with tabret, and with harp? (Gen 31:27)
- And Israel said unto Joseph, **Do not thy brethren feed** the flock in Shechem? come, and I will send thee unto them. And he said to him, Here am I. (Gen 37:13)
- And they said unto him, We have dreamed a dream, and there is no interpreter of it. And Joseph said unto them, **Do not interpretations belong** to God? tell me them, I pray you. (Gen 40:8)
- So the servants of the householder came and said unto him, Sir, **didst not thou sow** good seed in thy field? from whence then hath it tares? (Matt 13:27)
- **Do not ye yet understand**, that whatsoever entereth in at the mouth goeth into the belly, and is cast out into the draught? (Matt 15:17)
- **Do ye not yet understand**, neither remember the five loaves of the five thousand, and how many baskets ye took up? (Matt 16:9)
- And when they were come to Capernaum, they that received tribute money came to Peter, and said, **Doth not your master pay** tribute? (Matt 17:24)
- How think ye? if a man have an hundred sheep, and one of them be gone astray, **doth he not leave** the ninety and nine, and goeth into the mountains, and seeketh that which is gone astray? (Matt 18:12)
- But he answered one of them, and said, Friend, I do thee no wrong: **didst not thou agree** with me for a penny? (Matt 20:13)
- The baptism of John, whence was it? from heaven, or of men? And they reasoned with themselves, saying, If we shall say, From heaven; he will say unto us, **Why did ye not then believe** him? (Matt 21:25)

Main verb raising is definitely still employed in such clauses, just not so often.[98]

- **Said he not** unto me, She is my sister? and she, even she herself said, He is my brother: in the integrity of my heart and innocency of my hands have I done this. (Gen 20:5)
- And Reuben answered them, saying, **Spake I not** unto you, saying, Do not sin against the child; and ye would not hear? therefore, behold, also his blood is required. (Gen 42:22)
- And Joseph said unto them, What deed is this that ye have done? **wot ye not** that such a man as I can certainly divine? (Gen 44:15)
- For if ye love them which love you, what reward have ye? **do not even the publicans** the same? (Matt 5:46)
- And if ye salute your brethren only, what do ye more than others? **do not even the publicans** so? (Matt 5:47)
- And **why beholdest thou** the mote that is in thy brother's eye, **but considerest not** the beam that is in thine own eye? (Matt 7:3)

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[98] In addition to the verses noted here, there is one instance in Matt 9:14 where two clauses are joined together by *but*, the second being a negative clause. The first clause is interrogative, with DO-support, but it is unclear whether the second is interrogative. I have excluded this clause from my count of negative interrogative clauses. It is similarly unclear whether the second clauses in Gen 31:27, Matt 7:3, and Matt 25:44 are interrogative like the first. These I have included.

- And Jesus said unto them, **See ye not** all these things? verily I say unto you, There shall not be left here one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down. (Matt 24:2)
- Then shall they also answer him, saying, Lord, **when** saw we thee an hungred, or athirst, or a stranger, or naked, or sick, or in prison, **and did not minister** unto thee? (Matt 25:44)
- Then said Pilate unto him, **Hearest thou not** how many things they witness against thee? (Matt 27:13)

For comparisons involving such verb raising, I have ignored all cases where the main verb is BE, since this one verb still does not require an auxiliary in these contexts,[99] as well as all cases where auxiliaries besides DO are used, since these are included for sense as well as syntactic function, and would be present in both modern and KJB English. I have also ignored wh-subject questions, as these also do not involve verb raising or DO-support.

COHA is not a parsed corpus, so the analysis of syntactic processes such as verb raising cannot be made so directly. A search for rates of DO in general might serve as a rough proxy for its expanded use at the expense of main verb raising, except that the extensive use of affirmative DO in KJB English obscures any change based on increased use of DO-support. Another approach is to look at rates for particular verbs. For several common verbs which are never used as auxiliaries (GO, KNOW, MAKE, SAY, SEE, TAKE, THINK), I have compared how often they occur followed by *not* (say not, says not, saith not) and preceded by *not* (not say) in the KJB and COHA. This is not quite comparable to the rates above, since the instances where *not* precedes the verb will include auxiliaries besides DO. However, it should indicate reasonably well the relative allowability of main verb raising in negations. For these verbs, the proportion with the verb preceding *not* (those where the main verb has been raised) is 44% for the KJB and 26% for COHA. There is considerable variation between the different verbs, with KNOW in particular more likely to be raised than the others. Its rate alone is 80% for the KJB and 50% for COHA.

An examination of main verb raising in the *Last of the Mohicans* tells a somewhat different story, however. The sample is smaller, but not limited to an arbitrary set of

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[99] Modern English does require DO-support with BE in negative imperatives ("Now, don't be hasty, Master Meriadoc…") in contrast to KJB English ("be not grieved" Gen 45:5, similarly Gen 49:6, Matt 6:8, Matt 6:16, Matt 14:27, Matt 17:7, Matt 23:8, Matt 28:10).

verbs. In this sample, main verbs are raised 65% of the time in questions and 74% in negations. These numbers are still lower than those of the KJB, but the difference is much smaller than in the comparison using COHA. And an examination of all the texts involved in this study reinforces this impression, as main verb raising, especially in negations, is still usually more common than DO-support. Rates are lower than in the KJB, but main verb raising appears to still be an entirely viable option to 19th century writers, and not a notably archaic element.

8.2.4 Additional Grammatical Details

Altogether, DO occurs 71 times in Genesis and Matthew as an auxiliary verb in affirmative clauses, compared to only 37 occurrences as an auxiliary in negative and interrogative clauses. Affirmative uses of DO have a rate of 1146 wpm in this sample. Neuter *his* occurs 23 times in Genesis and Matthew, and *its* occurs not at all.[100] And an examination of the relative clauses with human antecedents in Genesis and Matthew resulted in 62 instances where *who* was used and 143 with *which*, so *which* is clearly the preferred term.[101]

These constructions are all difficult to evaluate using COHA, because each is a particular use of a highly frequent word, which must be distinguished from other high-frequency uses. In the sample from *Last of the Mohicans*, DO is used only 5 times in affirmative clauses, for a rate of about 290 wpm, much lower than in the KJB. There is only one instance of *which* with a human antecedent, and a single neuter use of *his*, with the sun as its antecedent (and it may even be that the sun is to be understood as

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[100] There is one token of *its* to be found in the current text of the KJB, but it was not present in the original edition of 1611. Although *his* was the standard form used by the translators for the neuter genitive, another alternative available to them was the unmarked genitive *it* (first OED citation from c. 1400). This variant can be seen for example in Shakespeare's *King Lear*: "It had it head bit off by it young." and it was used by the KJB translators in Lev 25:5. In 1660, Cambridge printer John Field changed this to *its*, which had presumably become more mainstream in the intervening years, while genitive *it* had become less so—Norton 2005: 99.

[101] In cases of non-human antecedents, *which* is used exclusively—these I did not count. A relative clause in Matt 1:20 uses *which* where the antecedent is the baby Jesus, but the relative clause is preceded by *that*, which necessitates the use of *which*, so I did not include this use in the count. A relative clause in Matt 27:52 uses *which* with an ambiguous antecedent (either nonhuman *bodies* or human *saints*)—the NRSV text treats *saints* as the antecedent, so I did include this instance in the count. I have also left out of the count two ambiguous "human" instances in Genesis, first in Gen 35:4, where the antecedent is *strange gods*, referring to small statues, and second in Gen 48:6 where the antecedent is any potential *issue* Joseph may have after his two sons.

personified in this case). Thus the rates for all three of these features is significantly lower than in the KJB, and their use in 19th century texts would likely feel quite archaic.

- I **do** know him, or he would not have my confidence, (2, ¶5)
- **The sun** had already disappeared, and the woods, suddenly deprived of **his** light, were assuming a dusky hue, (4, ¶48)
- and mothers cast anxious glances even at **those children which** slumbered within the security of the largest towns. (1, ¶8)

8.3 The Book of Mormon

The Book of Mormon shares many of the archaic grammatical features of the King James Bible, but some are not represented, and the use of some has changed considerably over the various editions of the BoM. Neuter *his* shows no influence, and although human *which* was used extensively in the earliest edition, Smith modernized this feature aggressively in the 2nd edition and only a few instances of the older form remain. The use of the archaic singular address pronouns starting in T is very elevated, close to the level of the KJB, but not quite there, as is the use of the archaic verbal inflection *–th*. And in the case of affirmative DO, the BoM shows extensive hypercorrection, adopting this feature far beyond the rate at which it occurs in the KJB.

Table 27: Grammatical Features in the BoM

		LotM	**BoM**	KJB
No apparent influence	% his	2	0	100
	% which	1	5	70
Considerable influence	% –th	8	88	100
	% T	2	94	>98
	% ye	0	100[102]	>99
Hypercorrection	DO (wpm)	290	8996	1146

8.3.1 Address Pronouns

Counting for the Book of Mormon as a whole, Y occurs at a considerably higher rate than in the King James Bible, almost half as frequently again, and it's about twice as frequent as in the contemporary usage of COHA. The BoM uses T much less than the

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[102] Although there are no instances of nominative *you* in 1st Nephi, there are some in later portions of the BoM, as noted below.

KJB, but still much more than contemporary English. The reason for the high rates of address pronouns in general compared to COHA are unclear but may have to do with the genres of the scriptural texts. For the ratio of T to Y, the BoM is closer to contemporary usage than it is to the KJB, but is still elevated. 26% of all address pronouns in the BoM are from the T paradigm, compared to 18% in COHA and a much higher 58% in the KJB.

Table 28: Address Pronoun Selection in the BoM

Frequency in wpm	COHA	**BoM**	KJB
Y paradigm	7406	14817	10845
T paradigm	1595	5268	21751
% T	18%	26%	58%
Ambiguous/Singular Y[103]	6420 (est.)	1383	271

Determining what proportion of Y tokens are singular is more difficult, since the forms of the pronoun are identical, as is the verb agreement. Including every ambiguous token from Genesis and Matthew gives a rate of 271 wpm, or about 2.5% of all tokens of Y, but this is surely much too high, since most of the ambiguous cases are still likely plural. In contrast to the KJB, the Book of Mormon has many cases where Y is clearly used as a singular.

- after I, Nephi, had read these things …, my brethren came unto me and said unto me: What meaneth these things which **ye** have read? (1 Ne 22:1)
- Lachoneus, most noble and chief governor of the land, behold, I write this epistle unto **you**, and do give unto **you** exceedingly great praise because of **your** firmness, and also the firmness of **your** people, (3 Ne 3:2)

Including all the tokens from 1ˢᵗ Nephi that are clearly singular as well as the ambiguous cases where a singular sense seems probable, the rate for the BoM is around 1383 wpm, or about 9.3% of all tokens of Y, and in this case I think that comparatively few of these ambiguous cases were intended as plurals. Nonetheless, like the KJB, the BoM normally uses T for cases of singular address. The relative frequencies of reflexive pronouns is consistent with this, as the BoM has 5 tokens of *yourself* and 84 of *yourselves*, indicating that singular Y is present but T is usually preferred (there are 14 tokens of *thyself*). For another way of looking at it, 87% of all occurrences of Y in COHA

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[103] The frequency for Singular Y in COHA is extrapolated from the ratio of *yourself* to *yourselves*; that for the BoM is based on an examination of 1ˢᵗ Nephi; and that for the KJB is based on an examination of Genesis and Matthew.

are singular. The rate for *Last of the Mohicans* is similarly high, at 78%. In contrast, only 9% of Y in the BoM is singular, and about 2.5% in the KJB. The much higher rates of T help to compensate for this shortage of singular Y.

When singular Y is used in the BoM, it is often used in conjunction with T (similarly to some of the examples from the KJB, but often without a plausible shift in number possible). For example, here the spirit of the Lord addresses the prophet Nephi:

- And behold this thing shall be given unto **thee** for a sign, that after **thou** hast beheld the tree which bore the fruit which **thy** father tasted, **thou** shalt also behold a man descending out of heaven, and him shall **ye** witness; and after **ye** have witnessed him **ye** shall bear record that it is the Son of God. (1 Ne 11:7)

God and Jesus, however, are never addressed with Y, but always receive T, in harmony with current Mormon traditions of prayer today. Jesus and angels are also especially prone to using T themselves when addressing mortals (Skousen 2016: 1144–1145).

There are a couple passages with particularly noteworthy choices of pronoun. Passages involving biblical quotation generally follow the pronoun choice of the source, even when quotations from multiple parts of the Bible are combined in the same passage and the result is an inconsistent muddle of T and Y (e.g. 3 Ne 20). There are several exceptions, however, in the Sermon on the Mount, where biblical T is replaced by Y (there are no changes in the other direction), including 3 Ne 12:23–24, 3 Ne 12:26, 3 Ne 12:29–30, and 3 Ne 13:2. The first of these introduces an especially awkward alternation between T and Y, where the corresponding passage in Matthew uses T throughout.

- Therefore, if **ye** shall come unto me, or shall desire to come unto me, and **rememberest** that **thy** brother hath aught against *thee* -- Go *thy* way unto *thy* brother, and first be reconciled to *thy* brother, and then come unto me with full purpose of heart, and I will receive **you**. (3 Ne 12:23–24)

1 Nephi 21 is a nearly verbatim quotation of Isaiah 49, with only a few minor changes made to the text. One of those is the introduction of a plural vocative phrase in conjunction with T, resulting in an odd juxtaposition not present in the biblical text.

- In an acceptable time have I heard **thee,** O **isles** of the sea, (1 Ne 21:8)

This is not the only case where the BoM uses T in a plural sense. The text originally had a fair number of cases where T was used, often in combination with Y, to

address groups. Several of these, as noted, are in biblical quotations, and several of those in original material follow a similar pattern, with cases either of mixed address to a group such as the children of Israel or the Nephites, or of address that may be alternatively directed toward a group and a single individual within it. There are also a number of cases, however, where T is directed toward a small group of single individuals, a situation which invariably uses plural Y in the KJB. Skousen thinks this kind of plural T may be unique to the BoM (Skousen 2016: 1177). In some instances where the earliest manuscripts use this plural T, it has been changed to Y in later editions,[104] mostly in edits made by Smith for the 1837 and 1847 publications, but in others the plural T has endured.[105]

While studying my sample text in 1st Nephi, I identified a couple of instances not mentioned by Skousen, including the "isles of the sea" passage mentioned above, and a case when Nephi is rebuking his rebellious older brothers. After berating them for some time using Y, he shifts to T, while clearly still addressing both of them. This use of plural T is likely triggered by the quotation of the fifth commandment during the reprimand, matching up with the pronoun choice in Exodus.

- And now, they said: We know of a surety that the Lord is with thee, for we know that it is the power of the Lord that has shaken us. And they fell down before me, and were about to worship me, but I would not suffer them, saying: I am **thy** brother, yea, even **thy** younger brother; wherefore, worship the Lord **thy** God, and honor **thy** father and **thy** mother, that **thy** days may be long in the land which the Lord thy God shall give **thee**. (1 Ne 17:55)

The Book of Mormon is also mostly consistent in distinguishing *ye* from *you*. The sample text from 1st Nephi uses *ye* in all cases where the nominative would be expected, and *you* otherwise. There are cases later in the text, though, where these conventions are not maintained. In particular, there is a tendency to use *you* in nominative contexts (as the subject of a tensed verb, after a copula, in imperatives, and in cases of direct address), which is unsurprising since that would be the norm in contemporary 19th century English, where *ye* was obsolete. Skousen identifies 61 such cases in the original BoM text

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[104] 1 Ne 3:29, 1 Ne 7:8, 2 Ne 9:3–4, Mos 2:11–12 (changed after Smith's death), Mos 2:25–27, Mos 12:27–33.
[105] Jac 5:71–75, Mos 17:15–16, Mos 24:16, Alma 14:14–15, Alma 17:11, Alma 32:8–10, Hel 7:23–25, Hel 8:1–5.

(Skousen 2016: 1271), and this has remained relatively unchanged, as such address pronouns have rarely been changed in later editions. These cases are particularly concentrated in the books of Mosiah and Alma (the earliest portions to be dictated), but with instances also in 2 Nephi, Jacob, Helaman, and Mormon. The chapters with the greatest density of such forms are Mosiah 2 (with 6 tokens) and Alma 5 (with 10 tokens). These chapters both contain significant sermons, and other instances appear especially often in sermons as well, where the wording is generally more complex and concentration on such grammatical details may have been more difficult (The main sermon in 3rd Nephi, a repetition of the Sermon on the Mount, is likely exempt due to its direct biblical model). Here are a few illustrative examples.

- Finite Verb Subject: It is because **you** have hardened your hearts; (Hel 7:18)
- After Copula: wherefore, how much better are **you** than they, (Jac 3:7)
- Imperative: Therefore, choose **you** by the voice of this people, judges, that ye may be judged (Mos 29:25)
- Direct Address: O, all ye old men, and also ye young men, and **you** little children who can understand my words, (Mos 2:40)

Skousen also notes that there were initially three cases where *ye* was used in object positions.[106] One of these was changed to *you* in the 1920 edition, but the other two remain.

- yea, even wo unto all **ye** workers of iniquity (Alma 5:32)
- Know ye not that I have power to deliver **ye** up unto the flames? (Alma 14:19, changed in 1920)
- I would that I could persuade all **ye** ends of the earth, to repent … (Morm 3:22)

8.3.2 Verbal Inflection

A comparison of 1st Nephi to Genesis and Matthew shows that the use of the third person *–th* in the Book of Mormon is extensive, with its frequency even higher than the KJB, but it is not the exclusive (almost) form, as in the KJB. Rather, there is a sizeable number of cases where the modern *–s* is used instead. For the 1840 text, 88% of the 3rd person singular verbs retain the archaic ending, compared to 100% in the KJB and a meager 8% in the opening chapters of *Last of the Mohicans*. The second person *–st* suffix

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[106] Alma 5:32, Alma 14:19 (fixed in 1920), Morm 3:22.

is used much less in the BoM than in the KJB, but this corresponds to a similar reduction in the use of T. With *thou* used less often as subject, there is less frequent need of verbs to agree with it.

- And he **leadeth** away the righteous into precious lands, and the wicked he **destroyeth**, and **curseth** the land unto them for their sakes. (1 Ne 17:38)
- the book that thou beholdest, is a record of the Jews, which **contains** the covenants of the Lord which he hath made unto the house of Israel; (1 Ne 13:23)
- And I said yea, **thou knowest** that I believe all the words of my father. (1 Ne 11:5)

The Book of Mormon text initially had even more verbs ending in *–th*, but Smith changed many of these when preparing the 1837 edition, including many cases that were modernized to *–s* and others (especially involving *saith*) which were changed to the past tense to better match the sense (Skousen 2016: 455–456). But there were cases with *–s* even before these changes, and the great majority of verbs ending in *–th* have remained. In some cases the two endings interchange freely in the same passage.

- but if he **yields** to the enticings of the Holy Spirit, and **putteth** off the natural man, and **becometh** a saint (Mos 3:19)

The text initially also included many instances of singular verbs, in either *–s* or *–th*, used with plural subjects. Most of these were changed in later editions to make the book better conform to standard English grammar, but the archaic *–th* ending apparently made such subject-verb disagreement harder to recognize, and some instances remain in the text to this day.[107] Some other odd cases of verb agreement include the use of *–th* with 1st person subjects, the use of *thou* with the 3rd person *–th* suffix, the use of *thou* with no verbal suffix, and the use of the singular *–st* ending with the plural subject *ye*. Again, most such cases of non-standard subject-verb agreement have been eliminated, though some remained until after Smith's death and some are still in the book to this day (Skousen 2016: 473–480). The examples below are all present in the 1840 edition.

- my brethren came unto me and said unto me, what **meaneth these things** which ye have read? (1 Ne 22:1)
- For **I**, Nephi, **hath** seen it, and it well nigh consumeth me (2 Ne 26:7)
- And he said unto me, **thou remembereth** the twelve apostles of the Lamb? (1 Ne 12:9)
- **remember thou** the covenants of the Father unto the house of Israel? (1 Ne 14:8)

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[107] 1 Ne 22:1, 2 Ne 25:5, 2 Ne 25:6, Mos 12:20, Hel 15:7, Eth 12:28, Moro 7:24.

- and behold, they are written in the book which **thou beheld** proceeding out of the mouth of the Jew (1 Ne 14:23)
- But behold, **these things mattereth** not. (Alma 54:22)[108]
- Therefore, **if ye shall come** unto me, or shall desire to come unto me, **and rememberest** that thy brother hath aught against thee … (3 Ne 12:23)

The Book of Mormon also includes numerous instances of formally subjunctive verbs used in constructions similar to those taking the subjunctive in the KJB. The use of the indicative in these contexts, however, is much more common. Where changes have been made to verbal mood in the BoM over the text's history, the shift has generally been away from the subjunctive (Skousen 2016: 540). For example, Alma 22:16 contains a series of *if* clauses with four inflected verbs. In 1840, three of these show indicative agreement with the subject *thou* (*desirest*, *wilt*, and *wilt* again) and one is instead in its unmarked subjunctive base form (*will*). The manuscript evidence indicates that three of these were originally subjunctive with only the first instance in the indicative.

- **if thou desirest** this thing, **if thou wilt bow down** before God, yea, **if thou wilt repent** of all thy sins, and **will bow down** before God (1840)
- **if thou desirest** this thing **if thou will bow down** before God yea **if thou repent** of all thy sins and **will bow down** before God (Printer's Manuscript)

There are other cases where the indicative and subjunctive are used in conjunction with each other, such as a series of hypotheticals in 2nd Nephi that shifts from subjunctive to indicative halfway through.

- And **if there be** no righteousness there be no happiness. And **if there be** no righteousness nor happiness there be no punishment nor misery. And **if these things are** not there is no God. And **if there is** no God we are not, neither the earth; (2 Ne 2:13)

A particularly interesting case is found in 3 Nephi, in a passage quoting from Micah and involving an *if* clause. In the KJB, subjunctives are limited to the clause containing the *if*, with the following result clause in the indicative. But the BoM often uses the same mood in both clauses. Compare the following examples:

- **If I be** bereaved of my children, **I am** bereaved. (Gen 43:14)
- And **if there be** no righteousness **there be** no happiness. (2 Ne 2:13)

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[108] In this case, the original manuscript has *matter*, but a mistranscription in the manuscript copy given to the printer introduced the *–th* ending, which was maintained until the 1920 edition (Skousen 2004–2009: 2697).

- And **if these things are** not **there is** no God. (2 Ne 2:13)

A passage from Micah is quoted, with interpolation, in 3rd Nephi. The biblical version is typical, containing such a shift from subjunctive *if* clause to indicative result. The rendering in the BoM changes the subjunctive "if he go" to indicative "if he goeth," perhaps to achieve consistency with the following indicative verbs. At any rate, the self-same passage is quoted again in the following chapter, and this time the *go* remains subjunctive as in the source text.

- And the remnant of Jacob shall be among the Gentiles in the midst of many people as a lion among the beasts of the forest, as a young lion among the flocks of sheep: who, **if he go** through, both **treadeth** down, and **teareth** in pieces, and none can deliver. (Mic 5:8)
- then shall ye who are a remnant of the house of Jacob, go forth among them; and ye shall be in the midst of them, who shall be many; and ye shall be among them, as a lion among the beasts of the forest, and as a young lion among the flocks of sheep, who, **if he goeth** through, both **treadeth** down and **teareth** in pieces, and none can deliver. (3 Ne 20:16)

The use of the subjunctive in the Book of Mormon is also more restricted in terms of the verbs involved: usually *know*, *repent*, or especially *be*. In the KJB, a much wider range of verbs occur in the subjunctive: *ask*, *be*, *bless*, *come*, *dash*, *deceive*, *depart*, *return*, *speak*, *tell*, *turn*.

8.3.3 Verb Raising

The Book of Mormon employs main verb raising more often than DO-support, though the proportion of questions and negations with raised main verbs is not as great as the KJB, and not even as great as the *Last of the Mohicans*.

- Question with DO-support: Why **do ye smite** your younger brother with a rod? (1 Ne 3:17)
- Question with main verb raised: **Knowest thou** the condescension of God? (1 Ne 11:16)
- Negation with DO-support: the servants of Laban **did not overtake** us, (1 Ne 3:27)
- Negation with main verb raised: And Laman and Lemuel **partook not** of the fruit, said my father. (1 Ne 8:35)

Table 29: Verb Raising in the BoM

Proportion with verb raising	LotM	**BoM**	KJB
Questions	65%	60%	72%
Negations	74%	55%	89%

Negative interrogative clauses, where DO was so much more likely to occur in the KJB, are comparatively rare in 1ˢᵗ Nephi, with only two occurrences, one with a raised main verb and one with DO.

- why do ye smite your younger brother with a rod? **Know ye not** that the Lord hath chosen him to be a ruler over you, and this because of your iniquities? (1 Ne 3:29)
- **Do ye not remember** the things which the Lord hath said, …? (1 Ne 15:11)

There are a couple noteworthy facts about verb raising in the Book of Mormon. There is one instance in 1ˢᵗ Nephi of a question with no raising, either of main verb or auxiliary. Such *in situ* questions are perfectly grammatical, at least in modern English, but I did not identify any in Genesis or Matthew.

- And he said unto me: **Thou rememberest** the twelve apostles of the Lamb? (1 Ne 12:9)

More intriguing are a few cases from later books in the BoM where both the auxiliary and the main verb preceded the *not*, including one case where the auxiliary is DO.

- And behold, I swear unto you, if ye will do this, with an oath, ye shall not be destroyed; but if ye will not do this, I swear unto you with an oath, that on the morrow month I will command that my armies shall come down against you, and they shall not stay their hand and **shall spare not**, but shall slay you, and shall let fall the sword upon you even until ye shall become extinct. (3 Ne 3:8)
- And behold they will be among the Gentiles, and the Gentiles **shall know them not**. They will also be among the Jews, and the Jews **shall know them not**. (3 Ne 28:27–28)
- for behold, he **did care not** for the blood of his people. (Alma 49:10)

In the second of these examples, the *not* follows a direct object pronoun. There is some variation in the KJB in the position of *not*, and this is a common minority variant, comprising about 8.5% of all instances of *not* in Genesis and Matthew and nearly 6% in 1ˢᵗ Nephi. This makes the second BoM example above ambiguous, since the *not* could have been shifted back from either after the auxiliary or after the main verb. The other

two examples lack this explanation, however. And in the final case, where the auxiliary is DO, it appears that both DO-support and main verb raising have been employed in the very same clause.

I could find no comparable instances of main verb raising in combination with an auxiliary in the KJB, though as mentioned above, there is some variation in the possible placements of *not*.[109] The closest thing was one particularly ambiguous case, with two conjoined clauses:

- Then came to him the disciples of John, saying, **Why do we and the Pharisees fast** oft, **but thy disciples fast not**? (Matt 9:14)

If the *do* in the first clause has scope over the second as well, then the *not* follows both verbs as in the BoM examples above. The form of the verb does not help us, since the infinitive and the third-person plural are identical. Because this is the only potentially similar instance, and is itself ambiguous, I am inclined to give it little weight. This BoM placement of *not* after both an auxiliary and a main verb seems unlikely to have a basis in KJB English.

8.3.4 Additional Grammatical Details

The Book of Mormon shows little to no sign of neuter *his*. There are no instances of *his* with a neuter antecedent in 1st Nephi, but 3 tokens of the genitive *its*. When the Sermon on the Mount is reproduced in 3rd Nephi, a biblical instance of *his* is even replaced by the more modern equivalent, *its*.

- Ye are the salt of the earth: but if the salt have lost **his** savour, wherewith shall it be salted? it is thenceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out, and to be trodden under foot of men. (Matt 5:13)
- Verily, verily, I say unto you, I give unto you to be the salt of the earth; but if the salt shall lose **its** savor wherewith shall the earth be salted? The salt shall be

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[109] There are 43 cases with *not* following a direct object pronoun, including "and Jacob's heart fainted, for he believed them not." (Gen 45:26); "and he knew her not till she had brought forth her firstborn son" (Matt 1:25). There are also 10 instances where it precedes a noun phrase or adverbial modifier, and 20 involving ellipsis with *if*, *so*, *and*, *or*, or *but*: "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven" (Matt 7:21); "But they said, Not on the feast day, lest there be an uproar among the people." (Matt 26:5); "to wit whether the LORD had made his journey prosperous or not." (Gen 24:21); "For he taught them as one having authority, and not as the scribes." (Matt 7:29). In contrast, there are 407 cases where *not* is in a canonical position immediately after the main verb (210) or an auxiliary (197, 23 of which are DO). See Rissanen 1999: 271 for a discussion of variation in the placement of *not* in Early Modern English generally.

thenceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out and to be trodden under foot of men. (3 Ne 12:13)

The story for human *which* is more complicated. The BoM text initially followed the KJB lead in primarily using *which* for relative clauses with human antecedents, with a little over a thousand such cases, but Smith modernized this feature in his revision for the 1837 edition, replacing about 92% of these with *who*. One prominent example, again from the reprised Sermon on the Mount, is in the opening to the Lord's Prayer.

- After this manner therefore pray ye: Our Father **which** art in heaven, Hallowed be thy name. (Matt 6:9, 3 Ne 13:9 1830 edition)
- After this manner therefore pray ye, our Father **who** art in heaven, hallowed be thy name. (3 Ne 13:9 1840 edition)

By the 1840 edition, there are 105 instances in 1st Nephi where *who* is used, and only 3 with *which*.[110]

- and the mists of darkness are the temptations of the devil, **which** blindeth the eyes, and hardeneth the hearts of the children of men, and leadeth them away into broad roads, that they may perish, and are lost. (1 Ne 12:17)
- with the Gentiles **which** have gone forth out of captivity: (1 Ne 13:29)
- But it is the kingdom of the devil which shall be built up among the children of men, which kingdom is established among them **which** are in the flesh: (1 Ne 22:22)

The first of these is rather ambiguous as there are several different possible antecedents for *which*, all of which make sense in context: *the mists of darkness*, *the temptations of the devil*, or just *the devil*. Only if *the devil* is the antecedent is this a case of human *which*. The singular *–th* verb endings support such an interpretation, as do similar statements about the devil elsewhere in the book (Skousen 2016: 1210–1211), but the text does have instances of *–th* occurring with plural subjects, and in other relative clauses with the devil as antecedent, *which* was replaced by *who*. The incongruous set of features make this a noteworthy passage however it was intended.

Auxiliary *do* occurs in a vast number of affirmative clauses in the Book of Mormon, with 226 instances in 1st Nephi, giving a rate nearly 8 times that of the KJB. There have been some additions and removals of auxiliary *do* between editions of the

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[110] There are also a couple of cases (1 Ne 13:30, 1 Ne 14:17) which may admit a human reading, but where the non-human reading seemed more plausible to me—I have not included these in the count.

BoM, in particular removals where the main verb was also *do*, but the majority of the changes were removals, so if anything, it was initially even more common. The high volume of this construction in the BoM is particularly driven by the preterite form *did*. This is the most frequent form in both the KJB and the BoM. It occurs 49 times in the Genesis and Matthew, accounting for almost 70% of all cases of affirmative *do*. In the 1st Nephi it occurs 218 times, accounting for over 96% of all cases of affirmative *do*. Unemphatic *do* seems to have been adopted in the BoM primarily as a means of constructing an alternative periphrastic preterite. This use is certainly present in the KJB, and was particularly helpful for disambiguating the present and preterite for verbs such as *put*, *set* or *cast*,[111] but this preterite *do*-periphrasis is particularly representative of BoM style.

- For God **doth know** that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil. (Gen 3:5)
- And it came to pass that I, Nephi, being exceedingly young, nevertheless being large in stature, and also having great desires to know of the mysteries of God, wherefore, I **did cry** unto the Lord; and behold he **did visit** me, and **did soften** my heart that I **did believe** all the words which had been spoken by my father; wherefore, I **did not rebel** against him like unto my brothers. (2 Ne 2:16)

8.4 Religious Texts

Among the other religious texts, it is once again the Shakers' Holy Roll and Book that shows the greatest influence from biblical features, and the closest affinity to the language of the Book of Mormon. Some features see at least partial use across the full range of texts, in particular the use of the T pronouns, while others, such as neuter *his*, have no effect.

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[111] Rissanen 1999: 242.

8.4.1 The Holy Roll and Book

Table 30: Grammatical Features in the Holy Roll

The Holy Roll and Book		LotM	**Holy Roll**	KJB
No apparent influence	% his	2	0	100
	% which	1	3	70
Considerable influence	% –th	8	81	100
	% T	2	89	>98
	% y	0	66	<99
Hypercorrection	DO (wpm)	290	3325	1146

The Holy Roll shows no apparent influence from neuter *his*, which does not occur, or human *which*, which occurs only twice, both times quoting scripture. The other features are most definitely present, however. It has a very high rate of –th verbs, quite close to that in the Book of Mormon. Like the BoM, it is not a perfect adoption of this feature: one in five 3rd person singular verbs still have the modern ending, but the archaic form is the default in this text.

- What young person is it that **crowneth** them, and **giveth** them palms in their hands? (33)
- for the instant she **yields** to nature's passions in man, her virginity is gone. (32)

The use of T is similarly extensive, making up the great majority of singular address, though again, there is limited competition from the more modern alternative. The archaic nominative *ye* is also maintained, with more extensive competition from the modern variant, with *you* accounting for about a third of nominative contexts. Stewart is fairly reliable when it comes to using *ye* for vocatives and imperatives (these constructions likely feel archaic enough themselves to help reinforce the use of *ye*), but is much more inconsistent with basic subjects.

- Surely we, **thy** holy Angels, bear **thee** witness, that all is true, O **thou** Everlasting Source of all goodness. (6)
- And so **thou** must be patient in this situation, until I shall have finished reading the Roll, and delivered the word which the Lord my God hath given me, and at times **you** will be required to leave writing the roll, (9–10) [the prophet is addressed with both T and Y]
- Hearken, all **ye** nations, and give ear, O **ye** people of the earth, saith the Lord your God. Can **you** answer these questions? (23)

Like the BoM, the Holy Roll shows hypercorrection in the use of affirmative DO, with the frequency about three times as high as that of the KJB, and like the BoM, this high use of DO is led by the preterite *did*. It still does not compete with the rate of the BoM, though, which takes the use of affirmative DO to the extreme, almost three times more frequent still.

- And I **did** furthermore declare, that my kingdom was a kingdom of peace; (14)

The Holy Roll prefers main verb raising for negations, with 25 raised verbs and only 15 cases of DO-support in the sample, but for questions it uses DO-support instead, with 14 such cases and no raised verbs. Nine of those questions are also negative, making DO-support even less common in negations that are not interrogative. Its most exotic feature in terms of verbal movement is a case where the main verb is raised even though there is already an auxiliary preceding the *not*.

- for I **delight not** in the death of the wicked, saith the Lord. (18)
- I **did not send** him to court the love, favor or affection of Monarchs, Kings or Princes (26)
- Or **do the bands of sin and death surround** you, …? (23)
- And **did I not** there, on the Mount, **engrave** my law on two tables of stone, …? (5)
- My times and seasons, I **have revealed not** unto man; (28)

8.4.2 The Living Oracles

Table 31: Grammatical Features in the Living Oracles

The Living Oracles		LotM	**Oracles**	KJB
No apparent influence	% his	2	0	100
	% which	1	0	70
	% –th	8	0	100
	% ye	0	0	>99
	DO (wpm)	290	47	1146
Minor influence	% T	2	15	>98

The Living Oracles shows a much more limited influence of grammatical features from the KJB. It has no instances of neuter *his*,[112] human *which*, or the verbal *–th* suffix,

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[112] There is one borderline case, with a fish as an antecedent: "draw out the first **fish** that is hooked, and, having opened **his** mouth, you shall find a stater;" (Matt 17:24) The fish may be thought of as neuter, but it is not necessarily the case, since it could also simply be a male fish.

and its rate of affirmative *do* is quite low. It does have some use of T, usually in quotations of Old Testament prophecies. The rate of T is considerably elevated based on the rate from the *Last of the Mohicans*, but not based on that from COHA in general. Y is definitely the preferred singular address pronoun, and is even directed to an inanimate object when Jesus curses the barren fig tree. It also occurs only in the form *you*: *ye* is entirely absent from the Living Oracles.

- but finding only leaves on [the fig tree], said, Let no fruit grow on **you** henceforward. (Matt 21:19)

Similarly to the Holy Roll, main verb raising is the primary alternative in negations, but DO-support is preferred in questions. The Living Oracles also includes an interesting use of the 2nd person *–st* suffix in the absence of T. Jesus addresses Jerusalem, in a passage that uses T in the KJB but Y in the Living Oracles. The use of *–st* precedes and is at some distance from the first address pronoun, and is coordinated with a preterite verb without a matching suffix. The complex placement and the influence of the KJB's treatment of this verse likely play a role in allowing this verb to exist where there is no explanation for it.

- **Jerusalem, Jerusalem**! who killed the prophets, and **stonest** them whom God sends to **you**, (Matt 23:37)

8.4.3 The Berean

Table 32: Grammatical Features in the Berean

The Berean		LotM	**Berean**	KJB
No apparent influence	% his	2	0	100
	DO (wpm)	290	166	1146
Minor influence	% which	1	8	70
	% –th	8	14	100
Considerable influence	% T	2	94	>98
	% ye	0	94	>99

The Berean shows a partial influence from several of these grammatical features, but it is generally restricted to the extensive biblical quotations in this text. There are no instances of neuter *his* and the use of affirmative DO is quite low, but there are 3 cases of human *which*, 28 of verbal *–th*, 30 of T, and 33 of *ye*. All of these are in direct quotations from the KJB, however, and the original material uses the modern variants instead. For

the address pronouns, nearly all cases of Y are plural, so the two instances of singular *you* are easily outweighed by the many quoted instances of T, giving the misleading impression that T is preferred form of singular address in this text. There are similarly a sizeable number of occurrences of *ye*, but again, only in biblical quotations. When nominative contexts come up in original text, Noyes uses *you*.

- Why do **you** believe the Bible? (30)

8.4.4 Charles G. Finney Sermons

Table 33: Grammatical Features in Finney's Sermons

Charles G Finney Sermons		LotM	**Finney**	KJB
No apparent influence	% his	2	0	100
	% which	1	3	70
	% –th	8	3	100
	DO (wpm)	290	340	1146
Minor influence	% T	2	8	>98
	% ye	0	17	>99

Finney's sermons show a similar dearth of influence, with little use of the archaic grammatical features. The rates for neuter *his*, human *which*, affirmative DO, and verbal *–th* are all comparable to general 19th century usage, and while the use of T is a little high compared to the Last of the Mohicans, it is not high in comparison to the evidence from COHA. And it is easily excelled by the extensive use of singular Y, which Finney addresses generically to his audience, but which is clearly singular due to frequent co-reference with vocative uses of *sinner*, with reflexive *yourself*, and with the 3rd person *that man*. When Finney does use T, it is either in quotations of biblical material, or in imagined dialogue in a biblical setting (e.g. a hypothetical discussion between Adam and God about the extent of free will). *Ye* also occurs in biblical quotations or paraphrases, though *you* occasionally intrudes there as well and is the main nominative form used in the text.

- Make to you a new heart, for why will **you** die. (12)[113]

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[113] References for Finney's sermons will be given in page numbers from Finney 1839.

The modernity of Finney's English even extends to verb raising, where so many of the texts preserve the older construction. In Finney's sermons, DO-support is used in all the questions, and the great majority of the negations.

8.5 Translations

The translated texts have much in common with each other in their use of archaic grammatical features. None makes use of neuter *his* or human *which*, and all use T for singular address, to the exclusion or near-exclusion of singular Y. Newman's Iliad also shows a great preference for *–th* and a particularly extensive use of affirmative DO, but this is not the case for the other two texts. Main verb raising in questions and negations is present in all three texts, used most extensively in the Iliad and least in Grettis Saga, where DO-support is slightly preferred.

The strong preference for T, greater than in any of the 19th century religious texts, is not necessarily a reflection of independent choices by the translators, whether based on social or strictly numerical grounds. The languages of their source texts—Welsh, Greek, and Old Norse—like the Hebrew and Greek of the Bible, all distinguish singular and plural in their 2nd person pronominal and/or verbal morphology. This distinction between singular and plural is lost in the modern English *you*, used for both numbers, and this is indeed one of the criticisms levelled at modern biblical translations by proponents of the King James Bible.[114] The archaic pronoun distinction provides not only a stylistic effect, but also a practical means of preserving and communicating grammatical information from the source texts. A comparison of pronoun choice in the original language texts and the translations shows that these translations do indeed follow the source texts quite closely, especially in Newman's case. Lady Guest and Morris do take some small liberties with the pronoun choices in the original texts, but still use the pronouns to convey a numerical distinction in the story.

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[114] As for instance, here: http://www.kjvtoday.com/home/Features-of-the-KJV

8.5.1 The Mabinogion

Table 34: Grammatical Features in the Mabinogion

The Mabinogion		LotM	**Mab**.	KJB
No apparent influence	% his	2	0	100
	% which	1	0	70
	% –th	8	6	100
	% ye	0	0[115]	>99
Minor influence	DO (wpm)	290	675	1146
Considerable influence	% T	2	100	>98

The Mabinogion has no instances of neuter *his* or human *which*. It mostly eschews the 3rd person *–th* suffix as well, using instead the modern *–s*. There are only two instances in my sample of verbs using the archaic suffix, in a brief exchange between the maiden Luned and the Countess of the fountain.

- And the maiden bent down towards her, and said, "What **aileth** thee, that thou answerest no one to-day?" "Luned," said the Countess, "what change **hath** befallen thee, that thou hast not come to visit me in my grief?" (162)

The rate of affirmative DO is elevated compared to *Last of the Mohicans*, but not as high as the KJB or some of the other texts such as the BoM. The one archaic grammatical feature that is enthusiastically adopted is the use of T, which is used in all singular contexts, to the complete exclusion of singular Y. With T comes the verbal *–st* and other archaic agreement forms, though there is one instance where *are* is used in place of *art*.

- "Truly," said Kynon, "**thou are** older, and art a better teller of tales, and **hast** seen more marvellous things than I" (151)

Much like in the case of the KJB, Lady Guest defers to the source language text in determining pronominal number. An analysis of 55 address tokens from this sample, including all 11 instances of Y, shows that all but one is in accord with the numbers indicated in the Welsh. The exceptional form comes in a conversation between Owain, Luned, and the Countess, and is particularly interesting. We might expect Lady Guest to

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[115] Although *ye* is absent from the sampled section, it does occur in other parts of the Mabinogion, as discussed below.

inject a more modern English style into her text, substituting Y for a singular address in the Welsh, but instead she uses T where the Welsh text is plural.

- Ac edrych ar Owein yn graff a oruc y iarlles. 'Lunet,' heb hi, 'nyt oes wed kerdetwr ar yr unben hwnn.' 'Py drwc yw hynny, arglwydes?' heb y Lunet. 'Y rof fi a Duw,' heb y iarlles, 'na duc dyn eneit vy arglwyd i o'e gorff namyn y gwr hwnn.' 'Handit gwell **itt**[1] (sg. prep.), arglwydes; pei na bei drech noc ef nys dygei ynteu y eneit ef. Ny ellir dim wrth hynny,' he hi, 'kan deryw.' **Ewch**[3] (pl. vb.) **chwi**[3] (pl. pro.) drachefyn atref,' heb yr iarlles, 'a minneu a gymeraf gyghor.'
- Right glad was the Countess of their coming, and she gazed steadfastly upon Owain, and said, "Luned, this knight has not the look of a traveller." "What harm is there in that, lady?" said Luned. "I am certain," said the Countess, "that no other man than this chased the soul from the body of my lord." "So much the better for **thee**[1], lady," said Luned, "for had he not been stronger than **thy**[2] lord he could not have deprived him of life. There is no remedy for that which is past, be it as it may." "Go back to **thine**[3] abode," said the Countess, "and I will take counsel." (164)

The first address pronoun, with Luned addressing the Countess, is singular in both texts. For the second, "thy lord" corresponds to the Welsh equivalent of "him," so there is no corresponding address form in the Welsh, but it is still in Luned's speaking turn, so it makes sense for it to remain singular. For the third, the Countess replies to Luned with T, but in the Welsh text she uses plural forms, presumably directed to both Luned and Owain together. This is probably not a hypercorrection to the degree that the examples of plural T in the Book of Mormon are. Instead of extending the singular address pronoun to plural addressees, this is more likely a case where an ambiguous addressee has been reanalyzed from plural to singular, with the pronoun changing to match. T and Y are still strictly divided by number, but Lady Guest has not relied entirely on her source for determining what that number should be—she is instead using her own interpretation of who is addressing whom. We might still consider it a *lesser* form of hypercorrection, however, since she is still employing the old-fashioned T pronouns where the archaic source would have used Y.

Ye is used infrequently in some stories within the larger text, but does not occur in the sampled section, which uses *you* throughout in all contexts, as both subjects and objects, so in this respect Guest follows the grammar of modern English.

8.5.2 The Iliad

Table 35: Grammatical Features in the Iliad

The Iliad		LotM	**Iliad**	KJB
No apparent influence	% his	2	0	100
	% which	1	0	70
Considerable influence	% –th	8	85	100
	% T	2	100	>98
	% ye	0	100	>99
Hypercorrection	DO (wpm)	290	3792	1146

In the Iliad sample, there are no instances of neuter *his* or human *which*, but the other archaic features are all well evidenced. The *–th* ending is used 85% of the time, almost as much as in the Book of Mormon, and much more than either of the other translated texts. For singular address, T is used exclusively. There is one apparently ambiguous instance of Y, which Achilles appears to direct to Agamemnon as they are arguing over the maiden Briseis.

- This also will I say, — and *thou* within *thy* mind revolve it: Not with the heavy hand will I do battle for the damsel, With *thee*, nor yet with other man, since **ye**, who gave her, take her. (1:297–299)

However, the critical view is that Achilles here shifts his address from Agamemnon to the Achaians as a whole, reproving them for not resisting Agamemnon and maintaining the original division of spoils (Rose 2012: 118). It's actually a fairly important plot point, as Achilles might have simply killed the king if his complaint was with Agamemnon alone, but his frustration with his fellow Greeks collectively leads him to instead abandon the campaign and propels the narrative forwards.

- Allo de *toi* (sg. pro.) ereō, *su* (sg. pro.) d' eni phresi balleo sēisi: chersi men ou toi egōge machēsomai heineka kourēs oute *soi* (sg. pro.) oute tōi allōi, epei m' **aphelesthe** (pl. vb.) ge dontes: (1:297–299)

In fact, at least within the first 300 lines, Newman scrupulously follows the number distinctions in the Greek, using T pronouns for the singular and Y pronouns for dual and plural. He also maintains a strict grammatical distinction between nominative *ye* and objective *you*, just like the case system in the KJB.

The Iliad also makes extensive use of affirmative DO, using it more frequently than any of the other texts except for the BoM. In this case, the high usage may be

because the text is in verse. The option of inserting DO allows more flexibility in getting the desired number of syllables per line, and it often delays the main verb to the end of a line.

- And loud and angrily the shafts **did** at his shoulder rattle, (1:46)
- Therefore **doth** the Far-darter send, and yet will send, disaster; (1:96)
- Then duly he accosting her **did** winged accents utter; (1:201)

8.5.3 Grettis Saga

Table 36: Grammatical Features in Grettis Saga

Grettis Saga		LotM	**Grettis**	KJB
No apparent influence	% his	2	0	100
	% which	1	0	70
	% –th	8	3	100
Minor influence	DO (wpm)	290	674	1146
Considerable influence	% T	2	99	>98
	% ye	0	100	>99

Grettis Saga, like the other translated texts, lacks any use of neuter *his* or human *which*. It also matches the Mabinogion in preferring the modern verbal *–s*, with only a few instances of archaic *–th*, and having an elevated rate of affirmative DO that nonetheless does not reach the extent of the KJB. Like both the other translations, it uses T more or less categorically for singular address, with only one ambiguous use of Y in the sample. Grettir is addressing the wife of his absent host Thorfinn, after saving her and her household from a gang of marauding berserks, and uses a mix of T and Y. The Y could conceivably be directed to only the mistress of the house, but is more likely intended to encompass her daughter and servants as well. The mixture of T and Y in the passage is a faithful representation of a similar mix of pronoun numbers in the original Norse.

- Grettir svarar: "Lítils mun nú við þurfa fyrst um launin, en þiggja mun ek boð **þitt**[1] (sg. pro.), þar til er bóndi kemr heim. En þess væntir mik, at **þér**[2] (pl. pro.) megið sofa í náðum fyrir berserkjunum." (Guðni 1968: 65)
- Grettir answered, "Little of reward will be needed now, but I keep **thine**[1] offer till the coming of the master; and I have some hope now that **ye**[2] will sleep in peace as for the bearserks." (19, ¶50)

An investigation of the other address pronouns in the same chapter indicates that Morris is mostly faithful to the source material in his choice of T and Y, and that his use of the archaic pronoun distinction is entirely consistent with differences in number. Of the 44 tokens of address pronouns in this section, all but two are in harmony with the number indicated in the source text. The two exceptions are quite similar to that in the Mabinogion. Both are uses of T where the original had the plural form, and both seem to be based on Morris's reanalysis of the speaking context from plural to singular, so in these cases, Morris's work shows interpretation of the text rather than pure, accurate translation. In the first of these, the berserks arrive and in the Norse text address Grettir in the plural, as a representative of Thorfinn's household, even though he is alone. In the second case, Grettir is again addressing Thorfinn's wife, rebuking her for earlier criticisms, but he is again treating her as a part of her household, all of whom had shared in the criticism.

- "Vænti ek," sagði Þórir, "at Þorfinnr, húsbóndi **yðvarr** (pl. pro) hafi heyrt vár getit, eða hvárt er hann heima?" (Guðni 1968: 59)
- "I deem," said Thorir, "that **thy** master Thorfinn has heard tell of us; is he perchance at home?" (19, ¶9)
- Grettir segir: "Ek þykkjumst nú mjök inn sami ok í kveld, er **þér** (pl. pro.) töluðuð hrakliga við mik." (Guðni 1968: 65)
- Grettir answered, "Methinks I am much the same as I was this evening, when **thou** didst cast ill words on me." (19, ¶48)

In both cases, a single individual is being addressed as part of a larger but absent group. Morris focuses on the singular number of the individual present, and thus gives us yet another example of hypercorrection in the use of archaic English features, employing the archaic T pronouns where the source text used Y.

As far as the case distinction within the Y paradigm goes, Morris, like Newman, consistently uses *ye* in all nominative contexts and *you* in all objective ones, accurately representing the idealized distinction in Early Modern English.

8.6 Joseph Smith's Letters

Table 37: Grammatical Features in Joseph Smith's Letters

Joseph Smith's Letters		LotM	**JS Letters**	KJB
No apparent influence	% his	2	0	100
	% which	1	1	70
	DO (wpm)	290	65	1146
Minor influence	% –th	8	22	100
	% T	2	10	>98
	% ye	0	18	>99

Unlike the Book of Mormon, the sampled portion of Joseph Smith's personal letters shows little sign of KJB grammatical influence. Like all the other 19th century texts, they eschew neuter *his* and human *which*.[116] They show only a little use of the verbal *–th* inflection or the use of T pronouns, even though these are among the most commonly employed archaisms across the texts. When these are used, it is usually in direct connection to God. Of 17 uses of T, 7 are directed to God, and 3 are in communications with God as speaker. Of 34 instances of *–th*, 22 take God as their subject (and for another it is "the majesty of our God") and one is uttered by God. There is a fairly even spread between DO-support and main verb raising for negations in the letters, with a slight preference for raising, but all five relevant questions use DO-support. And although affirmative DO is one of the archaic features most distinctive to BoM style, it is essentially absent here. Smith used modern English style for the syntax and grammar of his letters.

There are a total of four letters where T is used. In one of these, it is used when quoting or paraphrasing scripture,[117] in two cases it is used for addressing God in prayers included in the text of the letters,[118] and in one case it is used in the voice of the Lord while directing a revelation to Frederick [presumably Frederick G. Williams]. This address to Williams mixes T and Y, showing more inconsistency in the pronoun choice of 19th century writers using T.

- Verily thus saith the Lord … and again I say unto **you** my my [*sic*] servant
  Frederick **thou** shalt be a lively member in this firm and inasmuch as **thou** art

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[116] There is one example of *which* used with a human antecedent, which is in line with the proportion in COHA: "you will inform the Elders **which** are there …" (Feb 1831 letter to Martin Harris).
[117] Apr 1833 letter to John S. Carter.
[118] Nov 1832 letter to W. W. Phelps & May 1833 letter to Edward Partridge.

faithful in keeping all former commandments **thou** shalt be blessed for ever Amen (Apr 1833 letter to church leaders in Jackson County, Missouri)

In one of the letters where T is used in prayer to God, it is accompanied by the use of SHEW, UNTO, and of the *–th* inflection. This clustering of archaic features is interesting, as it suggests that the archaic style does indeed involve using an array of archaic features rather than any particular one, and that it is a choice to be adopted for some contexts but not others. In this case, although Smith's letters generally use a modern style, the imagined prayer related in the letter licenses the use of the archaic style, and several features co-occur to portray it.

- while I dictate this letter I fancy to myself that you are saying or thinking something similar to these words my God great and mighty art **thou** therefore **shew unto thy** servant what shall become of all these who are assaying to come up **unto** Zion in order to keep the commandments of God … Oh Lord when will the time come when Brother William **thy** servant and myself behold the day that we may stand together and gaze upon Eternal wisdom engraven upon the heavens while the magesty of our God **holdeth** up the dark curtain until we may read the sound of Eternity to the fullness and satisfaction of our immortal souls Oh Lord God deliver us in **thy** due time from the little narrow prison almost as it were total darkness of paper pen and ink and a crooked broken scattered and imperfect language (Nov 1832 letter to W. W. Phelps)

In other places in Smith's letters there are similar concentrated co-occurrences of archaic features. The same letter also contains a portion dictated in the voice of God, which uses a dense collection of verbs ending in *–th*.[119]

- their names shall not be found neither the names of their fathers or the names of the children written in the book of the Law of God **saith** the Lord of hosts yea thus **saith** the still small voice which **whispereth** through and **pierceth** all things and often times it **maketh** my bones to quake while it **maketh** manifest saying and it shall come to pass that I the Lord God will send one mighty and strong holding the scepter of power in his hand (Nov 1832 letter to W. W. Phelps)

There is one instance of hypercorrection with *–th*, where it is extended to a context where the plural would be expected, and is coordinated with a plural verb.

- unto **as many as believe** and **humbleth** themselves before him (June 1832 letter to Emma)

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[119] The passage also uses *yea* and *COME to pass*, which we will come to in the next chapter.

Another noteworthy passage that is characterized by heavy use of archaism falls outside the sample used in this section but is worth particular attention. The passage, in an August 1833 letter to church leaders in Jackson County, Missouri, consists of two revelations in the voice of God to Joseph and his two counsellors, and is heavily characterized by archaic features, unlike the other letters or parts of letters which are not prayers or revelations. This portion includes archaic lexemes (14 instances of VERILY, 61 of UNTO, 2 of PROVE and 1 of SAVE), the archaic SHEW (3 times), and archaic grammatical features (38 instances of T, 12 of *ye*, and 21 of *–th*,[120] along with repeated use of main verb raising and subjunctives).[121] The passage also includes some hypercorrection, with the *–th* ending extended to the 1st person in three cases.

- **I** the Lord **sheweth** mercy unto all the meek
- therefor **I** the Lord **justifieth** your and your brethren of my church
- **I** the Lord your god **maketh** you free

8.7 The Late War

Table 38: Grammatical Features in the Late War

The Late War		LotM	**Late War**	KJB
No apparent influence	% his	2	0	100
	% which	1	0	70
	DO (wpm)	290	140	1146
Considerable influence	% –th	8	94	100
	% T	2	100	>98
	% ye	0	100	>99

Like all of the other 19th century texts, the Late War shows no sign of the archaic neuter *his* or human *which*. It also has a very low rate of affirmative DO. Its adoption of biblical language is apparent, however, in its use of T for all cases of singular address in the sample, and in the extensive use of *–th*, at a proportion higher than any of the other 19th century texts. Hunt is mostly consistent in following the KJB case distinction between *ye* and *you* as well, but there is one exceptional case of hypercorrection, where the archaic *ye* is used in an objective context.

[120] Used with numerous different verbs, including *abideth*, *bringeth*, *cometh*, *giveth*, *hath*, *justifieth*, *layeth*, *maketh*, *proceedeth*, *saith*, *sheweth*, and *yieldeth*.
[121] Also many of the features we will discuss in the next chapter, such as *Verily (verily) I say unto you*, *Say unto X*, *behold*, *brethren*, *commanded/commandment*, *inheritance*, *lord*, *thereof*, and *yea*.

- Use of verbal –*th*: And he said unto the captains of the hosts of the state over which he presided, Lo! it **seemeth** not meet unto me that ye go forth to battle against the king. (26)
- Use of T: Lo! if **thou** wilt give unto me two score and ten thousand pieces of silver, then will I unfold unto **thee** the witchcraft of Britain, that thereby **thy** nation may not be caught in her snares. (29)
- Objective *ye*: Lo! I have the power to hem **ye** in; (89)

One noteworthy aspect of the Late War is that it makes exclusive use of main verb raising, with no cases of DO-support in the sample. There are only a couple of questions of the applicable type, but the numerous negations in the example all have the main verb shifted before the *not*.

- And he said unto the captains of the hosts of the state over which he presided, Lo! **it seemeth not** meet unto me that ye go forth to battle against the king. (26)
- (Now the black dust[122] was not known among the ancients; even **Solomon**, in all his wisdom, **knew it not**) (49)
- **Hath not the king** a thousand ships of war? and wherefore should we be hemmed in? (88–89)
- **Seest thou** those little ones? they fly to their disconsolate mother, they leap with joy at the name of father! but he shall never return! (106–107)

8.8 Conclusion

The data for this section is taken from a smaller sample of each text (and for the 19th century control, from *Last of the Mohicans* rather than COHA), because the features are so high-frequency that a comprehensive analysis of each entire text would have been impractical. To the degree that the sampled sections are representative of the larger wholes, the conclusions will be reliable, but there remains the possibility that some of the data is a poor reflection of the overall text. For the KJB and BoM, I have used particularly prominent and significant books in the sample, which I hope, especially for the KJB, will assist in identifying what's especially likely to have played a role in influencing later stylistic imitators.

Some of the biblical grammatical features have had no impact on the 19th century writing. Neuter *his* does not occur in any of the texts, except for one instance in *Last of the Mohicans* which may be intended as a personification. Human *which* is at least

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[122] Hunt is referring here to gunpowder.

present in some of the texts, though extremely rare, and usually in direct biblical quotations. The Book of Mormon was initially exceptional in this case, breaking with the usage of the time and making extensive use of human *which*, but Smith later edited it to bring it into accord with contemporary usage. In the BoM version of the Sermon on the Mount, both of these features have been modernized even while the wording around them is mostly identical to that of the KJB.

Some features have been adopted quite extensively. The use of T pronouns for singular address is common to many of the works. The translations use this more or less categorically, using this archaic feature to preserve a grammatical distinction of their source languages, as indeed the KJB itself does. The Book of Mormon, the Holy Roll, and the Late War all use T for most or all of their singular address as well, but it is more mixed. In the BoM, Y and T are often used together, and where biblical material is quoted there are occasional changes to address pronouns, always in the direction of Y. There are also some interesting cases of T used for plural address. The Berean uses singular Y for its original material, but quotes the KJB so heavily that there is a strong presence of T there as well. The Living Oracles and Finney's sermons make only limited use of T, generally in biblical quotations for Finney and Old Testament quotations for the Living Oracles. Across the texts, when T is used, it is generally accompanied by the archaic *–st* suffix, with only a few sporadic cases that don't match the expected archaic agreement.

There is also considerable adoption of *ye*. The Iliad and Grettis Saga successfully match the archaic case system for the Y pronoun, and the Late War goes even a bit too far. The Book of Mormon, Holy Roll, and Smith's letters have a less successful adoption of the archaic form, with a sizeable number of nominative *you*'s in each text. The other texts eschew this particular archaism, at least outside of biblical quotation.

Main verb raising is frequent enough in *Last of the Mohicans* that it may not be a good indicator of archaism in the early 19th century, especially since it is present in all the studied texts and quite common in most of them. Many of the texts use DO-support in a greater proportion of questions and negations than the KJB does, but this is not universal, and verb raising seems to have been considerably less alien to the writers of the time than it is to English-users today. This feature bears further study, to see whether *Last of the*

Mohicans is indeed representative of contemporary usage, or whether it departs from the norm on this point. Another feature that was resistant to study was the retention of the subjunctive mood. It is present in all the 19th century texts, but without a comprehensive listing of all contexts where it might be expected, and with its lack of distinct forms for most verbs and subjects, it is difficult to make confident quantitative statements. Most texts were not noteworthy in their employment of this mood, though there were some interesting examples in the Book of Mormon, such as the use of the same mood in both clauses of conditional statements, rather than a shift from subjunctive to indicative.

None of the 19th century texts use the archaic *–th* inflection categorically, but in the Book of Mormon, the Holy Roll, the Iliad, and the Late War it is the majority form, present on over 80% of 3rd person singular verbs in all of these texts. In the BoM it even occurs with some plural subjects. It is uncommon in all the other texts, present in either biblical quotations or occasional snippets of dialogue, but seriously outweighed by the modern *–s*. High rates of affirmative DO are similarly limited to three of these same texts, the Book of Mormon, Holy Roll, and Iliad. None of the other texts even come close to matching the rate of the KJB, but all three of these exceed it by a large margin. For the Holy Roll and the Iliad, the biblical rate is more than tripled. In the BoM it is about eight times as frequent as in the KJB.

Overall, the evidence indicates that the use of T as a singular address pronoun, the use of *ye* as a nominative case form of Y, the *–th* suffix on 3rd person verbs, and DO in affirmative contexts were all used by 19th century writers to indicate the antiquity and/or divinity of their texts. Their low rates in *Last of the Mohicans* and COHA show they were not standard features of the English of the day, and their often inconsistent use in those later texts further suggests they were not a natural part of the writers' competencies. The extreme rates of DO in some of the texts, the occasional extension of T and *–th* to plural contexts, the use of *ye* in objective contexts, and the extension of *–th* to the 1st person are all instances of hypercorrection compared by KJB usage, while the combination of *–th* with modern *–s*, of T with modern singular Y, and of *ye* with nominative *you* are instances of only partial adoption of categorical KJB features.

CHAPTER 9: IDIOMATIC ANALYSIS

In this chapter we will look beyond archaic lexemes and grammatical features to consider archaic patterns of word usage and preference, examining the continued use of outmoded expressions and of words which had declined without necessarily becoming obsolescent.

9.1 Expressions in the KJB and COHA

The King James Bible is famous for the many colorful phrases and idioms it introduced to the English language. For example:

- My brother's keeper (Gen 4:9)
- The skin of one's teeth (Job 19:20)
- Signs of the times (Matt 16:3)
- You reap what you sow (Gal 6:7)

David Crystal explores such expressions to determine to what degree they derive from the KJB itself and to what degree they can be traced back to even older versions. He also considers how deeply they've penetrated the English language as a whole, expanding into new contexts and developing new variations, compared to remaining in use primarily as biblical quotations (Crystal 2010). Many of these expressions occur only once or a handful of times in the Bible, but have proved memorable and are frequently alluded to. We have already noted in chapter 4 that many such phrases appear in the Book of Mormon, establishing the extensive influence of the KJB on its language (*every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people*; *wars and rumours of wars*; *there shall be one fold, and one shepherd*; etc.).

In this section I will be taking a different approach to biblical idiom, looking especially at phrases that are frequent in the KJB, rather than those that have a recognized literary influence. I use *idiom* here not in its narrower technical sense of a phrase whose meaning cannot be ascertained by decomposing it into its component parts, but rather in its older, more general sense of the distinctive phraseology of a language or language variety. What phrases, constructions, formulae, or even individual words would be "idiomatic" in the English of the King James Bible, but unexpected or uncharacteristic of

the English of early 19th century America? To answer this, I will need to consider both their absolute frequency in the KJB, and their relative frequency compared to contemporary 19th century usage, as indicated by COHA.

To identify idiomatic phrases, I have collected listings of the most frequent n-grams up to six words long in the KJB. I have excluded any strings that cross major punctuation boundaries, but have ignored commas, as they are occasionally used inside of idiomatic units, such as *verily, verily, I say unto you* (John 1:51 and elsewhere). For example, here are the 15 most frequent 5-grams, with their frequency in the KJB in words per million.

Table 39: 5-grams in the KJB

Rank	Freq.	5-gram
1.	384	AND IT CAME TO PASS
2.	232	THE WORD OF THE LORD
3.	220	THE HOUSE OF THE LORD
4.	165	OF THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL
5.	161	THUS SAITH THE LORD GOD
6.	140	IT CAME TO PASS WHEN
7.	133	THE TABERNACLE OF THE CONGREGATION
8.	124	AND THE LORD SAID UNTO
9.	115	IT SHALL COME TO PASS
10.	108	THE NAME OF THE LORD
11.	107	AND THE LORD SPAKE UNTO
12.	105	THE LORD SPAKE UNTO MOSES
13.	101	AND IT SHALL COME TO
14.	99	AND THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL
15.	98	IN THE SIGHT OF THE

These do not each represent an independent expression. For example, numbers 1, 6, 9, and 13 all are variations of a single construction, *COME to pass*, which is also responsible for many of the most frequent 6-grams, 4-grams, etc. Looking through the data for patterns, some frequent strings can be identified. Many of these are specific to the subject matter of the Bible, not just the style, and couldn't be expected to occur frequently in texts that are not about religion, Israel, etc. A brief examination indicates that they indeed fairly common in religious texts such as the Living Oracles or the Holy Roll, and are all but absent from the archaic translations.

- *The tabernacle of the congregation*

- *The lord god of Israel*
- *The children of Israel*
- *The land of Egypt*
- *Saith the Lord*
- *The X of the lord (especially hand, name, word, sight)*
- *The son of man*
- *Our lord Jesus Christ*
- *The kingdom of god/heaven*

Others have more general applicability.

- *SAY unto X*
- *COME to pass*
- *Written in the book of X*
- *The land of X*

The Old Testament is overrepresented in the most frequent strings, partly because of its greater length (over three times the word count of the New Testament), and partly because of its tendency for repetition. Because of the significant influence of the New Testament within Christianity,[123] I want to make sure expressions particular to the New Testament are not drowned out by the Old, so I have also collected n-grams for the New Testament alone to note any additional conspicuous phrases, and have identified several more.

- *X answered and said unto Y*
- *Which was the son of X*
- *Verily (verily) I say unto you*
- *And when they had X*
- *Woe unto X*
- *With a loud voice*
- *In the midst of X*
- *BE fulfilled*

Some of these have variable parts, indicated by capitals. For example, *COME to pass* might be realized as any of the following:

- Behold, thou hast driven me out this day from the face of the earth; and from thy face shall I be hid; and I shall be a fugitive and a vagabond in the earth; **and it shall come to pass**, that every one that findeth me shall slay me. (Gen 4:14)

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[123] It is important, however, not to write off the influence of the OT, which played a much larger role in Christian thought in early America than it does today. See for example Hatch & Noll 1982: 5, Barlow 1991: 6, or Shalev 2010: 820.

- **And it came to pass** in those days, that there went out a decree from Caesar Augustus, that all the world should be taxed. (Luke 2:1)
- But **this cometh to pass**, that the word might be fulfilled that is written in their law, They hated me without a cause. (John 15:25)

For *X answered and said unto Y*, X generally references Jesus, either by name or with a pronoun, but also includes other speakers such as Isaac, Solomon, angels, chief priests, and apostles.

- And **Elijah answered and said unto them**, If I be a man of God, let fire come down from heaven, and consume thee and thy fifty. (2 Kings 1:12)
- Then **Jesus answered and said unto her**, O woman, great is thy faith: (Matt 15:28)
- And **the angel answered and said unto the women**, Fear not ye: for I know that ye seek Jesus, which was crucified. (Matt 28:5)

Some of these phrases, though frequent in the KJB, are not particularly interesting for our purposes. *Which was the son of X* occurs a full 75 times in the KJB, but every single occurrence is in a single passage of sixteen verses (Luke 3:23–38) detailing Jesus's genealogy. It is used nowhere else in the text, and has limited influence at best on the 19th century texts. Replacing *which* with *who*, it occurs 11 times in the BoM, 4 in Grettis Saga, and none elsewhere. This is certainly higher frequency than the 5 instances in COHA would lead us to expect, but still quite uncommon. *In the midst of X* is more common in the KJB than in COHA, but the ratio between the two is not nearly so large as for the other expressions. It is also present in all the 19th century texts, at rates mostly scattered around that of COHA, with none quite so high as the KJB. *X answered and said unto Y* is quite common in the KJB, but, likely due in part to its length, it is very uncommon in the 19th century texts, occurring only at very low rates in a handful of the texts (the BoM, the Holy Roll, the Berean, and the Late War), and often in biblical quotations. It does not occur even once in COHA.

Table 40: Expressions in the KJB

Expression	COHA	KJB	Ratio
X answered and said unto Y	0	106	106/0
Which was the son of X	<1	98	1064
SAY unto X	4	2925	829
Verily (verily) I say unto you	<1	87	528
Written in the book of X	<1	86	234
COME to pass	5	779	172
Woe unto X	1	74	115
And when they had X	1	76	72
With a loud voice	1	61	62
The land of X	17	728	43
BE fulfilled	6	78	13
In the midst of X	48	272	6

The most frequent, by a fair margin, is *SAY unto X*. The meaning is still frequently expressed today, though with *to* instead of the archaic *unto*. We've already noted, in chapter 6, that *unto* is much more common in the KJB than in COHA, occurring over 200 times as often, so clearly some of the mismatch for this expression is due to the use of this word. Even combining *SAY unto X* with *SAY to X*, however, the phrase still occurs about 26 times as often in the KJB as in COHA.

Each of these phrases employs words that are still current in 19th century English, and most remain in common use today as well, but the constructions themselves are distinctively biblical. They are not so unconscious as the sorts of frequencies and ratios regularly used by stylometrists, nor so overt as direct quotations or idioms proper, but belong in the middle ground I have set out to investigate. They reflect a conscious adoption of biblical style, even if used independently from biblical content.

9.2 The Book of Mormon

The Book of Mormon once again shows evidence of extensive biblical influence, with these KJB constructions represented more than in any of the other 19th century texts. All of them are present, at rates considerably higher than COHA, and at times higher than the KJB as well. *SAY unto X* and *And when they had X* occur at essentially the same rate as the KJB; *Verily (verily) I say unto you*, *Woe unto X* (spelled *Wo* in the BoM), and *The land of X* are about twice as frequent in the BoM; *BE fulfilled* is just over three times as

frequent; and *COME to pass* is almost seven times as common in the Book of Mormon as it is in the King James Bible.

- I **say unto you**, that if ye should serve him who has created you from the beginning, and art[124] preserving you from day to day, … I say, if ye should serve him with all your whole soul, yet ye would be unprofitable servants. (Mos 2:21)
- **And when they had come the second time**, the Nephites were driven and slaughtered with an exceeding great slaughter; (Morm 4:21)
- **Wo unto the liar**: for he shall be thrust down to hell. (2 Ne 9:34)
- Behold, I will speak unto you somewhat concerning Mosiah, who was made king over **the land of Zarahemla**: (Omni 1:12)
- And thus we see that the commandments of God must **be fulfilled**. (1 Ne 17:3)

Table 41: Expressions in the BoM

Expression[125]	COHA	**BoM**	KJB
X answered and said unto Y	0	11	106
Written in the book of X	<1	11	86
In the midst of X	48	94	272
Which was the son of X	<1	41	98
With a loud voice	1	34	61
SAY unto X	4	2630	2925
And when they had X	1	75	76
Verily (verily) I say unto you	<1	165	87
The land of X	17	1609	728
Woe unto X	1	172	74
BE fulfilled	6	239	78
COME to pass	5	5395	779

This excessive rate for the *COME to pass* construction is no surprise to anyone who has read the Book of Mormon, as it is one of the most recognizable features of the text.[126] In all, this phrase occurs 1442 times within the BoM text,[127] more often than such words as *this*, *is*, *by*, or *you*. The most common variant is *and it came to pass*, though *it shall come to pass* is common as well. There are numerous other minor variations with other words augmenting these, such as *now*, *but*, or *also*. Including all these variations,

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[124] *Sic*. This is another example of nonstandard archaic agreement in the original Book of Mormon, pairing a 3rd person subject with a 2nd person verb form. The *art* was changed to the expected *is* starting with the 1905 edition of the BoM (Skousen 2004–2009: 1154).

[125] The ordering here and in all charts below is by increasing ratio of 19th century text rate to KJB rate.

[126] Its frequency is noted, for example, in Barlow 1991: 28.

[127] It is perhaps worth reiterating that because the BoM is less than a million words long, normalizing to wpm gives a higher value than the number of tokens itself.

the *COME to pass* construction accounts for a full 2.7% of all words in the BoM. In other words, one in every 37 words in the text is part of this phrase.

- **And it came to pass** that I, Nephi, said unto my father, I will go and do the things which the Lord hath commanded, (1 Ne 3:7)
- **And it shall come to pass** that the Jews shall have the words of the Nephites, and the Nephites shall have the words of the Jews: (2 Ne 29:13)
- Or in other words, their resurrection **cometh to pass** before the resurrection of those who die after the resurrection of Christ. (Alma 40:19)

The *Verily (verily) I say unto you* construction is in the KJB contained entirely within the gospels, and is a major characteristic of Jesus's speech as recorded there.[128] In the Book of Mormon, almost all occurrences are in 3rd Nephi, the part of the book where Jesus visits the New World and teaches its inhabitants his gospel, reproducing the sermon on the mount more or less verbatim alongside various other instructions. There are some exceptions, however, such as an earlier instance where the voice of the Lord had come unto the prophet Alma.

- for **verily I say unto you**, he that forgiveth not his neighbor's trespasses, when he that says he repents, the same hath brought himself under condemnation. (Mos 26:31)

There is even one case where the speaker is not Jesus at all, but rather Mormon, narrating the history of the heroic captain Moroni:

- Yea, **verily, verily I say unto you**, if all men had been, and were, and ever would be, like unto Moroni, behold, the very powers of hell would have been shaken forever; (Alma 48:17)

9.3 Religious Texts

The biblical constructions see a fair amount of use in some of the other 19th century religious texts, though not to the extent they are used in the Book of Mormon. A large part of this is topical, as many include quotations from the King James Bible, or, in the case of the Living Oracles, reproduce the same material. The Holy Roll has a greater showing of KJB idiom in original material, while the Holy Roll and Berean both have considerable use in biblical quotations. The Living Oracles maintains KJB phrasing for

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[128] In the synoptic gospels, only one *verily* is used in this phrase. In John it is consistently doubled.

some of the items but modernizes more of them. Finney shows no indication of archaic idiomatic influence from the KJB.

9.3.1 The Holy Roll and Book

Table 42: Expressions in the Holy Roll

Expression[129]	COHA	**Holy Roll**	KJB
The land of X	17	63	728
Written in the book of X	<1	11	86
And when they had X	1	11	76
SAY unto X	4	560	2925
COME to pass	5	169	779
X answered and said unto Y	0	32	106
Verily (verily) I say unto you	<1	42	87
Woe unto X	1	42	74
With a loud voice	1	42	61
In the midst of X	48	190	272
BE fulfilled	6	190	78

The Holy Roll has the most extensive use of biblical idiom among the other religious texts, though it is easily outstripped by the Book of Mormon. It employs a wider variety of biblical phrases than the others, often at higher rates, and in more original material. In the case of *BE fulfilled*, it has a higher rate than the KJB. The rest are all less frequent than in the KJB, but many are highly elevated compared to general contemporary usage.

- The state herein described, saith the Archer's voice, are promises from on High, and will surely **come to pass** upon that nation and people who will humble themselves before the Lord their God, and heed his warning voice herein contained. (210)
- Therefore, know ye my hand shall not be stayed, until every work is accomplished, which I have decreed by the mouths of my Prophets and holy Angels, shall **be fulfilled** unto the inhabitants of the earth. (236)
- Then I heard one saint speaking, and another saint **said unto that certain saint which spake**, How long shall be the vision concerning the daily sacrifice, and the transgression of desolation, to give both the sanctuary and the host to be trodden under foot? (61)

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[129] Not present in the Holy Roll: *Which was the son of X.*

9.3.2 Living Oracles

Table 43: Expressions in the Living Oracles

Expression[130]	COHA	**Oracles**	KJB
The land of X	17	70	728
COME to pass	5	87	779
In the midst of X	48	104	272
Written in the book of X	<1	41	86
And when they had X	1	70	76
BE fulfilled	6	104	78
With a loud voice	1	104	61

Several of the expressions are well represented in the Living Oracles, especially those that are characteristic of the New Testament, such as *And when they had X*, *BE fulfilled*, and *With a loud voice*. To the degree that both translations render the source text relatively literally, some overlap is inevitable. Other New Testament constructions are replaced by a more modern alternative: instead of *Verily (verily) I say unto you*, Campbell uses *Indeed I say to you*,[131] leaving out the two archaic lexical items, *verily* and *unto*. He similarly avoids *unto* in *SAY unto X*, preferring *SAY to X*. And in place of *Woe unto X*, he uses *Alas for X*.

- And when they had heard that they were Romans, they were afraid: (Acts 16:38)
- Jesus having again cried with a loud voice, resigned his spirit. (Matt 27:50)
- Indeed, I say to you, that this race shall not fail, till all be accomplished. (Luke 21:32)
- But alas for you, Scribes and Pharisees! hypocrites! because you shut the kingdom of heaven against men; (Matt 23:13)

These modernized versions still reflect the KJB idiom, but do so indirectly. *Alas for you* occurs only twice in the relevant section of COHA, and *Indeed I say to you* occurs not at all. In contrast, the Living Oracles includes 18 instances of *Alas for you* (104 wpm) and 49 of *Indeed I say to you* (284 wpm). The words themselves are not biblical, but the frameworks they are put into come straight from the pages of the KJB.

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[130] Not present in the Living Oracles: *X answered and said unto Y*; *Which was the son of X*; *Say unto X*; *Verily (verily) I say unto you*; *Woe unto X*.
[131] Or, "Most assuredly I say to you."

9.3.3 The Berean

Table 44: Expressions in the Berean

Expression[132]	COHA	**Berean**	KJB
COME to pass	5	7	779
The land of X	17	35	728
SAY unto X	4	249	2925
With a loud voice	1	7	61
In the midst of X	48	35	272
X answered and said unto Y	0	28	106
Verily (verily) I say unto you	<1	76	87
BE fulfilled	6	111	78

Most of the phrases see only limited use in the Berean, with rates much closer to COHA than to the KJB. Some, such as *SAY unto X*, *Verily (verily) I say unto you*, and *X answered and said unto Y*, are used at considerably elevated rates, but this is driven entirely by the extensive quotations of the KJB included in the text. They are not used in Noyes's original prose. He does use *BE fulfilled*, though the biblical quotations still raise its rate considerably.

- Thus Christ's prediction that he should be in the heart of the earth three days and three nights, (Matt. 12:40,) **was fulfilled**. (124)
- The wine of the eucharist is a type of the life-blood of the superhuman Son of God, by which the new covenant **is fulfilled**. (148)

9.3.4 Charles G. Finney Sermons

Table 45: Expressions in Finney's Sermons

Expression[133]	COHA	**Finney**	KJB
SAY unto X	4	20	2925
COME to pass	5	10	779
In the midst of X	48	30	272

These biblical expressions are essentially absent from Finney's sermons, which has rates much closer to contemporary use in each case.

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[132] Not present in the Berean: *Which was the son of X*; *Written in the book of X*; *Woe unto X*; *And when they had X*.

[133] Not present in Finney's sermons: *X answered and said unto Y*; *Which was the son of X*; *Verily (verily) I say unto you*; *Written in the book of X*; *Woe unto X*; *And when they had X*; *With a loud voice*; *The land of X*; *BE fulfilled*.

9.4 Archaic Translations

In comparison to some of the religious texts—namely the Book of Mormon, the Holy Roll, and the Living Oracles—the translated works show much less idiomatic affinity to the King James Bible. Many of the phrases are absent entirely, and those that are present occur at much lower rates than the KJB, closer to contemporary usage. There are a few exceptions, though, where some phrases see elevated rates in the Mabinogion or Grettis Saga. This relative dearth is unsurprising if, as seems likely, the King James Bible was only one of many historical texts to influence the archaic style of the translators, while playing a much more central role for the writers of the religious texts.

9.4.1 The Mabinogion

Table 46: Expressions in the Mabinogion

Expression[134]	COHA	**Mab**.	KJB
The land of X	17	29	728
SAY unto X	4	153	2925
BE fulfilled	6	19	78
In the midst of X	48	95	272
And when they had X	1	134	76

Most of the phrases are missing from the Mabinogion, and some of those that are present are closer to 19th century usage than that of the KJB. It does see an elevated use of *SAY unto X*, consonant with its heightened rate for *unto* generally, and a particularly high rate for the narrative transition *And when they had X*.

- And he **said unto her**, "I will not slay thee, but I will do unto thee worse than that. For I will turn thee into a bird;" (79)
- **And when they had sat down**, they asked the hag where were the people of the house. (136)

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[134] Not present in the Mabinogion: *X answered and said unto Y*; *Which was the son of X*; *Verily (verily) I say unto you*; *Written in the book of X*; *COME to pass*; *Woe unto X*; *With a loud voice*.

9.4.2 The Iliad

Table 47: Expressions in the Iliad

Expression[135]	COHA	**Iliad**	KJB
SAY unto X	4	6	2925
In the midst of X	48	6	272
The land of X	17	38	728

The Iliad shows no sign of KJB influence in terms of these high-frequency constructions. Only three occur at all in the text, and all are much closer to 19th century usage than the KJB (the metrical layout of the text may impede their use, especially for some of the lengthier examples).

9.4.3 Grettis Saga

Table 48: Expressions in Grettis Saga

Expression[136]	COHA	**Grettis**	KJB
In the midst of X	48	13	272
BE fulfilled	6	13	78
COME to pass	5	168	779
Which was the son of X	<1	52	98
And when they had X	1	52	76

Grettis Saga includes a handful of these expressions, such as several instances of *Who was the son of X* in introductions of new characters, and, like the Mabinogion, a few cases of transitions with *And when they had X*. The most noteworthy one for Grettis Saga, however, is *COME to pass*, which is absent from the other translations but common in this one; its frequency is nonetheless much lower than the KJB and some of the other 19th century texts that are particularly characterized by this turn of phrase (namely, the Book of Mormon and the Late War).

- There was a man named Onund, **who was the son of Ufeigh Clubfoot**, the son of Ivar the Smiter; (1, ¶1)
- So they went thence, **and when they had gone but a little way**, there met them a man, big-headed, tall, and gaunt, and ill clad; (69, ¶13)

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[135] Not present in the Iliad: *X answered and said unto Y*; *Which was the son of X*; *Verily (verily) I say unto you*; *Written in the book of X*; *COME to pass*; *Woe unto X*; *And when they had X*; *With a loud voice*; *BE fulfilled*.

[136] Not present in Grettis Saga: *X answered and said unto Y*; *SAY unto X*; *Verily (verily) I say unto you*; *Written in the book of X*; *Woe unto X*; *With a loud voice*; *The land of X*.

- **And now it came to pass** that Biorn, the father of Thrand, died; (6, ¶1)

9.5 Joseph Smith's Letters

Table 49: Expressions in Joseph Smith's Letters

Expression[137]	COHA	**JS Letters**	KJB
COME to pass	5	78	779
SAY unto X	4	570	2925
And when they had X	1	26	76
In the midst of X	48	129	272
The land of X	17	388	728
Written in the book of X	<1	78	86
BE fulfilled	6	78	78
Verily (verily) I say unto you	<1	311	87

In his letters, Smith used these biblical expressions considerably less than in the Book of Mormon, but still at high rates for the early 19th century. *COME to pass*, so ubiquitous in the BoM, is used an order of magnitude less than in the KJB, rather than nearly an order of magnitude more. *SAY unto X*, *BE fulfilled*, and *The land of X* are similarly much less frequent.

- and the blood of Zion be upon their heads even as upon the heads of her enemies and let their recompense be as the recompense of her enemies for **thus shall it come to pass** saith the Lord of hosts (Apr 1834 letter to Orson Hyde)
- I now **say unto you** that if you wish to clear your garments from the blood of your readers I exhort you to publish that letter entire but if not the sin be upon your head — (Feb 1833 letter to Noah C. Saxton)
- for the day is fast hastening on when the restoration of all things **shall be fulfilled**, which all the Holy Prophets have prophesied of even unto the gathering in of the House of Israel. (Aug 1830 letter to Newel Knight & the Colesville Church)
- And again verily I say unto you my friends, a commandment I give unto you that ye shall commence a work of laying out and preparing a beginning and foundation of the City of the stake of Zion here in **the land of Kirtland**; (Aug 1833 letter to church leaders in Jackson County, MO)

On the other hand, the letters see a higher rate than the BoM for *Written in the book of X*, but this consists of three occurrences, all in the same letter, where it is used in

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[137] Not present in Joseph Smith's letters: *X answered and said unto Y*; *Which was the son of X*; *Woe unto X*; *With a loud voice*.

a metaphor for the disinheritance of apostates. The standout expression for Smith's letters is clearly *Verily (verily) I say unto you*, which occurs in Smith's letters at the highest rate of any of the texts in this study (followed by the BoM and then the KJB); here again the concentration is very uneven, though, as 11 of 12 instances are in the same letter, already mentioned in the previous chapter, containing a revelation from God to Joseph and his associates.

- and they who are of the high Priesthood whose names are not found **written in the book of the Law** or that are found to have apostatized or to have been cut off out of the church as well as the lesser Priesthood or the members in that day shall not find an inheritance among the saints of the most high (Nov 1832 letter to W. W. Phelps)
- **Verily I say unto you** that it is my will that an house should be built unto me in the land of Zion like unto the pattern which I have given you. (Aug 1833 letter to church leaders in Jackson County, MO)
- And again **verily I say unto you** the second lot on the south shall be dedicated unto me for the work of the printing of the translation of my scriptures, and all things whatsoever I shall command you; (Aug 1833 letter to church leaders in Jackson County, MO)
- And again **verily I say unto *you*** if after *thine* enemy has come upon *you* the first time he repents and come unto *thee* praying *thy* forgiveness *thou* shalt forgive him and shall hold it no more as a testimony against *thine* enemy and so on unto the second, and the third time and as oft as *thine* enemy repent of the trespass wherewith he has trespassed against *thee thou* shalt forgive him unto seventy times seven and if he trespass against *thee* and repent not the first time nevertheless *thou* shalt forgive him and if he trespass against *thee* the second time and repent not nevertheless *thou* shalt forgive him and if he trespass against *thee* the third time and repent not *thou* shalt also forgive him, but if he trespass against him the fourth time *thou* shalt not forgive him but shall bring these testimonies before the Lord and they shall not be blotted out till he repent and reward *thee* fourfold in all things wherewith he has trespassed against *you* and if he do this *thou* shalt forgive him with all *thine* heart and if he do not this I the Lord will avenge *thee* of *thine* enemy an hundred fold and upon his children and upon his childrens children of all them that hate me unto the third and fourth generation[138] (Aug 1833 letter to church leaders in Jackson County, MO)

This final, extended example, in addition to illustrating the lack of punctuation in much of Smith's writing (including the initial manuscript for the Book of Mormon), shows how freely Smith could alternate between T and Y pronouns. I have italicized the address pronouns for emphasis.

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[138] This passage also provides an example of the complex alternation between T and Y in Smith's letters.

9.6 The Late War

Table 50: Expressions in the Late War

Expression[139]	COHA	**Late War**	KJB
SAY unto X	4	396	2925
In the midst of X	48	70	272
BE fulfilled	6	23	78
Woe unto X	1	23	74
With a loud voice	1	23	61
X answered and said unto Y	0	47	106
Written in the book of X	<1	117	86
The land of X	17	1189	728
COME to pass	5	1935	779

The Late war shows an extensive adoption of KJB idiom. A few of the phrases are absent—notably, *Verily (verily) I say unto you*—but many are present at elevated rates and three show evidence of hypercorrection, with rates higher than the KJB. In particular, the text is characterized by *COME to pass*, which occurs two and a half times as frequently as it does in the KJB. Although this pales in comparison to its extreme rate in the BoM, it is still a much higher rate for this phrase than in any of the other texts (the KJB itself is the next most frequent).

- And it fell hard upon the people of Columbia; for the king **said unto them**, Ye shall come unto me and pay tribute, (18)
- Now the rest of the acts of Chauncey and Yeo, which they did, are they not **written in the book of Palmer, the scribe**? (146)
- For the chief governor of **the land of Columbia**, and the Great Sanhedrim in their wisdom had ordered two of the servants of the king to be taken and held as hostages for his safe return; (273)
- **And it came to pass**, that a great multitude flocked to the banners of the great Sanhedrim. (38)

9.7 Words in the KJB and COHA

By taking the examination of KJB n-grams all the way down to 1-grams, we can consider the prevalence of individual words in the text, and whether this is reflected in the 19th century texts. Of course, we have already considered archaic lexical items in

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[139] Not present in the Late War: *Which was the son of X*; *Verily (verily) I say unto you*; *And when they had X*.

chapter 6, but there are two reasons to look back at individual words nonetheless. First, there may be significant archaisms I overlooked when compiling the list for that chapter. And second, there may be words which have not fallen into obsolescence, but have nonetheless experienced a sharp decline in usage over the years since the KJB's publication. If the 19th century texts contain such words which were still in common use at the time, but use them at much higher rates than most contemporary texts, it could be another indication of biblical stylistic influence.

For this analysis, I have limited myself to words with at least 100 occurrences in the King James Bible text. Those with the highest absolute rates in the KJB are, unsurprisingly, *the*, *and*, *of*, *to*, *that*, *in*, and *he*, but of course these are not particularly characteristic of the style of the KJB. To find the most distinctive words, I have ranked them instead by the ratio of their frequency in the KJB to their frequency in COHA, much like the expressions above.

The words with the highest relative frequency are *Manasseh*, *Beth*, and *Levites*.[140] But names tend to be text-specific, and are not as likely to play a role in stylistic imitation as more universally applicable words. In fact, 18 of the 25 highest-ranked words by relative frequency are proper nouns. I have excluded all these from the analysis to prevent them from eclipsing the other data.

I have also excluded words that have already been treated elsewhere in this project. Lexical items like *begat*, *unto*, *verily*, and *thence*; morphological variants like *ye*, *thine*, or *thou*; words with archaic vowel variants like *spake* or *shew*; and words with archaic affixes or other forms of agreement such as *saith*, *mayest*, *hast*, or *art* are all well represented among the highest-ranked words, but we have already considered their frequency and influence, so I will not be addressing them again here.

Finally, I have excluded words that are specific to the religious topic of the King James Bible, since these would be tied to the genre more than the language style, and would not be very applicable for writers of non-religious texts. Words like *tabernacle*, *gentiles*, *iniquity*, *ark*, *offerings*, *altar*, and *temple* are well represented among the high-relative-frequency words in the biblical text, but are excluded from the following comparison. The line between words that are too topic-specific to include and those

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[140] With frequency ratios of 1489, 1104, and 845 respectively.

which are sufficiently general to include is not sharply defined, so some of the words I have kept may better have been set aside, and vice versa. At any rate, for the main comparison, I will be considering the following words, all of which occur at a rate of at least 200 wpm in the KJB, and all of which are at least 20 times as frequent there as in COHA. For these terms, both the absolute frequency and the relative frequency is quite high. In addition, I will discuss some noteworthy terms where one but not both of these frequency types is particularly high.

Table 51: Idiomatic Word Rates in the KJB

Word	COHA Rate	KJB Rate	Ratio
whosoever	2	238	104
commandment(s)	6	450	72
thereof	19	1152	60
slew	6	245	40
smote	8	291	36
hosts	10	326	34
lord	334	9917	30
sons	47	1402	30
elders	8	232	29
reigned	9	227	26
yea	17	437	25
wherefore	18	440	25
inheritance	13	309	25
behold	76	1643	22

The list includes a number of nouns that are central to the religious themes of the Bible but also commonly used in other settings—*commandment(s)*, *hosts*, *lord*, *sons*, *elders*, *inheritance*—a few verbs, especially in distinctive preterite forms—*slew*, *smote*, *reigned*—and a number of words with various functional identities—*whosoever*, *thereof*, *yea*, *wherefore*, *behold*. For these terms, I am looking at specific word-forms rather than lexemes, as the n-gram process involved pure character strings. The inclusion of both *commandment* and *commandments* is due to the two words having nearly identical frequencies in the KJB (both absolute and relative). Among the 19th century texts, the Book of Mormon and the Holy Roll use the plural form at a higher rate than the singular, while the singular predominates in the others.

Wherefore is somewhat complicated, as the word comes with two alternative meanings: 'therefore' or 'why.' The King James Bible has a rather balanced mix of the

two senses for *wherefore*,[141] as do several of the 19th century texts that use it. Some are particularly weighted toward one or the other, however. The Mabinogion has 48 tokens of *wherefore*, and only three of these mean 'therefore.' Its interrogative use is strongly favored in Lady Guest's translation. Joseph Smith, on the other hand, has a strong preference for its consequential meaning, and of its 414 uses in the Book of Mormon, only two could possibly be interpreted to mean 'why' (1 Ne 4:3 & 2 Ne 29:8). These two ambiguous cases probably still mean 'therefore,' like the remaining 412, as well as both instances in Smith's letters. The Holy Roll and Grettis Saga also lean towards the 'therefore' meaning, but the word occurs at a lower rate, so the imbalance is less marked.

9.8 The Book of Mormon

In these word frequencies, the Book of Mormon again shows the most extensive adoption of King James Bible features among the 19th century texts. All of these terms are present there, and all at considerably higher rates than in COHA. What's more, five of them occur at higher rates than in even the KJB—another instance where the BoM style is characterized by hypercorrection, with extreme use of particular biblical features.

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[141] In Genesis, there are 7 instances with the meaning 'therefore' and 12 with the meaning 'why'— 'therefore': Gen 10:9, Gen 16:14, Gen 21:10, Gen 21:31, Gen 38:10, Gen 47:22, Gen 50:11—'why': Gen 18:13, Gen 24:31, Gen 26:27, Gen 29:25, Gen 31:27, Gen 31:30, Gen 32:29, Gen 40:7, Gen 43:6, Gen 44:4, Gen 44:7, Gen 47:19.

Table 52: Word Rates in the BoM

Word	COHA	**BoM**	KJB
elders	8	34	232
reigned	9	52	227
smote	8	109	291
slew	6	97	245
sons	47	617	1402
thereof	19	587	1152
lord	334	5852	9917
inheritance	13	217	309
hosts	10	239	326
whosoever	2	296	238
commandment(s)	6	928	450
wherefore	18	1549	440
behold	76	6095	1643
yea	17	4621	437

For *whosoever*, the rate is only slightly higher than the KJB's, though much higher than in contemporary 19th century American usage. For *commandment(s)*, the BoM rate is about twice that of the KJB, though this excess is driven entirely by the plural form, as the singular form, treated separately, is actually less frequent than in the KJB. For *wherefore* and *behold*, the BoM rates are between three and four times that of the King James Bible, and *yea* surpasses ten times its biblical rate.

- And it shall come to pass that **whosoever** shall believe on the Son of God, the same shall have everlasting life. (Hel 14:8)
- And it came to pass that I, Nephi, said unto my father, I will go and do the things which the Lord hath commanded, for I know that the Lord giveth no **commandments** unto the children of men, save he shall prepare a way for them that they may accomplish the thing which he commandeth them. (1 Ne 3:7)
- And it came to pass that I, Nephi, being exceeding young, nevertheless being large in stature, and also having great desires to know of the mysteries of God, **wherefore** I did cry unto the Lord; (1 Ne 2:16)
- And it came to pass as they smote us with a rod, **behold**, an angel of the Lord came and stood before them, and he spake unto them, saying, why do ye smite your younger brother with a rod? (1 Ne 3:29)
- Now we will return again to the Amlicites, for they also had a mark set upon them; **yea**, they set the mark upon themselves, **yea**, even a mark of red upon their foreheads. (Alma 3:13)

9.9 Religious Texts

Among the other 19th century religious texts, several of these terms see elevated usage, though not to the same rates as in the Book of Mormon. Some of these higher uses are driven by biblical quotation, while others appear in more original material. *Wherefore*, *whosoever*, and *commandment(s)* are among those used most often at higher rates. Others, like *slew* and *smote*, see little if any elevation over expected 19th century levels.

9.9.1 The Holy Roll and Book

Table 53: Word Rates in the Holy Roll

Word[142]	COHA	**Holy Roll**	KJB
inheritance	13	11	309
sons	47	74	1402
smote	8	21	291
slew	6	21	245
elders	8	32	232
wherefore	18	74	440
thereof	19	402	1152
behold	76	772	1643
lord	334	5741	9917
hosts	10	201	326
whosoever	2	211	238
commandment(s)	6	423	450
yea	17	560	437

In the Holy Roll, as in the Book of Mormon, *yea* occurs at the most elevated rate, and is more frequent even than it is in the King James Bible. The difference is not so extreme, though, and it is the only word in the set to exhibit such hypercorrection. Nonetheless, several others, including *commandments*[143] and *whosoever*, are particularly common.

- And **whosoever** shall do this, in sincerity of heart, and see that it is correctly translated into other languages, shall be blessed in their labors, for so doing. (161)
- And to such as desire still longer to remain in the wilderness state of nature, the sceptre containeth my law and **commandments** for the same. (30)

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[142] Not present in the Holy Roll: *reigned*.
[143] Also like the BoM, the plural form of *commandment* is preferred in the Holy Roll.

- **Yea**, saith the Lord, instead of my judgments serving to work repentance and humiliation, in those who were unvisited by my judgments, it only served, (with many,) to harden them in their awful crimes of wickedness. (19)

9.9.2 Living Oracles

Table 54: Word Rates in the Living Oracles

Word[144]	COHA	**Oracles**	KJB
thereof	19	17	1152
hosts	10	12	326
smote	8	29	291
reigned	9	35	227
sons	47	295	1402
slew	6	64	245
inheritance	13	98	309
lord	334	3371	9917
behold	76	770	1643
whosoever	2	180	238
commandment(s)	6	405	450
elders	8	313	232
wherefore	18	666	440

For Campbell's Living Oracles, *elders* and *wherefore* are more common than in the KJB, though the total number of occurrences in each case is quite close to that of the KJB New Testament. Other elevated words, such as *commandment*, *lord*, and *sons*, are likely explained mostly by the shared subject matter. The use of some of the other terms, like *behold*, *slew*, or *whosoever*, rather than more modern alternatives, may reflect the stylistic influence of the KJB. Interestingly, Campbell's uses of *whosoever* are almost all concentrated in the gospel of Matthew, and especially in the Sermon on the Mount chapter, rather than diffused throughout the New Testament as in the KJB.

- While he was speaking, **behold**! a bright cloud covered them, and out of the cloud a voice came, which said, This is my Son, the beloved, in whom I delight: hear him. (Matt 17:5)
- Which of the prophets did not your fathers persecute? yes, they **slew** those who spoke before of the coming of the Righteous One; of whom you have now become the betrayers and murderers. (Acts 7:52)

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[144] Not present in the Living Oracles: *yea*.

- For **whosoever** asks, obtains; **whosoever** seeks, finds; and to every one who knocks, the door shall be opened. (Matt 7:8)[145]

9.9.3 The Berean

Table 55: Word Rates in the Berean

Word	COHA	**Berean**	KJB
smote	8	7	291
reigned	9	7	227
thereof	19	48	1152
hosts	10	14	326
behold	76	83	1643
slew	6	14	245
inheritance	13	21	309
lord	334	768	9917
elders	8	21	232
yea	17	48	437
wherefore	18	111	440
sons	47	374	1402
commandment(s)	6	242	450
whosoever	2	235	238

None of the terms are used in the Berean at a rate higher than the KJB, but several are elevated considerably compared to contemporary usage. For some of these, such as *commandment* and *lord*, the high rates are most likely due to the subject matter. There is a particularly high rate for the word *sons*, mostly the result of Noyes's frequent description of believers as *sons of God*. *Wherefore* and *whosoever* are used in many biblical quotations in the text, and *whosoever* also appears often in paraphrase references to those passages.[146] *Yea* occurs mostly in quotations as well, but also in a couple of original uses.

- They cannot become **sons of God** till they break out of the circle of sin and death into the light of heaven, and vital union with God. (119)
- We know that **whosoever** is born of God sinneth not; (159)
- By this trine an angel is an image of God and is called a Son of God, and also an heir, **yea**, also a God; nevertheless an angel is not life from himself, but is a recipient of life; (85)

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[145] The KJB does not use *whosoever* in this verse, so while it may well be a case of stylistic imitation, it is not direct copying.

[146] Especially to 1 John 3:9—Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin; for his seed remaineth in him: and he cannot sin, because he is born of God.

9.9.4 Charles G. Finney Sermons

Table 56: Word Rates in Finney's Sermons

Word[147]	COHA	**Finney**	KJB
lord	334	100	9917
thereof	19	20	1152
wherefore	18	10	440
yea	17	10	437
behold	76	40	1643
inheritance	13	10	309
whosoever	2	10	238
reigned	9	10	227
elders	8	80	232
commandment(s)	6	181	450

Most of Finney's frequencies are in line with 19th century usage, but he does have fairly high rates for *elders* and *commandment* (in his case, unlike the Holy Roll and the BoM, the singular form is more common). The frequencies for these terms make sense given the topics he is discussing, and still fall far short of the KJB rates.

9.10 Archaic Translations

The pattern for these words is different in the translated texts than in the religious ones. The verbs *slew* and *smote*, unexceptional in any of the religious texts, are among the most elevated terms in these translations. Meanwhile, terms with more relevance to religious matters, such as *elders*, *lord*, or *commandment(s)*, are less prominent here. And while some of the religious texts used KJB-prominent words at rates far in excess of the original, that is uncommon for these texts, which tend to only approach KJB rates at their highest, with the exception of *smote* in Grettis Saga, which more than doubles the frequency of the KJB.

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[147] Not present in Finney's sermons: *slew*, *smote*, *hosts*, *sons*.

9.10.1 The Mabinogion

Table 57: Word Rates in the Mabinogion

Word[148]	COHA	**Mab**.	KJB
inheritance	13	10	309
smote	8	10	291
yea	17	19	437
reigned	9	19	227
thereof	19	200	1152
sons	47	286	1402
lord	334	2394	9917
whosoever	2	95	238
hosts	10	238	326
behold	76	1364	1643
wherefore	18	458	440
slew	6	391	245

In the Mabinogion, several of these terms are used at considerably higher than contemporary rates, including *thereof*, *sons*, *lord*, and *whosoever*, but still not near the rate of the KJB. *Hosts*, *behold*, and *wherefore* are at rates comparable to the KJB, and *slew* is used more than half again as often. As noted above, there is a significant semantic detail when it comes to *wherefore*, as the Mabinogion is exceptional in its strong preference for the interrogative meaning 'why' for this word.

- And all the **hosts** went forth until they came to the side of the hedge, and the hedge was so lofty, that it reached as high as they could see in the air, and upon every stake in the hedge, except two, there was the head of a man, and the number of stakes throughout the hedge was very great. (261)
- "And the second plague," said he, "that is in thy dominion, **behold** it is a dragon." (92)
- "Good Sir" said Geraint "wilt thou tell me **wherefore** came the knight and the lady and the dwarf just now into the town and what is the preparation which I saw and the putting of arms in order?" (226)
- And we were thrown into a state of stupor, and while we were thus the demon who owns this Castle **slew** all our husbands and took from us our horses and our raiment and our gold and our silver; (175)

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[148] Not present in the Mabinogion: *commandment(s)*, *elders*.

9.10.2 The Iliad

Table 58: Word Rates in the Iliad

Word[149]	COHA	**Iliad**	KJB
reigned	9	6	227
lord	334	338	9917
whosoever	2	19	238
commandment(s)	6	57	450
hosts	10	51	326
behold	76	261	1643
elders	8	57	232
sons	47	555	1402
yea	17	185	437
wherefore	18	223	440
smote	8	217	291
slew	6	255	245

As in the Mabinogion, *slew* is the most elevated of the terms in the Iliad, and occurs at a slightly higher rate than in the KJB. *Smote* is similarly frequent, along with considerably heightened use of several other terms, such as *behold*, *elders*, *sons*, *yea*, and *wherefore*.

- Spare me, sith as I was not born of the same womb as Hector, The man who **slew** thy comrade dear, so gentle and so stalwart. (21:95–96)
- For none of all the allies renowned, or Troians, before me **Smote** down Patroclus with the spear amid the hardy struggle. (17:14–15)
- **Yea**, if he aught availed to help, **behold**! a mighty River Beside thee here: but none can fight with Jove, the child of Saturn. (21:192–193)
- **Wherefore** no mortal man, I trow, may fight against Achilles; (20:97)

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[149] Not present in the Iliad: *thereof*, *inheritance*.

9.10.3 Grettis Saga

Table 59: Word Rates in Grettis Saga

Word[150]	COHA	**Grettis**	KJB
lord	334	103	9917
inheritance	13	13	309
elders	8	13	232
behold	76	129	1643
whosoever	2	26	238
wherefore	18	91	440
sons	47	517	1402
thereof	19	789	1152
slew	6	246	245
yea	17	466	437
smote	8	660	291

In Grettis Saga, the verbs *slew* and *smote* are again quite well represented, along with *yea*, *thereof*, and several other terms.

- "**yea**, atonement is due withal for the slaying of Thorbiorn, whom Grettir **slew**." (43, ¶3)
- then Thorgeir said, "Herewith I bring thee back thy axe," and **smote** him on the neck, and struck off his head. (12, ¶5)
- Onund and Asmund heard **thereof** and supposed him dead, but deemed they might do nought. (7, ¶7)

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[150] Not present in Grettis Saga: *commandment(s)*, *hosts*, *reigned*.

9.11 Joseph Smith's Letters

Table 60: Word Rates in Joseph Smith's Letters

Word[151]	COHA	JS Letters	KJB
sons	47	52	1402
wherefore	18	52	440
hosts	10	78	326
behold	76	595	1643
thereof	19	440	1152
lord	334	6058	9917
yea	17	699	437
elders	8	388	232
inheritance	13	699	309
commandment(s)	6	1165	450

Joseph Smith's letters are similar to the Book of Mormon in that several terms are used at frequencies exceeding the KJB, including *yea* and *commandments*. The rate for *commandments* is higher even than in the BoM, though *yea* is much lower. Also prominently used are *elders* and *inheritance*. These saw less elevated use in the BoM, but they are thematically important in Smith's letters, where he is often discussing church governance, including the role of the elders, and promising his followers a sacred and/or temporal inheritance in return for their faithfulness. *Inheritance* appears to be used especially in conjunction with the early church's experiments in communism.

- We are the most favored people that ever have been from the foundation of the world, if we remain faithful in keeping the **commandments** of our God. (Dec 1830 letter to the church in Colesville)
- Verily I say unto you that it is my will that an house should be built unto me in the land of Zion like unto the pattern which I have given you. (which pattern we have sent to Zion in a former package) **yea**, let it be built speedily by the tithing of my people, (Aug 1833 letter to church leaders in Jackson County, MO)
- you will recollect that the first **elders** are to receive their endowment in Kirtland before the redemption of Zion you will recollect that your high council will have power to say who of the first **Elders** among the Children of Zion are accounted worthy; (Aug 1834 letter to Lyman Wight and others)
- Therefore, those persons consecrating property to the Bishop in Zion, and then receiving an **inheritance** back, must show reasonably to the Bishop that he wants as much as he claims. (June 1833 letter to church leaders in Jackson County, MO)

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[151] Not present in Joseph Smith's letters: *whosoever*, *slew*, *smote*, *reigned*.

Other terms, especially *lord*, *thereof*, and *behold*, see considerably elevated use, though not to the same extent as the KJB.

- that is, the wicked must soon be destroyed from off the face of the earth, for the **Lord** hath spoken it, and who can stay the hand of the **Lord**, or who is there that can measure arms with the Almighty, for at his commands the heavens and the earth must pass away, for the day is fast hastening on when the restoration of all things shall be fulfilled, which all the Holy Prophets have prophesied of even unto the gathering in of the House of Israel. (Aug 1830 letter to Newel Knight and the Colesville church)
- and it shall be dedicated unto the Lord from the foundation **thereof** according to the order of the priesthood according to the pattern which shall be given unto you hereafter (Aug 1833 letter to church leaders in Jackson County, MO)
- **Behold** the prophecies of the Book of Mormon are fulfilling as fast as time can bring it about. (Dec 1830 letter to the church in Colesville)

9.12 The Late War

Table 61: Word Rates in the Late War

Word[152]	COHA	**Late War**	KJB
lord	334	513	9917
reigned	9	23	227
commandment(s)	6	47	450
wherefore	18	47	440
inheritance	13	70	309
hosts	10	93	326
sons	47	490	1402
behold	76	699	1643
smote	8	233	291
yea	17	396	437
thereof	19	2261	1152
slew	6	490	245

The Late War resembles the translated texts in the prevalence of *slew* and *smote*, in accordance with its topic of war.

- Victory perched upon their arms, and they **slew** some of the servants of the king, and made many prisoners, and returned again with the loss of one man. (221)
- For when the vessels came close together, the men **smote** one another with their swords and weapons of war; **yea**, even the balls of iron they cast at each other, with their hands, and **slew** one another with wonderful slaughter. (157)

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[152] Not present in the Late War: *whosoever*, *elders*.

It also has high rates for the more general terms *thereof*, *yea*, and *behold*.

- And the captain **thereof** was straitened, and he looked around him, and strove to escape: (34)
- And the old men, the little children, and the women, **yea** the fair daughters of Columbia, were compelled to fly from the wickedness of barbarians. (114)
- **Behold**! five times hath the striped bunting of Columbia, triumphed over the royal cross of Britain. (96)

Sons is used frequently, especially in phrases identifying groups of combatants as "sons of Columbia," "sons of Britain," "sons of Tennessee," and so forth, as well as more generalized "sons of Liberty," "sons of men," or "sons of Belial."

- But once more the valiant **sons** of Connecticut made them fly for safety: and they came not again. (224)

9.13 Other High Frequency Words

A few comments are in order for those words which had an extremely high absolute frequency in the King James Bible, but a less impressive relative frequency, and for those that occurred at a particularly high ratio but with lower absolute frequencies. The seven most frequent words in the KJB, listed above in 9.7, all occur at rates very close to those in COHA. The eighth most frequent is the first to diverge, and this is *shall*. *Shall* is over ten times as frequent in the KJB as in COHA, a sign of a definite decline in spite of its continued high frequency, though the difference is not as extreme as it is for the words we have already covered. The rate for *shall* is considerably elevated in several of our texts, occurring at twice the rate of COHA in the Berean, the Iliad, Grettis Saga, and the Late War, nearly five times the rate in Joseph Smith's letters, six times in the Living Oracles, eight in the Holy Roll, and nine in the Book of Mormon.

Some other noteworthy words which occur at a rate of over 500 wpm in the KJB, and which are more than ten times as frequent as in COHA,[153] are *king*, *brethren*, *servants*, and *commanded*. *King* and *servants* are especially frequent in the Late War, dealing as it does with a war against the British king and his "servants." Both words occur at over twice their rate in the KJB. *Brethren*, the archaic plural for *brother*, is

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[153] Though not over twenty times, like those in the lists above.

particularly characteristic of Smith's writing, occurring in the BoM at close to three times the rate in the KJB, and in Smith's letters at over five times the KJB rate. *Commanded* is common in the Late War, where military commands are frequently described, as well as in the BoM, where its prevalence matches that of *commandments*.

On the other hand, some of the words with particularly high relative frequencies occurred in the KJB at rates under 200 wpm. The most prominent is *firstborn*, due to the biblical themes of consecration in animal sacrifice and dedication of children, along with the famous example of the killing of the firstborn sons of Egypt. It occurs in the KJB at a rate 433 times that of COHA. It is, however, all but absent from our 19th century texts, so there is little indication of stylistic influence from this term. More successful is *hearken*, which is 42 times as frequent in the KJB as in COHA. This is taken up in both the BoM and the Holy Roll. The Holy Roll makes especial use of *hearken*, which is well suited to its style of Angelic proclamation, using it almost five times as often as the KJB. *Captains* is a little less divergent, occurring in the KJB only nineteen times as often as in COHA, but it sees considerable use in the Late War, which follows biblical idiom in referring to military leaders of various grades as captains, chief captains, captains of fifties or hundreds, etc. The word is used in the Late War more than seven times as often as in the KJB.

9.14 Conclusion

The apparent influence of biblical idiom in 19th century writings is considerably varied, with Smith's writings, especially the Book of Mormon, showing the greatest degree of stylistic affinity to the King James Bible.

The Book of Mormon uses a wide range of biblical expressions at quite high rates, including *BE fulfilled*, *SAY unto X*, *Woe unto X*, *And when they had X*, and *Verily (verily) I say unto you*, but the most striking biblical phrase by far is *COME to pass*, which occurs at an prodigious rate in the Book of Mormon, especially in its archetypical form "and it came to pass (that) …" Individual words such as *behold*, *commandments*, *brethren*, and especially *yea* also occur at levels far beyond that of the presumed source material in the King James Bible. Smith shows his predilection for not only using biblical material at exceptionally high rates, but also for narrowing their functions, as shown by

his treatment of *wherefore*, which occurs in the Book of Mormon at three times its biblical rate, but with only one of its two major biblical meanings.

Smith's personal writings, in the form of his letters from the early 1830s, show a similar but much less drastic expression of biblical idiom, with *COME to pass*, *yea*, *behold*, and *commandments* all still quite prominent. Individual letters sometimes skew the overall results, though. *Written in the book of X* and *Verily (verily) I say unto you* are not common in most of the letters in the sample, but they occur frequently in one letter each, raising their average frequencies deceptively high.

The other religious writings range from the Holy Roll, which makes considerable use of biblical idiom, to Finney's sermon, where it is not at all apparent. The Holy Roll does not match the rates of the Book of Mormon, but does still have a fair amount of *COME to pass*, *SAY unto X*, and *BE fulfilled*, along with *commandments*, *whosoever*, *behold*, *yea*, and especially *hearken*. The Living Oracles sees a fair amount of biblical idiom and word use, but does not tend to go much beyond the rates of the KJB. A large part of the overlap is likely attributable to the matching content of the New Testament source text. In some cases, Campbell has replaced archaic lexical items with more modern equivalents, but still maintained the same archaic structure of the KJB expression. The Berean includes a fair amount of biblical idiom and wording as well, but it is almost entirely contained in the text's extensive quotations, with only limited influence on the original prose. Finney's sermons lack both the constructions and the words considered in this section.

The translated texts are considerably different than the religious ones in terms of biblical idiom. The longer phrases are mostly absent, especially in the Iliad, whose metrical structure makes larger syntactic match-ups less likely. The minor exception to the missing expressions is *And when they had X*, which is used occasionally in narrative transitions in the Mabinogion and Grettis Saga. The individual words make a better showing, but the standouts are *slew* and *smote*, which were not at all representative of the 19th century religious texts. More general-purpose words such as *yea* and *behold* see a fair amount of use in this group as well, though with some variation from text to text. The Late War shares some similarities to the translated texts, especially in its use of *slew*, *smote*, *yea*, and *behold*, but includes many more of the multi-word constructions,

especially *COME to pass*. This phrase occurs in the Late War at a much higher rate than in the King James Bible, let alone the other 19th century texts, with the one enormous exception of the Book of Mormon, whose pages are simply saturated with this most biblical of phrases.

CHAPTER 10: CONCLUSION

10.1 Summary of Archaic Features by Text

We have considered a number of aspects in which the archaic features of Early Modern English, preserved in and disseminated by the King James Bible, typify certain texts from the early 19th century. We have returned to each text several times, to examine how each set of features is reflected in them, but as these are spread out across several chapters it may be difficult to visualize the array of features that characterize a given text. To help with this, we will summarize the archaic stylistic influence here text by text, before moving on to some overall concluding remarks.

10.1.1 The King James Bible

As the model for the archaic features, the King James Bible usually has the highest degree of Early Modern features, though there are some cases of hypercorrection where a 19th century text surpasses it in the adoption of a particular archaism. Where there is a choice between archaic and modern variants, the KJB is often categorical in its use of the older form.

For the lexical and idiomatic features, the KJB has much higher rates than 19th century American English (as represented by COHA), essentially by definition, since a comparison between the two was used to determine which items to include as archaisms. Among the archaic lexical items in the KJB, UNTO stands out in its absolute frequency (13,166 wpm, a full two orders of magnitude more common than the next most frequent, BEGET, at 344 wpm—probably mostly due to UNTO being a functional item amid content lexemes), though other terms, such as BEGET, are also quite common. The most distinctly biblical expression is *COME to pass*, which is quite high frequency (at 779 wpm), and also occurs 172 times as often as it does in COHA.[154]

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[154] Also fairly distinctive are *SAY unto X* and *the land of X*. *SAY unto X* is in fact higher in both absolute and relative frequency, but the particularly high relative frequency is due only to the use of *unto*: *Say to X* occurs with a reasonable frequency in COHA. *COME to pass* is thus more distinctive as a construction.

The KJB is essentially categorical in its use of archaic preterite vowels and other cases where a vowel distinguished older and newer lexical alternatives (*spake*, SHEW, etc.). This is not entirely the case, as for DRIVE, GET, and LOAD there are a few cases where the modern variant is used, in competition with the more frequent archaic variant. In 19th century use, the modern variants had almost entirely displaced the older forms, with the exception of *begat*, which remained the preferred preterite form of BEGET. Even then, modern *begot* does occur about one third of the time.

Many grammatical features in the KJB also use the archaic form categorically. The distinction between T and Y is made entirely based on number, and in fact faithfully reproduces distinctions in the Hebrew and Greek source texts.[155] The distinctive nominative form *ye* is retained, and consistently distinguished from *you* by case context.[156] All verbs with third-person singular present indicative subject agreement keep the *–th* suffix.[157] Similarly, verbs with second-person singular indicative subject agreement use the *–st* suffix. And *his* is the only form of the neuter genitive pronoun.[158]

Other grammatical features are characteristic of the KJB text, but allow for some variation. *Which* is the preferred relative pronoun for both human and non-human antecedents, but modern *who* is used in a minority of cases with human antecedents. Main verb raising is preferred in both negative and interrogative contexts, but competes with DO-support in both cases. The subjunctive is used extensively in certain contexts, but occasionally the indicative is used instead. And auxiliary DO occurs quite often in unemphatic, affirmative contexts.

This stands in stark contrast to 19th century American English, where Y pronouns are the typical form of both singular and plural address,[159] *you* is the standard nominative form of the address pronoun, third-person verbs end in *–s*,[160] the neuter genitive is always *its*, human antecedents take *who* for their relative pronoun, and DO is restricted to cases

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[155] While some cases appear ambiguous, the social T/Y distinction in Early Modern English does not explain the choice, and the selection remains consistent with the source texts, which distinguished address pronouns based on number, without that social dimension.

[156] With at least one exception where *you* is used in a traditionally nominative setting.

[157] Apart from one exceptional case in the Apocrypha.

[158] Apart from one exceptional case in Leviticus introduced by later editing.

[159] T is retained, but limited mostly to religious and poetical settings, and strongly outnumbered by singular Y.

[160] Archaic *–th* is used only about 4% of the time.

where it adds emphasis or assists in auxiliary raising constructions. Some archaic features have not been purged quite so thoroughly, however. The subjunctive remains in use, though it appears to have declined in favor of the indicative, *–st* remains in use when the subject is *thou*, though its frequency has dropped due to the much reduced use of T pronouns, and main verb raising still occurs fairly frequently, though DO-support has certainly increased. While several of these features do occur in 19th century texts written in archaic or biblical style, human *which* is rare in all but the first edition of the Book of Mormon, and neuter *his* is completely absent.

10.1.2 The Book of Mormon

The Book of Mormon is strongly characterized by the use of archaic biblical features, though in some cases the details of their use are notably different. Some items that were categorically archaic in the KJB compete with modern alternatives in the BoM. Some are used only in a more restricted range of contexts. Others are extended into new contexts not present in the KJB, or are used at much higher rates than in the biblical model.

Compared to contemporary usage, there are elevated rates for almost all of the biblical lexical items, and several of them are more frequent even than in the KJB (NOUGHT, SAVE, VERILY, WAX, and WROTH). UNTO essentially matches the KJB's very high rate, unlike any of the other 19th century texts: it is 2.5 times as common in the BoM as in the next highest modern text, the Holy Roll. Especially noteworthy is the use of SAVE, which occurs at an extremely elevated rate (ten times as frequent as in the KJB), and is also used in some innovative contexts. It almost always takes a clause for its complement, and this usually begins with a contentless, expletive construction, using *save it were* or *save it be*. Even with these words removed, clauses make up a disproportionately high number of the complements for SAVE. It is also extended semantically, picking up a new meaning, 'only,' presumably by analogy to *but*. The *save it were/be* construction is extremely rare outside the Book of Mormon, and the 'only' meaning may be entirely unique to it.

The BoM is inconsistent in its retention of preterites and other words with archaic vowel forms, using *spake* and *begat* categorically, and SHEW in almost all cases.[161] Several other preterites use the archaic variant part of the time, though data is limited. The three items where the archaic alternative is most in evidence in the Book of Mormon are also those whose absolute frequency was highest in the KJB.

Many archaic grammatical features are characteristic of the Book of Mormon, though their use is messier than in the 1769 KJB. Address pronouns in T are very common, especially in address to or from divine beings, but T is in competition with singular Y, and in many cases individual characters receive mixed address. Subtle contextual clues may play a role in the selection (e.g. the incorporation of language from a biblical passage might trigger a shift from Y to T), but the alternations are often difficult to explain or justify. There are even a handful of cases where T is extended to plural address. The BoM is mostly consistent in distinguishing *ye* and *you* by case, but there are nonetheless quite a few cases of nominative *you* and even a few cases of objective *ye*.   The archaic verbal *–th* suffix is used extensively, especially in the first edition, but there is some competition from modern *–s*.[162] There are even a few cases of *–th* used with plural subjects.

Alone among the 19th century texts, the BoM retained the biblical human *which*, but only in its first edition. This was modernized in the later editions, including the 1840 one. Not even the first edition contained neuter *his*, however, which is modernized to *its* even in biblical quotations. Main verb raising and the use of the subjunctive are both common in the Book of Mormon, though they are less preferred than they are in the KJB. Affirmative DO is highly characteristic of the Book of Mormon, occurring at 8 times its rate in the KJB. It is especially common in a periphrastic preterite construction (e.g. *they did eat* for *they ate*), which is a highly distinctive element of BoM style.

As for biblical idiom, the Book of Mormon has the highest incorporation of biblical expressions and words among the 19th century texts. Several of the words are even more frequent than in the KJB, including *whosoever*, *commandment(s)*, *wherefore*,

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[161] Though SHEW is changed to modern SHOW in later editions published by the main branch of Mormonism, the Utah-based Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.
[162] Which is used about 12% of the time in the 1840 edition.

behold (which is almost 4 times as frequent as in the KJB), and especially *yea* (over 10 times as frequent). There is also considerable use of *commanded*, *brethren*, and *hearken*. The most distinctive idiomatic feature by far, though, is the extremely high adoption of *COME to pass*, probably the most widely recognized and frequently commented on aspect of biblical style in the Book of Mormon. This phrase, already very common in the KJB, occurs seven times as often in the Book of Mormon.

10.1.3 Holy Roll

The Holy Roll exhibits many features of biblical style, and has considerable overlap with the Book of Mormon in which features are adopted and how. The adoption is generally less extensive than that of the BoM, however.

The Holy Roll uses many of the lexical items at elevated rates, though not quite so many as the Book of Mormon. NOUGHT, PROVE, SAVE, and WISE are all more frequent than in the KJB, and UNTO occurs more often than in any other 19th century text except the BoM.

There is not much adoption of archaic vowel variants, however. Several do occur, but are limited to biblical quotations. There are, however, a couple original uses of *spake* (the most frequent of these items in the KJB).

For address pronouns, T is used in most cases, but singular Y does occur as well. The nominative form *ye* is also maintained, but *you* does occur in about a third of all nominative contexts. Verbal *–th* is also used most of the time, but again sees some competition from the modern variant, *–s*. The retention of main verb raising is mixed, as it is the preferred alternative for negations but is not used in questions. And affirmative DO, as in the BoM is used at a higher rate than in the KJB, driven especially by use as a periphrastic preterite. This elevated use is still only about a third of the BoM rate, however.

The adoption of idiomatic features is not so high as the Book of Mormon, but higher than any of the other 19th century texts. Of the words, only *yea* exceeds the KJB in frequency, and only by a small margin. Several others are quite common, though, and *hearken* is particularly characteristic of this text. Of the expressions, *BE fulfilled* is the most noteworthy.

10.1.4 Living Oracles

The Living Oracles was intended as a modern translation, so the presence of KJB style is understandably low, but some archaisms do remain nonetheless, especially among the lexical items and expressions.

Of the lexical items, only about half occur at elevated rates, and only BESEECH is more common than in the KJB, occurring about two and a half times as often. Also characteristic are NIGH and BEGET, the latter of which is more common than in any of the other 19th century texts, and matches the rate in the KJB. This is mostly due to the use of *begot* in Jesus's genealogy and the frequent use of *begotten* in the epistles.

Apart from one instance each of archaic *bare* and *lade*, only the modern forms are used for the vowel alternations. This applies even to SPEAK and BEGET, where the archaic variants are particularly common among the 19th century texts.

Archaic grammatical features are also quite uncommon. There is an occasional use of T address pronouns, but singular Y is the preferred form, and occurs as modern *you* even in subject positions. Verbal *–th* is not used, and affirmative DO does not occur at an elevated rate. Like the Holy Roll, main verb raising is preferred in negations but not in questions.

The adoption of KJB idiom in the Living Oracles is interesting. Several of the words and expressions occur at elevated rates (and *elders* and *wherefore* are slightly more common than in the KJB), but most distinctive are some cases where the structure of a KJB phrase is kept but archaic words are replaced with more modern variants, such as *Alas for you* or *Indeed I say to you*. These phrases are not characteristic of the 19th century and indicate a subtle influence of KJB style even while the writer was consciously trying to depart from it.

10.1.5 The Berean

The Berean contains a fair number of archaic features, but this is almost entirely due to its extensive quotations of scripture embedded in the text. The original material in the Berean is written in contemporary, 19th century style.

About half the lexical items occur at elevated rates, but none match the KJB and most fall well short of its frequencies. When archaic lexemes do occur, they are usually in quotations from the KJB. The term with the highest relative frequency, *verily*, does occur in some original material, though most of its occurrences are in quotes. There is similarly some limited use of archaic vowel variants, grammatical features (especially T address pronouns), and idiomatic features, but these are likewise limited to biblical quotations.

10.1.6 Charles G. Finney Sermons

Like the Berean (and to a lesser extent, the Living Oracles), Finney's sermons are written in modern English rather than the style of the King James Bible. Some features are present in limited amounts, but are restricted to biblical quotation. There are a few uses of T in original material, but this still involves a biblical setting, as it is used in hypothetical dialogue added to biblical stories.

10.1.7 The Mabinogion

The Mabinogion has the lowest adoption of archaic style among the three translated texts, but some features are nonetheless characteristic of this work, especially the use of T pronouns and some of the lexical items, and many other features are present in limited amounts.

Most of the lexical items occur at elevated rates, and many are more common than in the King James Bible (BESEECH, BETWIXT, NOUGHT, SAVE, THENCE, VERILY, WISE, and WROTH). The most characteristic is BESEECH, which is four times as frequent as in the KJB, and nearly twice as common as in the Living Oracles (where it is also characteristic). This lexeme is not characteristic of either of the other translated texts.

The Mabinogion uses the modern variant categorically for most of the cases of vowel alternation, but it does contain *spake* and SHEW in a minority of cases.

Address pronouns in T are used categorically for the singular, in harmony with the Welsh source text, though Lady Guest does in one case reinterpret a case of plural address as singular. Other grammatical features besides the use of T are not much in evidence. For plural address pronouns, *you* is the preferred form for subjects as well as

objects, though there are some occurrences of *ye* in the text. There is also some use of verbal –*th*, but it is again very limited (less frequent than in Last of the Mohicans). Affirmative DO is somewhat elevated, but not to KJB levels.

Idiomatic expressions from the KJB are also not much used, though a fair number of the individual words occur at elevated words, and *slew* is more frequent than in the KJB. *Wherefore* is also quite common, but is limited only to its 'why' meaning.

10.1.8 The Iliad

The Iliad makes extensive use of archaic features in its lexicon, in vowel alternations, and other grammatical factors, and for many features is among the most consistent texts in using the archaic variant, but it shows little evidence of idiomatic expressions from the KJB.

Nearly all the lexical items occur at elevated rates, and BETWIXT, NOUGHT, THITHER, and VERILY all exceed their frequencies in the King James Bible. The Iliad is unusual among the translated texts in it use of BEGET. This term, characteristic of the religious texts even when their overall style is modern, does not occur in the other translations, but it is common in the Iliad (though its rate is still exceeded by all the religious texts).

For the words with alternations in their vowels, the Iliad has the greatest use of archaic variants of any of the 19th century texts, and it is the only one of the texts to approach the consistency of the KJB. For many of the words, the archaic form is used almost categorically. SPEAK occurs in the preterite at a higher rate than the KJB, but while the KJB uses *spake* without exception, there is one instance in the Iliad of modern *spoke* (alongside 487 instances of *spake*). *Bare* and *drave* are also particularly prominent, and *begat* also occurs (as noted above), always in its archaic form. SHOW, however, occurs only in its modern variant.

There is also extensive and mostly consistent use of archaic grammatical features. Address pronouns in T are used categorically for the singular, reflecting the pronoun distinctions in the Greek source text. *Ye* is also used, and is distinguished from *you* consistently by case rules. There is also a strong preference for archaic verbal –*th*, but this time with some competition from the modern –*s* variant (the Book of Mormon and

the Late War are the only 19th century texts with a more complete adoption of –*th*).
Affirmative DO is also highly elevated, though in this case it seems likely that metrical
concerns are the primary factor, as the optional weak syllable adds considerable
flexibility in fitting lines to the meter.

There is very little use of KJB expressions in the Iliad, though some words occur
with elevated frequency, and *slew* is slightly more common than in the KJB.

10.1.9 Grettis Saga

Grettis Saga includes many archaic stylistic elements at a high rate, especially
among the lexical items, but its grammatical archaisms are more mixed, and don't reach
the same level as the Iliad.

Grettis Saga has the most extensive adoption of archaic lexical items among any
of the 19th century texts, with over half occurring at higher rates than in the KJB
(BETWIXT, MEET, NIGH, NOUGHT, SAVE, THENCE, THITHER, WAX, WISE, WIT, and WROTH).
Three of these—BETWIXT, NOUGHT, and WISE—occur at over 20 times their KJB rates.

The archaic variants are also very common in cases of vowel alternation, but none
are exclusive: there is always competition from the modern alternative. The most-used
archaic variant, both in frequency and proportion, is *spake*, the most common of these
items in the KJB and the most widely adopted by 19th century texts generally. Among the
19th century texts, only the Iliad and the Book of Mormon show greater preference for
archaic preterite vowels.

Singular address consistently uses T, as in the other translated texts, and again the
source text is generally followed. As in the Mabinogion, there are a couple departures,
both in the direction of archaic T, an instance of hypercorrection. These both involve
reinterpretation of the textual context, and are still entirely consistent with a purely
numerical distinction: singular Y is avoided so thoroughly that even some cases that
probably should be interpreted as plural end up with T.[163] *Ye* is used consistently in
nominative settings, and there is a somewhat elevated use of affirmative DO, but when it

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[163] Though contextual ambiguity readily allows a singular interpretation, so this isn't a case of extension of
T to plural contexts, just of reinterpretation of the context as singular.

comes to the verbal morphology, modern *–s* is the preferred form: archaic *–th* is all but absent.

For idiomatic expressions, Grettis Saga makes considerable use of *COME to pass*, but there is little use of any others. Even for *COME to pass*, the KJB, the Late War, and especially the BoM far exceed Grettis Saga in their use of this phrase. Of the individual words, a few are more common than in the KJB, namely *slew*, *yea*, and especially *smote*.

10.1.10 Joseph Smith's Letters

Joseph Smith's letters are written in a mostly modern style, much like the Berean or Finney's sermons, but there is considerable variation between letters, or even sub-parts of individual letters, and some of these are characterized by particular archaisms at very high rates.

Smith's letters have elevated rates for half the lexical items, and a few (MEET, VERILY, and WISE) exceed their rates in the KJB. UNTO is also more common than most of the 19th century texts, but still not so frequent as in the Book of Mormon.

There are little data to be had for the cases of vowel alternations, but *spake* and SHEW both occur in the letters.

The use of archaic grammatical features is not extensive outside of particular triggering contexts. There is a little use of T, limited to prayer or scriptural quotation, and of *–th*. Interestingly, some contexts trigger an array of archaic features in the midst of otherwise modern text. One letter includes a prayer characterized by T pronouns, *–th*, UNTO, and SHEW. Another letter includes dictated revelations packed with lexical, grammatical, and idiomatic archaisms.

There is extensive use of several of the words idiomatic to the KJB, including *yea*, *elders*, *inheritance*, *commandment(s)*, and *brethren*, and *Verily (verily) I say unto you* occurs at a particularly high rate as well, but in just the one letter containing the revelations.

10.1.11 The Late War

The historical writing of the Late War is characterized by extensive use of archaic biblical features. In some respects it has some affinity to the translated texts, as in the

choice of some of the words that occur at elevated rates, but it lacks their polish, and aligns more with some of the religious texts in its relatively inexpert adoption of several features.

Most of the lexical items occur at an elevated rate in the Late War, with NIGH, SAVE, WAX, and WIT all more common than in the King James Bible. Some of these occur in fairly limited contexts, though: all 7 occurrences of WAX are in the phrase *the battle waxed hot*, and all but one instance of WIT are in *wist not what to X*. UNTO is not as frequent as in the Book of Mormon or the Holy Roll, but its rate is certainly higher than most of the 19th century texts. NIGH and UNTO also frequently occur together, as over half of the times NIGH occurs, it is immediately followed by UNTO. This is characteristic of the KJB as well, but there this collocation is only present for about a third of the instances of NIGH.

The Late War is fairly inconsistent in its adoption of archaic variants for the vowel alternations. There is a strong preference for the older alternative for SPEAK and GET, but on the other hand, DRIVE occurs only in its modern form, *drove*. The use of *gat* is particularly characteristic, since most 19th century texts have only *got* (*gat* does see slight use in the Iliad and Grettis Saga).

Address pronouns with T are used categorically for singular address, and verbal –*th* is used near-categorically as well. The archaic case form *ye* is kept, and in one case even shows hypercorrection, extended to an objective context. The Late War also makes exclusive use of main verb raising, eschewing DO-support altogether, unlike even the KJB.

Of words idiomatic to the KJB, a moderate number see considerable use in the Late War, including *slew* and *smote*, which are also well represented in the translated texts, as well as *thereof*, *king*, *servants*, *commanded*, and *captains*—mostly words related to the warfare described so extensively in the text, and similarly found in the many military stories of the Old Testament. The Late War also makes extensive use of biblical expressions, at a level near that of the Book of Mormon and the Holy Roll. Most noteworthy among these are *written in the book of X*, *the land of X*, and especially *COME to pass*, though its rate for *COME to pass* is still easily exceeded by the Book of Mormon.

10.2 Use of Archaic Features in 19th Century American English

The Second Great Awakening energized and transformed the early United States, leading to extensive religious experimentation and innovation, initiating major movements for social change, especially the abolition of slavery and the prohibition of alcohol, and transforming America from a secular state into a Christian nation, with religion taking up a dominant role in the national culture and intruding into the legal system as well. The King James Bible was king, and its language left a significant mark on society, imitated in historical and religious texts and quoted in literature, political speech, and more. Most writing followed modern style, with any biblical influence failing to extend to the linguistic style of the text, but some writers committed themselves to biblical pastiche, applying features from Early Modern English to their 19th century English prose.

For those texts that do make use of archaic features, there were a wide array available for use, and there was considerable variation from one text to another. Some features of KJB style seem to have left no impression on 19th century imitators. None of the texts studied here made use of neuter *his*, even though its use is highly consistent in the KJB and it appears in such influential passages as the creation account and the Sermon on the Mount. Some features were adopted, but only rarely. SHEW was embraced by only one of the 19th century writers, in Smith's Book of Mormon, and was later scrubbed from the most widely circulated version of his text. Some features were adopted very extensively. T pronouns characterize all three translations and the Late War, coexist with singular Y in the Book of Mormon and the Holy Roll, and occur in limited contexts or in biblical quotations in the remaining religious texts and even in Last of the Mohicans.

Those features that saw the most extensive use in the texts adopting archaic style are T address pronouns, the verbal *–th* suffix, *spake*, UNTO, and *COME to pass*. A selection of other archaic preterites and lexical items were also common, but the exact combination of features, and especially the selection of archaic lexemes, does not follow any clear pattern. The extreme rates for SAVE in the Book of Mormon, for BESEECH in the Mabinogion, for VERILY in the Iliad, for WISE in Grettis Saga, or for NIGH in the Late War, may come down to nothing more than which old-timey words struck a particular

author's fancy. It is apparent, however, that archaic style is characterized by a combination of numerous features used together, not by any one magic bullet.

These archaic features, though kept familiar by texts like the KJB and seeing continuing use by historians, translators, and religious figures, were nonetheless alien to their 19th century users, and the ways they are used often suggest a discomfort in their use on the part of the authors. Barlow, for example, argues that Smith's use of KJB language followed the precedent of earlier translation and revelation, but that it was inexpert, and mingled archaic language with his own contemporary grammar and vocabulary (Barlow 1991: 27). Often, where an archaic feature is used categorically in the KJB, the 19th century writers have a mixed adoption, using the archaic feature, but not to the exclusion of the modern variant that replaced it. The KJB uses the archaic –th suffix consistently, but for those modern texts that adopt it (The Book of Mormon, the Holy Roll, the Iliad, and the Late War), all retain some use of modern –s as well. The Book of Mormon and Holy Roll both include some use of singular Y along with their adoption of archaic T. Modern preterites with <o> occur alongside archaic ones with <a>. The 19th century grammar has not been replaced by a 16th or 17th century one, but rather overlaid by it, and the two systems coexist in the writer's mind.

There are also cases where the modern writers seem to overshoot the mark, creating unconvincing imitations of the source style not by failure to fully adopt archaic features, but by adopting them to too great a degree. These hypercorrections include features used at an extremely high rate, such as the prevalence of SAVE and *COME to pass* in the Book of Mormon; the use of BESEECH in the Mabinogion, BETWIXT in Grettis Saga, and NIGH in the Late War; and the use of affirmative DO in the BoM, the Holy Roll, and the Iliad. They also include the extension of archaic features to contexts where even the KJB would not have used them, and where a more modern alternative would have been more appropriate, such as the use of *ye* in object contexts where *you* is expected, the use of T pronouns for plural address where Y is expected, and the use of –th on verbs with plural or 1st person subjects where the unmarked form is expected.

In some cases, the fusion of biblical English with that of 19th century America resulted in interesting and innovative creations distinct both from the Early Modern English of the KJB and from the contemporary English of early America. One example

of this is Campbell's blend of KJB structures with contemporary words in the Living Oracles, resulting in phrases such as *Alas for you* and *Indeed I say to you*. Even more intriguing are Smith's pioneering uses of prepositional SAVE, padding its complements with intervening expletive clauses and extending it semantically to a new meaning.

10.3 King James Style and 19th Century Genres

One of the possibilities investigated here was that the biblical stylings in the Book of Mormon were part of a larger religious mode of expression—that early 19th century American Christians were so immersed in the language of the King James Bible that it permeated their texts on religious topics. The analysis of the Living Oracles, the Berean, and the sermons of Charles G. Finney shows this is not the case. These texts show very limited stylistic influence from the King James Bible. Most biblical features are limited to direct Bible quotations, and the original material is almost entirely devoid of archaic features. On the other hand, both the Book of Mormon and the Holy Roll show extensive biblical influence on their style, so the Book of Mormon is not the only religious text from the period to imitate the language of the KJB. The archaic style of the KJB thus appears to characterize a subset of religious texts rather than religious writing in general, in spite of the pervasive influence of the Bible in the American *zeitgeist*.

Another apparent aspect of the relationship between archaic style and genre was the sizeable difference between the translated texts and the others in the investigation. This is complicated by the national difference, as all three translations were made by British English speakers, whereas the other 19th century texts are American. But probably more important here is the difference in education and background among the writers. The translators had training in ancient languages and linguistics, and were probably drawing from a larger pool of inspirational texts than just the KJB, while the religious writers who made the most extensive use of biblical archaisms, Joseph Smith and Philemon Stewart, both had very limited formal education. Traxel has noted a sharp divide in current attempts to reproduce archaic English between amateurs and scholars with training in the history of English (Traxel 2012: 43). Guest, Newman, and Morris had a relatively clear understanding of how the grammar of Early Modern English worked, and could reproduce it more convincingly. Smith and Stewart had their own

interpretations, gleaned intuitively from their readings of the King James Bible, and not much else. It is unsurprising that their works would tend to be marked by more incomplete adoption of biblical features, and alternatively hypercorrections and innovations, rather than fairly consistent adherence to standardized Early Modern English grammatical rules (though even the translated texts tend to fall short of the grammatical consistency in the 1769 KJB text). The dearth of KJB idiomatic expressions in the translated texts, compared to the Book of Mormon, Holy Roll, and Late War, is also consistent with the translators drawing on a wider array of sources, while the American writers were trying to reproduce the style of one single text: the King James Bible.

Another possibility was that Joseph Smith adopted a biblical style for his writing in general, immersing himself so fully in the language of the KJB that it became his normal means of expression. His use of biblical style is certainly not limited to the Book of Mormon alone, but an investigation of his personal letters from the early 1830s shows that his normal style was still contemporary 19th century English. He would slip into biblical style when the situation called for it, but otherwise returned to the language of his own time.

Still another possibility, put forward especially by some recent critics of the Book of Mormon, is that he drew his style from contemporary historical writings in the biblical style, especially Gilbert Hunt's Late War. The Book of Mormon does share some stylistic characteristics with the Late War. Both make extensive use of T and –*th*, but this doesn't set them apart, as these are common to most texts employing archaic style. Features such as SAVE and *COME to pass* are highly elevated in both the Book of Mormon and the Late War compared to the other texts, but the Book of Mormon takes their frequency far beyond that of the Late War. Some of the most distinctive features of the Book of Mormon are not particularly prominent in the Late War, such as the extreme use of affirmative DO in periphrastic preterites, the remarkably high rate for *yea*, or the innovative complement selection, use of dummy clauses, and expanded semantics of prepositional SAVE. While it is possible that Smith read the Late War and was influenced by its use of certain biblical features, the similarities between the two texts on stylistic grounds are not so great compared to the other 19th century texts as to make this seem

necessary. The shared reliance on the English of the KJB could surely account for their similarities, and also the similarities shared by the Book of Mormon and the Holy Roll.

10.4 Motivations for Using Archaic Biblical Style

One important question to consider is why a writer in the early 19th century would want to write like someone from over two centuries before, and why some adopted features of this archaic style while others did not. The differences in genre, and the various purposes of the texts, make it probable that several different motivations played a role in the continuation of KJB style.

For the translated texts, the most likely motivation for adopting archaic style was to convey the antiquity of the stories they contain. The extraneous or unfamiliar nature of the outmoded words put the story in distant, foreign time, and since grammatical features occur with such frequency, the reminders of this temporal separation are continually there to reinforce this impression on the reader. The most enthusiastically adopted feature in these texts, T address pronouns, comes with the added benefit of preserving a grammatical distinction in the source texts—one that modern English does not. An informed reader has a more direct window into the thinking of the original authors, able to identify nuanced distinctions in who is or is not being addressed throughout the story. This benefit is also present, indeed, in the King James Bible text itself. Modern translations which use only Y pronouns do not convey the complex intricacies of number shifting in the Sermon on the Mount, for example, or the denunciations of Capernaum and Jerusalem.

In addition to a sense of age, the biblical style also bestowed a certain gravitas to texts. The Late War and other contemporary history texts that drew on KJB style were not ancient texts, and were not being translated into English, but since the Bible was held in such high regard as a document that was necessarily right and true, its language felt authoritative and could be used to establish the truth and legitimacy of these modern authors' claims and political viewpoints (Shalev 2010: 801). Early Americans envisioned numerous parallels between their new nation and the ancient world, drawing on notions of a virtuous Roman republic, a democratic and free Anglo-Saxon society, and a Hebrew nation led through tribulation to inherit their promised land (Shalev 2010: 818). America

was perceived, especially in the midst of crisis, in biblical terms, with themes of apocalypse dominating during wars, divine judgment during natural disasters, and redemption during the societal changes of the Civil War (Hatch & Noll 1982: 10). Hunt used biblical language to establish his credentials as an authoritative source and to grant biblical significance to the events of the nation's latest conflict. Samuel Mitchell, a respected physician and science teacher at Columbia College,[164] gave his endorsement to the 1819 reprint of the Late War, suggesting another benefit of its biblical imitation:

> It seems to me one of the best attempts to imitate the biblical style; and if the perusal of it can induce young persons to relish and love the sacred books whose language you have imitated, it will be the strongest of all recommendations. (Hunt 1819: iv–v)

The Living Oracles was also a translation, but Campbell deliberately eschewed the archaic style (though some vestiges of it remained in spite of his modern intentions), replacing antiquated features with contemporary 19th century grammar. Of course, there was no need to produce a biblical translation in archaic English, as such a translation already existed in the KJB itself. It was the most familiar and widely available version of the text in America at the time, and in fact has remained so to the present day, in spite of increased competition from newer 20th century translations. Campbell's intention was to update the language of the Bible, so as to prevent misunderstandings due to the changes in English between the KJB's translation and his own day (Campbell 1828: iv), and an archaic style was not necessary for this. He also had no need to draw on the sense of authority implied by biblical style. The Bible text inherently carried a weighty sense of authority within his society, and the use of archaic English in the KJB was a major factor in giving archaic English its prestige in the first place. Noyes and Finney also used a modern style rather than adopting that of the KJB, attempting to persuade their audiences by reason and eloquence, and drawing authority by quotation and interpretation of the Bible rather than use of its grammar or idiom.

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[164] Mitchell was also involved tangentially in the production of the Book of Mormon. When Martin Harris went looking for scholarly confirmation of Smith's translation, he first approached Mitchell, and it was Mitchell who directed him to Charles Anthon (Brodie 1983 [1945]: 51).

Smith's Book of Mormon is not like these other 19th century religious texts. He lacked the credentials of Campbell, Noyes, or Finney, with their ministerial training and recognition within the Christian community. His text was presented as a translation of ancient scripture, just like the Bible, but it lacked the Bible's history of authoritative religious use stretching back over the better part of two millennia, and the original source texts were not available for anyone else to examine. Its claims to status as a new work of scripture tended to attract more distrust than reverence. Establishing the authority of the text was of critical importance, and that authority could not come from the text's heritage or from the man who produced it. Perhaps, though, it could come from the esteem granted to the language of the King James Bible.

In this Smith could use the features of another language style to project an identity other than his own. The Book of Mormon could read not as the work of a poor Yankee farm boy, but as the product of an inspired biblical prophet, writing on behalf of the almighty God. To the degree that he could match the idiom of the King James Bible, his use of its archaic features would hopefully lead readers to impute a similarly authoritative status to the book's author on matters of religious import (Coupland 2007: 17). Smith's use of archaic style in his personal letters lends further support to the idea that he treated it as a way to actively project a desired identity. He wrote for the most part in a more familiar rural 19th century style, but when the context called for a prophetic tone, he put on the mantle of biblical language, and used an array of archaic features together, such as the use of T, –*th*, UNTO, and SHEW in prayers, or the use of T, *ye*, –*th*, SHEW, and numerous lexemes and idiomatic expressions in revelations expressed in the voice of God.

Stewart's Holy Roll and Book shares a very similar character to the Book of Mormon. It too was presented as a work of newly revealed scripture, though in this case it was not a translation of the writings of ancient prophets, but rather an original 19th century prophecy. Stewart, like Smith, had little status in the contemporary religious community. His sacred text, like the Book of Mormon but to a lesser degree, is written in the idiom of the King James Bible, and again, the most likely reason for this is an attempt to project an authoritative prophetic identity, giving readers a reason to take the text

seriously.[165] In this endeavor, Stewart was less successful than Smith. He was operating within an established religious organization rather than founding a new movement, and found himself in conflict with the Shaker leadership. Shortly after its publication, the Holy Roll dropped out of the spotlight, and it had little lasting effect on the church. It survives today as no more than a historical religious curiosity.

The Book of Mormon has followed a very different trajectory. Mormons remain a minority religion, little understood by most of society, but there are nonetheless millions of members within the United States and abroad, including beloved entertainers, influential business leaders, and politicians—even serious presidential candidates. The Book of Mormon is widely read and quoted within this subculture, and joins the King James Bible in promoting a continued familiarity with a religious adaptation of Early Modern English. A limited use of archaic features is encouraged, primarily in the form of T pronouns in prayers, but other less original use, such as in devotional recitation of scriptural passages, is common as well.

This biblical style, with T, verbs ending in –*th*, *COME to pass, yea,* UNTO, and other archaic words, continues to see imitation in dramatization and parody of prophetic speech. As the use of pseudo-archaic speech expands through modern media such as online discussion groups, Renaissance fairs, historical reenactments, and parodies of historical or Shakespearean dialogue in film and television, the works of Shakespeare and the King James Bible will probably remain the primary models of archaic speech, but popular adaptations of older works and influential imitations such as the Book of Mormon will play a supporting role as well.

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[165] Another indication of the importance of establishing the credibility of both texts was the inclusion of testimonials. In the Holy Roll, the entire second part was made up of other visionaries in the Shaker community adding their own revelations as endorsements of the text's legitimacy. Smith included prepared statements from eleven witnesses, eight of whom claimed to have seen the plates of the source text, and three of whom claimed to have also seen an angel and heard the voice of God informing them of the text's divine provenance.

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APPENDIX

Table 62: Lexeme Token Counts

	KJB	BoM	Holy Roll	Oracles	Berean	Finney
BEGET	264	52	15	63	18	15
BESEECH	70	4	3	43	2	4
BETWIXT	16	5	0	0	0	1
GIRD	78	10	4	9	1	2
MEET	29	6	2	0	1	0
NIGH	100	10	9	23	13	2
NOUGHT	39	18	23	1	0	1
PRIVY	19	4	0	3	0	0
PROVE	35	2	7	7	0	0
SAVE	58	195	22	1	3	0
THENCE	145	11	0	27	6	0
THITHER	98	15	0	24	0	2
UNTO	10104	3590	511	0	223	15
VERILY	140	74	11	0	20	3
WAX	72	37	1	0	4	2
WISE	31	17	5	0	2	1
WIT	27	2	0	0	2	0
WROTH	49	24	1	1	0	0
	COHA	Mab.	Iliad	Grettis	JS Letters	Late War
BEGET	129	0	12	0	0	0
BESEECH	805	44	3	0	1	1
BETWIXT	320	4	37	48	0	0
GIRD	317	0	14	9	0	1
MEET	398	2	5	12	6	2
NIGH	1742	3	6	41	3	54
NOUGHT	1159	7	20	104	1	2
PRIVY	284	0	0	1	0	0
PROVE	1	1	4	0	2	0
SAVE	804	20	9	10	2	6
THENCE	1759	35	16	27	0	1
THITHER	1380	11	36	30	0	3
UNTO	3509	260	304	24	137	169
VERILY	669	56	89	0	20	8
WAX	357	1	3	14	1	7
WISE	13	9	4	63	3	2
WIT	104	0	0	15	0	4
WROTH	25	12	7	14	0	1

Table 63: Vowel Alternation Token Counts

	KJB	BoM	Holy Roll	Oracles	Berean	Finney
bare/bore	177/0	5/3	0/6	1/6	4/0	0/0
brake/broke	78/0	3/5	2/0	0/16	1/1	0/1
drave/drove	13/8	0/7	0/0	0/11	0/1	0/0
gat/got	20/5	0/5	0/0	0/5	0/2	0/0
begat/begot	225/0	41/0	0/0	0/40	0/1	2/0
forgat/forgot	8/0	0/1	0/1	0/0	0/0	0/1
spake/spoke	597/0	170/0	8/2	0/77	7/7	1/1
sware/swore	83/0	2/4	1/0	0/7	0/0	0/0
tare/tore	4/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0
ware/wore	1/0	0/0	0/1	0/3	0/0	0/0
LADE/LOAD	10/2	0/1	0/2	1/2	1/3	0/5
SHEW/SHOW	405/0	148/13	9/47	0/76	0/94	0/76
	COHA	Mab.	Iliad	Grettis	JS Letters	Late War
bare/bore	38/2113	0/7	81/1	2/22	0/1	0/4
brake/broke	17/3569	0/22	6/5	10/8	0/1	0/4
drave/drove	6/1681	0/4	33/7	27/8	0/0	0/16
gat/got	11/5567	0/6	6/0	18/107	0/1	17/1
begat/begot	37/21	0/0	11/0	0/0	0/0	0/0
forgat/forgot	2/1927	0/0	5/0	0/0	0/0	2/1
spake/spoke	570/8381	11/39	487/1	44/4	2/0	18/0
sware/swore	5/769	0/0	6/0	0/2	0/0	0/1
tare/tore	3/686	0/1	5/1	0/7	0/0	0/0
ware/wore	0/2652	0/6	0/5	0/0	0/0	0/0
LADE/LOAD	45/1539	0/1	2/2	0/2	0/1	0/0
SHEW/SHOW	1268/20027	5/41	0/28	0/49	9/11	0/3

Table 64: Grammatical Feature Token Counts (smaller samples)

	KJB	BoM	Holy Roll	Oracles	Berean	Finney
T	1216	203	110	46	30	10
Singular Y	<19	14	13	259	2	120
Plural Y	736	136	128	437	60	22
–th verbs	410	190	91	0	28	10
–s verbs	0	27	22	203	174	288
–st verbs	193	56	13	6	5	4
raised ?	74	15	0	14	0	0
DO ?	29	10	14	50	4	11
raised neg.	174	28	25	84	17	5
DO neg.	21	23	15	18	8	24
aff. DO	71	226	39	1	2	5
neuter *his*	23	0	0	0	0	0
its	0	3	5	9	33	21
human *which*	143	5	2	0	3	1
who	62	105	77	183	34	29
	LotM	Mab.	Iliad	Grettis	JS Letters	Late War
T	3	174	201	136	17	19
Singular Y	122	0	1	1	156	0
Plural Y	34	11	27	28	186	27
–th verbs	8	2	81	3	34	79
–s verbs	87	33	14	113	119	5
–st verbs	0	42	51	31	1	3
raised ?	11	2	7	2	0	2
DO ?	6	0	6	5	5	0
raised neg.	14	7	20	8	20	47
DO neg.	5	10	2	7	14	0
aff. DO	5	7	57	12	1	2
neuter *his*	1	0	0	0	0	0
its	58	8	8	1	5	8
human *which*	1	0	0	0	1	1
who	87	34	161	68	74	54

Table 65: Idiomatic Expression Token Count

	KJB	BoM	Holy Roll	Oracles	Berean	Finney
say unto[166]	2245	703	53	0	36	2
come to pass	598	1442	16	15	1	1
written in	66	3	1	7	0	0
the land of	559	430	6	12	5	0
X answered	81	3	3	0	4	0
the son of	75	11	0	0	0	0
verily I say	67	44	4	0	11	0
when they had	58	20	1	12	0	0
woe unto	57	46	4	0	0	0
loud voice	47	9	4	18	1	0
in the midst	209	25	18	18	5	3
be fulfilled	60	64	18	18	16	0
	COHA	Mab.	Iliad	Grettis	JS Letters	Late War
say unto	192	16	1	0	22	17
come to pass	247	0	0	13	3	83
written in	20	0	0	0	3	5
the land of	917	3	6	0	15	51
X answered	0	0	0	0	0	2
the son of	5	0	0	4	0	0
verily I say	9	0	0	0	12	0
when they had	57	14	0	4	1	0
woe unto	35	0	0	0	0	1
loud voice	54	0	0	0	0	1
in the midst	2607	10	1	1	5	3
be fulfilled	319	2	0	1	3	1

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[166] The expressions are abbreviated here to fit. The full forms are as follows: *SAY unto X*; *COME to pass*; *Written in the book of X*; *The land of X*; *X answered and said unto Y*; *Which was the son of X*; *Verily (verily) I say unto you*; *And when they had X*; *Woe unto X*; *With a loud voice*; *In the midst of X*; *BE fulfilled*.

Table 66: Idiomatic Word Use Token Count

	KJB	BoM	Holy Roll	Oracles	Berean	Finney
whosoever	183	79	20	31	34	1
commandment(s)	345	248	40	70	35	18
thereof	884	157	38	3	7	2
slew	188	26	2	11	2	0
smote	223	29	2	5	1	0
hosts	250	64	19	2	2	0
lord	7611	1564	543	582	111	10
sons	1076	165	7	51	54	0
elders	178	9	3	54	3	8
reigned	174	14	0	6	1	1
yea	335	1235	53	0	7	1
wherefore	338	414	7	115	16	1
inheritance	237	58	1	17	3	1
behold	1261	1629	73	133	12	4
	COHA	Mab.	Iliad	Grettis	JS Letters	Late War
whosoever	125	10	3	2	0	0
commandment(s)	338	0	9	0	45	2
thereof	1039	21	0	61	17	97
slew	331	41	40	19	0	21
smote	442	1	34	51	0	10
hosts	523	25	8	0	3	4
lord	18158	251	53	8	234	22
sons	2579	30	87	40	2	21
elders	431	0	9	1	15	0
reigned	475	2	1	0	0	1
yea	952	2	29	36	27	17
wherefore	969	48	35	7	2	2
inheritance	685	1	0	1	27	3
behold	4151	143	41	10	23	30