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Abstract: *Much of the earliest Book of Mormon language which has been regarded as nonstandard through the years is not. Furthermore, when 150 years' worth of emendations are stripped away,[1] the grammar presents extensive evidence of its Early Modern English character, independent in many cases from the King James Bible. This paper argues that this character stems from its divine translation.*

Preliminary remarks

This article provides additional solid evidence in favor of Skousen's TIGHT CONTROL view of Book of Mormon translation and that the words of the text were revealed to Joseph Smith from the Lord (see 2 Nephi 27:11, 19–24). Skousen came to this view after scrutinizing the manuscripts, the printed editions, and internal and external textual evidence over many years (see, for example, "How Joseph Smith Translated the Book of Mormon: Evidence from the Original Manuscript"[2] and *Analysis of Textual Variants*[3]). His approach is abundantly supported by many cases of obsolete Early Modern English and even some non-English, Hebrew-like constructions that

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1   Royal Skousen, ed., *The Book of Mormon: The Earliest Text* (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 2009).

2   Royal Skousen, "How Joseph Smith Translated the Book of Mormon: Evidence from the Original Manuscript," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 7.1 (1998): 24ff.

3   Royal Skousen, *Analysis of Textual Variants of the Book of Mormon*, 6 Parts, (Provo, UT: FARMS and BYU, 2004–09). These will be referenced within the text by part and page, for example ATV 6: 3589–90.

exist in the earliest English text of the Book of Mormon and whose syntax would have been unknown to Joseph Smith and his scribes.

> [Skousen's Earliest Text of the Book of Mormon[4] — the "Yale edition" — is used throughout this study. For date ranges of Early Modern English, some scholars use 1470 to 1670, others 1500 to 1700, and there are other opinions as well. As for **late** Middle English, it began during the early 1300s and ended sometime in the late 1400s. **Boldface** will often be used in this article for emphasis since so many word forms are *italicized*. And SMALL CAPS is often used to indicate pregnant meaning or to highlight various word forms in examples. The following abbreviations are used throughout much of this article: Book of Mormon (BofM), King James Version of the Bible (KJV), *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED),[5] *Analysis of Textual Variants* (ATV), Modern English (ModE), Early Modern English (EModE), Middle English (ME).]

Introduction

Early assessments of the quality of the English language of the Book of Mormon were largely dismissive. Many criticisms were merely unsubstantiated, derisive comments lacking in analysis, sometimes made for comic effect, while others were more substantive but still without an awareness of older English beyond that found in the King James Bible.[6] A close syntactic

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4   Skousen, *The Book of Mormon: The Earliest Text*.

5   *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., on CD-ROM, v.4 (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2009).

6   See, e.g., E. D. Howe, *Mormonism Unvailed* (Painesville, OH: E. D. Howe, 1834), 23–24; Mark Twain, *Roughing It* (Hartford, CT: American, 1872), 127–28, 135; and Bernard DeVoto, "The Centennial of Mormonism." *The American*

examination of the language of the BofM, however, reveals that the quality of English in the book is excellent and even sophisticated. But because in many cases it is English that we don't use today, it seems to the casual observer to be deficient in many ways. The English certainly is very frequently different from and foreign to current modes of expression. But it turns out to be nonstandard only sporadically. When we consider more advanced syntax, such as the nominative absolute construction (discussed later in this article), nested structures (3 Nephi 5:14;[7] Jacob 1:10–11 [see below]; 3 Nephi 7:12), and command syntax or causative constructions (hundreds of these in the text, with usage strikingly different from that of the KJV), we find the BofM to be quite elaborate in its patterns of use.

Beyond fairly routine, shallow, derogatory statements about BofM language, we note that B. H. Roberts, who was largely (and admirably) self-educated, showed concern for "errors in grammar and diction" apparent in the text.[8] He viewed imputing "such errors to God [as] unthinkable, not to say blasphemous."[9] Yet Roberts — with good motives but no expertise in Early Modern English — fell prey, as many of us do, to the allure of grammatical prescriptivism. And by asserting what he did, he put constraints on the Lord, imposing specific choices. We hardly need to remind ourselves that God has supreme intelligence and that we are limited by human understanding. With that in mind, it is right to be expansive in

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Mercury 19.73 (1930: 5); and compare E. B. T. Spencer "Note on the Book of Mormon." *The Methodist Review.* Ed. William V. Kelley. Vol. 87 — 5ᵗʰ series, Vol. 21. New York: Eaton & Mains, (1905: 33–38), who made many specific criticisms that clearly reveal, however, a lack of knowledge of Early Modern English.

7   See Royal Skousen, "The Original Language of the Book of Mormon: Upstate New York Dialect, King James English, or Hebrew?" *Journal of Book Mormon Studies 3.1* (1994): 33.

8   B. H. Roberts, "Translation of the Book of Mormon." *Improvement Era* 9.6 (1906), 428–29.

9   See also Skousen, "How Joseph Smith Translated the Book of Mormon: Evidence from the Original Manuscript," 28.

our acceptance of grammatical possibilities within the book and grant that the Lord could have intentionally made a translation using forms that are nonstandard in Modern English; and he also could have allowed dialectal forms to enter the first written text. Indeed, he has permitted many incorrect and unnecessary emendations (largely inconsequential) to become part of the fabric of the book's text through the years.[10] Because of the frequency and number of subsequent substantive edits through the decades, we conclude that Moroni did not instruct Joseph Smith against making such changes to the text. So the Lord knew it would happen through the years, and though aware of the loss of meaning that some of the faulty emendations entailed, he has waited patiently for them to be corrected, in all likelihood because they have not been doctrinally significant.[11]

God chose the language variety that was delivered to Joseph Smith, despite its archaic and obsolete character, consistent with his divine purposes. But still, many of us, like B. H. Roberts, have tended to doubt the quality of the textual language through the centuries because some of the older forms in the book look wrong or sound bad to us, even from the perspective of the KJV. A portion of that doubt stems from the fact that we don't have a linguist's knowledge of KJV language, but more of it derives from the fact that we aren't

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10   For example, *striped* changed to *stripped* (Alma 11:2) in 1840 — see Royal Skousen, *Analysis of Textual Variants of the Book of Mormon: Part 3* (Provo, UT: FARMS and BYU, 2007), 1802–04.

11   See Royal Skousen, "The Original Text of the Book of Mormon and its Publication by Yale University Press," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 7 (2013): 81. Yet when considered together, the hundreds of faulty emendations do add up to something. So it behooves us, going forward, to use throughout the Church a version of the BofM that is closer to the one God initially provided for us. I advocate using Skousen's 2009 Yale edition as a base text for such an endeavor. With the textual analysis capabilities of our present era, we can now make consistent substantive edits and in a limited way standardize the Earliest Text, noting such changes. In addition, valuable notes and glosses could be provided in order to point out to readers EModE meanings and syntax as well as conjectural emendations.

experts in EModE (both comprehensible positions). As a result, we've missed some arcane linguistic correspondences between the KJV and the BofM, but what is more important, we haven't realized that many ostensibly defective forms reflect usage from earlier stages of the English language. Most of these are clearly attested in the textual record of EModE and even late ME — some frequently, some rarely.[12]

It's important and helpful to bear in mind that the original BofM language is, generally speaking, only nonstandard from our standpoint, centuries after the Elizabethan era, which appears to be the epicenter of the book's syntax. To be clear, I still allow for a small portion of the language of the BofM to be the result of human error, on the part of Smith and scribe, what Skousen calls DIALECTAL OVERLAY. But many words and phrases initially found in the text, which we have thought to be American dialectal idiosyncrasies, are not. Many of the nonstandard ModE word forms and phrases emended through the years are simply examples of typical EModE. (Please note that I do not call these examples cases of **standard** EModE, since it's doubtful that there was a standard at that stage of the English language — see below.)

The impetus for most of the edits that the BofM has suffered through the decades has been to "clean up" the language and make it more closely conform to a ModE standard. It's perhaps ironic that through the years emendations have removed language that clearly points to the objective impossibility of Joseph Smith being able to either compose the book or put it into his own language. It has obscured our ability to see that it is, in large part, an EModE text.

While ascribing some "nonstandard" language to deity is against Roberts's view of over a century ago, this reality is not

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12   Skousen has pointed this out (see, Skousen, "The Original Language of the Book of Mormon: Upstate New York Dialect, King James English, or Hebrew?" 29–30 [with some KJV examples]; 2009: xxxvii–xxxix; 2013: 90–93).

problematic to faithful views of the text's provenance. By virtue of his supremely intelligent nature, the Lord must be viewed as having native-speaker competence in all language varieties and being fully capable of putting together the English text of the BofM with its normal if extensive linguistic variation. Skousen has asserted "that since God is not … a respecter of tongues, he is perfectly willing to speak to his 'servants in their weakness, after the manner of their language, that they might come to understanding' " (quoting D&C 1:24).[13] In other words, the Lord doesn't discriminate against linguistic variation or the intrinsic worth of different languages and dialects (when not used in an evil way, for evil purposes). Therefore, had another time and place been right for the publication of the BofM, or another style of language, then another language (variety) could have been chosen.

The notion of nonstandard in relation to Early Modern English

With those introductory remarks, we now review some recent statements about the idea of NONSTANDARD as it relates to earlier stages of English. Hickey notes that the "modern notion of standard English is an eighteenth-century development which builds on formal usage prior to that. The prescriptivism which arose at this time led to the social marginalisation of dialects and their literature."[14] Claridge and Kytö observe that the "concept of 'non-standard' remains somewhat fuzzy during the Early Modern English period. Language change and especially ongoing standardization can make it difficult

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13   Skousen, "The Original Language of the Book of Mormon: Upstate New York Dialect, King James English, or Hebrew?" 31–32. See also Skousen, "How Joseph Smith Translated the Book of Mormon," 31.

14   Raymond Hickey, "Linguistic evaluation of earlier texts," *Varieties of English in Writing*, Raymond Hickey, ed. (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2010), 1.

to pin down an individual feature at any given time as clearly non-standard."[15]

The goal of standardization has always been to achieve maximal functional capacity with minimal variation in form. In other words, a lexical or syntactic STANDARD is one that can be used in a maximum number of contexts with variation kept to a minimum — variation in vocabulary, spelling, grammar.[16] Prescriptivists want to eliminate variation, but that is never possible in spoken language or in extended written texts, nor is it desirable. The BofM exhibits plenty of variation, and that is the result of its being a natural language translation. God conveyed the important eternal truths and doctrines found in the text after the manner of an earlier stage of English — a human language full of both free variation and principled variation. And of course we must conclude that he chose not to reduce or eliminate the variation.

The KJV seemingly has less variation, but that is due in part to the KJV translation committees consciously working to reduce it, and also the result of standardization over time since its initial publication in 1611. Take, for example, *thou saidest/saidst*. There is one of each in the (Earliest Text of the) BofM: Alma 11:25 and Helaman 11:14. In contrast, there are 21 instances of *saidst* in the KJV Old Testament, but no variant forms. So is the KJV a purer, better text than the BofM? Is the BofM faulty or defective in this regard? We can answer this question with a decisive no.

We currently read a cleaned-up, **standardized** version of the KJV (and the BofM as well [the current, partially regularized

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15   Claudia Claridge and Merja Kytö, "Non-standard language and earlier English," *Varieties of English in Writing*, Raymond Hickey, ed., (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2010), 15.

16   Skousen has standardized the spelling as if Smith had had one scribe throughout the translation who consistently had first-rate spelling knowledge and ability. Thus he controlled what are called the **accidentals**, but not the **substantives**.

text of the BofM has two instances of only *saidst*]). The **1611** Old Testament had 13 instances of *saidst* (the "standard" form), 4 of *saidest*, 3 of *saydst*, and 1 of *saydest* (Job 35:2). That verb form has been completely standardized in the biblical text, in both spelling and phonology. An example of incomplete standardization is *riches*. In Jeremiah 48:36 we now read "because the **riches** that he hath gotten **are** perished." But in the 1611 original this reads "**is** perished", since *riches* coming out of the ME period was singular, being derived from Old French *richesse* (singular) = 'wealth'. Indeed, Revelation 18:17 still shows the singular usage (with archaic auxiliary selection): "For in one hour so great **riches is** come to nought."[17] And so we have incomplete syntactic standardization still to be found in the venerable KJV.

With that in mind we now consider some forms found in the BofM which are generally accepted to be nonstandard. Skousen mentions three in one of his earlier articles on BofM usage:[18]

in *them* days [Helaman 13:37] (*in them days* 2×: Helaman 7:8)

I had *smote* [1 Nephi 4:19] (*had smote* 3×: Alma 20:30; Ether 15:31)

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17   Here are some EModE examples from the OED showing *riches* clearly used in the singular:

1535 Stewart *Cron. Scot.* I. 449 Ʒour **riches** thus **is** waistit and euill waird. **1590** Lodge *Euphues Gold. Leg.* B 4 b, **Riches** (Saladyne) **is** a great royalty, & there is no sweeter phisick than store. **1604** Shakes. *Oth.* III. iii. 173 But **Riches** finelesse **is** as poore as Winter, To him that euer feares he shall be poore. **1606** B. Barnes *Offices* I. 2 **It** [*sc.* **riches**] **is** the bone of that strong arme, by which the kingdome is in time of peace strengthened against all hostile attempts. **1607** J. Carpenter Spir. Plough 209 All that copie or **riches**..**is** nought else but extreame povertie. **1667** Waterhouse *Fire London* 30 **This riches**..was as well devoured by the Suburbian thieves.

18   Skousen, "The Original Language of the Book of Mormon: Upstate New York Dialect, King James English, or Hebrew?" 30.

> they *was* yet wroth [1 Nephi 4:4] (*they was* 5×:
> Mosiah 18:17; 29:36; Alma 9:31; 9:32)

These deserve a second look. Are these nonstandard forms? From a ModE perspective, they certainly are. Are they clearly attested in EModE? Yes. Must they necessarily be regarded as the intrusion of upstate New York dialect in the translation process?[19] No, they don't have to be at all.

Demonstrative *them*

First we consider *in them days*. The use of demonstrative *them* has been an American nonstandard dialect form for some time, but it actually arose at least in the 16th century in England and was part of **formal** usage in that time period. It simply wasn't "adopted into the codified standard of British English which emerged during the eighteenth century and which was shaped by the strictures of normative grammars which were published at that time."[20] In the OED we see these three early "nonstandard" examples of the demonstrative used after a preposition and with a following noun:[21]

> **1596** H. Clapham *Bible Hist.* 92 To Samaria and **them partes**. **1598** Barret *Theor. Warres* I. i. 4 The warres and weapons are now altered from **them dayes**. **1621** Ainsworth *Annot. Pentat. Gen.* xviii. 6 Foure of **them Logs** make a Kab.

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19   The possible intrusion of dialectal forms is an example of what Skousen's tight control view of BofM translation might have allowed: as Joseph Smith dictated the text to his scribe, with a resulting human error in seeing, reading, hearing, or writing (see Skousen, "How Joseph Smith Translated the Book of Mormon," 24).

20   Hickey, "Linguistic evaluation of earlier texts," 5.

21   The relevant dictionary entry is [**them**, *pers. pron.* 5]. The OED provides two early nominative uses as well (such uses are absent in the BofM):

  1607 Topsell *Four-f. Beasts* (1658) 126 **Them** few [**dogs**] which be kept must be tyed up in the day time. **1610** Healey *Vives' Comment St. Aug. Citie of God* xii. xvi, Augustine… saith that **them times** were called eternall.

The 1598 quotation shows the use of *them dayes*, just as we see twice in the BofM.

"Apart from the fact that there was no unambiguous standard at that time, one can only say that [these quotations] are from contexts which make a careful and formal use of language very likely."[22] So while it isn't accurate to call *them days* **standard** EModE usage (because of the absence of a standard), we can properly view it as formal EModE usage. It thus fits well in the BofM text. So it is reasonable to surmise that *them days* was indeed transmitted to Joseph Smith twice; there was probably no inadvertent conversion of *those days* by Smith or scribe into dialectal *them days* in the scribal transmission process. While its use may grate on our prescriptivist nerves, *them days* can reasonably be viewed as an intentional part of the translation.

By way of a brief aside, this article singles out for discussion examples that appear to be ungrammatical or nonstandard. Much of the time, however, the superficial grammar of the Earliest Text actually seems **standard** from a ModE perspective. A case in point is the phrase type we've just been discussing: *in them* + plural noun phrase. The BofM has **more** examples of the ModE standard: *in those cities/traditions/signs/lands/circumstances.* And *those* was also used in this way in the KJV and more generally in EModE.[23]

Levelled past-participial verb forms

Next we consider *I had smote*. To many of us, *smote* seems to be a past-tense verb form **defectively** used in a pluperfect construction. The KJV doesn't use *smote* in this way. From

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22   Claridge and Kytö, "Non-standard language and earlier English," 30.

23   Here are two examples of *in those days* taken from the OED:
1571 Golding *Calvin on Ps.* xlix. 5 It was a customable matter **in those dayes** to sing Psalmes to the harp. **1611** Bible *2 Kings* x. 32 **In those dayes** the Lord began to cut Israel short [*margin*, Hebr. to cut off the ends].

the perspective of that important biblical text, past-participial *smote* is a grammatical error; it seems like *smitten* should have been used in 1 Nephi 4:19 (and in Alma 17:39; 20:30; 26:29; 51:20; Ether 15:31). Indeed, in the latest LDS edition there is only standardized *smitten* in these contexts, a clear reflection of that view. But *smote* is specifically noted in the OED as functioning as a **past participle** for centuries in English, beginning in the 16th century. The OED contains about 10 examples of this usage. Here are two representative quotations from that dictionary, one with *smote* used in the passive voice,[24] one with *smote* used in the active voice:

> **1597** Beard *Theatre God's Judgm.* (1612) 309 He caused..the Citie of the Priests to **be smote** with the edge of the sword. **1658** Manton *Exp. Jude* verse 3. Wks. 1871 V. 98 The goose-quill **hath smote** antichrist under the fifth rib.[25]

As a result, we are justified in thinking that *smote* is the correctly translated word.

Again, this paper focuses on exceptional word forms, and this is the case here as well. Past-participial *smitten* is used 42 times in the BofM; only 6 times is the levelled form *smote* used

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24   Spencer, "Notes on the Book of Mormon," 35, pointed out this usage as an error of the BofM (Alma 51:20). He was thus unknowingly criticizing the writing of an English clergyman and theologian who wrote around the same time that the KJV was written.

25   There are at least six other OED quotations with *smote* used as a verbal past participle, from the 16th c. to the 19th c., plus one early one with *smot*:

    1590 Spenser *F.Q.* iii. ii. 46 Till thou in open field adowne be **smot**. **1624** Quarles *Job Militant* iii. 43 Which [wind] with a full-mouth Blast Hath **smote** the House. *a*1716 South *serm.* (1744) X. 192 Being **smote** upon the face, they expostulated the injury of the blow. **1768–74** Tucker *Lt. Nat.* (1834) II. 523 Turning the right cheek to him that has **smote** the left. **1777** Warton *Poems* 76 But since, *gay-thron'd in fiery chariot sheen, Summer has **smote** each daisy-dappled dale. **1813** T. Busby *Lucretius* II. vi. 676 Eruptive winds, what cities have they **smote**! **1818** Byron *Mazeppa* xviii, Once so near me he alit, I could have **smote**.

(12.5%). Still, Shakespeare goes along with the exceptional BofM usage; there is no occurrence of *smitten* in his large body of work. There is one case of *have smote*, another of *have smit*, but **no** cases of HAVE/BE+*smitten* (SMALL CAPS is often used here and elsewhere in order to indicate any relevant form of a verb).

Shakespeare's *smit* is a **clipped** past-participial form akin to *hid up*, which is found 10 times in the BofM, including twice in the title page. Here is an interesting 17th-c. usage found in the OED:

> *a*1652 J. SMITH *Sel. Disc.* vi. 200 That so his sublime
> and recondite doctrine might be the better **hid up**
> *therein*.

The OED declares *therein* to be a word used formally in EModE, and the Latinate adjective *recondite* fits in such a context, supporting the assertion that *hid up* could appear in formal language. So *hid up,* which Twain poked fun at back in 1872,[26] is not just a 19th-c. American colloquialism, but a **formal** usage from the EModE period.

It is noteworthy that *had smote* occurs three times in the BofM, never **had smitten*. This is a good example of a pattern widely seen in the text: past-tense verb forms used as past participles are especially favored in the BofM with the past-tense auxiliary *had*. Some notable ones are *had spake*, *had came*, and *had began*. *Had spoke* is a usage directly analogous to *had smote*, and it is found at least eight times in the OED

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26   **1872** 'MARK TWAIN' *Roughing It* xvi. 128 "Hid up" is good. And so is "wherefore" — though why "wherefore"? Any other word would have answered as well — though in truth it would not have sounded so Scriptural. **1884** 'MARK TWAIN' *Huck. Finn* xxiv. 241 It's reckoned he left three or four thousand in cash **hid up** som'ers.

(*had spake* once), beginning in the late ME period.[27] And *had spoke* also occurs six times in the Shakespeare *œuvre*; there is no case of *had spoken. As a result, HAVE/BE+*smote* and HAVE/BE+*spake* (13×) should **not** be considered nonstandard dialectal forms in the BofM; they have deep English roots. (The same can be said for many other analogous forms in the BofM — for example, *had came* [also 13×].[28])

Past-tense number agreement levelling

Next we consider *they was yet wroth. They was* is uncommon in the book (and in the EModE record): it occurs five times in the BofM while *they were* occurs 628 times (0.8% *they was*). Nevalainen notes that plural **pronouns** — *we, ye/you, they* — were used with singular *was* in EModE written correspondence

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27   Here are a few OED quotations showing *had spoke / had spake*:

c1400 *Three Kings Cologne* (1886) 56 Whan þey **had spoke** togedir and euerych of hem had tolde his purpos and þe cause of his weye. **c1500** *Three Kings' Sons* 61 That he **had spake** to hym. **1602** SHAKES. *Ham.* III. ii. 4, I had as liue the Town-Cryer **had spoke** my Lines. **1612** DRAYTON *Poly-olb.* xvi. 311 To much beloued Lee, this scarcely Sturt **had spoke**. **1699** GARTH *Dispens.* i. 11 More **had He spoke** but sudden Vapours rise, And with their silken Cords tye down his Eyes. **a1716** SOUTH *Serm.* VIII. vii. (R.), Just as if Cicero **had spoke** commendatories of Anthony. **1725** tr. *Dupin's Eccl. Hist. 17th C.* v. I. 184 He begs Aleander to send him the figur'd Inscription of the Sicles, of which he **had spoke** to him. **a1774** GOLDSM. tr. *Scarron's Com. Romance* (1775) I. 63 When she **had spoke** these last words. **1814** SCOTT *Ld. of Isles* III. ii, When that grey Monk His prophet-speech **had spoke**.

28   We note further that Henry Fielding used *had spoke* five times in the 18th c., Sir Walter Scott used it four times in the early 19th c., but the early 19th-c. **American** author J. Fenimore Cooper never did in his extensive writings (4.5m words). This also points to *had spake* and *had smote* as not deriving from an American source.

The OED contains this 17th-c. quotation:

1694 ECHARD *Plautus* 53 If I had got Pacolet's Horse, I cou'dn't **ha' came** sooner.

This is an example of a phenomenon that persists to this day: modal perfect use increases the likelihood that a levelled past-participial verb form will be used. For many English speakers *he must have fell* sounds acceptable, while *he has fell* does not.

about 5% of the time (from 1440 to 1639).[29] Of these, *they was* is the least frequent. This overall rate of use is slightly higher than what is noted in the BofM, the kind of difference that might be expected in comparisons of written correspondence with a formal religious text. The variation from the EModE period is thus properly reflected in the text. So we conclude that the rare instances of *they was* found in the text were likely intended and not caused by dialectal overlay; each of them could've come from the divine translation.

The usage rate of *we was* and *ye was* is higher in the BofM, but the counts are much lower. *We was* occurs once (1 Nephi 17:6), *we were* 35 times (2.8%). *Ye was* occurs once (Alma 7:18), *ye were* 20 times (4.8%). Northern British writers demonstrate singular past-tense usage with *ye/you* as far back as the 15th and the 16th centuries.[30] Nevalainen has found that in EModE written correspondence "*we* turns out to be the only plural pronoun to occur with any frequency with *was*."[31] The observed relative frequency is, in descending order: *we was,* then *ye/you was,* then *they was.* There isn't much relevant data in the BofM text, but *they was* does show the lowest rate of use of the three plural pronouns, as was the case in EModE.

Also consistent with EModE behavior is the observed fact that plural-to-singular levelling occurs only in the marked past

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29   Terttu Nevalainen, "Vernacular universals? The case of plural *was* in Early Modern English," *Types of Variation: Diachronic, dialectal and typological interfaces.* Terttu Nevalainen et al., ed. (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2006), 362–63. The OED has only two 17th-c. examples of *they was* out of about 1,500 examples of *they were* (0.13% nonstandard):

> **1675–7** G. Fox Jrnl. (1911) I. 267 About this time [sc. 1656] I was moved to sett uppe ye mens Quarterly meetinges throughout ye nation though in ye north **they was** setled before. **1694** T. Houghton *Royal Instit.* Ded. A 3 Which Veyns and Mines, if **they was**..Set to Work, by any that understands them, would..prove as Rich.

30   *c*1450 Henryson *Mor. Fab.* 19 **You was** our drowrie and our dayes darling. *a*1529 Skelton *Poems agst. Garnesche* 46 In dud frese **ye was** schrynd With better frese lynyd.

31   Nevalainen, "Vernacular universals?" 360.

tense in the BofM — that is, there isn't any occurrence of *they is* in the book (or *we is*, *ye is*). Nevalainen has found EModE language that exemplifies this directly:[32]

> **Some of our chief commanders**, as Col. Sands and Duglas, **was** wounded, and **are** since both dead (1642) | That in the evening from a steeple wch hath advantage for itt, **was** [discerned] **300 vessels**. **They are** merchantmen in generall (1652)

The 1642 excerpt strikingly and effectively illustrates the use of the past tense in the singular and the present tense in the plural. The subject is the same for both verbs.[33] The BofM in effect shows the same usage pattern:

> For as I said unto you from the beginning, that I had much desire that **ye was** not in the state of dilemma like your brethren, even so I have found that my desires have been gratified. For I perceive that **ye are** in the paths of righteousness.
>
> <div align="right">Alma 7:18–19</div>

The correspondence between EModE *some was*/*are* and BofM *ye was*/*are* is clear.

Existential verb use in the past tense

Nevalainen also indicates that the existential past-tense *there was* was frequently used with plural noun phrase subjects in EModE written correspondence (29% of the time).[34] That

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32   Nevalainen, "Vernacular universals?" 358.

33   The second example is not as strong since the subject comes after the past-tense verb and there may be a positional effect; also, there isn't ellipsis, as there is in the first excerpt. Still, we note the contrastive use of singular past-tense *was* and plural present-tense *are* with the same referent.

34   See also Jerry Morgan, "Some Problems of Agreement in English and Albanian." *Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Meeting of the Berkely Linguistics Society* (Berkely: Berkely Linguistics Society, 1984), 235. Shakespeare has: There

should not surprise speakers of present-day English; the same tendency is noted today with both *there's* and *there was*. A check of *there was* followed by plural noun phrase subjects in the BofM yields 30 counts. Here are four plain examples:

> [1 Nephi 18:25] there was beasts in the forests of every kind [Alma 4:9] there was envyings and strifes [Mormon 9:19] if there was miracles wrought
> [Ether 13:26] there was robbers

On the other hand, there are about 120 instances of *there were* + plural noun phrase subjects in the book. This yields a 20% usage rate for plural subjects with (past-tense) singular verbs.[35] Thus the BofM rate of *there was* usage with plural noun phrase subjects is lower than, but fairly close to, the observed EModE written correspondence rate. Again, this is the kind of difference we expect when we compare the BofM with the less formal corpus used by Nevalainen in her study.

Worth mentioning here are the three places in the BofM where instead of *there was* + PLURAL noun we surprisingly find the reverse situation — that is, *there were* + SINGULAR noun. These are all of the form *there were no* followed by a singular noun:

> … and they were in one body. Therefore **there were no** *chance* for the robbers to plunder and to obtain food save it were to come up in open battle against the Nephites.
>
> *3 Nephi 4:4*

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was three fools fell out about an howlet (*Two Noble Kinsmen* III. v. 67); There **is** reasons and causes for it (Merry Wives of Windsor III i. 48), etc.

35   Some of the counts are difficult; I am not making an effort to be exact here, only close.

> Nevertheless … it did pierce them that did hear to the center, insomuch that **there were no** *part* of their frame that it did not cause to quake *3 Nephi 11:3*

> peace did remain for the space of about four years, that **there were no** *bloodshed*
>
> <div align="right">*Mormon 1:12*</div>

Is this bad BofM grammar? The KJV doesn't have any cases of this curious syntax, and these readings have all been changed subsequently to *there **was** no*. ATV 6: 3589–90 discusses these examples, noting that *there was no* is used in the text in this context at least 36 times. And *there was no* was also commonly used in the 16th century. Yet a search for the plural construction in EModE does turn up a number of examples:

> **1523** Cromwell in Merriman *Life & Lett.* (1902) I. 30 Whereoff **there were no** dowte but that ryght haboundant stremys shuld from his most liberall magnyfysence be dereuyed… **1548** Hall *Chron., Edw. V* 9 Put the case that we neither loued her nor her kynne, yet **there were no** cause why [etc.]. **1594** Blundevil *Exerc.* v. (1636) 592 **There were no** way.. to be compared vnto it, neither for the truenesse, easinesse, nor readinesse of working thereby. **1681** Otway *Soldier's Fort.* v. (1687) 61 … I and my Watch going my morning Rounds, and finding your door open, made bold to enter to see **there were no** danger.

In short, these OED quotations have: *there were no doubt/ cause/way/danger*. This subjunctive construction was therefore optionally available for use in the EModE period to express the unreality of the situation described (an old example of what is commonly termed the IRREALIS mood). Consequently, not only do we find that this particular BofM syntax — *there were no chance/part/bloodshed* — is not bad grammar, but from an

examination of the syntactic structure in EModE we obtain additional confirmation that the BofM is a well-formed EModE text.

Notional concord and the principle of proximity

How about syntax such as [*the **arms** of mercy*]$_i$ ***was***$_i$ *extended towards them* (Mosiah 16:12)? It appears twice in this verse and once with present-tense *is* in Alma 5:33. Singular *was* is used about one-third of the time in the book in these contexts.[36] Nowadays we tend to focus on grammatical concord with the **head** of the noun phrase (the noun phrase is in brackets —

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36   Others include: [1 Nephi 18:15] the **judgments** of God **was** upon them; [Mosiah 27:8] the **sons** of Mosiah **was** numbered among the unbelievers; [Alma 25:9] the **words** of Abinadi **was** brought to pass; [Ether 12:1] the **days** of Ether **was** in the days of Coriantumr; [3 Nephi 7:6] the **regulations** of the government **was** destroyed.

These contrast with: [Jarom 1:5] the laws of the land **were** exceeding strict; [Mosiah 18:34] Alma and the people of the Lord **were** apprised of the coming of the king's army; [Mosiah 19:2] the forces of the king **were** small; [**Alma 14:27**] the walls of the prison were rent in twain; [Alma 17:2] these sons of Mosiah **were** with Alma at the time the angel first appeared unto him; [Alma 17:15] the promises of the Lord **were** extended unto them on the conditions of repentance; [Alma 17:27] as Ammon and the servants of the king **were** driving forth their flocks to this place of water; [Alma 46:29] the people of Moroni **were** more numerous than the Amalickiahites; [Alma 48:25] the promises of the Lord **were** if they should keep his commandments, they should prosper in the land; [Alma 50:22] those who were faithful in keeping the commandments of the Lord **were** delivered at all times; [Alma 52:28] the men of Lehi **were** fresh; [Alma 52:39] their weapons of war **were** taken from them; [Alma 62:24] the armies of Moroni **were** within the walls; [Helaman 5:27] they that were in the prison **were** Lamanites and Nephites which were dissenters; [Helaman 8:21] the sons of Zedekiah **were** not slain; [3 Nephi 26:17] as many as were baptized in the name of Jesus **were** filled with the Holy Ghost; [3 Nephi 26:21] they which were baptized in the name of Jesus **were** called the church of Christ; [3 Nephi 27:1] as the disciples of Jesus **were** journeying and were preaching; [Ether 13:31] the people upon all the face of the land **were** a shedding blood; [Ether 15:6] the people of Coriantumr **were** stirred up to anger; [Ether 15:6] the people of Shiz **were** stirred up to anger; [Ether 15:13] the people which were for Coriantumr **were** gathered together to the army of Coriantumr; [Ether 15:13] the people which were for Shiz **were** gathered together to the army of Shiz.

its head is *arms*). So from that point of view this is defective agreement. But in this particular case there may be **notional** concord — that is, [*mercy*]$_{sg}$ *was* $_{sg}$ — or even "agreement of a verb with a closely preceding noun phrase in preference to agreement with the head of the noun phrase that functions as subject."[37]

In the case of *the arms of mercy was*, proximity agreement is probably reinforced by notional concord. Quirk et al. also provide the following example (and four others are included below theirs).[38] These sentences demonstrate the prevalence of the phenomenon in present-day English:

> No one except his own *supporters* **agree** with him.
> More than *one* **was** there. Less than *two* **were** there.
> None of these *examples* **were** very clear.
> I asked her two specific things *which* I didn't think **was** in her article.[39]

Some verses showing proximity agreement or notional concord can of course also simply be cases of EModE plural–singular agreement variation. That is because singular *was* was used with plural noun phrase subjects 20% of the time at the beginning of the EModE era.[40] That rate diminished over time. Sixteenth-century examples of this kind of agreement (and of proximity agreement) from the OED include the following:

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37   Randolph Quirk, Sidney Greenbaum, Geoffrey Leech, and Jan Svartvik, *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* (London: Longman, 1985), 757 (§10.35). Quirk et al. also call this phenomenon "attraction" in their descriptive, comprehensive treatise on English grammar.

38   Quirk et al., *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*, 757.

39   Compare 1 Nephi 2:5; 5:11; 15:3; etc. See Terttu Nevalainen, "Vernacular universals? The case of plural was in Early Modrn English." *Types of Variation: Diachronic, dialectal, and typological interfaces.* Ed. Terttu Nevalainen et al (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2006), 364.

40   Nevalainen, "Vernacular universals?" 362.

1508 Fisher *Wks.* (1876) 279 The **assautes** of *deth* **was** fyers and sharpe. **1593** *Rites & Mon. Church of Durham* (Surtees) 79 All the **pippes** of *it* **was** of Sylver to be sleaven on a long speare staffe.

Past-tense second-person singular inflection

One of the signal achievements of Skousen's Earliest Text is the uncovering of EModE usage through unflinching editorial rigor despite apparent ungrammaticality. Take, for example, *thou received* as found in the following passage:[41]

> **thou** *hast* great cause to rejoice … **thou** *hast* been faithful in keeping the commandments of God from the time which **thou** *received* thy first message from him

> *Alma 8:15*

The second-person singular (2sg) past-tense verb form in this verse initially carried no *-st* inflection, even though Luke 16:25 has *thou…receivedst.* This, then, makes it seem like the BofM is faulty when compared to the KJV.[42] So isn't *thou received* just the result of dictation/scribal error, a mispronouncing or mishearing of a rare verb form with a difficult consonant cluster? Almost certainly not. First, the pronunciation is very different — two syllables versus three, very different ending sounds: [rə.ˈsivd] versus [rə.ˈsi.vətst]. Second, the textual record of EModE shows that 2sg inflection was often **not** used with (regular) past-tense verb stems. This absence of marking is present from at least the ME period. There are many examples

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41   Skousen, *Analysis of Textual Variants of the Book of Mormon: Part 3*, 1740–41, notes that the change to *receivèdst* came in 1920.

42   There are two instances of 2sg *hast* immediately preceding *thou received*. It seems that their use in that passage could have analogically led to the use of *-st* in *received*, but it did not.

of *thou* used with bare past-tense stems in the OED. Here is one very similar to *thou received*:

> **1526** *Pilgr. Perf.* (W. de W. 1531) 182 **Thou**..**conceyued** thy chylde without corrupcyon or violacyon of thy virginite.[43]

This indicates that *thou received* could well be a case of EModE syntax, not a failed attempt at archaic usage or an inadvertent human error.

Similar to this is *thou had*, used as a full verb in this choppy verse:[44]

> Behold, these six onties — which are of great worth —
> I will give unto thee — when **thou had** it in thy heart
> to retain them from me.

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43   Here are some further examples from the OED:

1402 in *Pol. Poems* (Rolls) II. 45 A! for-writhen serpent, thi wyles ben aspied, with a thousand wrynkels **thou vexed** many soules. **1430–40** Lydg. *Bochas* viii. i. (1558) 3 b, **Thou died** in preson at mischefe like a wretch. **1507** *Communyc.* (W. de W.) A iij, **Thou purposed** the daye by daye To set my people in synnynge. *c*1510 Barclay *Mirr. Gd. Manners* (1570) D iij, Reputing in his thought By suche maner giftes thee greatly to content, Because **thou resembled** as poore and indigent. **1526** *Pilgr. Perf.* (W. de W. 1531) 262 All the compassyons & mercyes that **thou shewed** to the people. ~ 262 b, That vnspekable mercy that **thou shewed** in theyr vocacyon or callynge. ~ 20 b, I am the soule of hym that **thou watched** the last nyght. **1562** Foxe *A. & M.* I. 456/2 For so **thou behited** us sometime. **1577–87** Holinshed *Scot. Chron.* (1805) II. 51 Though **thou seemed** as enemie..ȝit we found mair humanities and plaisures than damage by thy cumming. *c*1600 Shakes. *Sonn.* i, But **thou contracted** to thine owne bright eyes. *a*1625 A. Garden *Theat. Scot. Kings* (Abbotsf. Club.) 14 **Thou forced** for to fald Such as deboir'd from thy Obedience darre. **1638** *Diary of Ld. Warriston* (S.H.S.) 295 **Thou prayed** earnestly for the Lords direction..about..the hol busines to be trusted to the staits~men. *a*1656 *Sir Cawline* xxi. in Child *Ballads* II. 59/1 For because **thou minged** not Christ before, The lesse me dreadeth thee. **1720** Welton *Suffer. Son of God* I. viii. 202 **Thou Deigned** to Come down..to dwell with Me in this Exile-World.

44   See Skousen, *Analysis of Textual Variants of the Book of Mormon: Part 3*, 1821–22, for a discussion, noting that the change to *hadst* came in 1911. *Thou hadst* occurs once in an Isaiah passage as an auxiliary, never as a full verb as *had* is in Alma 11:25.

Alma 11:25

The OED has eight examples of uninflected *thou had* from the 15th to the 17th centuries, and Alma 11:25 fits right in with these quotations. Here's one EModE example:

> **1526** Skelton *Magnyf.* 1148 Fol. In faythe I wolde **thou had** a marmosete.[45]

One other past-tense, 2sg verb form without inflection is relevant to this discussion. However, unlike the previous two, *thou beheld* (1 Nephi 14:23) has never been changed by a BofM editor to *beheldest*. This is a rare verb form in the textual record, but we see the same usage in a late ME quotation:

> **c1400** *Rom. Rose* 2505 …Where **thou biheld** hir fleshly face.[46]

In addition, present-tense **auxiliaries** with *thou* are very similar to past-tense 2sg full-verb forms. There are dozens of examples of 2sg *shall/will/may* **without** *-(s)t* inflection in the OED; that indicates it was a prevalent usage in EModE.[47] Consequently,

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45   Here are several more examples from the OED:

c1420 *Sir Amadas* (Weber) 746 Yette was Y ten so glad When that thou gaffe all that **thou had**. *a1425* tr. *Arderne's Treat. Fistula*, etc. 6 ʒif **þou had** bene stille **thou had** bene holden a philosophre. *c1460* *Towneley Myst.* 190 (Mätzn.) As good that **thou had** Halden stille thy clater. **1513** Douglas *Æneis* xi. Prol. 162 Haill thy meryt **thou had** tofor thi fall, That is to say, thy warkis meritable, Restorit ar agane. **1578** *Ps.* li. in *Scot. Poems 16th C.* (1801) II. 119 Gif **thou had** pleased sacrifice I suld have offered thee. *c1650* *Merlin* 2094 in Furniv. *Percy Folio* I. **487**, & **thou had** comen eare, indeed, thou might haue found him in that stead. **1684** *Yorksh. Dial.* **481** (E.D.S. No. **76**) Thou Glincks and glimes seay, I'd misken'd thy Face, If **thou had** wont at onny other place.

        Some of the above quotations have *thou had* used under a hypothetical condition. Yet there are 12 instances of *if thou* **hadst** in the OED showing that past-tense 2sg inflection was used after the hypothetical.

46   Milton's *Paradise Lost* (xi: 697) contains a conscious, metrical instance with an otherwise unattested complex consonant cluster [ltst]: thou *beheldst*.

47   In the OED, *thou* with *shall(e)* (25×), with *will(e)* (15×), and with *may* (32×). These are the exceptions, in both the BofM and the OED. Present-tense

thou shall (2 Nephi 29:6; Mosiah 12:11; Alma 10:7), *thou will* (Alma 8:20), and *thou may* (Mosiah 26:11) are not cases of bad grammar but typical forms that were used widely in EModE.

The effect of word order on subject–verb agreement

Remember thou (1 Nephi 14:8)[48] and *did thou* (Ether 12:31)[49] are examples of the effect that word order may have in potential agreement contexts. The first one is the only time a present-tense full verb lacks 2sg inflection in the Earliest Text:

> *Remember thou* the covenants of the Father unto the house of Israel?   *1 Nephi 14:8*

Again, this example is the outlier. There are 26 cases of present-tense yes-no question syntax in the BofM with 2sg verb forms, and **all** of them, with the exception of 1 Nephi 14:8, adopt marked forms with 2sg inflection: *believest* (17), *knowest* (6), *seest* (1), *deniest* (1). So the tendency to use 2sg inflection is very strong, but the rare variation here can still be explained by the positional effect. As is commonly seen in many languages (including English during its various stages of historical development), lack of verb agreement with postverbal subjects is more frequent than it is when the word order is canonical (see, for example, England 1976: 816–18, discussing some Old Spanish examples). Here are two examples of nonagreement, one from the Old English period, and another from the EModE period:

2sg agreement runs at 99% in the BofM.

48   Changed in 1849 to *Rememberest thou* — see Royal Skousen, *Analysis of Textual Variants of the Book of Mormon: Part 1* (Provo, UT: FARMS and BYU, 2005), 304–05.

49   Changed in 1879 to *didst thou* — see Royal Skousen, *Analysis of Textual Variants of the Book of Mormon: Part 6* (Provo, UT: FARMS and BYU, 2009), 3834, and Royal Skousen, *Analysis of Textual Variants of the Book of Mormon: Part 2* (Provo, UT: FARMS and BYU, 2005), 794.

On þæm selfan hrægle **wæs** eac awriten þa **naman**
ðara twelf heahfædra
'On that same garment **was** also written the **names** of
the twelve patriarchs'

<div align="right">[Ælfred, C.P. 6,15][50]</div>

1549 *Chron. Grey Friars* (Camden) 65 That nyght
was the **comyneres** of London … dyscharged of ther
waching at alle the gattes of London in harnes…

These examples are reminiscent of *was discerned 300 vessels*,
given above.[51] Though *remember thou* is slightly different since
it involves person marking, it is nevertheless another instance
of the same general phenomenon.

To be clear, what is being put forward here for consideration
is not that Old English directly influenced the BofM text.
Rather, I am trying to show that the tendency towards this kind
of nonagreement was present in English at an early stage of the
language. And that tendency — found in many languages over
time — carried through to EModE, which **is** the language of
the text.

Next we take a brief look at *did thou* in the following
passage:

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50   See Lukas Pietsch, "'Some do and some doesn't'":Verbal concord
variation in the north of the British Isles." *A comparative grammar of English
dialects: Agreement, gender, reative clause.* Ed. Bernd Kartmann et al. (Berlin:
Mouton de Gruyter, 2005), 129; quoting Frederic T. Visser, *An historical syntax
of the English language*. Vol. 1. (Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1963).

51   A modern-day example might be: A ROOSTER *and* a TURKEY **were** in the
corral, and so **was** a DUCK *and* a GOOSE.

   This example, however, isn't directly on point, since there is a complex
postverbal subject. Thus it's a case of nonagreement in part because of a lack
of plural number resolution; still, there is certainly a positional effect. (In this
article I do not address directly such resolution issues in the BofM exemplified
by the following construction: [the land of Nephi and the land of Zarahemla]$_i$
was$_i$ nearly surrounded by water.)

> For thus *did thou* manifest thyself unto thy disciples;
> for after that they had faith and did speak in thy
> name, *thou didst* shew thyself unto them in great
> power
>
> <div align="right">*Ether 12:31*</div>

EModE past-tense levelling of 2sg inflection is possible in Ether 12:31 (OED *thou did* = 8×). But it is less likely because of no instances of *thou did in the text and the use of *thou didst* later in the verse. The positional effect is a more likely explanation — that is, because the verb *did* preceded its (overt 2sg) subject, the analogical force pushing the use of *did* — a very high frequency, unmarked verb form — trumped the force of subject–verb agreement.

Another similar example is the following:

> so great *was*$_i$ [the *blessings* of the Lord]$_i$ upon us
>
> <div align="right">*1 Nephi 17:2*</div>

Roughly 20% of the time there is no plural agreement in the BofM when the agreement controller **follows** the past-tense verb BE. That agreement rate is very similar to the rate calculated for *there was* with plural noun phrase subjects, as noted above, and the syntax is effectively like it. In both these cases there may also be an effect from the formally singular element — *there* or *great* — which precedes the verb, but we don't need to stretch that far in order to explain the variation; the positional effect is sufficient to explain it. Again, more typical syntax in the BofM is the following:

> great *were*$_j$ [the *groanings* of the people]$_j$ because of the darkness
>
> <div align="right">*3 Nephi 8:23*</div>

Third-person plural subjects used with archaic third-person singular inflection

Another curiosity of the BofM in the domain of subject–verb agreement is that third-person plural subjects are often found with archaic third-person **singular** inflection: *Nephi's brethren rebell**eth***, *they dieth/yieldeth/sleepeth*, *flames ascendeth*, *hearts delighteth*, *Gentiles knoweth, men/many hath*, etc. This syntax is not found in the KJV, as noted in ATV 1: 48. So is this usage ungrammatical? No, it's characteristic of EModE. The OED has about 60 examples of *they* (and *thei*) followed directly by verbs ending in *-eth*:

> **1526** *Pilgr. Perf.* (W. de W. 1531) 174 b, **They consumeth** superfluously & **spendeth** in waste, in one daye, the goodes that wolde suffyse & serve for theyr necessite many dayes.

And there are clear quotations, such as the following ones with noun phrase subjects, that are part of the EModE textual record:

> **1541** R. Copland, *Guydon's Quest. Cyrurg.*, The **vaynes bereth** the nourysshyng blode…

> **1590** R. Payne, *Descr. Irel.* (1841) 5 The **seas fretteth** away the Ice and Snowe.[52]

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52   Here are a few more OED quotations containing third-person plural NP subjects associated with verbs carrying third-person singular inflection:

    1477 Norton *Ord. Alch.* (in Ashmole 1652) v. 76 **Liquors conveieth** all Aliment and Food To every part of Mans Body. **1526** *Pilgr. Perf.* (W. de W. 1531) 274 b, The **hopes kepeth** fast the bordes of the vessell..& holdeth in ye endes that they start not. **1534** Ld. Berners *Gold. Bk. M. Aurel.* (1546) B iij, For certaine al the **fruites cometh** not togither. **1534** Whitinton *Tullyes Offices* iii. (1540) 142 The **lawes taketh** away craftyng one way, and phylosophers another way. **1578** Lyte *Dodoens* i. xl. 58 ..Amongst the leaues **groweth** fayre azured or blew **floures**..

Consequently, such syntax constitutes one more piece of evidence that BofM language is not a derivative of KJV language, either poor or otherwise. *Hearts delighteth* and *flames ascendeth* are not grammatical flaws (or even syntactic calques of a base Hebrew text), but EModE syntax.[53]

Has/hath variation

One of the inconsistent modernizations the book has undergone, after a score of global edits, has been the increase of the appearance of *has* at the expense of *hath* (currently 36% *has*). Excluding biblical passages (and the witness statements), *hath* occurs 724 times in the Yale edition, but *has* only 76 times (9.5% *has*).[54] The highest rate of use of *has* is in Mosiah and Alma, the lowest rate is in the SMALL PLATES. The KJV doesn't use *has* (not even the original 1611 text). So is the presence of *has* in the BofM an instance of bad grammar? No; on the contrary, *it is directly in line with pre-Shakespearean EModE usage.* The OED points toward the following *has* usage rates during the EModE period (some sampling bias is undoubtedly present in these figures): 15th c. = 32%; 16th c. = **7.5%**; 17th c. = 25%. The nadir of *has* use was squarely in the middle of that period. The BofM is right at home with 16th-c. *hath*/*has* usage rates.[55]

Faith on the Lord and *if it so be*

The BofM uniquely and consistently uses the phrase *faith **on** the Lord (Jesus Christ)*, not found in the KJV. The biblical text

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53   That being the case, researchers need to be cautious and resist the temptation to analyze BofM syntax as non-English Hebrew-like language or instances of nonstandard use before analyzing past English usage.

54   The following phrases are (nearly) exclusive: *the Lord hath*, *hath commanded / spoken / given / made*. These are relatively favored: *has been*, *has not*, and *he hath*.

55   Shakespeare's rate of use of *has* (16.5%) reflects the trend and transition to 17th-c. usage.

only uses *faith **in***. The BofM also uses *faith on* the **name** of the Lord several times. Skousen has found these relevant 17th-c. examples in *Early English Books Online*:[56]

> by **faith on his name** wee may haue life
> > Johann Gerhard, *The conquest of temptations* (1614)

> and when all faile, renew thy **faith on his Name**
> > Thomas Godwin, *A child of light walking in darknessse* (1636)

> They are altogether sufficient for that, inasmuch as **Faith on the Lord Jesus Christ**, and obedience to his Commandments …
> > *The Racovian Catechism* (1652)

> he makes them to see their sins, and bewail them, and raise them by renewing and strengthening **faith on the Lord Jesus Christ**
> > Obadiah Sedgwich, *The bowels of tender mercy sealed in the everlasting covenant* (1661)

The emphatic hypothetical *if it so be (that)* is used 41 times in the BofM (almost always with *that*); it isn't found in the KJV. In the biblical text *if so be* is used almost 20 times (half the time with *that*), and the verbal phrase *if it be so/if it were so* (which is more like ModE syntax) is found three times, never with *that*. In view of this, is *if it so be* an error on the part of the BofM? No, on the contrary, the hypothetical phrase *if it so be (that)* is well-attested in the OED (8×), the last time in 1534. Quotations include two by these famous authors:

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56   Personal communication, May 2014.

> *c*1386 Chaucer *2nd Nun's T.* 258 **If it so be** thou wolt
> with-outen slouthe Bileue aright. **1534** More *Comf.
> agst. Trib.* ii. Wks. 1200/2 **If it so be** [that] a man..
> perceiueth that in welth & authoritie he doth his own
> soule harme…

The structure found in the BofM constitutes evidence of the independence of the book's language vis-à-vis the KJV and testifies to the historical depth of its syntax.

Dative impersonal constructions

Dative impersonal constructions like *it supposeth me*, *it sorroweth me*, and *it whispereth me* are also not found in the KJV, though they appear in the BofM (some analogous syntax **is** found in the KJV[57]). The first phrase — used four times in the text — is classified as rare in the OED; that dictionary provides a single late ME example from a poet who was a contemporary of Chaucer:

> **1390** Gower *Conf.* II. 128 Bot al to lytel **him
> supposeth**, Thogh he mihte al the world pourchace.

There is also this example taken from *Early English Books Online* (EEBO):

> **1482** Caxton *polychronicon* **me supposeth** that they
> toke that vyce of kynge Hardekunt

The next impersonal construction *it sorroweth me* is also attested in the EModE record (see, for example, the EEBO and OED quotations below), and *it whispereth me* is exemplified

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57   Spencer, "Notes on the Book of Mormon," 36, criticized the use of *it supposeth/sorroweth me*. He wrongly believed that Joseph Smith manufactured these phrases on the analogy of *it sufficeth us* (John 14:8), etc. By extension, other similar criticisms levelled at the book through the years, and even to this day, are likewise devoid of merit. The rare neologisms that **are** found in the book are both well-motivated and well-formed from the point of view of EModE.

with many similar quotations from EModE and ModE (see, for example, the OED quotes below):

> **It sorroweth me** to thinke of the Ministers of England
> Adam Hill, *The crie of England* (1595)

> 1574 Hellowes Gueuara's Fam. Ep. (1577) 189 The ague that held you, **sorroweth me**. 1637 Heywood Royall King ii. iv, **It sorrows** me that you misprize my love.

> 1605 Shakes. *Macb.* iv. iii. 210 Giue sorrow words; the griefe that do's not speake, **Whispers the o're-fraught heart**, and bids it breake. **1640** S. Harding *Sicily & Naples* iii. i. 33 This day (**There's something whispers to me**) will prove fatall. **1713** Addison *Cato* ii. i, **Something whispers me** All is not right.

The presence of these impersonal verb phrases in the BofM is an indication of the historical range of the book's language.

The analogical past participle *arriven* and auxiliary selection

Another item which indicates that range is the past participle *arriven* 'arrived', with analogical, strong inflection, used (at least) five times in the BofM (see ATV 1: 356 for a discussion).[58] The verb *arrive* is not used in the KJV. The analogy with the three-form verb *drive* is apparent: drive ~ drove ~ driven :: arrive ~ arrove ~ arriven. There are two relevant late ME entries in the OED with *aryven*:

> *c*1435 *Torr. Portugal* Fragm. 1 In a forest she *is* **aryven**. *c*1450 Lovelich *Grail* xliv. 113 To morwen schole ȝe hem alle se To londe **aryven**… [Tomorrow

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58   Part of the etymological entry for *arrive* in the OED reads as follows: "inflected after strong vbs., with pa. tense *arove* (*rove, arofe*), pa. pple. ***ariven*** (*aryven*)." Spencer, "Notes on the Book of Mormon," 35, was unaware of this, asserting that there was "no such word in the language as 'arriven.'"

shall ye them all see to land **arriven**] 'Tomorrow you
will see them all **arrived** to land'.

The first quotation — 'she has arrived in a forest' — shows the
use of *is* with the past participle *aryven* — akin to *he is risen*
(ModE 'he **has** risen'). In the Earliest Text *arriven* is used only
with HAVE: *had* (3×), *have*, and *has* (plus *having arrived*).[59] So
this parallels the infrequent use of BE in the book with other
similar verbs (of motion and change-of-state) like *come* and
become — for example, *they **were** nearly all become wicked*
(3 Nephi 7:7).[60] This usage is the exception in the BofM,[61] and
the overall usage pattern in the BofM in relation to auxiliary
selection with these verbs is completely different from what we
see in the KJV; that text prefers the use of *were come*, etc. So
had the biblical text used *arriven*, it would likely have used *was
arriven*, *am arriven*, etc.[62]

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59   This standard past-participial form might have been *arriven* in the
original MS, but we have no way of knowing for sure.

60   Royal Skousen, *Analysis of Textual Variants of the Book of Mormon: Part
4* (Provo, UT: FARMS and BYU, 2007), 3296, notes that this was changed to *had*
by Joseph Smith in 1837.

61   In fact *they were…become* is also exceptional in its class because it's the
only time the past tense is used with BE and this class of past participles in the
BofM. The text has a simple, reduced system in this regard; it uses the present
tense 9 out of 10 times with BE and this class of past participles — e.g., *when I **am**
again ascended* (3 Nephi 11:21).

62   This sentence in the body of the article has examples of the counterfactual
pluperfect and the modal perfect with the past participle *used*. Other examples
of these are *if I had come* and *they would have become*. These verbal structures
arose in English during the late ME period. When they were first used, the
modal perfect was always used with the auxiliary HAVE (with past participles
like *come* and *arriven*), never with BE, and the counterfactual was used only 2%
of the time with BE and this class of past participles. These were the initial drivers
of the change to the present-day English system, which uses HAVE with these
past participles exclusively (see Thomas McFadden and Artemis Alexiadou,
"Counterfactuals and BE in the History of English." *Proceedings of the 24th West
Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics. Ed. John Alderete et al (Somerville, MA:
Cascadilla Proceedings Project,* 2005), 273–74.

At the time the KJV was being written, the usage rate in EModE of ʜᴀᴠᴇ with this class of past participles was below 20%. This rate would jump during the late 1600s to 30% or more. This estimate of the 1611 rate is backed up by data from the OED, Shakespeare, and a recent linguistic study.[63] The KJV, with 15 cases of ʜᴀᴠᴇ+*come*, but 494 instances of ʙᴇ+*come*, has only a 3% rate of usage with ʜᴀᴠᴇ. Thus it is archaic for its time in terms of auxiliary selection. On the other hand, the BofM is the complete opposite in usage (91 of 95 ʜᴀᴠᴇ+*come*/ *came* = 96% ʜᴀᴠᴇ). It functions like an early 19th-c. text in this regard.[64] This is one of the areas where the BofM is a ModE text. And the use of *arriven* with ʜᴀᴠᴇ in the MSs is an example of a curious mixture of modern verbal syntax (ʜᴀᴠᴇ) with older morphology (*arriven*).[65]

The more part of the people

The obsolete though transparent phrase *the more part of* occurs 24 times in the BofM but is not found in that exact form in the KJV. It is, however, used twice without *of* (Acts 19:32; 27:12).[66] The BofM is always explicit in its use, perhaps for plainness — for example, *the more part of **the people*** — while the KJV only uses the bare phrase *the more part*. *More* as used in this phrase carries a sense of 'greater in number', which became obsolete in

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63   I performed nonexhaustive counts for Shakespeare of 28 ʜᴀᴠᴇ+*come* and 115 ʙᴇ+*come* = 19.6%. OED counts for the 16th c. are 10 *had come* and 48 *was/were come* = 17%. McFadden and Alexiadou (2005: 273) calculated 15% usage.

64   By way of comparison with contemporaneous authors, we note that Walter Scott used ʜᴀᴠᴇ+*come* about 70% of the time, J. Fenimore Cooper about 95% of the time. The latter then is a close match with BofM usage in this regard. Henry Fielding, writing around 1750, used ʜᴀᴠᴇ+*come* only one-third of the time. His usage was slightly archaic for its time.

65   Skousen has found an EModE example with ʙᴇ from 1658, the shape perhaps influenced by rhyme: "Until I safely **am arriven** At the desired Haven, Heaven".

66   Spencer, "Notes on the Book of Mormon," 37, criticized its frequent use in the BofM, unaware of EModE usage.

the 17th century.[67] The OED provides several examples with *the more part of* from the late ME period and the EModE period (from 1380 to 1610). Here are two quotations from the 16th century:

> **1546** BALE *Eng. Votaries* Pref. A iij, **The more part of** their temptynge spretes they haue made she deuyls.
> **1585** T. WASHINGTON tr. *Nicholay's Voy.* I. xviii. 21 Palm trees: of the fruit of which trees, **the more part of** the inhabitants..are nourished.[68]

The phrase fell out of use at the beginning of the ModE period.

Nominative absolute syntax

The BofM uses the nominative absolute construction frequently, clearly, and differently from the KJV (two notable examples are found in the first verse of 1st Nephi — cf. the 2nd amendment of the U.S. Constitution[69]). Here is one showing nested syntax. Note the repeat of *the people* after *wherefore*:

> *The people* **having** loved *Nephi* exceedingly — *he* **having** been a great protector for them, **having**

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67   That relevant OED definition reads as follows: **more**, *a*. †A1b = Greater in number, quantity, or amount. **1529** RASTELL *Pastyme, Hist. Brit.* (1811) 125 The Danis, with a **more** strenght, enteryd the west part of this land. *a***1648** LD. HERBERT *Hen. VIII* (1683) 298 The **more** Party of the Sutors of this Your Realm.

68   Here are some more examples from the OED:

   *c***1380** WYCLIF *Wks.* (1830) 369 Siþ þai han now þe more part of þe temporal lordeschips, and wiþ þat þe spiritualtees and þe greete mouable tresouris of þe rewme. **1535** COVERDALE *Acts* xxvii. 12 The **more parte off** them toke councell to departe thence. [Also **1611**.] **1610** *Acta Capit. Christ Church*, Canterbury 17 July (MS.), To ymbarn in the Barnes..all or **the more part of** the tythe corne.

   There is one outlier among these, an 1871 quotation from the historian Edward Freeman, who wrote with an intentionally archaistic style:

   1871 FREEMAN *Norm. Conq.* (1876) IV. xviii. 117 **The more part of** them perished by falling over the rocks.

69   A well regulated Militia *being* necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms shall not be infringed.

> wielded the sword of Laban in their defence, and
> **having** labored in all his days for their welfare —
> WHEREFORE *the people* were desirous to retain in
> remembrance his name
>
> <div align="right">*Jacob 1:10–11*</div>

The clarity of the syntax is heightened in the BofM because almost always (1) an overt **subject** precedes the PRESENT PARTICIPLE (**I Nephi** HAVING *been born*, **the people** HAVING *loved Nephi*), (2) a logical, adverbial connector (*therefore*/*wherefore*) is used between the clauses, and (3) even if the subject of the main clause is the same as the one in the nominative absolute clause, it is repeated following the logical connector (THEREFORE **I** *was taught*, WHEREFORE **the people** *were desirous*). The book's nominative absolute syntax is distinctive, emphatic, and more closely aligned to what is found in EModE and the early ModE period than the KJV's usage; and it is notably plainer in use. Here is a biblical example taken from the OED, also showing the way the BofM might have expressed it:

> **1611** BIBLE *John* iv. 6 Now Iacobs Well was there.
> Iesus **therefore** [TINDALE then], **being** wearied with
> his iourney, sate thus on the Well.
> BofM *style*: **Jesus being** wearied with his journey,
> **therefore he** sat thus on the well.

Here are two more examples from the KJV which demonstrate the relative clarity of BofM nominative absolute style because of the overt initial subject and the use of *therefore* at the clausal junction:

> **Therefore being** by the right hand of God exalted,
> and **having** received of the Father the promise of the
> Holy Ghost, **he** hath shed forth this, which ye now see
> and hear.
>
> <div align="right">*Acts 2:33*</div>

BofM *style*: **He being** … exalted, and **having** received … the promise of the Holy Ghost, **therefore he** hath shed forth this, which ye now see and hear.

Therefore being justified by faith, **we** have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ:

Romans 5:1

BofM *style*: **We being** justified by faith, **therefore we** have peace .…

The verb *beseech* used with the personal preposition *of*

The KJV and the BofM differ in the following way in their use of the archaic verb *beseech*:

KJV: I beseech you/thee… (46×)
BofM: I beseech **of** you/**of** thee… (4×)[70]

Is this use of *beseech* defective syntax on the part of the BofM, a bad imitation of the KJV? No. The use of the personal preposition is old syntax found in both the late ME period and EModE (see OED [**beseech**, *v.* †2c]; the entry also indicates several variant dialectal forms, as are seen in the quotations below):

*a*1400 *Morte Arth*. 305 [**He**] **of hyme besekys** To ansuere þe alyenes wyth austerene wordes. **1563** *Mirr. Mag.* Induct. xliv. 7 And to be yong againe **of Ioue [he would] beseke**.

This use of *of* before the person who is BESOUGHT may seem like a minor, inconsequential difference, yet the OED clearly distinguishes between these constructions — see [**beseech**,

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70   The four instances of *I beseech **of** you* / *of thee* are found at Jacob 6:5; Alma 34:33; 36:3; Moroni 7:19.

v. †2c & 3c] — and declares the one used in the BofM to be obsolete. Furthermore, the usage in the texts is distinct and consistent. The most rigorous statistical test for this pattern of usage gives the odds that this difference in the texts occurred by chance at five in one million (Fisher's exact test).

Auxiliary usage following *beseech*

What about the use of *should* in the clause that follows *besought* in the following BofM passage (also see Moroni 7:19)? This specific usage is absent in the KJV:

> Now when [Korihor] had said this, he **besought** THAT Alma *should* pray unto God that the curse *might* be taken from him.
>
> *Alma 30:54*

In the KJV only *would* (cf. Alma 15:5) or *might* is used after *besought* (15× in the New Testament). And when present-tense *beseech* is used, then only *will* and *may* are used, never *shall*. This KJV auxiliary usage is consonant with the semantics of the verb: 'supplicate, beg earnestly'. The auxiliary *will*/*would* in particular, with its notion of voluntary action, is a good semantic fit for the clause following and syntactically linked to *beseech* because the meaning of the full verb directly implies that notion. On the other hand, when the auxiliary *should* is used with *beseech*, the use is somewhat anomalous since there is a combination of some degree of compulsion or command (see OED [**will**, *v.*[1] 46]) and supplication (from *beseech*).

Nevertheless, usage of *should* following *beseech* **is** found in 14th- and 15th-c. quotations in the OED and also in a 16th-c. example from EEBO. The important thing to notice in these quotations is the co-occurrence of BESOUGHT and SHOULD, in boldface (a rough translation for the first two excerpts is given below):

1390 Gower *Conf.* I. 10 Unto the god ferst thei **besoughten** As to the substaunce of her Scole, That thei ne **scholden** noght befole Her wit upon none erthly werkes, Which were ayein thestat of clerkes, And that thei **myhten** fle the vice Which Simon **hath** in his office.

*a***1450** *Knt. de la Tour* 87 Thanne the quene after kneled tofore her lorde, and **besought** hym that men **shulde** do semble iustice to Amon the seneschall.

1587 *A notable historie containing foure voyages* … which aboue all things **besought** vs that none of our men **should** come neere their lodgings nor their Gardens.[71]

The 1390 poetic passage appears to say that the clergy besought God so they wouldn't foolishly squander (*scholden noght befole*) their intellect on earthly matters, and so they'd be able to avoid (*myhten fle*) the corruption of Simon Magus (Acts 8:18–24). (Interestingly, both *should* and *might* are used in the same syntactic sequence after *besought*; both these auxiliaries are also used immediately after *besought* in Alma 30:54 — one in the same way [*should*], the other in a related purposive clause [*might*].) In the 1390 quotation the clergy themselves wanted God to **compel** them to engage in worthy study (*should*), and also evinced a desire to have the **ability** to avoid corruption (*might*). In the 1450 excerpt a queen knelt before her lord and besought him to **compel** others to similarly show deference to a steward.

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71   This book is a translation into English from the French original. The passage is quoted from Richard Hakluyt (1599) *The principal nauigations, voyages, traffiques and discoueries of the English nation*, from *Early English Books Online*.

As a result of these findings, we learn that the use of *should* with *beseech* in the BofM reflects a well-formed early structure found in both late ME and in EModE. And we also learn that Korihor made a forceful plea to Alma (even perhaps one of a commanding nature); otherwise the auxiliary *would* would have been used (as used in Alma 15:5 with Zeezrom). The use of *should* with *besought*, like the use of *beseech **of***, reveals the depth of BofM language.

Grammatical mood after the hypothetical *if*

The BofM exhibits plenty of variation in its use of grammatical MOOD: subjunctive as opposed to indicative — for example, present-day English *if I **were*** versus *if I **was***. One word that optionally controls the subjunctive mood in the book is the hypothetical *if*.[72] In other words, after the hypothetical we find that the verb is sometimes in the subjunctive, and other times in the indicative, with no discernible difference in meaning of *if*:

> **if** he HAVE $_{subj.}$ more abundantly, he should impart more abundantly
>
> *Mosiah 18:27*

> But **if** he REPENTETH $_{indic.}$ not, he shall not be numbered among my people, that he may not destroy my people.
>
> *3 Nephi 18:31*

The following example indicates compactly free variation in grammatical mood in two verses, one chapter apart (the source language derives from the Old Testament):

> as a young lion among the flocks of sheep who, **if** he GOETH/GO through, both treadeth down and teareth

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72   At times the use of a verb in the indicative mood after *if* points to an atypical meaning for *if*; other times *if* carries its standard meaning after an indicative form.

in pieces, and none can deliver.

> *3 Nephi 20:16* = **goeth**; *3 Nephi 21:12* = **Go**
>
> [cf. *Micah 5:8*]

In a few places in the BofM there is more than one verb after *if*, and in three of these passages there is variation in MOOD: Mosiah 26:29; Helaman 13:26; 3 Nephi 27:11. These interesting cases can tell us about deeper linguistic behavior. Still, some find this variation to be unsatisfactory usage. But the same pattern of use is also found in at least one Shakespearean example. And the original 1611 KJV has a similar example as well.[73] This testifies to its well-formed nature in relation to EModE, telling us at the same time that it is not substandard usage in the BofM.

But this kind of variation is not found in the current state of the KJV; because of the aforementioned emendation there is now no mixture of use. As a result, when conjoined verb phrases follow *if*, the KJV uniformly uses the subjunctive **or** the indicative. Consistent patterns of use are also found in Shakespeare and the BofM:

Consistent subjunctive use

For what is a man advantaged, **if** he GAIN the whole world, and LOSE himself, or BE cast away?

> *Luke 9:25*

yea, **if** thou REPENT of all thy sins and WILL bow down before God

> *Alma 22:16*

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73   The OED provides the following quotation of Genesis 4:7, indicating that later in the 17th century "if thou do" was changed to "if thou doest", and that Coverdale had "if thou do" for the second instance, something the KJV never had: **1611** BIBLE *Gen*. iv. 7 If thou **doe** [16.. **doest**] well, shalt thou not be accepted? and if thou **doest** [COVERD. **do**] not well, sinne lieth at the doore.

The hypothetical *if* seems to have the same meaning in both instances because the phrases closely match each other. Cf. Alma 22:16 and the discussion below.

If he BE credulous, and TRUST my tale, I'll make him glad to seem Vincentio

> *Taming of the Shrew* IV. ii. 67–68

Consistent indicative use
Yea, **if** thou CRIEST after knowledge, and LIFTEST up thy voice for understanding

> *Proverbs 2:3*

for **if** he LISTETH to obey him and REMAINETH and DIETH in his sins, the same drinketh damnation to his own soul

> *Mosiah 2:33*

If thou but THINK'ST him wrong'd, and MAK'ST his ear
A stranger to thy thoughts.

> *Othello, the Moor of Venice* III. iii. 143

Variation in grammatical mood and conjunct effects

When there is **variable** MOOD after *if* in the BofM, the pattern of use is always the following: [subjunctive & indicative], never *[indicative & subjunctive]. Here are the three verses that show this pattern and one from Shakespeare (bracketed [ø ø] as used below indicates ellipted "if he/it"):

And **if** he CONFESS his sins before thee and me *and* [ø ø] REPENTETH in the sincerity of his heart, him shall ye forgive; and I will forgive him also.

> *Mosiah 26:29*

For as the Lord liveth, **if** a prophet COME among you *and* [øø] DECLARETH unto you the word of the Lord, which testifieth of your sins and iniquities, ye are

angry with him and cast him out and seek all manner of ways to destroy him.

Helaman 13:26

But **if** it BE not built upon my gospel *and* [ø ø] IS built upon the works of men or upon the works of the devil, verily I say unto you: They have joy in their works for a season; and by and by the end cometh, and they are hewn down and cast into the fire from whence there is no return.

3 Nephi 27:11

He must before the deputy, sir, he has given him warning. The deputy cannot abide a whoremaster. **If** he BE a whoremonger, *and* [ø ø] COME**s** before him, he were as good go a mile on his errand.

Measure for Measure III. ii. 35–37

In short, these are the verb forms showing variation in grammatical mood after *if* found in the BofM, Shakespeare, and the KJV:

1829 Book of Mormon: *if* confess & repenteth |
if come & declareth | *if* be & is
1603 Shakespeare: *if* be & comes
1611 King James Bible: *if* do & *if* doest

The ellipsis of *if* (and the subject) in these BofM verses tells us two things. First, it indicates that these verb phrases are closely linked syntactically and therefore that both are under the same hypothetical condition. And we know that the hypothetical condition in these verses is sufficient to control subjunctive marking in the first verb. Yet there was also analogical force in the language to use **indicative** forms for these verbs since indicative forms are used in the majority of contexts. This

analogical force is weaker than the hypothetical force for the first verbal conjuncts.[74] Second, ellipted *if* also makes it more likely that the indicative will be used in the second verb, the distant conjunct, since *if* is not overtly used and that is the element that overcomes analogy (which drives the use of the indicative) and controls the use of the subjunctive for the close conjuncts in these passages.

In summary, *if* calls for the subjunctive, analogy calls for the indicative. In the first verb, closely following the hypothetical, *if* overcomes analogy and controls the shape of the verb. In the second verb, far from the overt hypothetical, analogy outweighs *if* (in ellipsis) and controls the shape of the verb. That being the case, while it isn't surprising for both conjuncts to show only subjunctive marking or to show only indicative use (as we've seen above), it would be anomalous if the following were found in the text:

* *if* + INDICATIVE & *ellipsis* + SUBJUNCTIVE

This of course doesn't occur in the text and the unreality of that fact is indicated in the following expressions by an asterisk:

> * **if** he CONFESS**ETH** <indic.> his sins … *and* [øø] REPENT <subj.> in the sincerity of his heart
> * **if** [he] COM**ETH** <indic.> among you *and* [øø] DECLARE <subj.> unto you the word of the Lord

The complex syntax of conjuncts in the BofM exhibits native-speaker sensitivity to EModE and typical cross-linguistic behavior.[75]

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74   And this indicative analogical force persists to   this day; that's why there's levelling of *if I were* to *if I was* in ModE, and levelling elsewhere in the BofM.

75   Did Joseph Smith and his scribes have EModE linguistic competence
Using subjunctive, then indicative under ellipsis, would be an acceptable, — i.e., native-speaker intuition? No, certainly not. But while it's a stretch, they even typical way to say something like this in present-day English, and perhaps could have been sensitive to this from a ModE analog. For example, we could it was for Joseph Smith as well.
think up a realistic phrase in present-day English that is similar to what is found in these verses:

> **If** I WERE <subj.> to go to the store today in order to buy that, and [ø ø] WAS

Another example with variable marking

These verses are similar to Alma 39:3, which also has subject ellipsis and variable marking, in this case on the past-tense auxiliary *did* (see the discussion in ATV 4: 2388–89):

> for **thou** DIDST forsake the ministry *and* [ø] DID go over into the land of Siron

In this verse the distant conjunct *did* is unmarked for person even though the (understood) subject is *thou*. This is another example of the tendency of distant conjuncts under ellipsis to level to less marked shapes.[76] Again, we would be surprised if the text had the following:

> *for **thou** DID forsake the ministry *and* [ø] DIDST go over into the land of Siron

None of these examples have been changed through the years, precisely because they represent — at a subconscious level — acceptable syntax.[77] Yet because this syntax is absent in the KJV and since it involves the (non)use of archaic verb inflection and variable marking which was outside the scope of Smith and associates' daily usage patterns, these examples constitute some evidence for (divine) EModE authorship, just as the use of words with non-KJV EModE meaning does. In addition, an author consciously attempting to sound "scriptural" or express things using biblical language would likely have been

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76 Other similar present-tense examples are found in Helaman 10:4 and Ether 3:3 — "thou hast . . . and hast . . . but hath" and "thou hast . . . and hath" (see Royal Skousen, *Analysis of Textual Variants of the Book of Mormon: Part 5* [Provo, UT: FARMS and BYU, 2008], 3047).

77 Skousen, *Analysis of Textual Variants of the Book of Mormon: Part 4*, 2389, notes that "there has been no tendency to emend *and did* in Alma 39:3 to *and didst*."

Note the proximity agreement at the start of this sentence (in the body of the article): *examples have*.

mechanical in usage with unfamiliar forms and probably would have followed the consistent 1769 KJV.

A counterexample to levelled forms under ellipsis?

Here is a verse that appears at first glance to qualify as a counterexample to the foregoing since an indicative verb form is followed by a subjunctive one (see ATV 3: 2044–46; the discussion here has a limited, different approach):

> But Aaron saith unto him: **If** *thou* DESIREST this thing, **if** *thou* WILL bow down before God — yea, **if** *thou* REPENT of all thy sins and [ø ø] WILL <u>bow</u> down before God and <u>call</u> on his name in faith, believing that ye shall receive — then shalt thou receive the hope which thou desirest.
>
> *Alma 22:16*

In this verse, fine points of grammar can aid our understanding of the intended import.[78]

To begin with, this isn't a counterexample to Mosiah 26:29 and Helaman 13:26 since there's no ellipsis of *if thou* before the first occurrence of *will bow down*. So the two uses of *if* can convey different hypothetical force. In this doctrinally powerful verse there is one instance of the indicative after *if* at the outset, and then three cases of the subjunctive — *will*, *repent*, *will*. And there is only ellipsis of *if thou* — indicated by [ø ø] — with the

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78   I take every instance of indicative and subjunctive to be intentional, especially since *shalt thou* with 2sg marking is used towards the end of the verse even though the inverted word order doesn't favor it and three verb forms lacking 2sg inflection have just been used. Of course it is possible that *thou will* is a levelled form (as in Alma 8:20), but the odds of that with respect to this verb are low (less than 5%), and they are even lower in the case of the full verb *repent* (about 1%). The second use of *will* (with ellipsis) is almost certainly subjunctive because it's the second verbal conjunct after *if*. As we've seen in the three BofM verses just discussed, in this linguistic context *will* could have understandably adopted an indicative shape *wilt*.

final subjunctive use of *will* (like Skousen, I take underlined *bow* and *call* to be parallel <u>infinitives</u>).

Lamoni's father has just indicated his desire to Aaron, and so *desirest*, in the indicative, conveys that Aaron entertains no adverse opinion as to the truth of the statement. The hypothetical *if* therefore conveys a notion akin to 'given or granted that; supposing that'.[79] After that, however, the subjunctive is used three times, conveying the notion that Aaron is faced with a normal lack of certainty surrounding the realization of his statements. This is therefore a good example of the Earliest Text elucidating meaning, while well-intentioned (conjectural) emendations have obscured it. It also tells us that at a deep level the BofM is an intelligently crafted, sophisticated text.

Much horses or many horses?

How about the strange use of the adjective *much* found in the Yale edition with plural nouns (taken collectively)?[80]

> **much** afflictions / fruits / threatenings / horses / contentions / provisions

Is this a reflection of nonstandard U.S. dialectal use? No, usage in the 16th and 17th centuries definitively says otherwise.

Half of the above phrases have been emended through the years, with the noun usually suffering the change and thereby affecting nuance (see ATV 2: 1092–93). Perhaps the motivation for emendation was because the KJV clearly shows this use

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79   See OED [**if**, *conj. (n.)* I & 1]. The dictionary indicates, and this study verifies, that in Genesis 4:7 the original 1611 KJV had *if thou doe* (subjunctive). According to the OED (see [**if**, *conj. (n.)* A1a(α)]), this was changed at some point in the 1600s to *if thou doest* (indicative), reflecting a sense similar to what is found in Alma 22:16 with *if thou desirest*.

80   See OED [**much**, *a.*, quasi-*n.*, and *adv.* 2d]. This entry points out that vestiges of this use remain in the phrase *much thanks*.

only once (*much goods* in Luke 12:19),[81] or perhaps because it's nonstandard ModE. Yet the 16th-c. textual record has many examples of this use; these two are reminiscent of BofM syntax (cf. Mosiah 27:9; 4 Nephi 1:16):

> **1565** Stapleton tr. *Bede's Hist. Ch. Eng.* Ded., The same Emperour after **much disputations** and conferences had with the Arrians,..commaunded [etc.].
>
> **1586** J. Hooker *Ireland* Ep. Ded. in Holinshed *Chron.*, You..haue through so **much enuiengs**.. perseuered in your attempts.[82]

Helaman 3:3 nicely illustrates free variation in use (taken to be an intended part of the divine translation):

> there were **much** contention**s** and **many** dissension**s**

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81   As we've seen near the beginning of this article, *riches* in EModE was not clearly plural (*much riches*: Joshua 22:8; 2 Chronicles 32:27; Daniel 11:13; Alma 10:4). And *alms* could also be construed as singular. And in the phrase *much people* — an obsolete use found in both texts — *much* conveyed the notion of 'a great number of' [OED **much**, *a.* †2b].

82   Here are some more OED examples of *much* with plural nouns taken collectively:

> **1546** J. Heywood Prov. i. xi. (1867) 32 We maie doo much ill, er we doo **much wars**. *c*1550 H. Lloyd *Treas. Health* viii. Cviii, Agaynst to **much watchynges**… The Sygnes. That he can not slepe after his accustomyd fashyon. **1555** W. Watreman *Fardle Facions* Gviij, The Arabiens named Nomades occupie **much Chamelles**, bothe in warre, and burden. **1558** T. Phaer *Æneid* vi. Riv, **Much things** congendrid long [L. *multa diu concreta*]. *1564 Brief. Exam.* **iij b, There are **much paynes** bestowed of these discoursours. **1591** Sparry tr. *Cattan's Geomancie* 165 This figure..sheweth that the seruantes of the saide Lords shall get **much friends**. **1569** *Depos. John Hawkins* in Arb. *Garner* V. 231 The said Sir William Garrard and Company, did also then provide, prepare, and lade in those ships **much wares**. **1596** Shakes. *Merch. V.* i. iii. 123 You cald me dog: and for these curtesies Ile lend you thus **much moneyes**. **1597** Shakes. *2 Hen. IV*, ii. iv. 29 I' faith, you have drunk too **much canaries**.

In EModE, although *much* could be used and was used before a variety of plural nouns, *many* was used more frequently, perhaps as much as 85% of the time in the 16th century.[83]

The periphrastic past and an obsolete use of the relative adjective *which*

Next we consider this late 16th-c. quotation taken from the OED:

> **1588** Parke tr. *Mendoza's Hist. China* 190 Many of the Gentlemen of the cittie **did go** vnto the Spaniards to visite them..*in the which visitation* they spent all the whole day.

Remarkably, there are three things in this excerpt that are found in the BofM but not in the KJV. First, **did go**. This particular wording is a grammatical structure that is familiar to any serious reader of the BofM and is currently used in ModE for emphasis and contrast. Back in the 1500s and early 1600s *did go* could be used without indicating any emphasis at all. When it was used in that way, it simply conveyed the same meaning as *went*. The periphrasis DID+*infinitive* appears more than 1,000 times in the BofM! And it is used 54 times with the infinitive *go*, either as *did go* or *didst go*. On the other hand, the KJV uses *went* or *wentest* more than 1,400 times, but **never** *did(st)…go* in affirmative declarative syntax. The EModE usage of expressing the affirmative declarative simple past with DID+*infinitive* peaked in the latter half of the 16th c. (probably in the 1560s — see Barber 1997: 195).[84] The BofM is full of this periphrastic syntax, using it more than 20% of the time, while the KJV uses

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83   This estimate is subject to sampling bias from OED quotation selection and overlap in query retrieval counts.

84   Charles Laurence Barber, *Early Modern English* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 1997), references a study and chart from p. 162 of Alvar Ellegård's *The Auxiliary Do: The Establishment and Regulation of its Use in English* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1953).

it sparingly, less than 2% of the time, and mainly with *did eat*.[85] This is additional evidence that the BofM's syntactic center of gravity is this time period.

Second, although *in the which* is found in the KJV, it is not used with a syntactically linked noun as it is with *visitation* in the 1588 quotation above.[86] This occurs a handful of times in the BofM: *in the which things/rebellion/strength/alliance/time.* More than a dozen examples of this prepositional phrase with the relative adjective *which* are to be found in the OED. The earliest ones noted in that dictionary come from the late ME period, the majority from the 16th c., and the latest one isolated thus far is from the year 1617.[87] The BofM has both *in the which*

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85   The KJV's low usage rate of this periphrasis reflects syntactic practice of the year 1530, after Tyndale.

86   The relevant OED entry is: [**which**, *a.* and *pron.* 13a]. The OED has quotations from the 1300s to 1607, plus two consciously archaic ones from the 19th century. Here is one from Tyndale whose language carried through to the KJV in this case:

  1526 Tɪɴᴅᴀʟᴇ *Heb.* x. 10 **By the which will** we are sanctified.

87   The OED and other sources may show later usage. Here are some OED quotations:

  *c*1374 Cʜᴀᴜᴄᴇʀ *Boeth*. ɪᴠ. pr. vi. 109 (Camb. MS.) **In the which thing** I trowe þat god dispensith. *c*1450 *Godstow Reg.* 352 **In the which**..**mese**..the Chapelayn..shold haue a dwellyng to serue by the tymys succedyng. **1495** *Act 11 Hen. VII*, c. 63 *Preamble*, **In the which Acte**..the seid Francis Lovell was ignorauntly lefte oute and omitted. **1597** A. M. tr. *Guillemeau's Fr. Chirurg.* 26/3 **In the which wound**, we must impose a silvern or goulden pipe. **1617** Aʙᴘ. Aʙʙᴏᴛ *Descr. World, Peru* V iv, Which bedds are deuised of Cotten wooll, and hung vp betweene two trees..**in the which flagging downe** in the middle, men and their wiues and their children doe lie together.

  Here are two EModE examples taken from EEBO:

  1568 "…and he was a louer of his neighbor, as thou doest well know, **in the which things** consisteth all christian religion" English translation: *The fearfull fansies of the Florentine couper* (original Italian: Giovanni Battista Gelli).

  1615 "**in the which things** Israel ought to be commended" H. S., *A diuine dictionarie*.

things (like Chaucer) and *for the which things*, similar to a 1568 quotation.[88]

Third, the emphatic, pleonastic phraseology ALL…WHOLE occurs here and once in the BofM in Mosiah 2:21 — *all your whole soul*.

To be plain, some analogous forms are found in the KJV; it has similar relative-adjective prepositional phrases: *by the which will* (Hebrews 10:10), and *for the which cause* (2 Timothy 1:12). And as has been mentioned, it also has *didst eat* (Ezekiel 16:13; Acts 11:3), etc. But the KJV didn't use these analogous forms frequently (the relative adjective after a preposition) or anywhere near as often as the BofM (the periphrastic past), and it didn't ever use *in the which* with a noun, or *did(st) go*, when it had ample opportunity to do so. And so the BofM exhibits significant usage of 16th-c. forms like these which are well-attested in that time period but barely present in the KJV. As a result, the syntax of the BofM is appropriately and even sophisticatedly creative beyond what is readily apparent in the biblical text.

By the way of Gentile

Finally, one item in the TITLE PAGE is worth mentioning here. The phrase *by the way of Gentile* is an obsolete use of both *way* and *Gentile*. The use of *way* in this phrase is noted in the OED but only one 16th-c. example is provided:

> **way**, *n*. †32h = Through the medium of (a person).
> *Obs.*
> **1560** SIR N. THROGMORTON in Wright *Q. Eliz.* (1838)
> I. 49 The 29th of October last, I wrote to you from
> Paris **by the waye of** Monsieur de Chantonet.

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88   **1568** GRAFTON *Chron.* II. 47 The Bishops and Priestes..were contented yet to ayde him with money. **For the which thing**, he being desyrous to gratefie them againe, caused it to be ordeyned and enacted [that].

The BofM also has *for the which holiness* (Alma 31:17).

By the way of is frequent in the KJV but it is used exclusively in locative expressions and is not used with persons. (What seems like a use with a person in Numbers 21:1 is actually a covert locative use.) So *by the way of* used with a person with the meaning of 'through the medium of' is non-KJV EModE, and perhaps rare, if the scarcity of examples in the OED is any indication. Also, singular-in-form *Gentile* is an adjective used absolutely as a collective noun; the OED demonstrates the obsolete use with one late ME quotation:

> *c*1400 *Apol. Loll.* 6 Constreyning þe **gentil** to be com Jewes in obseruaunce.

Summary

This article has reviewed many forms and much syntax that are not found in the KJV but which are found in the broader EModE textual record. Because what we know to be standard EModE (for a religious book in particular) largely comes from our acquaintance with KJV language, readily identifiable discrepancies on the part of the BofM from KJV modes of expression have been viewed as nonstandard, even ungrammatical. And from the perspective of ModE the Earliest Text of the BofM certainly often reads that way. But because much of its language is independent of the KJV, even reaching back in time to the transition period from late ME into EModE, it needs to be compared broadly to those earlier stages of English. And we have seen in this paper that the BofM has many syntactic structures that are typical and well-formed when compared to those of earlier periods of English. The correspondences are plentiful and plain.

Therefore, in view of the totality of the evidence adduced here, I would assert that it is no longer possible to argue that the Earliest Text of the BofM is defective and substandard in its grammar. And that follows in large part because we would

then have to call EModE defective and substandard, since so much of what we see in the book is like that stage of the English language. And it was a human language like any other, fraught with variation and exhibiting diverse forms of expression. My hope is that this article has managed to disabuse us of the idea that the BofM is full of "errors of grammar and diction" and appreciate the text for what it is: a richly embroidered linguistic work that demonstrates natural language variation appropriately and whose forms and patterns of use are strikingly like those found in the EModE period. There is now clear and convincing evidence that the BofM is, in large part, an independent, structurally sound EModE text.

The bulk of the foregoing textual usage was beyond the reach of Joseph Smith (and also his scribes, who put the BofM text in writing). Because of the way language use works, even written texts naturally resist conscious manipulation. That is because we express conscious thought by a largely subconscious act of drawing on an internal grammar built up over time by experience, analogy, and inference. Yet in the case of the BofM, even if the composition of the book had been consciously manipulated by Smith and his associates in order to create a structurally and lexically plausible work of scripture based on the Bible they knew, the evidence is abundantly clear that the language is broader in scope and in many cases deeper in time than what might possibly have been derived from the KJV. Its grammar shows that it is markedly different in a number of ways. So the text itself presents solid evidence of its non-KJV origins since it clearly draws on a wide array of other language forms and syntax from the EModE period, some of them obscure and inaccessible to virtually everyone 200 years ago. Only now are we beginning to appreciate the book's surprising linguistic depth and breadth.

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What Command Syntax Tells Us About Book of Mormon Authorship

Stanford Carmack

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What Command Syntax Tells Us About Book of Mormon Authorship

Stanford Carmack

Abstract: *The variety of command syntax found in the Book of Mormon is very different from what is seen in the King James Bible. Yet it is sophisticated and principled, evincing Early Modern English linguistic competence. Interestingly, the syntactic match between the 1829 text and a prominent text from the late 15th century is surprisingly good. All the evidence indicates that Joseph Smith would not have produced the structures found in the text using the King James Bible as a model, nor from his own language. The overall usage profile of command syntax seen in the Book of Mormon strongly supports the view that the Lord revealed specific words to Joseph Smith, not simply ideas.*

This paper considers the systematic use of the verb *command* when it governs another verb, in both the 1829 Book of Mormon and the 1611 King James Bible (excluding the Apocrypha). This analysis leads to some important conclusions in relation to Book of Mormon authorship. Because there are profound differences between the two scriptural texts, and because there are more than 150 instances of command syntax in each text, it is possible to make strong claims with respect to this question.

As part of this study, some structural properties of command syntax are examined. The two main parameters to be investigated are (1) whether an infinitive or a finite verb

follows the command verb, and (2) whether the command verb itself is in the active voice or in the passive voice.

As shown in this paper, the Book of Mormon is a relatively strong match with an important 1483 English translation out of Latin by the early printer / publisher / translator William Caxton. From this match we can conclude that the Book of Mormon's systematic use of command syntax is not unheard of in the annals of English literature. Yet neither is it commonly found. Although I have discovered that another text is close to the Book of Mormon in terms of command syntax, the particular usage patterns were not prevalent in the general textual record, and they have been thoroughly obscured by language change and the passage of time.

While the forms found in the Book of Mormon constitute old syntax, they are not difficult to understand or impenetrable in meaning. Yes, the syntax can be complex and even a bit cumbersome (especially when judged according to present-day sensibilities), but the meaning is usually plain. Of course the text often sacrifices economy for clarity, and its favored form of command syntax fits within that paradigm.

Grammatical Details of Command Syntax

In the particular grammatical construction of interest to this study, some form of the verb *command* is followed by a syntactically related finite clause or infinitival complement. The finite clause may or may not have an auxiliary (*should* or *shall*):

> *Finite command syntax (past tense, active voice)*
>   X commanded **that** Y (should) do something

> *Infinitival command syntax (past tense, active voice)*
>   X commanded Y **to** do something

Command syntax is, generally speaking, complex. That is because two or more verbs are involved — either active or passive in construction — and often there are multiple

grammatical subjects and objects. As a result, the usage of this structure is diverse and exhibits interesting patterns of use.

Even so, the syntax can occasionally be fairly simple. The following example involves two verbs and just one subject and one object — pronominal *he* and *him*:

> **1483** Caxton, tr. *Golden Legend* [spelling modernized]
> He commanded to put him in prison

Here is one example from the Book of Mormon that we will take a look at in order to facilitate an initial understanding of the structure (Skousen's Earliest Text of the Book of Mormon is used throughout this discussion):[1]

> 3 Nephi 20:14 [*here the standard LDS text is the same*]
> the Father hath commanded me that I should give
> unto you this land for your inheritance

More than half of the occurrences of command syntax in the Book of Mormon (B*of*M) have this general structure. In this verse the verb *hath commanded* has both an indirect object (*me*) and a direct object **clause** headed by *that*. Along with its grammatical subject, these are the main-clause ARGUMENTS:

[the Father]*subject* [hath commanded]*present-perfect verb*

   [me]*indirect object*

      [that I should give unto you this land]*direct object clause*

The object clause in this kind of syntax is commonly referred to as both embedded and finite. In 3 Nephi 20:14 this clause has a ditransitive verb *give* that has three arguments of its own: subject, direct object, and indirect object:

[that]*conjunction / complementizer* [I]*embedded subject*

   [should]*subjunctive auxiliary* [give]*embedded infinitive*

      [unto you]*embedded indirect object* [this land]*embedded direct object*

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1   Royal Skousen, ed., *The Book of Mormon: The Earliest Text* (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 2009).

The pronouns *me* and *I* are referentially identical; they are the main-clause indirect object and the embedded subject of the structure. In this paper I will refer to command syntax with such an object and subject as LAYERED. In this passage the auxiliary *should* functions as a subjunctive marker indicating compulsion, a notion inherent in the semantics of command syntax.

Unlike what is commonly encountered in Modern English and in the King James Bible (KJB), an infinitive is **not** employed after *hath commanded me* in this and most cases of command syntax in the B*of*M. If this verse had used an infinitive, it would have simply read:

> the Father hath commanded me **to** give unto you this
> land for your inheritance

The construction with an infinitival complement is more compact. A parenthetical phrase elsewhere in the text provides evidence that the above syntax would have been permissible:

> Helaman 4:22
> — or THAT WHICH the Lord commanded him **to** give
> unto the people —

In this verse the relative pronominal *that which* precedes the main-clause verb *commanded* but it is notionally the direct object of the embedded verb *give*. This parenthetical phrase thus illustrates the connectedness of command syntax. The option of using either finite or infinitival complementation in command syntax is an example of usage variation that is a feature of all texts. The general meaning is the same but the syntactic expression is different.

I have transformed the following verse in order to exemplify some of the structures that this study discusses:

> Alma 52:4 — *as it appears in the text*
> he [Ammoron] did command that his people should
> maintain those cities which they had taken

Transformations of Alma 52:4 (*did command* → *commanded*)

Layered syntax (the most common B *of* M type)
he commanded HIS PEOPLE that THEY should maintain those cities which they had taken

Infinitival complement with a raised object
he commanded **his people** to maintain those cities

Infinitival complement without a raised object (KJB)
he commanded to maintain those cities

Finite-clause syntax, no auxiliary (TENSE-LEVELLED)
he commanded that his people MAINTAIN those cities

Main-clause passive, infinitival complement
his people **were** commanded *to* maintain those cities

Main-clause passive, finite object clause
the people **were** commanded by Ammoron *that* they should maintain those cities

Embedded-clause passive, infinitival complement (KJB)
he commanded those cities to be maintained

Embedded-clause passive, finite object clause (B *of* M)
he commanded that those cities should be maintained

Multiple embedded verbs
he commanded that his people should GUARD and MAINTAIN those cities which they had taken

Embedded negation
he commanded that his people should NOT maintain those cities which they had taken

Intervening adverbial
he commanded that his people should WITH GREAT ENERGY maintain those cities which they had taken

Double passive
those cities **were** commanded to **be** maintained

Layered Command Syntax

Returning to consider 3 Nephi 20:14 —

> the Father hath commanded ME that **I** should give
> unto you this land for your inheritance

— we note that the first-person pronoun *me* is the indirect object of *hath commanded*. In earlier English the preposition *to* (indicating dative case) optionally preceded the indirect object. This is seen in the following Oxford English Dictionary[2] (OED) quotation from around the year 1400 (spelling modernized):

> ***c*1400** MANDEVILLE (Roxb.) xxiv. 110
> He commanded **to** ALL that THEY should forsake all
> that they had.

The KJB uses the dative preposition *to* once (in Daniel 3:4: ***To** you it is commanded*); the B*of*M never does (except after *command* nominals). This syntactic marking became obsolete in the EModE period. In the Mandeville quotation, as in 3 Nephi 20:14, the indirect object is recapitulated by a pronoun that functions as the subject of the embedded clause. The OED indicates that this layered syntax is obsolete. However, because of biblical influence, its use persisted in a minor way into the 18th century and beyond. Google books *Ngram Viewer*[3] shows usage rates of approximately 1% between 1700 and 1820 (some of this is biblical, and some is reprinted older language, including sermons using biblical phraseology).

In contexts where both verbs are in the active voice, the B*of*M has 84 instances of this layered syntax while the KJB has only 9, two in one Old Testament verse. This verse, Nehemiah 13:22, contains the last-dated example of layered syntax that

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2 *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed. on CD-ROM, v4 (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2009).

3 Jean-Baptiste Michel *et al.*, "Quantitative Analysis of Culture Using Millions of Digitized Books," *Science* (published online ahead of print on 16 December 2010).

is listed in the OED. That suggests that the KJB's use of the structure was a vestige of older syntax. Here is the structure with ellipsis shown by brackets and indexing. Main-clause ellipsis is shown in square brackets, and embedded-clause ellipsis is shown in curly brackets; the embedded infinitives are underlined:[4]

> Nehemiah 13:22
>
> [I **commanded** THE LEVITES]ᵢ *that* THEY ***should*** <u>cleanse</u> themselves, and [*i*] {*that* THEY ***should***}ⱼ <u>come</u> and {*j*} <u>keep</u> the gates, to sanctify the sabbath day

The other seven biblical instances of active-voice, obsolete layered syntax are shown below, along with two in passive constructions. Main-clause indirect objects and embedded subjects are in SMALL CAPS:

Active-voice examples

> Genesis 3:11
>
> Hast thou eaten of the tree, whereof I **commanded** THEE *that* THOU ***shouldest*** not eat?

> Exodus 27:20
>
> thou shalt **command** the CHILDREN OF ISRAEL, *that* THEY ***bring*** thee pure oil olive beaten for the light

> Lamentations 1:10
>
> WHOM thou didst **command** *that* THEY ***should*** not enter into thy congregation

> Mark 6:8
>
> And **commanded** THEM *that* THEY ***should*** take nothing for their journey

> Acts 1:4
>
> Jesus . . . **commanded** THEM *that* THEY ***should*** not depart from Jerusalem, but wait for the promise of the Father

---

4   Because there are two separate object clauses headed by *that*, I have counted Nehemiah 13:22 as containing two instances of command syntax.

Acts 5:28

Did not we straitly **command** YOU *that* YE *should* not teach in this name . . . ?

Acts 24:23

he **commanded** a CENTURION . . . *that* HE *should* forbid none of his acquaintance to minister or come unto him

Main-clause impersonal passives

Daniel 3:4–5

Then an herald cried aloud, To YOU it is **commanded**, O people, nations, and languages, *that* at what time ye hear the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, dulcimer, and all kinds of musick, YE *fall* down and *worship* the golden image that Nebuchadnezzar the king hath set up

Revelation 9:4

it was **commanded** THEM *that* THEY *should* not hurt the grass of the earth, neither any green thing, neither any tree

The last two examples have passive command verbs whose grammatical subject is the expletive *it*; these are discussed later.

The next example is different from the others since it involves an embedded passive verb phrase *should be stoned*:

Embedded-clause passive (not a case of layered syntax)

John 8:5

Moses in the law **commanded** US, *that* <u>such</u> *should* be stoned

As a result, the embedded subject *such* is not related to the indirect object *us* in the same way that the arguments in the other verses are related to each other. This verse is the only time in the KJB that the embedded subject is different from the indirect object; this state is essentially obligatory in embedded

passive syntax.[5] It is similar to the relation between *my people* and *these plates* in the following BofM verse:[6]

> 1 Nephi 19:4
> this have I done and **commanded** MY PEOPLE *that* THEY *should* do after that I was gone and that <u>these plates</u> *should* be handed down

This syntax is complex since it has a fronted direct object *this* with subject–verb inversion: *have I* instead of *I have*. The fronting of *this* eliminates the need for a repeat. The pronominal object functions as the understood object of the embedded verb *do*:

> [this]$_i$ have I . . . **commanded** MY PEOPLE *that* THEY *should* do [*i*]

With all these elements, it qualifies as a fairly typical EModE construction. This is also the only occurrence in the BofM with both an indirect object — *my people* — and an embedded passive verb phrase:

> [I have] **commanded** MY PEOPLE . . . *that* <u>these plates</u> *should* be handed down

Joseph Smith could hardly have authored this elaborate syntax.

Overview of Command Syntax in the BofM and the KJB

According to the counts carried out for this study,[7] there are 163 instances of command syntax in the BofM, and 170 in the KJB. Overall, the BofM has 92 cases of layered command

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5 When the embedded verb is in the active voice, its subject is commanded to do something. But when the embedded verb is in the passive voice, its subject is the recipient of the commanded action.

6 See Royal Skousen, *Analysis of Textual Variants of the Book of Mormon* (Provo, UT: FARMS and BYU, 2004–09), 1:402.

7 I have simplified this analysis by not including any *command* **nominals** in counts. While it is not always a straightforward matter to tally instances of command syntax, these cases are few in number. That being so, unresolvable counting issues are minor in effect and do not affect the conclusions of this study. The approach taken here counts each occurrence of infinitival *to* or conjunctive *that* (or an auxiliary without *that*) governed by a form of the verb *command*.

syntax and the KJB has only 12. Consequently, had the KJB used layered syntax as often as the B*of*M, there would have been more than 300 of them in the 1611 text. Thus the B*of*M is markedly different from the KJB in terms of rate of use of this obsolete structure. Yet because layered syntax is found in the KJB, the construction does not constitute evidence on its own that the B*of*M is independent of the KJB in relation to command syntax. It is the totality of usage patterns that points to independence, as is amply evident from a comprehensive analysis of the construction. This article seeks to perform such an analysis, drawing conclusions from systematic usage patterns and the sum of the evidence.

Table 1 breaks down command syntax in the B*of*M and KJB according to whether the embedded clause is finite or strictly infinitival:

Table 1. A Comparison of Command Syntax in the 1829 B *of* M and the 1611 KJB

Embedded syntax	B*of*M	KJB
FINITE	129	32
INFINITIVAL	34	138
FINITE RATE	79.1%	18.8%

Chi-square test: $X^2 \approx 120$; $p < 10^{-27}$

The B*of*M uses finite command syntax nearly 80% of the time, while the KJB prefers compact infinitival syntax, using it slightly more than 80% of the time. (In addition, the B*of*M uses command syntax at 2.5 times the rate of the KJB.) Statistically speaking, there is a significant difference in usage between the two texts that almost certainly did not arise by accident. So either Joseph Smith consciously preferred and used the less-common biblical syntax, or he dictated specific, revealed words to his scribes. The latter is more plausible as this analysis attempts to show.

## Historical Overview of Command Syntax in English

Infinitival command syntax is attested at least from the early 14th century. The OED has examples with *to*, without *to* (akin to *bid*), and with *for to* (accidentals regularized):

> **1382** Wyclif *Matt.* xviii. 25
> His lord **commanded** him *to* be sold.

> *c* **1350** *Will. Palerne* 236
> Of what kin he were come he **commanded** him [ø] tell.

> *c* **1386** Chaucer *Clerk's T.* 477
> This child I am **commanded** *for to* take.

Infinitival usage with *to* persists to this day and is the nearly exclusive type. The notion is now often expressed with a different verb like *order*, as in "I was ordered to pay the fine."

Rate of infinitival complementation after *command**ed***
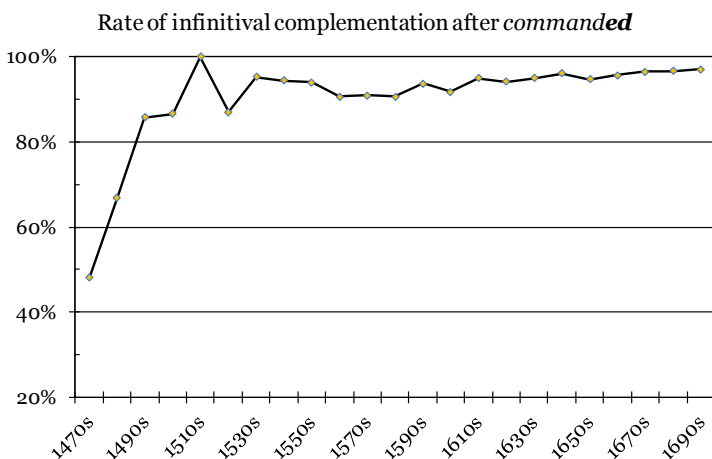
The Early English Books Online database[8] (EEBO) indicates that only in 15th-century EModE was finite command syntax common (see above chart). This is largely due to Caxton. By the

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8   Chadwyck-Healey, <eebo.chadwyck.com>. Mark Davies, *Early English Books Online, 400 million words, 1470s–1690s* (2013–). I am indebted to Mark Davies for providing me with access to his large corpus and excellent interface.

year 1500 the infinitival was the default type. Thus a match between the BofM's command syntax and that of the printed textual record of English can be found only in the 15th century.

Moving beyond EModE into the 18th-century textual record (using *Ngram Viewer*), we find that finite command syntax was still used less than 5% of the time. Layered syntax, the most common type found in the BofM, and which the OED declares to be obsolete, occurred no more than 1% of the time.

If we consider only active-voice finite constructions, we find that the BofM employs layered syntax 73% of the time; the KJB uses it only 38% of the time. To be clear, here are these structures and their rate of use in the BofM:

> Active-voice layered finite syntax (73%) [obsolete]
> X COMMANDS Y that Y/Z should/shall do something

> Active-voice simple finite syntax (27%) [archaic]
> X COMMANDS that Y should/shall do something

The first set of OED quotes below contains examples of layered finite command syntax (obsolete), with both an indirect object and an object clause. The second group of quotes contains simple finite command syntax (archaic), with only an object clause (spelling has been regularized and some lexical items have been replaced by semantically equivalent modern words):

COMMAND + INDIRECT OBJECT + THAT

> *c* 1400 MANDEVILLE (Roxb.) xi. 41
> He urgently **commanded** HIS SUBJECTS *that* THEY **should** let me see all the places.

> **1530** in W. H. Turner *Select. Rec. Oxford* 80
> The university heads **commanded** THE SERVANTS *that* THEY **should** neither buy nor sell with him.

COMMAND + THAT

> *c* 1420 *Prose Life Alex.* 41 & 76
> He **commanded** *that* HE **should** go home to his fellows without any harm.

Then **commanded** Alexander *that* THEY ***should*** make many fires. For it began to be unsufferable cold.

The use of *that* in finite command syntax was optional through the centuries. The following OED quotations show the use of *should* **without** *that*. These have embedded passive verbs or intransitive verbs with only a grammatical subject:

> **1580** NORTH *Plutarch* (1676) 729
> Antonius . . . **commanded** [ø] <u>his head and his hands</u> ***should*** . . . be set up over the pulpit.

> **1596** SHAKES. *Tam. Shr.* IV. iii. 148
> I **commanded** [ø] <u>the sleeues</u> ***should*** be cut out, and sow'd vp againe.

> *c* **1611** CHAPMAN *Iliad* vii. 357
> Priam **commanded** [ø] NONE ***should*** mourne . . .

We find command syntax without *that* at least three times in the B*of*M, but not in the KJB. The first one we consider is the following:

> Mosiah 18:23
> he **commanded** THEM *that* THEY ***should*** observe the sabbath day and keep it holy, *and also* [ø] *every day* THEY ***should*** give thanks to the Lord their God

This passage is like the following excerpt from Caxton's *Golden Legend*, a text whose command syntax is similar to the B*of*M's:

> **1483** Caxton, tr. *Golden Legend* [spelling modernized]
> anon the cruel tyrant **commanded** *to* slay all the people that were with St. Edmund and destroy them, *but* [ø] THEY ***should*** hold and keep only the king, whom he knew rebel unto his wicked laws

In both cases it is the second embedded clause that lacks the complementizer *that*. Other elements — conjunctions and adverbials — take its place.

The other two without *that* are these:

Alma 63:12

> save it were those parts which [had been **commanded** by Alma] *should* not go forth

Helaman 6:25

> it is these secret oaths and covenants which [Alma **commanded** his son] *should* not go forth unto the world

These two examples are similar to the 1611 Chapman quote from the OED seen above (also with an intransitive verb), and they are also similar to the following 17th-century quotes:

1635 William Tyrwhit, tr. *A mirrour for Christian states*
> a Drum . . . which [he **commanded**] *should* be beaten up

1664 Peter Wyche, tr. *The life of Dom John de Castro*
> the Fortress, which [he **commanded**] *should* be Scal'd

In all four examples command syntax occurs in a relative clause and the complementizer *that* is not used before *should*. This particular syntactic match is striking. In the case of the B*of*M, which clearly favors the use of *that*-clauses, its absence here strongly suggests knowledgeable EModE authorship.

Nineteenth-Century Usage

The prolific Scottish author Walter Scott never used layered syntax in the first third of the 19th century, but he did use simple archaic syntax with an auxiliary. However, this linguistically conservative writer employed past-tense command syntax with object clauses only seven times (my count) in his extensive writings for his *Waverley* novels:

1814 – 1831, Walter Scott, *Waverley* novels [Brit. usage]
> it is said the king had **commanded** *that* it should not be further inquired into | Sir Richard **commanded** *that* he should prepare himself for attending him on an immediate journey | I sent you this morning to attend my nephew on the first tidings of his illness, and **commanded** *that* he should make no attempt to be present on this day's solemnity | he

was answered, that the King had **commanded** *that* none SHOULD be admitted to him for some time | the colonel, in base revenge, **commanded** *that* they SHOULD not spare that rogue Hudson | then **commanded** fiercely *that* I SHOULD be deprived of the sight of my eyes! | he **commanded** *that* the minstrel SHOULD be enlarged from the dungeon.

In contrast to a limited use of command syntax with *should*, Scott used *commanded . . . to* + INFINITIVE about 120 times in his *Waverley* novels (also my count). That means that he used past-tense finite-clause syntax only 6% of the time. These figures and Scott's conservative style tell us that archaic command syntax was infrequent in British English in the early 1800s.[9] And the absence of layered command syntax in his writings reinforces the assertion made by the OED that it was obsolete.

The American author James Fenimore Cooper used infinitives after *commanded* approximately 50 times in his copious writings. His output was roughly contemporaneous with the Scottish author. I have found that Cooper used *that*-clauses with *shall* and *should* only twice (my count — a 2% past-tense rate), once with an embedded passive and once in the context of statutory language:

> **1820 – 1851**, James Fenimore Cooper [Amer. usage]
> After which he incontinently **commanded** *that* the runaways SHOULD be apprehended | the statute **commanding** *that* all executions SHALL take place by the light of the sun.

This tells us that archaic command syntax was uncommon in American English in the early 1800s, and perhaps less common than it was in British English.

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9   There are elements in each of the above excerpts that made Scott's use of finite-clause syntax with *should* more likely. First, four of these have embedded passives: *should be* + PAST PARTICIPLE. Second, two have embedded negation, *should not* (and one has *should make **no*** which is similar to *should **not** make any*). Third, one has an embedded reflexive, *should prepare **himself***. In short, each one of the above syntactic structures exhibits embedded complexity. This almost certainly prompted Scott, at a subconscious level, to employ *that*-clauses. These issues are addressed later in this paper.

By the 20th century command syntax with *shall* or *should* was defunct, effectively remaining only with bare finite verbs in the shape of present-tense subjunctive verb forms, as in "they commanded that he **go**."

Auxiliary Usage in Finite-Clause Syntax

The last example from Cooper has the auxiliary *shall*. This auxiliary usage was uncommon, but it is found in the EModE textual record despite being absent in the KJB:

> **1536** Miles Coverdale, tr. *A myrrour or glasse for them*
> *that be syke [and] in payne* [EEBO]
> Therfore also doth Christ commaunde *that* we **shall**
> so shewe the lyght of oure fayth before men

> **1598** Stow *Surv.* 36 [OED]
> I . . . will and command, *that* they **shall** [enjoy] the
> same, well and quietly and honourably

The KJB never uses the auxiliary *shall* in the object clause of command syntax. Instead, the biblical text always employs bare finite verbs when the tense is non-past:

> Leviticus 13:54
> the priest shall command that they **wash** the thing
> wherein the plague is

Yet *shall* occurs seven times in the B*of*M in present and future contexts (and other times after *command* nominals). In this way, then, it is properly independent in its usage, following EModE but not the KJB.

Table 2 shows the breakdown of auxiliary usage and non-usage in the two texts; six B*of*M examples with *shall* follow.

Table 2. Comparison of Finite-Clause Auxiliary Usage

Auxiliary	B*of*M	KJB
NONE	9	7
SHALL	7	0
SHOULD	113	25

Alma 37:2
I also command you that ye SHALL keep a record of this people, according as I have done

Alma 44:7
I will command my men that they SHALL fall upon you and inflict the wounds of death in your bodies

Alma 61:13
he doth not command us that we SHALL subject ourselves to our enemies

Helaman 10:11
I command you that ye SHALL go and declare unto this people

3 Nephi 3:8
on the morrow month I will command that my armies SHALL come down against you

3 Nephi 16:4
I command you that ye SHALL write these sayings after that I am gone

The Periphrastic Past

Both the KJB and the BofM use the periphrasis DID + *command* as part of command syntax; it is also attested in EModE:

Lamentations 1:10
whom thou DIDST COMMAND that they should not enter into thy congregation

3 Nephi 15:16
This much DID the Father COMMAND me that I should tell unto them

1575 Rishton / Allen, tr. *A notable discourse* [EEBO]
yet our Sauiour DID COMMAUND that they should pay him tribute

Past-tense syntax with *did*, with main-verb lexical stress, is a distinct EModE phenomenon that peaked at an average rate

of 10% in the middle of the 16th century.[10] It is characteristic of the BofM and is used more than 25% of the time to express the simple past, but less than 2% of the time in the KJB (my estimates).

This is another strong piece of syntactic evidence pointing to the independence of the BofM vis-à-vis the KJB. The latter uses the periphrastic past heavily and noticeably only with the verb *eat* (and never for instance with *did go*). The BofM employs the syntax at a high rate and with many different verbs (about 50 times with *did go*). It is thus a mid–16th-century EModE text in this regard, and it was something Joseph Smith would not have been aware of from the KJB.

Finite-Clause Syntax

As has been noted, when command syntax is not infinitival, the BofM prefers to use obsolete layered syntax, while the KJB does not. Table 3 shows the breakdown, limiting it to cases where the grammatical voice of both verbs is active:

Table 3. Comparison of Active-Voice, Finite-Clause Syntax

$X^2 = 11.33; p < 10^{-3}$	BofM	KJB
LAYERED	84	9
SIMPLE	31	15
LAYERED RATE	73.0%	37.5%

Therefore, the predominant finite-clause construction (active voice) for each text is as follows.

B*of*M: X commanded Y that Y should do something

KJB: X commanded that Y should do something

The type favored by the BofM is emphatic, versatile, and precise. When *should* and *shall* are used (more than 90% of these cases), the notion of compulsion is reinforced. When

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10   Alvar Ellegård, *The Auxiliary Do: The Establishment and Regulation of its Use in English* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1953), 161–62.

the indirect object is repeated as the embedded subject, the structure is emphatic. And when the embedded subject is different from the indirect object, the command structure is versatile and precise; this usage is not directly possible with infinitival syntax. Furthermore, the complementizer *that*, unlike the infinitival preposition *to*, may be used far from the embedded subject and verb and can be used to clarify complex syntax and separate constituents. Finally, layered syntax is clear and direct. The person commanded is made explicit, as is what is commanded.

There are six instances in the B*of*M where the indirect object is **different** from the embedded subject:[11]

> 1 Nephi 3:2
> the Lord hath commanded ME *that* **thou and thy brethren** *shall* return to Jerusalem

> 1 Nephi 3:4
> the Lord hath commanded ME *that* **thou and thy brothers** *should* go unto the house of Laban and seek the records and bring them down hither into the wilderness.

> 1 Nephi 7:2
> the Lord commanded HIM *that* **I Nephi and my brethren** *should* again return into the land of Jerusalem and bring down Ishmael and his family into the wilderness

> Mosiah 18:21
> he commanded THEM *that* **there** *should* be no contention one with another

> Mosiah 18:24
> he also commanded THEM *that* **the priests which he**

---

11   Here I exclude the lone case with an embedded passive, in 1 Nephi 19:4 (see above), where the arguments are necessarily different.

> **had ordained** *should* labor with their own hands for
> their support

Mosiah 19:11
> the king commanded THEM *that* **all the men** *should*
> leave their wives and their children and flee before the
> Lamanites

Here is an early example with a passive command verb:

> **1483** Caxton, tr. *Golden Legend* [spelling modernized]
> CIRIACUS . . . was commanded *that* **he and his fellows**
> *should* delve the earth

It is worth noting that the syntactic structure of the first three examples is noticeably consistent. Yet there is free variation in 1 Nephi 3:2,4 with the auxiliaries *shall* and *should*, and with *brethren* and *brothers*.

Infinitival Syntax

Switching now to examine active, **infinitival** contexts, we find that the KJB has 26 occurrences without a raised object, while the B*of*M always explicitly identifies this object:

X COMMANDED [ø] to do something: B*of*M = 0%; KJB = 23%

This makes the B*of*M a plain text, consonant with a stated priority. The counts in Table 4 and the examples that follow exclude cases with embedded passives.

Table 4. Comparison of Active, Infinitival Command Syntax

$X^2 = 5.50$; p ≈ 0.019	B*of*M	KJB
RAISED OBJECT	19	86
NONE	0	26
RAISED OBJECT RATE	100%	76.8%

Esther 6:1
> he commanded [ø] to bring the book of records of the
> chronicles

Daniel 3:13
> Nebuchadnezzar in his rage and fury commanded [ø]
> to bring Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego

1 Nephi 5:8
> the Lord hath commanded MY HUSBAND to flee into
> the wilderness

Mosiah 18:22
> he commanded THEM to preach

Considering now infinitival command syntax with embedded passive verb phrases, we find that the KJB often employs this construction — 24 times — but that the B*of*M never does:

Acts 22:24
> The chief captain commanded [him **to be brought**
> into the castle]

The B*of*M only employs embedded passives in finite object clauses (1 Nephi 19:4; Mosiah 9:2; 12:18; 3 Nephi 17:11; 23:13; Ether 4:2), as in this example:

3 Nephi 17:11
> he commanded [that their little children **should be
> brought**]

The KJB uses this construction as well:

Nehemiah 13:19
> I commanded [that the gates **should be shut**]

There is one case in the KJB in which both the main verb and the embedded verb are used in the passive; such a construction is not found in the B*of*M:

Nehemiah 13:5 [DOUBLE PASSIVE]
> he had prepared for him a great chamber, where
> aforetime they laid *the meat offerings, the frankincense,
> and the vessels, and the tithes of the corn, the new wine,*

> *and the oil*, [WHICH was commanded **to** be *given*] to the
> Levites, and the singers, and the porters

The relative pronoun *which* — whose lengthy antecedent is shown in italics — functions as the subject of the command verb but refers to the things given, the past participle.

Active–Passive Effects in Command Syntax

Table 5 shows the breakdown of command syntax in the B*of*M according to whether the command verb was used in the active voice or in the passive voice, and whether the construction has an infinitival complement or a finite clause:

Table 5. Active–Passive Effects in the B*of*M

$X^2 = 31.9$; $p < 10^{-7}$ Embedded syntax	*Voice of the* COMMAND *verb*	
	ACTIVE	PASSIVE
FINITE	121	8
INFINITIVAL	19	15
FINITE RATE	86.4%	34.8%

Table 5 demonstrates that while infinitival syntax is decidedly not favored in the B*of*M in main-clause active contexts, it is favored in main-clause **passive** contexts. The chi-squared test indicates that it is highly unlikely that this grammatical pattern occurred by accident.

The KJB only has five main-clause passives so there is little data to analyze in this regard. Yet the biblical text uses finite-clause syntax with passive command verbs at twice the rate that it does with active command verbs. So the B*of*M pattern cannot derive from the KJB.

The following two B*of*M passages effectively illustrate the active–passive usage difference in the text since they have the same embedded verb phrase:

> Alma 52:4
> he **did command** *that* HIS PEOPLE ***should*** <u>maintain</u>
> <u>those cities</u> which they had taken

Alma 56:20

> They **were commanded** by Ammoron *to* <u>maintain those cities</u> which they had taken

Alma 52:4 has an active main-clause verb, while Alma 56:20 has a passive main-clause verb (with an overt agent, Ammoron).

Cases of object-clause syntax after passive command verbs are rare in the OED. Although there are probably more than I have found, I located only three examples in that voluminous dictionary. Moreover, there are 26 instances of *was/were/been commanded **to*** in the OED, but **no** cases of *was/were/been commanded . . . that . . . should*. The EEBO database shows that the latter syntax was always the minority usage in the EModE period, but that passive finite syntax was more common in the 16th century than in the 17th century. By the year 1700 the infinitival rate after passive command verbs was at least 98%.

From the evidence in the textual record, we conclude that there was a strong preference in EModE for infinitival complementation after passive command verbs. Therefore, in view of the fact that the BofM strongly favors finite-clause syntax generally, but favors infinitival syntax after passive command verbs, the text evinces a contrastive regard for the general EModE tendency. And it is important to note that there is no biblical evidence for this tendency. In fact, if anything, the KJB points to heavier finite-clause use with passive command verbs.

Here are the seven exceptional cases of finite syntax with passive command verbs in the BofM, all with the auxiliary *should*, regardless of the tense of the main clause:[12]

Omni 1:1

> I, Omni, **being** commanded by my father, Jarom, that I should write somewhat upon these plates to preserve our genealogy

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12   This arcane usage is also consistent with the EEBO database — it shows that *shall* was hardly ever used with present-tense passives (1 of 18; my count).

Mosiah 7:8

> and they stood before the king and **was** permitted — or rather commanded — that they SHOULD answer the questions which he should ask them

Alma 6:6

> the children of God **were** commanded that they SHOULD gather themselves together oft and join in fasting and mighty prayer

Alma 8:25

> I have **been** commanded that I SHOULD turn again and prophesy unto this people

Alma 9:1

> I Alma having **been** commanded of God that I SHOULD take Amulek and go forth and preach again unto this people

Mormon 6:6

> I Mormon . . . having **been** commanded of the Lord that I SHOULD not suffer that the records which had been handed down by our fathers, which were sacred, to fall into the hands of the Lamanites

Ether 4:3

> I **am** commanded that I SHOULD hide them up again in the earth

In every case there is something, syntactically speaking, that might have led to the choice of finite-clause syntax. Four of these verses have embedded verb phrases with elements that favor finite embedded syntax. In Alma 6:6 the embedded verb is reflexive and in Mormon 6:6 it is negated. In Alma 8:25; 9:1 the embedded verb phrase has two or more verbs. These factors are discussed below.

Mosiah 7:8 has broken main-clause syntax: first the verb *permit* is used, then it changes to *command*. This correction interrupts straightforward syntactic usage. Also, Ether 4:3 has

an embedded phrasal verb *hide up*. Such phrasal verbs are not used with embedded **infinitival** complementation in the text. The adverbial *up* may have a syntactic effect analogous to what is seen with embedded reflexive verbs (discussed below).

Finally, Omni 1:1 has a purposive infinitival preposition *to* that is part of the embedded clause. So the choice of finite syntax meant that only one infinitival preposition was used in the embedded clause. That is also a possibility in Mormon 6:6 which has double embedding with the verb *suffer*. An analogous situation is present in Acts 24:23, discussed below.

The intervening prepositional phrase in the next example (cf. Omni 1:1 above) may have led to the use of an object clause:

> **1483** Caxton, tr. *Golden Legend* [spelling modernized]
> she **was** commanded *by a voice in her sleep* that she
> should go to the holy King Edward

There are only five passive command verbs in the KJB data set: two with embedded finite clauses and three with infinitival complementation:

Finite complementation

Daniel 3:4–5
> To you it is commanded . . . **that** . . . ye fall down and worship [Nebuchadnezzar's] golden image

Revelation 9:4
> it was commanded them **that** they should not hurt . . .

Infinitival complementation

Numbers 36:2
> my lord was commanded by the Lord **to** give the inheritance . . . unto his daughters

Nehemiah 13:5
> which was commanded **to** be given to the Levites

1 Corinthians 14:34
> they are commanded **to** be under obedience

So, as stated above, the KJB actually uses *that*-clauses at a higher rate (40%) with main-clause passives than it does when the command verb is in the active voice.

Given the strong preference in both the KJB and EModE for passive infinitival syntax, it is natural to ask why object clauses were used in Revelation 9:4 and Daniel 3:4–5. The reason may ultimately reside in embedded complexity. In Revelation 9:4 there is embedded negation. Furthermore, Wycliffe in 1382, Tyndale in 1526, and the Geneva Bible in 1560 used *that*-clauses in this verse,[13] probably because of the negation. Their syntactic choice may have prompted the King James translators to do the same since earlier biblical translations are known to have influenced KJB usage.

As far as Daniel 3:4–5 is concerned, the extended aspect of the command structure, with many intervening elements (and an embedded conjoined verb phrase as well), could have influenced KJB translators not to use an infinitive. The complex wording of this verse demonstrates the increased clarity of finite-clause syntax with intervening constituents.

What Main-Clause Passive Command Syntax Tells Us

There are some conclusions that can be drawn from the foregoing evidence. We have seen that there is no discernible preference for passive infinitival syntax in the KJB. Consequently, countervailing passive infinitival syntax in the B*of*M cannot be attributed to the KJB.

Stepping back to a more general argument, if we ascribe the text of the B*of*M to the authorship of Joseph Smith, then we must assume that he followed the nine instances of active-voice layered syntax found in the KJB and vastly expanded its

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13 *Wycliffe*: It is comaundid to hem, THAT THEI SHULDEN not hirte hay of the erthe | *Tyndale*: hit was sayde vnto them THATT THEY SHULDE nott hurt the grasse off the erth | *Geneva*: it was commanded them, THAT THEY SHULDE not hurt the grasse of the earth.

use in the B*of*M, making it the predominant form of command syntax. That follows directly from the uncontroversial position that Joseph Smith was not an expert in EModE syntax and would have known of layered syntax only from the KJB, and not from obscure EModE texts (nor from his environment). But then, because there was no passive infinitival tendency to be found in the KJB, this view must lead us to conclude that he would have also used the same variety of syntax that he favored — with finite complementation — just as heavily with main-clause passives. It is clear that he did not.

The reliable EEBO database points to 98% infinitival rates at the end of the EModE period. The writings of Scott and Cooper show that infinitival syntax had nearly supplanted finite syntax by the 1820s. The American author used infinitival complementation 98% of the time, and the OED and *Ngram Viewer* provide cross-verification of similar rates. So it is almost certain that Joseph Smith's spoken and written language was predominantly infinitival (see JS–History 1:49,70; 1:29,48,50). And this is directly in line with what is found in the 1611 KJB.

As a result, it is highly likely that Smith would have used infinitival command syntax at a 90% rate or higher had he been responsible for the language of the text of the B*of*M. Therefore, the heavy use of obsolete and archaic finite syntax in the B*of*M, in conjunction with a contrastive preference for passive infinitival syntax, argues strongly against inexpert 1820s authorship. It is a virtual certainty that a nonscholarly author could not have produced this mix of syntactic structures. And this is especially apparent when we consider all the other intricacies of command syntax found in the text.

Mixed Syntax and Embedded Negation

Next we look at passages in the B*of*M and the KJB where both infinitival and finite syntax are used after a single command verb. The following B*of*M passage shifts from infinitival to

finite, seemingly focusing the command Mosiah makes about not having a king:

> Mosiah 29:30
>> I commanded you **to do** these things in the fear of the Lord; and I commanded you **to do** these things and THAT YE HAVE *no* king

Note that there is tense levelling in the finite clause, just as there is in present-day English: "we insist**ed** that they **leave**." We see this in EModE as well:

> **1483** Caxton, tr. *Golden Legend* [spelling modernized]
>> Then Hermogenes was angry and called many devils and command**ed** them that they **bring** to him St. James bound

This same type of switch — from infinitival to finite — is found in the KJB as well. In the following passage there are first two infinitivals, then an object clause headed by *that*. The finite clause is complex, containing a conjoined infinitival of its own:

> Acts 24:23
>> he commanded a centurion **to keep** Paul, and **to let** him have liberty, and THAT HE SHOULD FORBID *none* of his acquaintance **to**$_i$ minister or [*i*] come unto him

The switch to a finite clause effectively prevents the use of multiple embedded infinitives: **he commanded . . . **to** forbid none . . . **to** minister or come unto him.* Also, it adds variety given the preceding infinitival prepositions.

It is also possible, in both Mosiah 29:30 and Acts 24:23, that the negative aspect of the embedded verb phrases influenced the choice of a *that*-clause. That claim is made because there is an observed preference for finite command syntax in both texts with **negated** embedded verbs:[14]

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14   However, neither Mosiah 29:30 nor Acts 24:23 has been counted as an instance of verb negation. That is because the negative element is restricted to a noun phrase; it does not act as an adverbial modifying the verb.

Table 6. Embedded Verbal Negation in Command Syntax

Syntax	B*of*M		KJB	
	NEGATION	NONE	NEGATION	NONE
FINITE	20	109	6	26
INFINITIVAL	0	34	3	135

$$X^2 = 6.01; p = 0.014 \qquad X^2 = 14.24; p = 0.00014$$

By and large the KJB prefers infinitival complementation, but it favors finite complementation when there is embedded negation.

Embedded Complexity: Ellipsis and Counting

The tendency in the two texts, but especially in the B*of*M, is not to use an infinitival construction when there is embedded complexity of one kind or another. For instance, when there are conjoined verb phrases after the command verb, the B*of*M always uses finite syntax except in one instance. The exception is the following verse with a main-clause passive:

> Alma 5:44
> I am commanded to STAND and TESTIFY unto this people
>
> *Expanded:* I am commanded to stand and
> **I am commanded to** testify unto this people

There were two syntactic forces at work in this verse: the passive command verb called for an infinitival complement, and the conjoined verb phrases called for a finite clause. The former effectively outweighed the latter.

Because there is not another instance of *to*, this verse is counted as containing only one instance of command syntax. The use of the simple intransitive verb *stand*, without any following adverbial element such as *up* or *forth* before the conjunction and the next infinitive, may have favored *to*-ellipsis. There are two similar cases of ellipsis in the KJB. These verses have more robust ellipsis, since there are adverbials that follow the first infinitive in each case:

Luke 9:54

> Lord, [wilt thou that we command fire]$_i$ {to}$_j$ COME
> down from heaven, and [i] {j} CONSUME them, even as
> Elias did?

Acts 4:18

> And [they]$_i$ called them, and [commanded them]$_i$ not
> {to}$_j$ SPEAK at all nor [i] {j} TEACH in the name of Jesus

The expansion of the ellipsis in Acts 4:18 would conceivably be something like *nor did they command them to.*

The following B*of*M verse does not have ellipsis of the infinitival preposition:

Mosiah 26:39

> [they . . . being commanded of God]$_i$ TO pray without
> ceasing and [i] TO give thanks in all things

It is counted as two cases of infinitival syntax because of the second use of *to* and the possibility that there could have been a switch to a finite clause. In other words, the above verse could have been expressed in the following way:

> they . . . being commanded of God **to** pray without
> ceasing and **that they should** give thanks in all things

As we have seen, this switch from infinitival to finite is found elsewhere in the B*of*M and KJB (Mosiah 29:30 and Acts 24:23).

The KJB has 12 instances of embedded, conjoined verb phrases; the B*of*M has 11. The only pure infinitival case in the B*of*M with more than one instance of *to* is Mosiah 26:39; here are two infinitival examples from the KJB:

Genesis 42:25

> Then Joseph commanded **to** fill their sacks with corn,
> and **to** restore every man's money into his sack, and **to**
> give them provision for the way

Acts 23:10
> the chief captain . . . commanded the soldiers **to** go down, and **to** take him by force from among them, and **to** bring him into the castle

Here are examples with finite-clause syntax, one from each scriptural text:[15]

Jeremiah 37:21
> Zedekiah the king **commanded** THAT THEY SHOULD commit Jeremiah into the court of the prison, and THAT THEY SHOULD give him daily a piece of bread out of the bakers' street, until all the bread in the city were spent

3 Nephi 18:8
> when he had said these words, he **commanded** his disciples THAT THEY SHOULD *take* of the wine of the cup and *drink* of it, and THAT THEY SHOULD also give unto the multitude that they might drink of it

Note the conjoined verbs *take* and *drink* after the first instance of *that they should* in 3 Nephi 18:8. The text could have read *and that they should drink of it*, with a complete expansion. We consider that kind of syntax next.

Conjoined Verb Phrases in the Embedded Clause

This section examines conjoined embedded verb phrases in the B*of*M. Besides Alma 5:44 (with a main-clause passive: *I am commanded **to** stand and testify*), finite-clause syntax is always used when there is more than one embedded main verb. A comparison of usage is shown in Table 7:

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15   2 Nephi 26:32 (not shown) is remarkable in that it has nine instances after a single command verb.

Table 7. Embedded Verb Phrases in B *of* M Command Syntax

[*embedded verb phrases limited to active contexts without negation*]

Syntax	1 VERB	2+ VERBS
FINITE	79	18
INFINITIVAL	19	0

$$X^2 = 4.17; p = 0.041$$

Because the text favors finite syntax anyway, this particular usage pattern barely enters the realm of statistical significance. We have already seen some instances of conjoined, embedded verb phrases; here are four more examples:

Mosiah 19:11
> the king commanded them that all the men should LEAVE their wives and their children and FLEE before the Lamanites

Alma 8:16
> I am sent to command thee that thou RETURN to the city of Ammonihah and PREACH again unto the people of the city

Alma 44:7
> I will command my men that they shall FALL upon you and INFLICT the wounds of death in your bodies

Alma 47:27
> Amalickiah commanded that his armies should MARCH forth and SEE what had happened to the king

In every case in the B*of*M, the ellipsis involves *that* and the embedded subject, and it usually involves an auxiliary. In short, this is an additional way in which the B*of*M uses command syntax in a regulated manner, favoring once again finite syntax with embedded complexity, perhaps because of its greater clarity and syntactic flexibility (the conjunction *that* and the auxiliary verb are freer, syntactically speaking, than the infinitival preposition *to*).

We have seen that the KJB has two cases of embedded ellipsis with infinitives (Luke 9:54; Acts 4:18). It also has five instances of embedded ellipsis in object clauses. One of these has a reflexive verb (Acts 27:43) and is mentioned below, another has been discussed more than once (Daniel 3:4–5), and another has been shown before as well (Nehemiah 13:22). The remaining two verses are these:

Acts 1:4
And, being assembled together with them, commanded them that they should not DEPART from Jerusalem, but WAIT for the promise of the Father

Joshua 8:29
Joshua commanded that they should TAKE his carcase down from the tree, and CAST it at the entering of the gate of the city, and RAISE thereon a great heap of stones

Joshua 8:29 has three embedded main verbs, similar to 1 Nephi 3:4 and Alma 9:1. (Alma 39:12 may have four [see below].)

With these counts in mind, we see that the biblical text opts for finite syntax more than 70% of the time with this type of embedded complexity. There are few cases of this, but we can say that this high finite rate with conjoined verb phrases contrasts with a complementary 17% finite rate with simple verb phrases ($p < 0.003$; Fisher's exact test).

Finite Followed by Infinitival Syntax in the B*of*M

The B*of*M has two cases of finite followed by infinitival syntax; the KJB does not have similar examples. In both cases the finite-clause verb phrase is more complex than the infinitival one, as we expect from the evidence considered thus far:

Alma 8:25
[I have been commanded]$_i$ THAT I SHOULD TURN AGAIN AND PROPHESY unto this people, yea, and [i] **to testify** against them concerning their iniquities

3 Nephi 4:23

> [Zemnarihah did give command unto his people]*ᵢ*
> THAT THEY SHOULD WITHDRAW THEMSELVES from the
> siege and [*i*] **to march** into the farthermost parts of
> the land northward

In Alma 8:25 the finite-clause verb phrase is complex, consisting
of two verbs: *prophesy* and an obsolete phrasal verb *turn again*
= 'return' (see OED **turn**, *v.* †66b). In contrast, the infinitival
verb phrase is simple. The next example, 3 Nephi 4:23, does
not contain the verb *command*; so it has not been included in
database counts. But I include it here because (1) it has relevant
syntax and (2) the semantics of *did give command* is equivalent
to 'commanded.' Note that the finite-clause verb is reflexive
and that the infinitival verb phrase is a simple intransitive.

Although this complex syntax is not biblical, we find it in
EModE; this switch was used more than once by Caxton:

1483 Caxton, tr. *Golden Legend*

> He commaunded THAT SHE SHOLD BE BROUGHT
> to fore hym And **to be tormented** wyth so many
> tormentes that she shold be estemed for dede

> Thenne he commaunded THAT SHE SHOLD BE PUT in
> pryson and on the morn **to be byheded**

> And after this themperour commaunded THAT THEY
> SHOLD BE HANGED with cordes And theyr bodyes **to
> be gyuen** to houndes and woluys to be deuoured

Caxton is free with his use of ellipsis in the first two examples,
since objective *her* does not occur in the preceding clause
and that would be the grammatical expansion in front of the
infinitival preposition *to*. The B*of*M is likewise free, at times,
with ellipsis. Also, Caxton's infinitivals are used in passive verb
phrases. These have the same, simple argument structure (an
elliptical subject, no grammatical object) that the intransitives
have in the infinitivals in Alma 8:25 and 3 Nephi 4:23.

On Embedded Reflexives

The B*of*M uses finite-clause syntax exclusively with embedded reflexive verb phrases (five times if we count 3 Nephi 4:23):

> 3 Nephi 18:2
>> he commanded the multitude THAT THEY SHOULD SIT THEMSELVES down upon the earth

> Alma 6:6
>> the children of God were commanded THAT THEY SHOULD GATHER THEMSELVES together oft and join in fasting and mighty prayer

> Alma 61:13
>> [he doth not command us]ᵢ THAT WE SHALL SUBJECT OURSELVES to our enemies, but [*i*] THAT WE SHOULD put our trust in him and he will deliver us

> Mosiah 12:17
>> he commanded THAT THE PRIESTS SHOULD GATHER THEMSELVES together

This is taken to be a real pattern in the B*of*M because the same behavior is noted more extensively in causative syntax (13 times), which is similar in construction. Furthermore, the KJB, which disfavors finite-clause syntax, uses it both times with embedded reflexive verbs:

> Acts 27:43
>> But the centurion, willing to save Paul, kept them from their purpose; and commanded THAT THEY which could swim SHOULD CAST THEMSELVES first into the sea, and *get* to land

> Nehemiah 13:22
>> I commanded the Levites THAT THEY SHOULD CLEANSE THEMSELVES

In Alma 61:13 the tense of the auxiliary shifts from present to past under main-clause ellipsis. This is the only case of such

a tense shift in embedded command syntax. Skousen's work shows that this has never been emended in the history of the text. Hence, no editor has determined it to be unacceptable from a grammatical standpoint. We note here that *should* is found frequently after present-tense *commandeth* in EModE:

> **1485** Caxton, tr. *The Royal Book*
> God commandeth that he **should** fast; the belly saith nay.

Auxiliary Usage Patterns in the B*of*M

Embedded finite verbs are used **without** an auxiliary only 7% of the time in the B*of*M. In one of these the bare verb overtly shows subjunctive marking, similar to what is seen elsewhere in the text, such as in the second example below containing an impersonal construction with *flee*:

> Alma 8:16
> I am sent to command thee THAT THOU **return** to the city of Ammonihah

> 1 Nephi 3:18
> Wherefore, it must needs be THAT HE **flee** out of the land

Because subjunctive is clearly used in Alma 8:16, and since *shall* and *should* act as subjunctive markers, the other verses with bare embedded finite verbs likely contain covert subjunctive verb forms. These are shown immediately below (the last example, Alma 39:12, has three instances of *that ye* after a single command verb):

> 1 Nephi 17:48
> I command you THAT YE **touch** me not

> Mosiah 29:30
> I commanded you . . . THAT YE **have** no king

> Alma 5:61
> I Alma do command you in the language of him who

hath commanded me THAT YE **observe** to do the
words which I have spoken unto you

Alma 37:1

I command you THAT YE **take** the records which have
been entrusted with me

Alma 37:27

I command you THAT YE **retain** all their oaths and
their covenants and their agreements in their secret
abominations

Alma 39:12

I command you, my son, in the fear of God, THAT
YE **refrain** from your iniquities, THAT YE **turn** to the
Lord with all your mind, might, and strength, THAT
YE **lead** away the hearts of no more to do wickedly, but
rather **return** unto them and **acknowledge** your faults
and **repair** that wrong which ye have done

What is noteworthy about these is that they all involve second-
person pronouns. Alma 8:16 has second-person singular *thou*,
and the rest have second-person plural *ye*, with the pronoun in
Alma 37 and 39 used with singular meaning to refer to one of
Alma's sons.[16]

Five other times *ye* is used with *should* or *shall*:

Alma 37:2

I also command you that YE SHALL keep a record of
this people

Alma 61:20

the Lord hath commanded you that YE SHOULD go
against them

Helaman 10:11

I command you that YE SHALL go and declare unto
this people

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16   Singular *ye* was typical EModE usage — see OED **ye**, *pers. pron. 2nd
pers. nom. (obj.), pl. (sing.)*, definition 2.

3 Nephi 16:4
> I command you that YE SHALL write these sayings
> after that I am gone

3 Nephi 18:25
> but rather have commanded that YE SHOULD come
> unto me

And as we have already seen, *shall* and *should* are used with a pair of verses in 1 Nephi 3:2,4 with resolved second-person plural subjects. This distribution of usage means that more than 50% of the time there is no auxiliary with embedded second-person subjects, as shown in Table 8:

Table 8. Finite-Clause Auxiliary Usage in the B *of* M

	Person of the embedded subject	
Auxiliary	2nd	1st *or* 3rd
NONE	9	0
SHALL *or* SHOULD	7	113

Fisher's exact test (a more demanding test for this data set) points to this as being statistically significant ($p < 10^{-9}$). This means that it is unlikely that exclusive non-auxiliary usage with second-person embedded subjects occurred by accident in the BofM text.

Caxton's *Golden Legend* (1483)

This paper has shown how the BofM is systematically different from the KJB in terms of command syntax. A prominent EModE text is significantly closer to the BofM in this regard. This book — titled *Legenda aurea sanctorum* — is a hagiographical work. Caxton published a translation in 1483 that he made from the original Latin. The book went through many editions before the middle of the 16th century. We have seen a number of examples from this text in the course of this discussion.

I have tallied and considered 380 past-tense instances of command syntax in this lengthy text (more than twice as

long as the B*of*M). Both the B*of*M and this Caxton translation employ command syntax at a rate of 600 instances per million words. And both texts show a remarkable similarity along quite a few different dimensions, even though they were published 350 years apart. Table 9 shows how the three texts compare:

Table 9. Comparison of Various Command Syntax Rates

19 command syntax rates	Book of Mormon	Caxton, tr. [1483]	King James Bible
Overall finite-clause rate	**79.1%**	**59.2%**	**18.8%**
Percentage of finite clauses with auxiliaries	93.0%	99.1%	78.1%
Percentage of layered syntax in active contexts	73.0%	53.8%	37.5%
Percentage involving passive command verbs	14.1%	5.3%	2.9%
Percentage involving passive embedded verbs	3.7%	41.6%	17.6%
Finite-clause rates with...			
all active-voice syntax	85.8%	43.5%	17.6%
all passive-voice syntax	—	28.6%	0.0%
active–passive syntax	100.0%	83.4%	20.7%
passive–active syntax	34.8%	46.2%	50.0%
active command verbs	86.4%	60.3%	18.2%
passive command verbs	34.8%	40.0%	40.0%
passive embedded verbs	100.0%	81.0%	20.0%
active embedded verbs	78.3%	43.7%	18.6%
embedded adverbials	97.1%	86.5%	41.2%
no embedded adverbial	74.2%	54.9%	16.3%
multiple embedded verbs	95.5%	79.7%	71.4%
one embedded verb	76.6%	55.5%	16.6%
embedded negation	100.0%	100.0%	66.7%
no embedded negation	76.2%	58.7%	16.1%
Correlations			
Book of Mormon–Caxton, tr. [1483] = 79%	*Calculated t-value = 5.3; p < 10^{-4}*		
Caxton, tr. [1483]–King James Bible = 68%	*Calculated t-value = 3.8; p < 0.002*		
Book of Mormon–King James Bible = 30%	*Calculated t-value = 1.3; p = 0.22*		

The KJB has a considerable amount of Tyndale's language in it, and Tyndale made his biblical translations about 45 years after Caxton published this translated text. So the 68% correlation between the KJB and Caxton's *Golden Legend* understandably follows from that observation. Yet the B*of*M correlates even more closely with Caxton's 1483 translation, and it does so when nearly 20 esoteric usage rates are directly

compared — rates that can be known only after performing a close linguistic analysis.[17]

It seems significant that both texts show the same active finite and passive infinitival complementation preferences, and that both have many instances and high rates of layered syntax in active contexts. This state of affairs appears to be rare in the textual record. Further investigation will clarify this picture.

Summary of Command Syntax in the B *of* M and the KJB

- B *of* M active command verb finite rate = 86%;
  KJB active command verb finite rate = 18%
  B *of* M passive command verb finite rate = 35%;
  KJB passive command verb finite rate = 40% [*no evidence that the KJB favored passive infinitival complementation*]

- Layered syntax in active contexts:
  B *of* M = 84 times (73% of finite-clause instances)
  KJB = 9 times (38% of finite-clause instances)

- Active infinitival raised object usage rates:
  B *of* M = 100% (plain syntax); KJB = 77%

- The B *of* M always uses finite-clause syntax with embedded negation (20 times), passive participles (6 times), reflexive verbs (4 times); 21 of 22 times with conjoined verb phrases: remarkably systematic usage!

- The KJB also favors finite-clause syntax with embedded negation, reflexives, and conjoined verb phrases;
  yet **infinitival** syntax with embedded passive participles is frequent and typical (24 times; 80%)

- Finite-clause auxiliary usage:
  B *of* M = 93%; KJB = 78% (never uses *shall*)

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17   Another Caxton translation, the first book printed in English (circa 1473–1474 in Bruges), is also similar to the B*of*M, but it has fewer than 50 examples of command syntax, and no main-clause passives.

B *of* M *shall* usage = 7 times; *should/shall* are always used except with *thou* and *ye* (9 times); again, systematic usage

Conclusion

Command syntax in the B*of*M and the KJB is markedly different. Caxton's 1483 usage profile is significantly closer to the B*of*M's. The principal difference between the scriptural texts lies in their rates of finite and infinitival complementation. They are opposites in this regard. Both texts display a number of statistically significant usage patterns, and the B*of*M does so to an impressive degree. It prefers layered finite syntax with the auxiliary *should*, occasionally employing *shall* as an auxiliary — a less common EModE usage notably absent in the KJB. In spite of its heavy use of finite syntax, the B*of*M is consonant with the strong EModE preference for infinitival complementation after passive command verbs. Despite the KJB's strong preference for infinitival syntax, it uses finite syntax at a significantly higher rate with embedded complexity, but not with embedded passives.

The B*of*M represents a late 15th-century form of command syntax that is less modern in construction than most of what is found in the KJB. It certainly does not systematically match the KJB in most instances, yet it incontrovertibly evinces principled usage of the grammatical construction. A linguistically unsophisticated author could not have produced the array of syntactic structures found in the B*of*M. Deep, native-speaker knowledge of EModE was required to achieve the regulated patterns of use found in the B*of*M.

Those involved in putting the text into writing in the late 1820s were not EModE scholars but were familiar with the KJB. Had they composed the B*of*M themselves, they naturally would have used the KJB as a template not only to make it sound "scriptural," as Twain put it back in 1872, but in order to fashion complex syntactic structures such as the ones this

article has examined. Moreover, since the majority infinitival usage of the KJB was largely consonant with their own native-speaker intuitions, that is exactly what they would have employed extensively, not the linguistically distant and obscure usage from more than three centuries earlier that is so prevalent in the B*of*M. Both the KJB and 19th-century American usage would have led them to adopt infinitival command syntax as the default case for the B*of*M because that was the most obvious feature of the KJB and that was also the predominant feature of their own language.

Therefore, in order to maintain a belief that Joseph Smith authored the B*of*M, one must assume that he chose to consciously and independently adopt an obsolete finite-clause construction as the main form of command syntax, against the KJB and his own language. One must also ascribe to him the ability to follow principled usage patterns not found in the KJB and incapable of being derived from a normal reading of that text. These include: favoring active finite and passive infinitival complementation, as well as heavy doses of layered syntax (both obscure phenomena to be found mainly at the beginning of the EModE period); nearly always using finite syntax with four types of embedded complexity; always employing finite syntax with an auxiliary (occasionally *shall*), **except** when the embedded subject was second person (optionally); and always using main-clause raised objects with embedded infinitives. Because syntactic knowledge is largely tacit, Joseph Smith would have been unaware of such linguistic fine points, just as we are today. And because much of this language was inaccessible to him, it is possible to assert with confidence that he would have been incapable of implementing this complex syntax in the remarkably consistent fashion the text presents.

In summary, a scrutiny of command syntax in the 1829 B*of*M, the 1611 KJB, and Caxton's 1483 translation of *Legenda aurea* (and in EModE generally) emphatically tells us that the

B*of*M is an advanced EModE text in terms of this syntactic structure and that linguistic competence in earlier forms of English was necessary for its elaboration. Thus we have further evidence in favor of Skousen's view that Joseph Smith received specific, revealed words from the Lord. Had Smith received distinct ideas and put them in his own language or in biblical language, he would have used infinitival complementation heavily, and any infrequent finite syntax would not have been predominantly of the layered variety.

The many obsolete EModE aspects of the text[18] (including command syntax in its richness and diversity) suggest that the process of translation, as we usually understand the term, occurred without human participation. Yet translation — in the sense of conveyance from one condition to another — did indeed occur with human participation, by the gift and power of God. In our sphere, Joseph Smith (and his scribes) required faith, receptivity, and concentration in order to receive and set down in writing the B*of*M in a divinely sanctioned form. It was no easy task. The effect for us has been a transformation of the plate script into (Early Modern) English by the bestowal of God's miraculous power.

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18   See Stanford Carmack, "A Look at Some 'Nonstandard' Book of Mormon Grammar," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 11 (2014), 216ff.

INTERPRETER

A Journal of Mormon Scripture

The Implications of Past-Tense Syntax in the Book of Mormon

Stanford Carmack

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Abstract: *In the middle of the 16th century there was a short-lived surge in the use of the auxiliary* did *to express the affirmative past tense in English, as in* Moroni «did arrive» with his army to the land of Bountiful (Alma 52:18). *The 1829 Book of Mormon contains nearly 2,000 instances of this particular syntax, using it 27% of the time in past-tense contexts. The 1611 King James Bible — which borrowed heavily from Tyndale's biblical translations of the 1520s and '30s — employs this syntax less than 2% of the time. While the Book of Mormon's rate is significantly higher than the Bible's, it is close to what is found in other English-language texts written mainly in the mid- to late 1500s. And the usage died out in the 1700s. So the Book of Mormon is unique for its time — this is especially apparent when features of adjacency, inversion, and intervening adverbial use are considered. Textual evidence and syntactic analysis argue strongly against both 19th-century composition and an imitative effort based on King James English. Book of Mormon past-tense syntax could have been achieved only by following the use of largely inaccessible 16th-century writings. But mimicry of lost syntax is difficult if not impossible, and so later writers who consciously sought to imitate biblical style failed to match its* did-*usage at a deep, systematic level. This includes Ethan Smith who in 1823 wrote* View of the Hebrews, *a text very different from both the Bible and the Book of Mormon in this respect. The same may be said about Hunt's* The Late War *and Snowden's* The American Revolution.

Preliminary Remarks

Generally speaking, we have been wrong to view Book of Mormon language as simply biblical in character. Many aspects of it are deeply nonbiblical. This study attempts to make that clear, by means of an examination of syntactic structure — the arrangement and relationship of words in a sentence or clause. This is something that is directly relevant

to the matter of Book of Mormon (BofM) authorship and origins. Why is that? Because syntax resists manipulation — conscious language use being primarily concerned with the content of expression, not the form. Since native-speaker linguistic knowledge is mostly tacit, the form of expression is largely the result of subconscious production. As a result, syntax is extremely difficult to fake and can provide strong evidence of authorial origins.

This paper discusses an example that is on point: writers who consciously sought to employ an archaistic, biblical style. An analysis of their past-tense usage, using parameters that were independently determined to be relevant, shows that they failed to match certain archaic features and obsolete patterns of use. These authors did reproduce some old syntax — at times mixing the archaic with the modern. But they frequently did not, because either the earlier language was at odds with their own subconscious grammatical preferences, or they did not have deep knowledge of the target syntax.

When their past-tense usage is considered as a whole, as a system, they did not match King James English, even though they were using it to a degree as a guiding template and were familiar with biblical language. And it is a virtual certainty that had Joseph Smith authored the BofM he would have done no better than they did. If that had been the case, then the form of the text would be substantially different — it would not be a book with a remarkable number of Early Modern English (EModE) attributes.

It may surprise some to learn that much can be gleaned from an examination of past-tense syntax in the BofM. But this is true, especially when we compare the text closely to patterns of use found in EModE. Among other things, this article points out the close syntactic match between the distinctive use of *did* in the BofM and that of a short, identifiable period of time in EModE. This means that the large doses of *did* found in the text apparently did not arise *ex nihilo*, that there was an historical, though obscure, basis for their systematic patterns of use. All the evidence presents a picture of the BofM as an EModE text that is difficult to refute.

The data indicate that the BofM is similar to texts from the middle of the 16th century (16c) that used *did* with infinitives 20% of the time or more to express the past tense. Moreover, important syntactic markers of adjacency, inversion, and adverbial use in the BofM correlate strongly with these texts and the period as a whole, against what is found with pseudo-biblical writings whose mimicry in this regard failed. The

Swedish linguist Ellegård (d. 2008) found the King James Bible (KJB) to be a text of the 1520s in terms of its periphrastic[1] *do* syntax, ascribing that aspect of the text to Tyndale's influence.[2] In this respect the BofM appears to contain language that was prevalent one to six decades later.

Introduction

Two-word past-tense syntax in the BofM like "Moroni «did arrive» with his army" may be precisely termed «affirmative declarative periphrastic *did*». For convenience, I will call it ADP *did*. Similarly, I will refer to present-tense usage as ADP *do*. Present-day English uses an auxiliary *do* verb — *do*, *does*, or *did* — in questions, exclamations, commands, negation, and for emphasis and contrast. But in affirmative declarative syntax, the verb is not obviously used emphatically or contrastively, it is not negated or used as an imperative, and it is not used in an exclamation or a question. Here are examples of these other uses of periphrastic *did*:

- Moroni did not arrive with his army.   *negative declarative*
- Do arrive early with your army!   *positive imperative*[3]
- Do not arrive late with your army!   *negative imperative*
- Did Moroni arrive with his army?   *positive interrogative*
- Did not Moroni arrive with his army?   *negative interrogative*
- How quickly did Moroni arrive with his army!   *exclamatory*
- Moroni **did** arrive with his army.   *emphatic*
- Moroni did not arrive with his army,
    but Teancum *did* arrive with his army.   *contrastive*

The above examples are *not* the focus of this study.

Next we see examples of different types of ADP *did* with the bare infinitive *go*. These **are** the focus of this study:[4]

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1. The entry for this word in the Oxford English Dictionary (OED) — there defined as 'roundabout' or 'circumlocutory' — has this example from a famous linguist:

1884 Henry Sweet *Addr. Philol. Soc.*
    The **periphrastic** forms of the English verb.

2. Alvar Ellegård, *The Auxiliary Do: The Establishment and Regulation of Its Use in English* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1953), 169.

3. Insistent use, found in the BofM at Alma 42:30.

4. I quote exclusively from the Yale edition of the BofM: Royal Skousen, ed., *The Book of Mormon: The Earliest Text* (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 2009). I am indebted

Adjacency (the auxiliary *did* is adjacent to the infinitive —
   characteristic of the 16c high-rate period)

Mosiah 25:18
   Alma **did** *go* forth into the water and **did** *baptize* them

Mormon 4:23
   I **did** *go* to the hill Shim and **did** *take* up all the records

Inversion (*did* + subject + infinitive — verb–second syntax with a
   preceding adverbial or object)

Mosiah 9:17
   in the strength of the Lord **did** we *go* forth to battle against the
   Lamanites

Alma 16:15
   thus **did** Alma and Amulek *go* forth, and also many more
   which had been chosen

Intervening Adverbial Use (an adverb or an adverbial phrase is used
   between *did* and the infinitive)

1 Nephi 7:3
   I Nephi **did** again with my brethren *go* forth into the wilderness

Ellipsis (*did* carries through to a second infinitive, akin to
   I didn't see or hear anything, I will go and do, etc.)

1 Nephi 16:14
   we **did**$_i$ *take* our bows and our arrows and [*i*] *go* forth into the
   wilderness

Table 1 contains the ADP *did* profiles of the 1829 BofM and the
1611 KJB. Ellegård determined that this profile was worth examining
and cataloguing. Besides ellipsis, I have not created the categories in
this particular comparison.[5] Ellegård's approach clearly and specifically
demonstrates how different the KJB and the BofM are in terms of ADP *did*
usage. The closest match is in the rate of elliptical use (my category).
Furthermore, comparing the ADP *did* percentages of 75 individual verbs

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to him for his scholarly work in producing a reliable early text for research. His
work makes studies like this one possible.

   5. Ellegård called adjacency "contact," and inversion "a/o inversion." By
a/o he meant that either an **a**dverbial element or an **o**bject phrase preceded the
do-auxiliary under inversion. As for intervening adverbial use, he labeled it "sdav,"
standing for subject + do/did + adverbial + (main) verb. See, for example, Ellegård,
Auxiliary Do, 182.

used in each text gives only a weak correlation (30% — see appendix).[6] This broad test result points to independence as well.

Table 1. Profile of ADP *did* Rates.

	KJB	BofM
ADP *did*	1.7%	27.2%
Breakdown of syntax		
Adjacency	61.0%	91.3%
Non-adjacency		
Inversion	31.0%	5.0%
Intervening adverbial	8.0%	3.7%
Ellipsis	5.7%	3.7%

From the ADP *did* percentages found in Table 1, we obtain Table 2 and a chi-square test. The p-value is vanishingly small and therefore there is hardly any possibility that these two ADP *did* rates are accidentally different.

Table 2. Comparison of Past-Tense Syntax.

	KJB	BofM
ADP *did* counts	515	1,846
Simple past tense	29,780	4,951
ADP *did* rate	1.7%	27.2%

Chi-square test: $\chi^2 \approx 6 \times 10^3$; $p \approx 0$.

Still, there is overlap in usage between the texts, and similar examples exist — some of these are presented in this article. But it would be wrong to seize on the occasional intersection and assert that BofM usage is based on the KJB. The above rates and patterns of use strongly indicate independence, and these systematic differences point to distinct stages of EModE. Yet it is interesting that these periods are close in time, only decades apart.

Ellegård's Work

Ellegård investigated ADP *do/did* in his wide-ranging study of this phenomenon in Middle English and EModE. As mentioned, he singled out syntactic adjacency, inversion, and intervening adverbial use for

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6. I required that the verbs chosen for the correlation had to be used at least 10 times in the past tense in each text.

particular study. When *did* and its associated infinitive are not adjacent, there is either subject–*did* inversion or there is an intervening adverbial element. Occasionally there is both:

> Mosiah 11:14
>> and so **did** <u>also</u> his priests *spend* their time with harlots

For his study, Ellegård counted main verbs except for forms of the verb *be*. In other words, he did not count *was*, *are*, etc. as instances of simple present-tense and past-tense usage. That is because there are no examples in the EModE textual record of ADP *did be*.[7] Here are some BofM examples with *be* that clearly show a lack of periphrastic use:

Main Verb

> Mosiah 23:5
>> they were industrious and **did** *labor* exceedingly

> Alma 55:14
>> they **did** *drink* and were merry, and by and by they were all drunken

Auxiliary

> Alma 62:1
>> his heart **did** *take* courage and was filled with exceeding great joy

> 3 Nephi 1:22
>> the more part of the people **did** *believe* and were converted unto the Lord

Ellegård did not count auxiliary verbs either (forms of *have* and *be*), or modal verbs (like *may* and *should*), because they also never use the do-auxiliary. Table 3 has his counts with all other verbs. The **do** column in the table contains Ellegård's counts of *do* and *did* used with infinitives. In the books that he selected, he counted every single instance he encountered that was not clearly emphatic. The **n** column in

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7. Late Middle English cases of *did be* and *did have* are causative constructions:

*c*1430 *Two Cookery-bks.* 26
> Gelye de Fysshe . . . Do as þou **dedyst** *be* þat oþer Gelye.

1393 Gower *Conf.* ed Pauli, II. 306
> She **did** him *have* A clue of threde.

> Such old syntax is not found in either the KJB or the BofM.

Table 3 contains his total estimate of present-tense and past-tense main verbs, with and without *do* and *did*.[8]

Table 3. Ellegård's Counts of ADP *do/did*.[9]

		AFFIRMATIVE STATEMENTS		
PERIOD		**do**	n	% do
1390	1400	6	45000	0.01
1400	1425	11	4600	0.2
1425	1475	121	45500	0.3
1475	1500	1059	59600	1.8
1500	1525	396	28600	1.4
1525	1535	494	18800	2.6
1535	1550	1564	19200	8.2
1550	1575	1360	14600	9.3
1575	1600	1142	18000	6.3
1600	1625	240	7900	3.0
1625	1650	212	7200	2.9
1650	1700	140	7900	1.8
1710–13 [Swift][10]		5	2800	0.2

Figure 1 is a chart based on the % **do** column of Table 3. The 16c temporary spike in usage is clear. I am indebted to Ellegård for his painstaking research in this regard. His work led me to conduct this study and discover the close match between the BofM and certain 16c texts. He carefully examined nearly 400 texts spanning more than three centuries.

Furthermore, Ellegård made nearly 7,000 counts of ADP *do/did* and was careful and systematic in his sampling and counting. He documented and exemplified the ultimate demise of ADP *do/did* syntax with 65 letters that Jonathan Swift wrote between the years 1710 and 1713. This paper goes further in time, showing its absence with the help

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8. Ellegård counted each finite main-verb instance in 10 predetermined pages from each book; from those counts he extrapolated. Ellegård, *Auxiliary Do*, 157.

9. Ellegård made 6,750 counts in 379 texts. This table is found at page 161 of *Auxiliary Do*. I have added the percentage column, but all counts are Ellegård's.

10. Jonathan Swift, *Journal to Stella*, 1710–13 (65 letters); see Ellegård, *Auxiliary Do*, 311–12.

of Google's *Ngram Viewer*,[11] and in the writings of Ethan Smith (*View of the Hebrews*), James Fenimore Cooper,[12] and others.

Figure 1. The rise and fall of ADP *do/did*, after Ellegård.

Concentrated ADP *did* Usage

It is well known to serious readers of the BofM that it has concentrated *did* usage in many different passages, as well as sustained, frequent use throughout. Here are four passages exemplifying this:

> 1 Nephi 16:39–17:1
>
>> There are 9 instances of ADP *did* in this passage; only *did not perish* is expected in modern English; one instance has an intervening adverbial, one has ellipsis; plus *came* and *bare*,[13] and largely invariant *it came to pass* and invariant *was*.

11. Jean-Baptiste Michel *et al.*, "Quantitative Analysis of Culture Using Millions of Digitized Books," *Science* (published online ahead of print on 16 December 2010).

12. This prolific American author began writing in the 1820s.

13. Royal Skousen points out, in *Analysis of Textual Variants of the Book of Mormon* (Provo, UT: FARMS and BYU, 2004), 1:348, that the 1830 typesetter inserted *did bear* in place of *bare*, the form found in both MSS. This is a good example of the value of Skousen's work to the researcher. The counts and analysis of this study are much more reliable than they would be without the benefit of his

And it came to pass that the Lord was with us, yea, even the voice of the Lord CAME and **did** *speak* many words unto them and **did** *chasten* them exceedingly. And after that they were chastened by the voice of the Lord, they **did** *turn* away their anger and **did** *repent* of their sins, insomuch that the Lord **did** *bless* us again with food that we **did** <u>not</u> *perish*. And it came to pass that we **did** <u>again</u> *take* our journey in the wilderness. And we **did** *travel* nearly eastward from that time forth. And we **did** *travel* and *wade* through much affliction in the wilderness, and our women BARE children in the wilderness.

3 Nephi 10:9–10

> There are 6 instances of ADP *did* (4 *did cease*), all adjacent, plus *dispersed* and *stood.*

And it was in the morning, and the darkness DISPERSED from off the face of the land and the earth **did** *cease* to tremble and the rocks **did** *cease* to rend and the dreadful groanings **did** *cease* and all the tumultuous noises **did** *pass* away. And the earth **did** *cleave* together again, that it STOOD. And the mourning and the weeping and the wailing of the people which were spared alive **did** *cease.*

3 Nephi 11:3

> There are 4 instances of ADP *did*, plus 1 negative declarative.

it **did** *pierce* them that **did** *hear* to the center, insomuch that there were no part of their frame that it **did** <u>not</u> *cause* to quake. Yea, it **did** *pierce* them to the very soul and **did** *cause* their hearts to burn.

Mormon 4:13–14

> There are 6 instances of ADP *did* (1 adverbial with *also*).[14]

the Lamanites **did** *take* possession of the city Desolation— and this because their number **did** *exceed* the number of the Nephites. And they **did** <u>also</u> *march* forward against the city Teancum and **did** *drive* the inhabitants forth out of her and **did** *take* many prisoners of women and of children and **did** *offer* them up as sacrifices unto their idol gods.

Were there any texts in the history of English that had such heavy, sustained ADP *did* usage? Or is the BofM a thing apart in this regard? Yes, there are texts with such *did* usage. No, the BofM is not an isolated specimen in relation to this syntax.

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painstaking work. Now we know there was a switch from ADP *did* usage to simple past-tense *bare* in the dictation at this point. He also points to 1 Nephi 2:16 and 1 Nephi 18:11 where *did* was erroneously added.

14. These passages show how intervening adverbial syntax is analogous to the negative declarative.

Here are two illustrative excerpts from a 16c religious text whose overall ᴀᴅᴘ *did* rate is 51%:[15]

1576 John Daniel tr. *An excelent comfort to all Christians*
[Span. orig. by J. Pérez] (London: Wm. Norton), pages 11–12
There are 9 instances of ᴀᴅᴘ *did* (3 elliptical).

If we **dyd** *vnderstand* how the sinne which we **dyd** *commit* against God in the beginning **dyd** *leaue* vs, after it had once gotten power and emperye ouer vs, we should vnderstand aswel how great the loue and goodnesse of him was, that **dyd** *redeeme* and [**dyd**] *take* vs out of the same, and [**dyd**] *deliuer* vs from the condempnacion, so iustly due vnto vs for it. The diuell by sinne **dyd** *breake* in and [**dyd**] *destroy* all goodnesse that God had indued vs with, by the which we were cléerely knowen to be his owne workmanship, he **did** *blot* out the Image of god which was grauen in our soules so that the likenes of him by whom we were created, was taken quite from vs.

1576 John Daniel, page 141
There are 7 instances of ᴀᴅᴘ *do/did* (1 elliptical), plus *entered* and main verb *do* (instead of *do do* — see Helaman 13:24).

Euen so euer sithens the first hower that the worde of God, and the true light thereof, ᴇɴᴛʀᴇᴅ into Iermany, England, France, and this our realm of Spaine, and **dyd** *begin* to shine as the Sunne, there were persecutours which **did** *abhorre* it, and so **doo** *continewe* vntill this daye, most mortally and cruelly: and **dyd**, and **dooe**, *kill* all Christians, which are quickned thereby with most extremitie. They **dyd** <u>alwayes</u> *will* and [**dyd** <u>alwayes</u>] *wish* that which now they ᴅᴏᴏ most wickedly.

The above text is one that Ellegård did not look at in his study. I examined the entire book. Its high rate of ᴀᴅᴘ *did* usage is reminiscent of what we find in many different narrative passages in the BofM. Both texts show sustained use of ᴀᴅᴘ *did*. Such use flourished in the 16c.

Here are some earlier examples:

1534 Wm. Marshall tr. *A playne and godly exposytion or declaration of the commune crede*
[Latin orig. by Erasmus] (London: R. Redman), page 108
There are 12 instances of ᴀᴅᴘ *did* (3 elliptical), plus *spake* and main verb *did* (instead of *did do*).

The disciples of Iohan **dyd** *fast*: but they **dyd** *backbyte* the disciples of Christ & ꜱᴘᴀᴋᴇ euyll of them: for that they **dyd** more seldome *fast*. The Manicheis **dyd** *abstayn* & *forbeare* from all maner beastes or sensible creatures: but they **dyd** *disprayse* & *condempne* the creature of god: & secretely & in cornes **dyd**

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15. These passages are taken from the Early English Books Online (EEBO) database <eebo.chadwyck.com>. I am indebted to EEBO and the Text Creation Partnership for the reliable digitization of many texts from the 16c and the 17c.

fyl themselues with delycyouse meattes bothe more daynty and also more costly. The Pharyseis **dyd** *praye*: but they DYD it in the hedes of many wayes where they myghte be moste sene in theyr chaumbres eyther they **dyd** *occupie* themselues about trifles orels **dyd** *counte* and *tell* monaye.

RECAST

John's disciples **did** *fast*, but they **did** *backbite* Christ's disciples and SPOKE evilly of them, since they **did** *fast* less often. The Manichees **did** *abstain* and *refrain* from all manner of animals or creatures capable of feeling, and they **did** *speak against* and *condemn* eating meat, but secretly and in corners **did** *fill* themselves with delicious food, both tastier and more expensive. The Pharisees **did** *pray*, but they did it at many thoroughfares where they could be most seen in their chambers, or they **did** *occupy* themselves with matters of little importance, or **did** *count* and *calculate* money.

1534 Wm. Marshall, page 50 (4 instances of ADP *did*)

The Iewes were puffed vp with pryde: thrughe a vayne persuasion of ryghtuosnes. Synne **did** *raygne* at large vnponyshed in ye world whils the moste parte of men **dyd** *folowe* the fyrste parentes of mankynde: but here the mercy of god **dyd** *shewe* forthe it selfe, whiche passeth & surmounteth all his workes. He **dyd** *vouchesafe* to waxe more nere and more familierly knowne vnto vs by the same sonne.

RECAST

The Jews were puffed up with pride through an empty self-assurance of righteousness. Sin **did** *prevail* unpunished in the world till most men **did** *follow* mankind's first parents. But here God's mercy **did** *display* itself, which surpasses and exceeds all his works. He **did** *condescend* to grow closer and become better known to us by the same Son.

1555 Edmund Bonner (Bishop of London) *A profitable and necessarye doctrine with certayne homelyes adioyned therunto* (London: J. Cawoode)
There are 5 instances of ADP *did*.

the souldiers of the garyson **dyd** *take* Chryst, and **dyd** *nayle* hym throughe the handes and fete vnto the Crosse: And also **dyd** *hange* with hym vpon [two] other crosses, two theues, on a certayne hyll called Caluerye . . . And that Chryst **dyd** *dye* . . . it is euident . . . , for S Mathew in the xxvii of his Gospell, speaking of this matter sayth . . . : Jesus cryenge agayne with a greate voyce **dyd** *geue* vp the Ghost.

This last example of concentrated ADP *did* is from a text whose overall rate may exceed 50%; this estimate is based on more than 100 counts.

We also see a concentration of ADP *did* in the following 17c speech-based text:

1641 Keayne MS (24 January)[16]

There are 8 instances of ADP *did* (2 elliptical), plus *thought*.

It is trew yow **did** in privat *declare* yowr grevance to me abowt the greate Iniurie that was done to yow, and yow **did** *tell* me yow wear very Jeliows of such a combination. Therfor I **did** *exhort* and [**did**] *advice* yow to be very carefull how yow **did** *use* any such speeches or how yow **did** *entertayne* such Jelowsies of Brethren except yow be able suffitiently to prove it, and I THOUGHT yow would be advised by me, but yow wear not, but in an unsatisfied way **did** *goe* from one to another and [**did**] *inqwier* of this and that men.

Robert Keayne's 1641 record of First Church of Boston meetings actually represents early 17c London English. This Boston merchant was born in Windsor, England in 1595 and emigrated from London when he was 40 years old. Keayne recorded the speech of recent English immigrants as well, but a portion of the usage in his writings — exhibiting relatively high ADP *do/did* rates — may be attributed to an idiosyncratic style.[17] I have estimated his ADP *did* rate to be one-third that of the BofM.

There was some carry-through in New England beyond the initial decades. Here are two examples of heavy usage during the second half of the 17c:

1670s Suffolk County (Massachusetts) Court Records[18]

There are 5 instances of ADP *did* (1 elliptical).

I **did** *heare* mr Waldron Say, that he **did** *showe* mr Bennet the Cattle, & [**did**] *bid* him to take them, and **did** *bid* his man to helpe mr Bennet out of the Orchard with them . . . as mr Waldron **did** *tell* mee.

1692 Salem Witchcraft Trials[19]

There are 3 instances of ADP *did*, plus *testifieth*, *saith*, *said*, and *struck*.

The deposition of Johannah Childin TESTIFIETH and SAIETH that upon the :2ᵈ of June: 1692 that the aparition of goody nuss and goodman Harrwood **did** *apeare* to her and the said Harrwood **did** *look* goodey nuss in the face and SAID to her: that she **did** *murder* him by pushing him off the Cart and STROCK the breath out of his body.

16. Matti Rissanen, "Peripihrastic *Do* in Affirmative Statements in Early American English," *Journal of English Linguistics* 18.2 (October 1985), 168–69.

17. Rissanen, "Periphrastic *Do*," 167–68, 174.

18. Rissanen, "Periphrastic *Do*," 176–77.

19. Merja Kytö, "The Emergence of American English: Evidence from Seventeenth-Century Records in New England" *Legacies of Colonial English*, ed. Raymond Hickey (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2011), 137.

I agree with Rissanen that the heightened usage in these last two excerpts may have been influenced by the context of court proceedings and the "conventions of legal language."[20] Still, these examples provide evidence of some ADP *did* usage persisting in 17c New England. However, the ADP *did* rate of this time can be no more than one-third of Keayne's rate, 50 years earlier. (We revisit this matter in a later section.)

Sustained high-rate use of ADP *did* has been found so far only in 16c and 17c texts. A good measure of this use seems to be past-tense expression consisting of at least 20% adjacency usage. The BofM has these high levels of use.

Historical Development of the Do-Auxiliary

Periphrastic *do* emerged in late Middle English, and developed during the EModE period. One part of this, ADP *do/did*, arose in the 14c and 15c, peaked in the 16c, continued at diminishing rates during the 17c, and then faded into obscurity — in both England and America, and in both writing and speech.[21]

Three or four early examples for each syntactic structure are given below (most of these are taken from the Oxford English Dictionary [OED]), many from the influential printer/publisher/translator Caxton.[22] Following those quotations is a BofM example of each construction.

Negative Questions

Ellegård's figures suggest that periphrastic *do/did* arose in either affirmative statements or negative questions. While the periphrasis might have begun with affirmative declaratives, according to his data it first grew strong in negative questions. Ellegård found that *do/did* were used in negative interrogatives at a fairly steady 10% average rate early on and throughout the 15c:

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20. Rissanen, "Salem Witchcraft Papers as Evidence of Early American English," *English Linguistics* 20.1 (2003), 109.

21. See Matti Rissanen, "Spoken language and the history of *do*-periphrasis," *Historical English Syntax*, ed. Dieter Kastovsky (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1991), 324, 328–29, 333; Rissanen, "Periphrastic *Do*," 176.

22. It is interesting that command syntax in the BofM is similar to what is found in Caxton's *Golden Legend* (1483) and *Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye* (1474). My purpose is not to delve deep and give late Middle English examples; I am content with showing the use in the EModE period. Most of the examples are taken from *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed. on CD-ROM, v4. (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2009).

*c*1489 Caxton *Sonnes of Aymon* xxiv. 511
> Alas, **doo** they <u>not</u> *remembre* me, I byleve better ye[a] than nay.

1509 Hawes *Past. Pleas.* xliii. (Percy Soc.) 210
> **Dyd** <u>not</u> kyng Davyd a lyons jawe *tere*?

1526 Tindale *Matt.* xxi. 25
> He wyll saye vnto vs: why **dyd** ye <u>not</u> then *beleve* hym?

1548 Udall etc. *Erasm. Paraphr.* Luke xxiv. 44
> **Did** he <u>not</u> once for altogether . . . *take* awaie all autoritie from the priestes?

Moroni 10:27
> **Did** I <u>not</u> declare my words unto you, which was written by this man . . . ?

Affirmative Declaratives

At the same time, or perhaps earlier, *do* and *did* began to be used in affirmative statements at a very low rate:

1483 Caxton *Cato* E iij
> They **dyd** *put* all theyr estudye for to knowe the faytes or dedes of thauncientes.

1483 Caxton *G. de la Tour* i ij
> Another ensample I shalle telle yow of Mary Magdalene whyche **dyd** *wasshe* and *spurge* awey her synnes and mysdedes by the water of her eyen.

*c*1489 Caxton *Blanchardyn* xlvii. 180
> She **ded** *call* after hym ryght pyteousli.

1537 Elyot *Castel of Helth* H j
> Dry figges and old, . . . as some **do** *suppose*, **do** *ingender* lyce, and also anoyeth the lyuer and the splene.

Mosiah 25:18
> Yea, and as many as he **did** *baptize* **did** *belong* to the church of God[23]

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23. The first use — *did baptize* — appears to be perfective, the second use — *did belong* — can be viewed as imperfective. This argues for the past-tense use of *did* being compatible with either interpretation, and against a 16c grammarian's assertion that it was imperfective in sense. See the relevant discussion in Ellegård, *Auxiliary Do*, 170, which dismisses that grammarian's view.

3 Nephi 19:14

> And the multitude **did** *witness* it and **do** *bear* record.
> And angels **did** *come* down out of heaven and **did** *minister* unto them.

Because affirmative statements are much more common than the other syntactic types, the do-auxiliary is found more often in this construction in the textual record, in spite of its much lower rate of use. It is worth noting that the 1537 quotation and Mosiah 25:18 both immediately repeat a do-auxiliary, one after another. We will see throughout this paper a large number of striking EModE correspondences like this one.

Positive Questions and Negative Declaratives

According to Ellegård, periphrastic *do* took hold with positive questions and negative declaratives after the first quarter of the 15c. From then on the use in positive questions rose more quickly:

Positive Questions

1532 More *Confut. Tindale* Wks. 427/1
> But I aske of Tyndall no such farre fet whyes, but a why of hys owne dede . . . I aske hym thys why: Why **dydde** he *translate* the same by thys englyshe woorde elder?

1548 Hall *Chron., Hen. V* (an. 8) 72 b
> Why **did** thei *take* it?

1549–62 Sternhold & H. *Ps.* ii. 1
> Why **did** the Jewish people *muse,* Seeing all is but vaine?

Alma 30:51
> In whom **did** ye *desire* that Alma should shew forth his sign?

Negative Declaratives

*c***1489** Caxton *Sonnes of Aymon* vi. 139
> I departed fro my londe poure & exyled but I **dyd** <u>not</u> *care* for it.

1489 Caxton *Faytes of A.* i. i. 2
> Wymen comynly **do** <u>not</u> *entremete* but to spynne on the distaf.

1509 Fisher *Fun. Serm. C'tess Richmond* Wks. (1876) 297
> Albeit she **dyd** <u>not</u> *receyue* in to her house our sauyour in his owne persone . . . she neuertheles receyued theim that **dothe** *represent* his persone.

Ether 10:13
> And it came to pass that Kim **did** <u>not</u> reign in righteousness

By the year 1500, periphrastic *do* rates with negative questions, positive questions, and negative declaratives may have stood at 35%, 15%, and 6%, respectively.[24]

As far as affirmative declarative syntax is concerned, during the first three quarters of the 15c the do-auxiliary was only used about 0.25% of the time. But by the year 1500 the auxiliary may have been employed about 1.5% of the time (on average). At this point ADP *do/did* had entered its development phase.

After the first quarter of the 16c, ADP *do/did* rates increased dramatically — but only temporarily. Relevant to BofM verbal usage, ADP *do/did* rates spiked towards the middle of the 16c, shortly after Tyndale had left England. This surge was brief, and a swift dropoff in use followed. The usage rates of the other types of periphrastic syntax were always higher, and they persisted and became established.[25]

Table 4. The Development of Periphrastic *do/did*.[26]

Periphrastic type	1500	1550–75	1600	1700
Negative questions	35%	85%	80%	96%
Positive questions	15%	56%	65%	87%
Negative declaratives	6%	38%	30%	67%
Affirmative declaratives	1.5%	9.3%	5%	1%

Table 4 and Figure 2 show the overall increase in use in the 16c (for all types of periphrastic *do*), as well as the divergence that ultimately played out. After the year 1400, affirmative declarative rates are dwarfed by the others. The affirmative declarative use was well on its way toward dying out by the year 1700. We saw three examples of 17c American usage, but there is no evidence of persistent American use in the 18c and beyond.[27]

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24. The turn-of-the century figures are calculated from the adjacent values estimated by Ellegård — see *Auxiliary Do*, 161.

25. Ellegård asserted that "there is absolutely no justification for supposing that the frequency was at any time higher in affirmative sentences than in the others" (*Auxiliary Do*, 161).

26. I have estimated turn-of-the-century percentages by averaging the surrounding sampled values found in Ellegård, *Auxiliary Do*, 161.

27. ADP *did* would remain to a degree in several **British** dialects, "with a tendency (but by no means exclusively) to indicate not a single event, but a repeated, continued (i.e. habitual) action." Susanne Wagner, "Unstressed periphrastic *do* — from Southwest England to Newfoundland?" *English World-Wide* 283 (2007), 262.
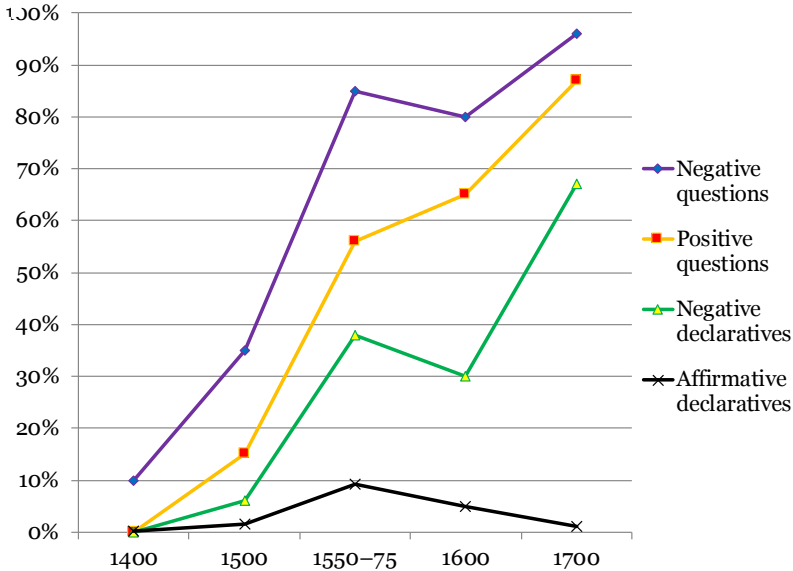
Figure 2. The Development of Periphrastic *do*/*did*.

The following biblical passage exemplifies the variation in usage that existed in English long ago. This verse has three different instances of *did* and several simple past-tense verb forms:

Isaiah 66:4

I also will choose their delusions, and will bring their fears upon them; because when I *called*, none **did** *answer*; when I *spake*, they **did** <u>not</u> *hear*: but they DID evil before mine eyes, and *chose* that in which I *delighted* <u>not</u>.

This verse has simple past-tense *called*, *spake*, *chose*, and *delighted*. We also see periphrastic *did answer* and *did not hear*, the latter contrasting with the older form of negation, *delighted not*. So there is syntactic variation between two negative declaratives in this verse, and between *did answer* and one-word past-tense verb forms. In addition, there is a main-verb use of DID before *evil*.[28]

The use of ADP *did* became specialized and isolated geographically. There was no maintenance of use in Newfoundland (Vernacular) English ("one of the most conservative varieties of English") (249).

28. The future tense is periphrastic — the auxiliary *will* is used before the infinitives *choose* and *bring*. There was no synthetic, one-word future tense in English, nor is there now. An example of a synthetic future is Spanish *irán* = '(they) will go'.

Did as a Past-Tense Marker

The following passage has past-tense *didst forsake* and *did go*:[29]

> Alma 39:3
>
> for ᴛʜᴏᴜ **didst** *forsake* the ministry and **did** *go* over into the land of Siron

The BofM could have used *forsookest* and *wentest* but it did not.[30] However, whether the text employs *did* or *didst* with bare infinitives or one-word past-tense verb forms, it is likely that no extra emphasis is intended. This is unlike present-day English, where *did* conveys emphasis, contrast, and other nuance when used in this way.[31]

Ellegård stressed that the use was by and large nonemphatic in the EModE period,[32] following a 16c grammarian who asserted that "that «it is all one» to use the do-form or the simple present or past tense form. There was no difference in meaning between the two forms."[33] Ellegård's wide-ranging study of ᴀᴅᴘ *do/did* syntax in EModE, and the work of others before him, led him to definitively conclude that "[t]he do-form was functionally synonymous with the finite main verb form"[34] during

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29. For a discussion of the variation here, see Stanford Carmack, "A Look at Some 'Nonstandard' Book of Mormon Grammar," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 11 (2014), 251.

30. *Forsookest* occurs twice in the KJB, both times in Nehemiah; *wentest* occurs 14 times. The "nonbiblical" BofM does not have many instances of *didst* (15), while the KJB has 122, 83 occurring with following infinitives. This use may have been a strategy to avoid extra past-tense verb stems with difficult phonology. In the BofM most of the occurrences of *didst* are from the prophetic writings of Zenos or Isaiah. There are only seven instances in the rest of the book: Alma to his sons (5 times), Nephi to the Lord in Helaman (once), and Moroni to the Lord in Ether (once).

31. See Rissanen, "Spoken language," 322, 333, 338; Rissanen, "Salem Witchcraft Papers," 109.

32. See Ellegård, *Auxiliary Do*, 157, 179. Rissanen has taken a different stance, stressing that there was frequently emotive force behind the periphrasis. Rissanen, "Periphrastic *Do*," 164, 177 ("emotion, emphasis, and euphony"); Rissanen, "Spoken language," 326. We may take his judgments in this regard as speculative, since he is a native speaker of Finnish, a language that does not have the emphatic use, except by shifts in word order or by adding emphatic particles to the ends of words, but not by intonation or stress.

33. Ellegård, *Auxiliary Do*, 179.

34. Ellegård, *Auxiliary Do*, 157.

this period, and especially in the 16c *when usage rates were high*, as they are in the BofM. Elsewhere it has been shown that the BofM can reasonably be viewed, based on many syntactic examples, as an EModE text.[35] So, nonemphatic ADP *did* follows from that observation directly.

In sustained high-rate ADP *did* texts, the auxiliary appears to function as it does in questions and negative statements — that is, without any emotive or emphatic force. But in lower-rate texts with sporadic heavy use, emotive force is a possibility. It should be noted that when the syntax is used nonemphatically, the main verb carries lexical stress: "Moroni dĭd **ARRÍVE** with his army." In the emphatic use, *did* carries the stress.

Ellegård does mention being able to identify approximately 1.5% of ADP *do/did* in the second quarter of the 16c as certainly emphatic,[36] and that some other instances were likely emphatic, though they resist definite identification contextually. In the last half of the 16c, however, he was able to identify less than 1% of ADP *do/did* syntax as emphatic. The BofM is a high-rate text with a high degree of adjacency, and consequently it is likely that total cases of emphatic use, both identifiable and opaque, would be less than 2% of the total, or fewer than 40 instances. The bottom line is, according to Ellegård and others, that most EModE instances of ADP *did* were nonemphatic, especially in texts with high rates of use.

Multiple *did* ellipsis is another strong indicator since it is a virtual certainty that third (and fourth) infinitives carry lexical stress (see examples below).

ADP *do/did* in the BofM

I have estimated BofM ADP *did* rates at 27.16% (based on 6,797 past-tense counts).[37] According to my current counts and methodology, there

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35. Carmack, "Nonstandard," 216ff.

36. See Table 8 on p. 172 of Ellegård, *Auxiliary Do*.

37. There are undoubtedly errors in these counts, but I do not believe that the true rate is different from 27% by more than half a percent. Extracting biblical passages, however, would give us a different, higher rate. The 27% rate is calculated from my nearly exhaustive counts using Skousen's Yale edition of the Book of Mormon. I have not included contexts where *did* might be used as a pro-verb — that is, a substitute for the main verb — as in this example: "he *did* baptize them after the manner he *did* (ø) his brethren in the waters of Mormon" (Mosiah 25:18). In this sentence, we cannot be sure whether the second *did* stands in for *baptized* or whether *baptize* has been ellipted after *did*. I have counted six of these in the text of the BofM: Mosiah 25:18; Alma 18:4; 19:33; 39:2; 56:47; 63:2.

are 1,846 instances of ADP *did* in the book, with 69 of these involving ellipsis. The much longer KJB has only about 500 instances of ADP *did* syntax, and 115 of those involve *did(st) eat*. The highest count with a single verb in the BofM is *did(st) go* (57 counts). So ADP *did* syntax is much more evenly distributed in the BofM.

I have made only a rough estimation of present-tense ADP *do* syntax in the BofM, finding that the rate of use is significantly lower in the text than it is with past-tense *did*: the ADP *do* rate may be no greater than 10%.[38] In addition, there are only about 210 instances of ADP *do*, so it is also much less frequent than ADP *did*. If these estimates are close, then overall ADP *do/did* rates in the BofM would still exceed 20%.

We have seen that Ellegård estimated peak use of ADP *do/did* syntax in the third quarter of the 16c at close to an average of 10% (see Table 1 above).[39] When we bear this in mind, as well as the high-rate texts that we have seen from the Early English Books Online database (EEBO), the heavy presence of ADP *did* in the text is not wholly unexpected. That is because a significant amount of biblical and nonbiblical BofM language is consonant with the syntax and meaning of this period.[40]

Consecutive ADP *did*

We have seen ADP *did* syntax used consecutively, in concentrated doses, and also used elliptically. The following passages show ADP *did(st)* used consecutively in the KJB and the BofM without a repeat of the subject:

Besides these six cases of infinitival ellipsis following *did*, or *did* used as a pro-verb, there appear to be 35 instances of main-verb *did* in the BofM; 8 interrogative passages with *did*; and 172 with negative declarative syntax of the form *did(st)…not*.

38.   The estimate has been made by counting ADP *doth* (125 counts), occurrences of third-person singular verbs ending in *-eth* (1070), and half the instances of *saith* (93 — because of frequent historical present-tense use). In addition, a 20% sampling of *hath* pointed to a total of 75 counts of main-verb use in the text. This yields a rate of 10.1%. This is probably an upper-bound estimate of present-tense ADP *do* syntax in the BofM. Better counts will be made in the future.

39.   Ellegård, *Auxiliary Do*, 161–62.

40.   For a discussion of some EModE usage in the BofM, see, for example, Royal Skousen, "The Original Text of the Book of Mormon and its Publication by Yale University Press," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 7 (2013), 89–93 and his preface to the Yale edition of the BofM. For a discussion of some syntax, see Carmack, "Nonstandard."

Isaiah 57:9

> thou *wentest* to the king with ointment, and **didst** *increase* thy perfumes, and **didst** *send* thy messengers far off, and **didst** *debase* thyself even unto hell[41]

Amos 1:11

> because he **did** *pursue* his brother with the sword, and **did** *cast* off all pity, and his anger **did** *tear* perpetually, and he *kept* his wrath for ever

Mosiah 6:6

> king Mosiah **did** *walk* in the ways of the Lord and **did** *observe* his judgments and his statutes and **did** *keep* his commandments

Alma 35:9

> And they **did** *nourish* them and **did** *clothe* them and **did** *give* unto them lands for their inheritance

The above passages show similar usage. The biblical examples, however, are few and far between. That is not the case in the BofM.

Similar consecutive *did* use is seen in the following 16c OED quotations:

1515 in St. Papers Hen. VIII, II. 11

> He **dyd** *conquyre* all the lande, . . . and **dyd** *inhabyte* the same with Englyshe folke.

1523 Ld. Berners *Froiss.* I. ccclxxiv. 621

> The speare heed **dyd** *entre* into his throte, and **dyd** *cutte* asonder the orgonall vayne.

1558 Phaër *Æneid* v. O j

> The Troians them **did** *chere*, and **did** *receyue* with wondrous ioye.

1581 Lambarde *Eiren.* I. ix. (1602) 39

> The names of such, as (being indited) **did** *flie*, and **did** *refuse* to be Iustised.

1596 Spenser *Faerie Qveene* IV. ii. 17

> They . . . shields **did** *share*, and mailes **did** *rash*, and helmes **did** *hew*.

The Faerie Queene is perhaps the best known text with heavy, sustained *did* use: more than 3,000 instances. It is a lengthy poem and so Ellegård did not study it because of the potential influence of rhyme and meter.

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41. The KJB has only this one clear example of three successive uses of *didst*. Note the use of *wentest* but then the switch to *didst increase*, thereby avoiding exceptional *increasèdst and *debasèdst, not found in the biblical text or in the OED (*sentest* occurs 4 times in the KJB).

Elliptical ADP *did*

Elliptical ADP *did* is economical in terms of marking: the past tense is indicated only once, and two or more infinitival stems are used instead of two marked past-tense verb stems.[42] The following passages have conjoined verb phrases that employ *did* a single time with two following infinitives; *did* is understood as following through to the second infinitive:

> Psalms 14:2
>> The Lord looked down from heaven upon the children of men, to see if there were any that **did**$_i$ *understand*, and [*i*] *seek* God.

> Mormon 2:4
>> we **did**$_i$ *take* possession of the city and [*i*] *make* preparations to defend ourselves against the Lamanites

There appear to be 28 of these in the KJB, and it has about 790,000 words. So it occurs there once every 28,000 words. There appear to be 69 of these in the BofM, and it has about 270,000 words. So it occurs there once every 4,000 words.

Besides the KJB favorite of conjoined *did eat & drink* — occurring 20 times[43] — elliptical ADP *did* syntax like the example in Psalms 14:2 is uncommon in the biblical text, and it never involves a third infinitive. I have counted eight other instances of elliptical ADP *did(st)*, including these three with *didst*, two in one verse:

> 2 Samuel 12:21
>> thou **didst**$_i$ *fast* and [*i*] *weep* for the child, while it was alive; but when the child was dead, thou **didst**$_i$ *rise* and [*i*] *eat* bread

> Ezekiel 29:7
>> When they took hold of thee by thy hand, thou **didst**$_i$ *break*, and [*i*] *rend* all their shoulder: and when they leaned upon thee, thou BRAKEST, and MADEST all their loins to be at a stand

In Ezekiel 29:7 we see free variation between synonymous *didst break* and *brakest*.

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42. Cf. analogous future-tense expression — "I **will**$_i$ *go* and [*i*] *see* him before I die" (Genesis 45:28) and "I **will**$_i$ *go* and [*i*] *do* the things which the Lord hath commanded" (1 Nephi 3:7).

43. Here is a similar quotation from the first half of the 16c:

*a*1533 LD. BERNERS *Huon* lxvi. 226
He **dyd** *ete* & *drynke* but lytell.

The biblical text usually employs the simple past tense after only one instance of ADP *did*:

Matthew 28:4

And for fear of him the keepers **did** *shake*, and BECAME as dead men.

John 20:4

So they RAN both together: and the other disciple **did** *outrun* Peter, and CAME first to the sepulchre.

This happens even in John 20:4 with two motion verbs, despite a natural semantic closeness. But as we have just seen, occasionally the periphrasis carries through with a second verb:

Luke 6:4

How he went into the house of God, and **did**$_i$ *take* and [*i*] *eat* the shewbread, and GAVE also to them that were with him

After the infinitive *eat*, however, neither elliptical *give* nor *did give* is used; instead simple-past *gave* is used. Notice how in these next examples the punctuation suggests to us that the second main verb (underlined) is a finite past-tense verb form, but because of Psalms 14:2 (see above) we cannot be sure:

Genesis 30:40

JACOB **did** *separate* the lambs, and <u>set</u> the faces of the flocks toward the ringstraked

Joshua 13:12

these **did** MOSES *smite*, and <u>cast</u> them out

The most frequent elliptical phrase in the BofM is *did see & hear* (three times), and *prosper* occurs six times with several different verbs. EEBO[44] indicates that *did eat & drink* was the most commonly used elliptical *did*-phrase in EModE, followed distantly by *did quake & tremble*. As we read the BofM, *did quake & tremble* is the first one we encounter (1 Nephi 1:6).

Here are five examples of multiple *did* ellipsis found in the BofM:

1 Nephi 9:1 (fronted object with inversion, plus *dwelt*)

all these things **did**$_i$ MY FATHER [*i*] *see* and [*i*] *hear* and [*i*] *speak* as he <u>dwelt</u> in a tent

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44. Mark Davies, *Early English Books Online, 400 million words, 1470s–1690s* (2013–). I am indebted to Mark Davies for allowing me to use his large corpus and excellent interface; it has made this study much better and more reliable.

Helaman 6:39 (4 infinitives)
    insomuch that they **did**$_i$ *trample* under their feet and [*i*] *smite*
    and [*i*] *rend* and [*i*] *turn* their backs upon the poor and the meek

3 Nephi 17:25
    the multitude **did**$_i$ *see* and [*i*] *hear* and [*i*] *bear* record

3 Nephi 26:13
    after that, he **did** *shew* himself unto them oft
    and **did**$_i$ *break* bread oft and [*i*] *bless* it and [*i*] *give* it unto them

Ether 10:22
    they were exceeding industrious, and they **did**$_i$ *buy* and [*i*] *sell*
    and [*i*] *traffic* one with another that they might get gain

These argue for *did* functioning as a past-tense marker in the text. While multiple *did* ellipsis does not occur in the KJB, we encounter it in the textual record:

1576 J. Daniel tr. *An excelent comfort to all Christians* 96
    How be it for all that, afterwardes they **did**$_i$ all *fall*, [*i*] *feare*,
    [*i*] *faint*, and **did** *haue* a doubt in him

1614 J. Taylor (Water P.) *Nipping Abuses* D 1
    The seuenth was Sloth, . . . Who being cald, **did**$_i$ *gape*, and
    [*i*] *yawne*, and [*i*] *stretch*.

1621 1st Bk. Discipl. Ch. Scot. Pref. (1641) A 3
    Some of the Disciples . . . at first **did**$_i$ *mince*, and [*i*] sparingly
    speake, but afterward [*i*] *practise* and [*i*] loudly *preach*.

1630 J. Taylor (Water P.) *Penniless Pilgr.* Wks. i. 123/2
    And No-body **did**$_i$ *drinke*, and [*i*] *winke*, and [*i*] *scinke*.[45]

In this regard the BofM has greater affinity with some EModE usage than the KJB does.

Using Ellipsis to Estimate EModE ADP *did* Rates

This subset of ADP *did* syntax is a manageable way to get a sense for ADP *did* rates in different centuries. A search in the OED for the elliptical construction yields the counts shown in the second column of Table 5. Because the dictionary contains fewer 16c quotations than 17c quotations (approximated by "and the" counts — the third column of the table), yet there are more examples of elliptical ADP *did* in the 16c, it is possible to conclude that ADP *did* was a strong 16c phenomenon.

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45. **Skink**, *v.* = 'serve liquor'.

Table 5. OED Counts of Elliptical ADP *did* by Century.[46]

century	*did* … inf & inf	"and the"	weighted
15th	3	1,454	2.1
16th	143	3,207	44.6
17th	120	5,961	20.1
18th	9	4,558	2.0

The weighted values in the last column of Table 5 suggest that ADP *did* was a construction that arose in the 15c, became popular in the 16c, saw its use lessen in the 17c, and tapered off during the 18c so that it then became as uncommon as it was in the 15c.

According to Ellegård, the average use of ADP *did* in the 16c was 5.5%. From that value and Table 5 weighted values of 44.6, 20.1, and 2.0, we obtain average rates of 2.5% in the 17c and 0.25% in the 18c. Ellegård's estimated averages are 2.6% and 0.18%. Those values are close and confirm that ADP *did* had all but vanished sometime in the 1700s. All this coincides with what Ellegård noted generally about

> the development of the periphrastic *do*: it first occurred in prose ca. 1400, gained ground slowly in the 15th and rapidly in the 16th century. In the 17th century the tide fell fast in affirmative declarative sentences, whereas the use of *do* became regular in negative and interrogative ones. The modern state of things was practically achieved around 1700.[47]

Backed by the work of prior researchers, Ellegård here asserts that by the 18c there were only vestiges of ADP *did* left in English.

A Review of Ellegård's Counts of ADP *do/did*

Ellegård broke his counts into various time periods, usually 25-year blocks. Table 6 shows my simple percentage calculations and comments. Included is my estimate of biblical ADP *did* rates — a higher rate than Ellegård found for both tenses combined: 1.7% versus 1.3% (my sampled past-tense estimate versus Ellegård's overall sampled estimate).

Ellegård broke down the range of time between 1525 and 1550 into two blocks, perhaps because that was when there was an explosion of ADP *do/did* use. Tyndale was living on the continent during this time and would have been partially shielded from this sudden shift in use,

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46. The weighted values were obtained by dividing *did* counts by *and the* counts, and then multiplying by 1,000. The 16c and 17c counts were based in part on sampling.

47. Ellegård, *Auxiliary Do*, 157.

despite living among many English speakers. They would not have been directly and immediately exposed to the linguistic currents of the day.

Table 6. Comments on Ellegård's Estimates.[48][*]

PERIOD		% **do**	COMMENTS	
1390	1400	0.01		
1400	1425	0.25	EMERGENCE	
1425	1475	0.25		
1475	1500	1.8	CAXTON	1.2% w/o *Polychr.* *
1500	1525	1.4	DEVELOPMENT	Tyndale leaves Engl. Hence KJB *did* = 1.7%
1525	1535	2.6	RISE	
1535	1550	8.2	SPIKE	B *of* M *did* = 27% Some texts > 50%
1550	1575	9.3	PEAK	
1575	1600	6.3	DROPOFF	KJB, w/o Tyndale's infl., would be 5%
1600	1625	3.0		
1625	1650	2.9	TAPERING	
1650	1700	1.8		
Jonathan Swift		0.2	VANISHING	65 letters
King James Bible		1.3	← Ellegård's overall ADP *do*/*did* estimate	

We can see from Table 6 that the use of ADP *do/did* soared in the space of 25 years from about 2% to almost 10% in the textual record. Peak use may have occurred past the year 1550, but some were already using it heavily in the 1530s. The match between the BofM's past-tense syntax and that found in English texts is in the middle of the 16c.

Yet some firmly believe that Joseph Smith's dialect was full of archaic, even obsolete features like ADP *did*. Hence we may ask whether the demise of ADP *did* in English was complete. We now address that issue while also cross-verifying the accuracy of Ellegård's work.

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48. Ellegård, *Auxiliary Do*, 161, 169. The BofM ADP *did* percentage is my estimate based on thousands of individual counts.

* Ellegård states: "The high figure for 1475–1500 is due to one very large single text, *Polychronicon* [Caxton — 1482]. If that text is discounted — which is justifiable — the figure becomes instead 1.2% for the period" (p. 160). This statement applies to overall periphrastic *do*, but more than 95% of Ellegård's counts are of ADP syntax. On that basis I have calculated a 3.5% rate for Caxton's *Polychronicon*. This text is a prime example of the early emergence of ADP *do/did*. Hence Ellegård's conclusion that Caxton was an early driver of the usage (p. 209). Interestingly, his use of command syntax in the 1470s and '80s is a good match with the BofM's.

Large Database Verification

We begin by taking a look at the extensive data sets of EEBO and Google books. Figure 3 shows the rate profile of ADP *did* adjacency made on the basis of more than 80,000 counts, taken from EEBO (the 1690s value has been set to 1). This profile of adjacency usage — the purest syntactic type of ADP *did* — is both similar to and different from the one Ellegård calculated for overall ADP *do/did*. We expect it to be different since this is a larger sample (with many misses and false counts as well), and a subset of the syntax that Ellegård considered. From this we can see the absence of use in the 1470s; early, strong development with William Caxton (see note 48* above); a jagged rise and peak use in the 1550s; a secondary peak in the 1590s; and a scallop-shaped dropoff to lower levels by the 1690s.

Figure 3. Adjacency ADP *did* Rates in EModE

But what happened in the 18c and beyond? Figure 4, an *Ngram Viewer* chart, shows falling adjacency rates from already-low 1700 levels to 1800. Levels in the 1820s were less than half of 1700 levels and about the same as present-day levels of use. (Data from the early 18c in Google books is uneven and less reliable). The small early 19c rise in the chart might be attributable to the spread of emphatic *do*.[49] But the rate of use during that time was barely higher than it was in the late 20c when we have first-hand knowledge that there was effectively no ADP *did* usage. Taken together, Figures 3 and 4 indicate that rates in the 1550s were 8 times what they were in the late 1820s. Ellegård's value of 9.3% for the 1550s

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49. See Ellegård, *Auxiliary Do*, 171–72, 209.

Figure 4. Falling ADP *did* Adjacency Rates in Modern English.[50]

leads us to conclude that rates were near 1% in the late 1820s. His value of 1.77% for the 50 years between 1650 and 1700 leads us to conclude that rates were around 0.5% by the 1820s. Either view means that ADP *did* use was minimal, and of course nothing like it is in the BofM.

Figure 5. *Did minister* versus *Ministered* in Modern English.[51]

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50. Here is the formula used to generate the chart: ((he did _VERB_+they did _VERB_+and did _VERB_+who did _VERB_+I did _VERB_+that did _VERB_+which did _VERB_+we did _VERB_+God did _VERB_)*22222); smoothing of 5 was used.

51. Here is the formula used to generate the chart: ((they did minister+he did minister+who did minister+and did minister)/(they did minister+he did

Figure 5 shows the rate of use of *did minister* versus past-tense *ministered*. While Google books data are not always trustworthy (because of OCR errors and dating issues; in the early 18c in particular), they are sufficiently reliable for this analysis. They clearly show a sharp decline in use of the periphrasis *did minister*, which was very heavily used coming out of the EModE era. The 18c witnessed a sharp drop to below 10% on this graph; by 1830 it had neared 5%. This is further evidence of the demise of the syntax since this robust ADP *did* verb goes to zero.

Figure 6. *Did minister* versus *Ministered* in EModE.

EEBO, a more reliable database, gives us a profile — Figure 6 — of extremely high ADP *did* rates for this verb in the EModE period (rising then dropping to 40% in the 1690s). Taken together, Figures 5 and 6 suggest an ADP *did minister* rate of 2.5% by 1830.

Additional Evidence of Vanishing ADP *did*

Next we look at two single-author corpora. These provide further evidence that ADP *did* died off in English, and some evidence that it was weaker in America than in Great Britain. We will briefly consider ellipsis and adjacency, characteristic of the high-rate period of ADP *did*, as well as their use of *did go* versus *went*.

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minister+who did minister+and did minister+they ministered+he ministered+and ministered+who ministered)).

Ellipsis

By the 1820s, Sir Walter Scott rarely used the elliptical periphrasis. I have found five examples in a five-million word corpus of his *Waverley* novels:

- did wash and eat bread
- **did** bubble and sparkle (contextually emphatic)
- did heave and heave again
- did hone and [moan] (*hone* = 'delay, hesitate' — Old Scots)
- did promise and vow (in quotes, indicating a fixed phrase)

I count these as 10 instances of ADP *did*; there are 132 such counts in the BofM, which has only 5% as many words. Those figures point to Scott's ADP *did* usage rate being only 0.1%.[52] That figure is too low, but it suggests the lack of use in his writing.

The roughly contemporaneous American author Cooper has perhaps only one (inverted) example in a 4.5-million word corpus of his writings:

1849 *The Sea Lions*

In this spirit **did** DAGGETT AND HIS CREW <u>now</u> *feel* and *act*[53]

That suggests an even lower rate for Cooper than for Scott, and may mean that American rates were lower.

Adjacency

Scott used the phrase *did but* followed by an infinitive 70 times, and *did indeed* 20 times. (According to *Ngram Viewer*, *did but* was more prevalent than *did indeed* until the year 1900.) That shows idiomatic and emphatic use of the construction. He employed ADP *did* adjacency multiple times with a number of verbs, including these six: come (7), think (5), take (5), hear (5), love (4), make (4). I have estimated/calculated his ADP *did* adjacency rate with these verbs to be approximately 0.4%.

Cooper has multiple ADP *did* adjacency with the following verbs: intend (8), succeed (7), exist (5), and begin (4). I have estimated his adjacency rate with these verbs to be approximately 0.1%. Again his (American) rate is lower than Scott's (British) rate.

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52. The calculation: 27% * 10 / (132 * 20). If Scott had employed *did* ellipsis at the same rate that the BofM does, then he would have had 1,300 examples of it in his body of work.

53. Cooper used inversion with an intervening adverbial, as in Mosiah 11:14.

Did go versus *Went*

These two authors never used *did go* for *went* except in set phrases, inverted SUBJECT–*did* constructions, and emphatic use. Scott used *went* more than 900 times, the fixed phrase *I did but go* five times, and this counterfactual construction: *I would choose,* **did** *I ever* go *a sea-voyage.* So his ADP *did go* rate was 0.65%. And his adjacency rate is zero. That tells us that robust ADP *did* usage was not a part of his language.

In the case of Cooper, if we generously count five instances of *did go*, we still only obtain a 0.33% rate of ADP *did go*.[54] That is half of Scott's British rate.[55]

Could This Syntax Have Been Present in Nineteenth-Century Upstate New York?

In this section we first discuss Rissanen's analysis of 1640s and 1690s ADP *do/did* usage in Massachusetts. His counting methodology was different so I performed some sampled counting in order to achieve valid rate comparisons.

In addition to excluding *is/was* from counts, Rissanen did not count instances of *have/had* or *do/did* as cases of simple present-tense and past-tense usage. And he excluded inversion as well, so his approach was substantially different from Ellegård's.[56] Rissanen estimated that Keayne used ADP *do/did* in the 1640s at a 17.5% rate in his notes on sermons and church proceedings. And he calculated Keayne's adverbial usage at 25%.[57]

I counted ADP syntax in two different sections of Keayne's writings. One of the sections that I chose contained a passage that Rissanen

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54. Cooper used *went* more than 1,500 times but employed *did go* three times for emphasis and three times in inverted subject–verb structures: *twice did he go* and *no sooner did he go* and *I make no doubt I should have been blown out of the top*, *could I have reached it*, **did** *I let go my hold to do any work* (a stylish speculative construction without *if*). I have excluded only one italicized emphatic use as well as all interrogative, negative, poetic, and non-native contexts.

55. By way of contrast, the use of *did go* in the BofM is 22.7% (with an adjacency rate of 20.5%), slightly below the textual average. On the other hand, biblical usage is **zero**. That's just one more way in which BofM language differs significantly from King James English.

56. Rissanen, "Periphrastic *Do*," 179 note 12.

57. Rissanen, "Periphrastic *Do*," 168, 173.

indicated had concentrated usage of ADP *do/did*.[58] After carrying out 465 counts, I found that present-tense and past-tense rates were very close in these sections. Table 7 shows the past-tense profile that I estimated for Keayne. It suggests that Rissanen's approach yielded higher ADP *do/did* rates than my counting methodology, adapted from Ellegård. My estimate of Keayne's rate is still fairly high, but it is markedly lower than Rissanen's figure, and well below both peak usage and what we encounter in the BofM. In addition, Keayne's adverbial rate is different and typical of the mid-17c.[59] I found no sustained usage of ADP *do/did* in these two sections.

Table 7. Keayne's 1640 ADP *did* Rate Profile.[60]

ADP *did* %	Adjacency	Inversion	Adverbial	Ellipsis %
8.9	72.2	5.6	22.2	0

In his paper on the language of Salem witchcraft trials, Rissanen unfortunately did not provide exact rates of use.[61] What we can gather from his article, however, is that at this time, the Massachusetts North Shore rate may have been 60% higher than contemporary British rates. That would mean that some New Englanders may have had ADP *did* rates as high as 3% in the 1690s.[62]

As a result, this is evidence that 50 years after Keayne, ADP *did* rates were lower in New England, as they were in England, in spoken language as well as in written. And this is especially probable since the observed Salem ADP *do/did* rates were positively influenced by legal and emotive factors. While ADP *do/did* may have persisted in this region more strongly than in neighboring areas, and perhaps more strongly than it did in much of England, it was still on the way out. In comparison with Keayne, by the 1690s there had been further loss of this marked

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58. Rissanen, *Periphrastic* Do, 180 note 14. Counts taken from Helle M. Alpert, *Robert Keayne: Notes of Sermons by John Cotton and Proceedings of the First Church of Boston from 23 November 1639 to 1 June 1640* (Diss. Tufts University, 1974), 103–30, 270–85.

59. See Ellegård's diagram based on his Table 9 at page 182 of *Auxiliary Do*.

60. The correlation of this profile with that of the BofM is 85% (p<10%).

61. Rissanen justifies giving the percentage as 51 counts per 10,000 words at *Salem Witchcraft Papers*, 109 note 15.

62. Rissanen, *Salem Witchcraft Papers*, 108. The 3% figure derives from Ellegård's upper bound 1.8% rate for the last half of the 17c, multiplied by 1.6 = 2.88%.

linguistic feature. So there was no linguistic maintenance; that in turn points to revival as a virtual impossibility.

One particular North American dialect that is known to have been highly conservative — that is, prone to resist language change — was unable to maintain the use of ADP *do/did*, let alone revive it. Wagner has studied a Newfoundland dialect formed over time by colonists who began immigrating in the 17c.[63] They came from areas in the British Isles that maintained aspects of ADP *do/did* syntax in their dialects. But despite the conservative nature of the Newfoundland speech community, these immigrants soon abandoned the use.

Wagner views that as having been generally applicable. In other words, similar loss of use resulted in other dialects that might have initially employed some ADP syntax in colonial America. According to her analysis, eradication of ADP *do/did* resulted by contact with the many neighboring dialects that employed a typical, simple past-tense system.[64] Moreover, the strong influence of King James English (1.7% ADP *did*) would have applied constant levelling pressure in all dialects against heavy use throughout the 18c.[65]

The revival of ADP *do/did* is highly doubtful (in part because of the influence of the KJB). The construction arose in the 14c and 15c, at the same time that interrogative and negative periphrastic *do/did* emerged. The latter syntax grew rapidly and strongly in the 16c and that is when ADP *do/did* surged in popularity — but only for a time. The growth appears to be related (see Figure 2). However, by the 18c there was no such concomitant **increase** in usage occurring that could have revived the use of ADP *do/did*. By then periphrastic *do/did* with negation and questions was established and grammaticalized, and ADP *do/did* had become moribund. From then on only the emphatic use of ADP *do/did*

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63. Susanne Wagner, "Unstressed periphrastic *do* — from Southwest England to Newfoundland?" *English World-Wide* 283 (2007), 249–78.

64. Wagner, *Newfoundland*, 249, 271–72.

65. The periphrasis *did eat* shows the influence of King James English, while being an anomalous case itself. That is, we see clear biblical influence when we compare the falling usage rates of *did minister* and *did eat* during the 18c. *Did minister* was used at a higher rate than *did eat* in the EModE period, although *did eat* was used at a very high rate too. (These two verbs were exceptional in this regard.) But Google books shows that *did eat* rates in the 18c did not drop as sharply as *did minister* rates did. That fact can be reasonably ascribed to the almost 100% usage levels of *did eat* in the KJB, as opposed to *ate*.

spread (exemplified by the rise of *did in fact* + infinitive around the year 1800).

We do note that English vacillated in the late 1500s and early 1600s as to whether ADP *do/did* would follow negative and interrogative syntax; it ultimately returned to very low rates by the early 1700s.

As a specimen of 1820s New England ADP *did* use, we have the Vermonter Ethan Smith's *View of the Hebrews*. The connection of this text with the BofM is well-known in certain circles, since *View of the Hebrews* has been claimed by various people to have served as a model for the composition of the BofM.[66] It is apparent that some of the book's language reflects Ethan Smith's own usage, and the Joseph Smith family would have shared some of the same linguistic features given their proximity. (Poultney is on the New York state line and 50 miles from Sharon.) This article speaks to that issue in some depth. I will note at this point that there is no superficial similarity in terms of ADP *did* rates between the BofM and *View of the Hebrews* — Ethan Smith's book does not have much ADP *did* usage at all — and the texts are negatively correlated in overall and deep patterns of use (see Tables 12 and 16).

High Rates of ADP *did* in the Sixteenth-Century

While Ellegård did not differentiate periphrastic *do/did* syntax by tense, most of his counts necessarily involved ADP syntax. In the course of his research he found several texts that used ADP *do/did* at high rates, mentioning three authors who used it 20% of the time or more: Thomas Elyot, Andrew Boorde, and Henry Machyn.[67] As shown previously, I have found several more. Thus the texts that Ellegård found with robust ADP *do/did* syntax are not isolated anomalies.

Thomas Elyot

Thomas Elyot employed fairly high levels of ADP *do/did* in the 1530s. I have estimated his ADP *did* rate at 22% in his early dietary book.[68] There

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66. I. Woodbridge Riley, *The Founder of Mormonism* (New York, 1902), 124–26; Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet*, 2nd ed. (New York: Knopf, 1971), 46–47; David Persuitte, Joseph Smith and the Origins of the Book of Mormon (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1985).

67. Ellegård, *Auxiliary Do*, 160, 166–67.

68. Thomas Elyot, *The Castel of Helth* (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1541) [New York: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, n.d.] <archive.org/details/castelofhelthcor00

are many more present-tense counts in this text than past-tense counts. Elyot's ADP *do* rate is 25% (173 counts), confirming the estimated 22% ADP *did* rate as reasonably accurate, calculated on the basis of only 18 counts (all this based on only 13% text sampling).

ADP *did* %	Adjacency	Inversion	Adverbial
22	94	2	4

Andrew Boorde

Oxford-educated Boorde employed ADP *did* approximately 50% of the time in the 1540s; here are some representative examples from his early travel book:[69]

> **1542** Boorde *Introduction of Knowledge*, 203
> whan they **dyd** *come* to the place, The yonge man **did** *speke*, & sayd "I am not ded . . ."

> **1542** Boorde *Introduction of Knowledge*, 145
> Pascall the playn **dyd**$_i$ *wryte* and [*i*] *preach* manifest thinges that were open in the face of the world to rebuke sin; wyth the which matter I haue nothyng to do, for I **doo** *speke* of many countryes & regions, . . .

The second passage has an elliptical case of ADP *did* and an instance of ADP *do*. There are also two finite verbs used simply: *were* and *have*. The verbs *be* and *have* are never used periphrastically in this text, and *be* is not used that way in other texts of this period. ADP *did have* is rare in the OED; I have found this one:

> **1609** Skene tr. *Quon. Attach.* xxiii. §11
> Provyding that the husband man **did** *haue* of him the aucht parte of ane dawache of land.

The EEBO database has at least six examples. The scarcity of *did have* in the textual record tells us that it was rare in the 16c; one-word *had* was strongly preferred (and so were other high-frequency past-tense verb forms like *said*). The KJB does not use *did(st) have*. In contrast, the BofM uses *did have* 19 times (an estimated ADP rate of 11%):

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elyoiala>. Accessed July 2014. The initial publication date is given variously as 1533 or 1537, but this is conjectural.

69. Andrew Boorde, *The Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge* [1542], ed. F. J. Furnivall (London: Trübner, 1870) [Early English Text Society. Extra Series. No. X].

Alma 46:38

> for the space of four years **did** ᴛʜᴇʏ *have* much peace and rejoicing in the church

Helaman 6:9

> ᴛʜᴇʏ **did** *have* an exceeding plenty of gold and of silver

Ellegård appears to have counted *have* when it functioned as a main verb, despite its extensive invariance. I have also counted main-verb *have* but not auxiliary *have*. The one exclusion besides *be* that I have made in the case of the BofM is in the fixed phrase *it came to pass*.[70]

I have calculated Boorde's ᴀᴅᴘ *do/did* rate at 50% (472 counts): present tense = 49%, past tense = 52%.[71] These numbers are not based on sampling, but on full counts (with the exclusions noted). The BofM's ᴀᴅᴘ *did* rate is roughly half of Boorde's.

ADP *did* %	Adjacency	Inversion	Adverbial
52	93	2	5

Henry Machyn

Another author mentioned by Ellegård with respect to high rates of ᴀᴅᴘ *did* use was Henry Machyn. He wrote frequent diary entries for almost 14 years while living in London before his death in late 1563, probably from the plague. His ᴀᴅᴘ *did* usage rate was 20% (403 of 2,017 counts), and he used *did preach* at a very high rate (93%);[72] the BofM also uses *did preach* at a high rate (78%). Machyn's extensive use of *did preach* suggests that it was a strong tendency for some speakers during his time; the BofM matches that high usage rate. And EEBO provides cross-verification. Here are some relevant examples:

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70. If that phrase were counted as a case of the simple past, then the ᴀᴅᴘ *did come* rate would be 2.4%, not 12.9%, and overall ᴀᴅᴘ *did* would be 22.5%.

71. I also excluded from counts invariant *treateth* (used in chapter headings), as well as Boorde's curious poetic passages. They have been excluded because poetic rhyme and meter and fixed phraseology akin to *it came to pass* could have strongly, and artificially, influenced the choice of forms. If main verb *have* is excluded from counts, the rates of use of ᴀᴅᴘ *do* and *did* in Boorde are 66% and 56%, respectively.

72. These are my counts based on an online modernized transcription (Richard W. Bailey, Marilyn Miller, and Colette Moore, eds., *A London Provisioner's Chronicle, 1550–1563, by Henry Machyn: Manuscript, Transcription, and Modernization*, <quod. lib.umich.edu/m/machyn> [n.d.], accessed June 2014).

1483 Caxton *G. de la Tour* d vj b

How syth late a hooly man **dyd** *preche* therof.

1529 S. Fish *A Supplicacyon for the Beggers* 22

seing there were suche profounde clerkes, & auncyent fathers, bysshops, and studentes in the same, which **dyd** *teache* & *preache* vnto the people contynually?

1560–1 Machyn *Diary* (Camden) 249

Parson Veron the Frenche man **dyd** *pryche* ther, for he was parson ther, and ys menyster.

Mosiah 18:7

And [Alma] **did** *teach* them and **did** *preach* unto them

Ellegård observed the following:

Of Machyn's 370 do-instances, 216 involve the verb *preach*: the simple verb *preach* occurs only half a dozen times. If *preach* is disregarded, Machyn's frequency figure becomes 8%, which is not abnormally high for his period.[73]

With the benefit of recent scholarship, I have counted 239 instances of *did preach* and 17 of *preached*, 34 more than Ellegård found. Excluding those 256 counts from the total ADP *did* counts that I made from Machyn's *Diary*, we obtain a 10% overall rate, slightly above Ellegård's estimate.

His point about one verb unduly influencing Machyn's ADP *did* rate is reasonable, since 56% of the ADP *did* counts come from the verb *preach*. The KJB has the same issue with the verb *eat*, but not to the same extent (22% of its ADP *did* counts). On the other hand, no verb in the BofM makes up more than 3% of ADP *did* usage.

In determining Machyn's ADP *did* profile, I have excluded 54 counts of *did preach* so that this verb does not make up more than 50% of ADP *did* counts:

ADP *did* %	Adjacency	Inversion	Adverbial	Ellipsis %
18	96.2	3.3	0.5	1.4

Machyn never used *did die*, always *died* (130 times). The BofM does likewise: 36 times it has simple-past *died*, but it never has *did die*. In addition, *died* occurs 13 times within eight words of *it came to pass*. This is perhaps significant since ADP *did* is used 300 times within eight words of *it came to pass*. Hence, we might expect at least one occurrence of *did die* in that context. That being the case, the exclusive use of simple

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73. Ellegård, *Auxiliary Do*, 166.

past-tense *died* appears to qualify as another match of the BofM with identifiable mid-16c usage.[74]

Next we consider two texts not mentioned in Ellegård's work; we have seen examples from these books.

John Daniel

John Daniel's translation from Spanish, *An excelent comfort to all Christians*, has a rate of use that is similar to Boorde's, and his writing is relatively late in time as far as peak use of ADP *did* is concerned. Here is the usage profile, based on full counts (672 total):

ADP *did* %	Adjacency	Inversion	Adverbial	Ellipsis %
51	86.9	6	8.1	21.2

Two excerpts from this book with concentrated *did* usage have been given above. Here are three more passages with a considerable amount of ellipsis:

PAGE 87 (4 examples of ellipsis)

But yet [the children and disciples of God,] armed with confidence and affiance in God, and pacience by the onely wordes of the Gospell, **did** *convince* and *ouerthrow* to the grounde, all the power and potencie of them all: aswell the principalles as the reste. And by beleeuyng truely in yᵉ the Gospell, they **did** *fyght* with (and *ouerthrowe*) all the sublymate and supreme highnesse, that **dyd** *rise* and *repugne* against them: and Christ their heade in them. They **did** *ouercome* captiuitie, and *bring* a great number to be ruled.

PAGE 109 (2 examples, 1 with distant ellipsis)

But yet his crucifiers in moste dispiteous or spightfull maner and signe of mockery **dyd** *make* him naked, dispoiling him of his apparreile, and [**dyd**] *cloath* him at theyr pleasures with purple, and [**dyd**] *put* a reede in his hande and a crowne of sharpe thornes vppon his bare tender head, they **dyd** *wounde* and *boffet* his tender body with most cruell blowes and strypes of fistes and whips.

PAGE 120 (a mixture of use)

The holy ghost SAITH by the apostle S. Paule, that all those which God **dyd** *knowe* and *acknowledge*, he **did** *predestinate*, bycause they shoulde be conformable and lyke in shape vnto the image of his sonne. And those which were predestinate he **did** *call*, those which hee CALLED, he also IUSTIFIED, and those which he IUSTIFIED, he **did** *glorifie*. So that of necessitie those which he

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74. However, the BofM is not a close match with Machyn's *Diary* in relation to *go*, *come*, and *take*; yet neither is it discordant. The BofM's ADP *did* rate is **relatively** low with these three verbs. But still, their rate of use is 10% or higher, while it is 0% or nearly so in Machyn's text.

did *predestinate*, he **did** also *glorifie*, and the way and meanes to come to be glorified, is to be called and iustified, by passions and crosses, to be conforme and lyke vnto his sonne.

I have estimated the present-tense ADP *do* rate of this book to be 42%, 9% less than the past-tense rate. So this text has a higher past-tense rate, something we also see in the BofM. I have also found a similar tense distinction in *A profitable and necessarye doctrine* (1555), a book by another author with very high rates of ADP *did*.

William Marshall

In 1534, a Latin work by Erasmus was translated by William Marshall. His English translation is an example of high ADP *did* usage before Tyndale's death and around the same time as Elyot. Here is the overall breakdown of use that I estimated following Ellegård's sampling method (full *did* counts [216 total], sampled past-tense counts):

ADP *did* %	Adjacency	Inversion	Adverbial	Ellipsis %
38	75.3	7.7	19.5	18.6

Summary

The presence of high-rate ADP *did* syntax found in these texts tells us that the corresponding rate in the BofM was close to the syntactic preferences of some English speakers and writers during the mid-16c. The BofM is within the attested range of use: higher than some texts and lower than some texts that have been considered here. Therefore it is a fitting match with English language of this time period.

Table 8 presents the exceptional use of ADP *did* that we have just noted. It indicates the rate of ADP *did* **adjacency** in each text. This is a rigorous measure of the syntax. Only texts employing high rates of both ADP *did* and adjacency can exceed the 20% level. The BofM is a member of this group.

Table 8. High-Rate ADP *did* Texts.

Author / Text	Year	% *did*+INF
William Marshall	1534	28.6
Thomas Elyot	1537	20.7
Andrew Boorde	1542	48.4
Henry Machyn	1550–63	17.3
John Daniel	1576	44.4
Book of Mormon	1829	24.7

ADP *did* Rates with Individual Verbs

Ellegård found that ADP *do/did* rates with individual verbs could be idiosyncratic across texts. He mentions *did preach/slay/understand/succeed/appear/think/eat* as favorites for different authors.[75] The latter, *did eat*, is the favored form in the KJB (97.5%).[76]

Clear favorites in the BofM include *did cease/preach/minister/prosper*. These four verbs are all used at rates above 70% in the text, and they all show above average usage rates during the EModE era. We have seen that *did minister* was particularly robust and we have noted the correspondence of *did preach* and *died* between Machyn's *Diary* and the BofM.[77]

High-frequency disfavored verbs in the BofM include *did see/**begin**/say/behold/**become***. These five verbs are all used at rates below 5%. Three of these verbs (in boldface) are not used periphrastically very often in EModE as well. But *did see* shows medium usage and *did behold* was used quite heavily. So of the nine BofM verbs just mentioned, seven of them correlate well with EModE usage rates.

ADP *did* syntax with two high-frequency motion verbs — *go* and *come* — was disfavored in EModE and it is also below average in the BofM. But the text still employs *did go* and *did come* at a fairly high rate (excluding *it came to pass*), especially *did go*. That periphrasis was never very common in the EModE era. According to EEBO, adjacency use peaked for *did go* below 2% in the 1650s; *went* was always strongly preferred. Figure 7 shows that the rate in the 1690s was 0.6%. By way of comparison, another high-frequency verb, *take*, had a peak ADP *did* rate of 7% in the 1550s. Still, by the 1690s ADP *did take* was only used 1% of the time. Thus individual verbs followed their own path and their usage profile can depart significantly from the overall EModE profile.

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75. Ellegård, *Auxiliary Do*, 167.

76. ADP *did eat* was strong throughout the EModE period, strengthened in the 17c *by* the biblical text's high usage. Here is an early example showing simple past *left* followed immediately by the periphrasis with *eat*:

> **1493** *Festivall* (W. de W. 1515) 153 b
> He CAME in company of recheles people, & by comforte
> of them he LEFTE his faste and **dyde** *ete*.

77. According to EEBO, *did cease* rates may have peaked during the decade of the 1600s, *did preach* during the 1550s, *did minister* in the 1620s, and *did prosper* in the 1660s.
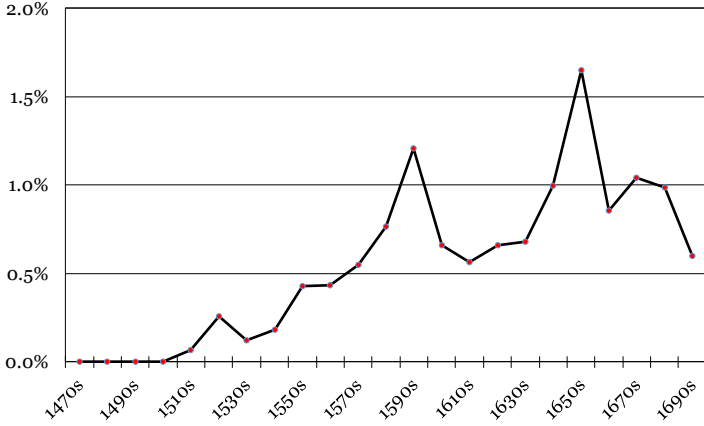
Figure 7. *Did go* versus *Went* in EModE.

Table 9 contains a summary of the correspondences between EModE and the BofM in relation to the verbs mentioned in this and preceding sections. The best correspondences are at the top; 10 of 13 verbs align well with the EModE period. More trustworthy figures for all verbs will be available in coming years with better databases. At that point in time we will be able to carry out reliable correlations more fully between BofM usage and EModE usage for individual verbs.

Table 9. Correspondences among Individual ADP *did* Verbs.

	Relative ADP *did* Rates	
Verb	EModE	BofM
become	low	low
begin	low	low
minister	high	high
prosper	high	high
say	low	low
take	medium	medium
cease	med high	high
come	low	med low
die	low	zero
preach	med high	high
go	low	medium
see	medium	low
behold	**high**	**low**

Ellegård's Observations

During Tyndale's formative years, ADP *do/did* was emerging but still little used (under 1.5%). Nielson and Skousen studied the relationship between Tyndale's translations and King James English. They put forward the notion that the 1611 biblical text may follow Tyndale's language as much as 84% of the time in the New Testament, and 76% of the time in relevant Old Testament portions.[78] The fact that much of the KJB borrows from Tyndale's syntax makes the low rate of ADP *did* in the biblical text understandable. Had the King James translators followed the syntax of the year 1600, they would have used ADP *did* more often, probably at a 5% rate (close to the average rate Ellegård calculated for 1575 to 1625).

In discussing the KJB and his sampling of it, Ellegård wrote:

> In the affirmative declarative group we find 79 instances of *do* (1.3%), which is somewhat less than the average for the early 17c. It would however be rash to conclude from this that the Authorized Version represents an advanced stage with regard to the use of *do*, for in the negative group the figure is 19 (10%), in affirmative questions 36 (24%), and in negative questions 20 (58%). This means that *do* is used in the same way [in the KJB] as in the early 16c . . . . The influence (partly intermediate) of Tindale's translation . . . is thus clearly discernible in the use of *do*; there are also many exact correspondences in the two versions [Tyndale's and the King James].[79]

Therefore, largely because of its heavy reliance on Tyndale's translations, the early 17c biblical text reflects the early 16c in its usage. On the other hand, the ADP *did* rate of the BofM exceeds the average use of any time period estimated by Ellegård and matches texts that exhibit peak use from the middle of the 16c, mainly after Tyndale's death. Thus the exceptional, short-lived peak use of ADP *did* in the middle of the 16c means that only that stage of the English language matches a significant portion of BofM syntax.

Figure 8 shows a brief, dramatic rise in ADP *do/did* usage followed by a swift dropoff and then tapering of use.[80] Reflecting usage before the rise, the KJB used the syntax at less than a 2% rate. Reflecting usage after the dropoff, Jonathan Swift in the first half of the 18c employed the syntax

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78. Jon Nielson and Royal Skousen, "How Much of the King James Bible Is William Tyndale's? An Estimation Based on Sampling," *Reformation* 3 (1998), 49.

79. Ellegård , *Auxiliary Do*, 169.

80. Of course the other kinds of periphrastic *do* flourished and persisted — that is, *did they not hear?*, *did they depart?*, *they did not leave*, *do not cry*, etc.

less than 0.25% of the time (Ellegård's estimate). And we have seen that Scott and Cooper barely used the syntax in the early 19c. Consequently, no one in the 1820s — except for an EModE linguistics scholar with information akin to Ellegård's 20c in-depth knowledge — would have been aware of the peak usage rates of ADP *did* that prevailed during a small window of time roughly between the years 1535 and 1590.
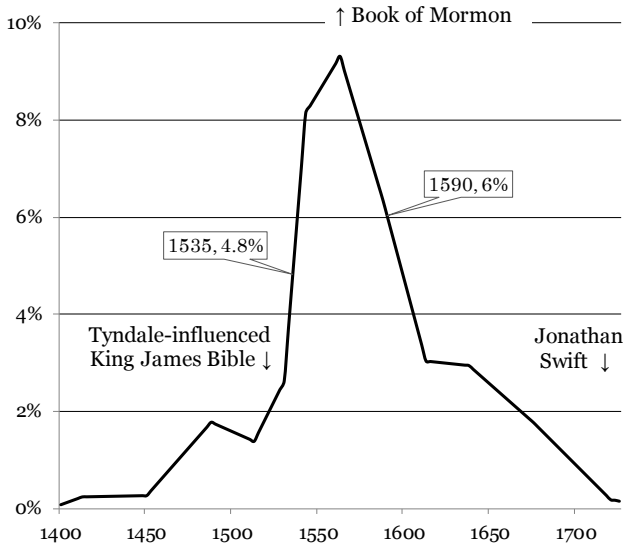

Figure 8. ADP *did* Rates and Correspondences.[81]

Ellegård stated the following:

> It is not until the end of the 15th century that the do-form becomes widely used in prose texts. From then on it spreads fast for about two generations. It becomes the highest fashion among the educated sections of the community. The old Caxton, as well as prelates and preachers, help to popularize it. The construction was in line with what seems to be a general tendency towards analytic expressions in the language.[82]

What is meant by "analytic" in this context is that in the EModE period the language used two-word periphrases like *did give* instead of one-word *gave* to a greater degree than it had in Middle English. Past-tense *gave* is known as a "synthetic" verb form, expressing the notions of 'give' and past tense with only one word. For example, "Book of

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81. Ellegård , *Auxiliary Do*, 161–62.

82. Ellegård, *Auxiliary Do*, 209.

Mormon" is analytic, "Mormon's Book" synthetic. There is clearly an analytic tendency found in the book generally — for instance, "rod of iron" occurs eight times, never "iron rod" — and ADP *did* fits perfectly within that style.[83]

It also makes sense that ADP *did* would be used in a religious text, since according to Ellegård "prelates and preachers" favored its use during its rise. "In the early 16c the use of *do* probably continued to be more frequent with learned writers and people of high social rank than with others."[84] So the usage cannot be reasonably viewed as low, but neither is it to be viewed as something that only the upper segment of English society used throughout its short run:

> It is doubtful whether the frequent use of *do* should still be looked upon as chiefly literary in the middle of the 16th century, at which time the literary fashion, now half a century old or more, should have had time to work itself out, to be picked up by other sections of the community. We note for example that Machyn . . . uses *do* remarkably often in his *Diary*, which certainly has no literary pretensions.[85]

Ellegård's observations inform us about those involved in the development of ADP *did* long ago, and this hints at why this particular syntax might be used so heavily in the BofM. It may have been chosen to adopt a plain syntax that is more than appropriate for a formal religious text in light of its historical development.[86] (The plainness of the syntax follows from its use of unmarked infinitival stems along with high-frequency *did* and *didst*, as well as usage such as *they did beat* which is unambiguously past tense, as opposed to opaque *they beat*.)

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83. See John A. Tvedtnes, "Hebraisms in the Book of Mormon: A Preliminary Survey" *BYU Studies* 11.1 (1970), 55, for some discussion about the construct state.

84. Ellegård, *Auxiliary Do*, 166.

85. Ellegård, *Auxiliary Do*, 166.

86. We note that Rissanen asserted that the use of ADP *did* could function as a "discursive device underlining the importance of the narrative" in "Salem Witchcraft Papers," 109. And he wrote that "[c]lusters of *do* also occur in solemn declarations" in "Periphrastic *Do*," 169. But he also pointed out more recently that "this use [was] of course related to the emphatic use of *do* in Present-Day English." Rissanen, "Morphology and Syntax," *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, ed. Bernard Rosenthal (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2009), 80.

Later Scriptural-Style Authors and ADP *did* Syntax

What about pseudo-biblical writings of the late 18th and early 19th centuries? Some of these have been claimed to have served as a model for the BofM's composition.[87] What sort of ADP *did* usage do they contain?

Richard Snowden

Snowden wrote *The American Revolution*[88] in the late 18c. We find that he hardly used ADP *did* (estimated at close to 1% [1300+ past-tense verbs]). And when he did use the periphrasis it was in a constrained modern way, with one exception. Here are 11 examples of ADP *did* in his book (the subjects are in SMALL CAPS), taken from about 350 short pages:

> and many other such things **did** THEY *do* (49) | The captives THOU **didst** *take* with thy sword (59) | Thus **did** MANY OF THE PEOPLE *forsake* the chief captain (120) | they spared not, neither **did** THEY *pity*! (174) | neither **did** HIS COUNTENANCE *change* (210) | neither **did** THEY *deride* the servants (244) | Thus **did** THE MEN OF BRITAIN *stir* up the sect of the tories (269–70) | Thus **did** THE PEOPLE *encourage* each other (279) | in the second month . . . **did** THE MEN OF BRITAIN *land* (287) | On the same night **did** HORATIO *go* forth (298) | On the same day **did** NATHANIEL *take* upon him the office of chief captain (315).

Snowden almost always used *did* with inversion: *did* + SUBJECT + INFINITIVE word order. This is syntax that can still be encountered today, but it is restricted in use. We employ it with phrases such as "not only did you…" and often with ellipsis of the infinitive after certain adverbials — as in "… neither did I," or "… so did you." The only time Snowden used the periphrasis in typical 16c style was when he wrote *thou didst take*, thereby avoiding *tookest*. The KJB frequently did this, and the BofM did so as well, but less often.[89]

The canonical word order — SUBJECT + *did* + INFINITIVE — was much more common in the 16c than the inverted order; it was found, on

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87. See, for example, I. Woodbridge Riley, *The Founder of Mormonism* (New York, 1902), 124–26; Benjamin L. McGuire, "The Late War Against the Book of Mormon," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 7 (2013), 323 notes 2 and 3.

88. Richard Snowden, *The American Revolution: written in scriptural, or, ancient historical style* (Baltimore: W. Pechin, n.d.). Apparently published in parts and serially in the 1790s. <www.worldcat.org> gives a date of [1796], <archive.org> has [1802].

89. The periphrasis *didst comfort* would be a good solution in later editions of the BofM for phonologically awkward *comfortedst* at 2 Nephi 22:11 (Isaiah passage).

average, more than 90% of the time through much of the century.[90] For example, Boorde used inversion only twice (2%); Nicholas Harpsfield in his *Life of Sir Thomas More* (1557) used it more often but only about 20% of the time (Ellegård's counts).[91] However, John Studley in *The pageant of popes* (1574), translating John Bale, used inversion only 2% of the time, despite ADP *did* rates below 10% (based on 50% sampling).

The bottom line is that besides *thou didst take*, Snowden always used *did* + SUBJECT + INFINITIVE; he thus marked his own text, perhaps unwittingly, as a late–18c effort. In contrast, the BofM employed such inversion less than 5% of the time. So the texts are patently different in this regard, as well as in percentage use of ADP *did*.

Gilbert Hunt

Next we consider Hunt's *The Late War*, written in "ancient historical style."[92] We find that he used ADP *did* more often than Snowden. I have estimated Hunt's usage at approximately 2% (1100+ past-tense verbs). Again, when he did use the periphrasis it was with inversion, with only one exception. Here are the 23 examples of ADP *did* in the book, taken from about 290 short pages (two elliptical cases; four counts):

> Neither **did** THE PEOPLE . . . *cast* him into the den of lions (31) | so **did** THE EVILS *increase* which surrounded them (53) | Neither **did** THE SICK AND WOUNDED *escape* (77) | and in the sight of their own havens, **did** THEY *do* these things (88) | So **did** HE *return* to his wickedness (116) | with the points of their swords **did** THEY *torment* him (120) | neither **did** THEIR FOOTSTEPS *follow* after warfare (122) | Day after day and night after night **did** THEY *annoy* them (141) | Then . . . **did** THE GALLANT PERRY *leap* into his *cock-boat* (163) | Then **did** THE ENEMIES OF COLUMBIA *weep* (165) | even at the age of three-score **did** HE *go* out against the enemies of Columbia (170) | Thus **did**$_i$ THE MEN OF COLUMBIA *triumph* over them, and [*i*] *conquer* them (187) | For although THE KING . . . **did** *put* the instruments of death into our hands (189) | neither **did** HE *expect* mercy (203) | Quickly **did**$_i$ THE WEAPONS OF MURDER *disturb* and [*i*] *trouble* the general silence (218) | Neither **did** THE MEN OF WAR THEY COUNTED UPON *arrive* in time (230) | Thus **did** HE . . . *stamp* his own name with infamy (233) | Thus **did** HE *encourage* the people (276) | Thus for an hundred days **did** THE PEOPLE OF NEW-YORK *prepare* themselves (278) | Twice **did** THE HOST OF BRITAIN . . . *come* against the entrenchments (296) | Thus **did** THE CHILDREN OF COLUMBIA *praise* the Lord (305).

90. Ellegård, *Auxiliary Do*, 182. See his Table 9 and the accompanying diagram.

91. Ellegård, *Auxiliary Do*, 287.

92. Gilbert J. Hunt, *The Late War, between the United States and Great Britain, from June 1812, to February 1815* (New York: David Longworth, 1816).

Notice the frequent use of *neither, so*, and *thus* before *did*. The sole use of subject + *did* word order is *the king did put*. Twice Hunt used two infinitives after the auxiliary: *did…triumph* & *conquer* and *did…disturb* & *trouble*. In these two cases he imitated 16c ADP *did* syntax well:

> Acts 2:40
> And with many other words **did**$_i$ he *testify* and [*i*] *exhort*

Ethan Smith

Ethan Smith's *View of the Hebrews* has a similar example; he combined inversion with two intervening adverbials:[93]

> **1823** E. Smith *View of the Hebrews*, 6
> Long **did**$_i$ the church, <u>while they walked</u>, <u>there</u> *see* and [*i*] *enjoy* peace.

We have seen that the BofM combines inversion with an adverbial once, in Mosiah 11:14, and that the American author Cooper also employed the construction. It is not too hard to find EModE examples of this: *Neither* **dyd** he <u>so much as</u> *hyde this from them*.

Table 10 contains Ethan Smith's uses of ADP *did*, taken from about 160 pages. Nearly half of these are certainly emphatic, and one is exclamatory; that construction is syntactically similar to an interrogative (cf. Psalms 78:40). *Indeed* and *in fact* are often used in *View of the Hebrews* with *did* — never in the BofM. *In fact* is not found in the text, and *indeed* only twice — in a biblical passage in 2 Nephi 16:9 (see Isaiah 6:9). Those are emphatic uses; and *did cease* is certainly emphatic when the larger context is considered. The one I count as a canonical case of ADP *did* is *did cut*; and even that one may be emphatic since it closely follows *did* **indeed** *come*.

Table 10. ADP *did* Counts in *View of the Hebrews*.

Passage	Page	Comments	Count
Long **did**$_i$ the church, <u>while they walked</u>, <u>there</u> *see* and [*i*] *enjoy* peace.	6	inverted, adverbial, elliptical	two

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93.   Ethan Smith, *View of the Hebrews; Exhibiting the Destruction of Jerusalem; the Certain Restoration of Judah and Israel; and an Address of the Prophet Isaiah Relative to their Restoration* (Poultney, VT: Smith & Shute, 1823): 5–167. <archive. org/details/viewhebrewsexhi00smitgoog>. Accessed July 2014.

Passage	Page	Comments	Count
but little it seems **did** THEY *understand* the sense of the tremendous passage	37	inverted	ONE
A CAPTAIN of the army of Titus, **did** <u>in fact</u> *plough* where some part of the foundation of the temple had stood	40	emphatic (*in fact*)	—
Surely this man must mean a longer time than THEY **did** <u>in ages past</u> *possess* it	52	adverbial, possibly emphatic (*surely*)	ONE
This HOUSE **did** *cease*	64	emphatic (context)	—
Remarkable indeed it is, that THEY **did**; <u>so diligently</u> *propagate* and [i] *transmit* them	100	adverbial, elliptical, possibly emphatic (*indeed*)	TWO
The NATIVES of this land, be they who they may, **did** <u>in fact</u> *arrive* in this continent; and they probably must have come over those straits	106	emphatic (*in fact*)	—
There can be no doubt but GOD **did**, <u>by his special providence</u>, *direct* them to some sequestered region of the world	107	adverbial, possibly emphatic	ONE
This PROPHECY **did** *relate* to the ten tribes	*107	emphatic; in footnote, not part of narrative	—
Some PEOPLE **did** *find* their way hither	118	emphatic (context)	—
How early **did** THE WORLD (in several centuries after the flood) *go* off to gross idolatry . . . !	126	exclamatory, inverted	—
The LORD of that vineyard **did** <u>indeed</u> *come* in a day when they looked not for him, and in an hour when they were not aware; and **did** *cut* them asunder.	154	emphatic; adjacent	ONE

The overall use of nonemphatic ADP *did* in *View of the Hebrews* is thus low — only 0.6% (8 out of an estimated 1400+ past-tense verbs). There seem to be three countable instances with inverted SUBJECT–*did* word order. Beyond those, I have also included six counts with intervening adverbials.

Here is Ethan Smith's profile of use compared with 16c averages:[94]

	ADP *did*	Adjacency	Inversion	Adverbial
View of the Hebrews	0.6	12.5	37.5	75
16c averages	5.5	81	5.5	13.5

ADP *did* syntax in *View of the Hebrews* is nothing like what we find in the 16c, the BofM, or even the KJB. Over 90% of the time *did* and its infinitive occur together in the BofM. That is not the case in *View of the Hebrews* or in any of the scriptural-style texts just analyzed; the opposite is true. They are very different from the BofM in overall percentage use of ADP *did* and in their patterns of use.

Besides his use of *in fact*, Ethan Smith also marks his text as a 19c product by using *exceedingly fond* (p. 13). The short form *exceeding* was almost always used in EModE before adjectives (the *-ly* form could be used with verbal past participles). For example, *exceeding great* is found 99.8% of the time through the 1690s. That is what the (Earliest Text of the) BofM always has unless there is a clausal complement: *exceedingly anxious that…*, *exceedingly desirous to overtake us*. There are only instances of *exceeding fond* found in EEBO (one with a clausal complement: *I am* exceeding fond to *humour him*). *Ngram Viewer* shows that the long form *exceedingly* overtook *exceeding* as the favored form to qualify adjectives in the 1770s. It also shows that *did in fact* + INFINITIVE emerged around the year 1800, and that *did indeed* + INFINITIVE is an exceptional case, since its rate of use did not diminish over time in the modern period. Both of these phrases are of course emphatic expressions and good indicators of the spread of that use.

Tabular Comparisons

Table 11 contains the overall percentage use of ADP *did* in relation to total past-tense counts as well as the breakdown of use of the syntax. The table shows that those who consciously wrote in scriptural style close to the year 1800 came (fairly) close to the ADP *did* syntax rate of the KJB. But these pseudo-biblical authors did not do well in matching biblical parameters of adjacency, inversion, and intervening adverbial use. So if they superficially approached the biblical rate, at a deeper level in their syntax they did not approach its profile of use. For the most part,

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94. Ellegård, *Auxiliary Do*, 182.

Snowden, Hunt, and Ethan Smith only employed syntax whose vestiges remain in present-day English.

Table 11. Pseudo-Biblical ADP *did* Rates
Compared with the KJB and the BofM.

	Year	ADP *did*	Adj.	Inv.	Adv.
Snowden	1796	1	9	91	0
Hunt	1816	2	5	95	0
E. Smith	1823	0.6	12.5	37.5	75
KJB	1611	1.7	61	31	8
BofM	1829	27.2	91.3	5	3.7

Table 12 contains the correlations of these figures.[95] The BofM is negatively correlated with each of these pseudo-biblical texts, but the worst match is with *View of the Hebrews*. Statistically speaking, there is no significant relationship between any of these texts. At the very least, we can conclude from this that many other texts are more likely to have served as a model for the BofM.

Table 12. ADP *did* Correlations (%) with Scriptural-Style Texts.

	KJB	BofM
The American Revolution	23	−35
The Late War	18	−39
View of the Hebrews	−25	−58
King James Bible	—	(p < 20%) **77**

These findings are meaningful because the past tense makes up a significant component of these books' syntax, being used hundreds, even thousands of times. In certain sections the past tense could be said to comprise the fabric of these texts. And because it's pervasive, ADP *did* patterns constitute a good marker of authorial origins.

These pseudo-biblical texts are very weakly correlated with the KJB. The BofM and the KJB correlate more strongly. So the unlettered laborer, Joseph Smith, matched biblical usage in this regard much more closely than better educated writers did.

Table 13 shows the ADP *did* profiles of seven high-rate 16c texts along with 16c averages.

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95. The array that I have compared in order to calculate correlation is the overall ADP *did* rate along with the three breakdown percentages. So the correlation measures the internal syntactic structure of ADP *did* as well as its overall rate.

Table 13. ADP *did* Profiles of High-Rate Texts.

Author	Year	ADP *did*	Adj.	Inv.	Adv.
Marshall	1534	38	76.5	7.4	18.9
Elyot	1537	22	94	2	4
Boorde	1542	52	93	2	5
Harpsfield	1557	8.5	33.5	18.5	48
Machyn	1563	18	96.2	3.3	0.5
Studley	1574	6.7	59.4	1.9	38.7
Daniel	1576	51	86.9	6	8.1
Sixteenth-century averages		5.5	81	5.5	13.5

Table 14 contains the correlations. On average, the BofM matches high-rate texts (and 16c averages) better than the KJB. Statistically speaking, the match is significant with five of the texts. And the matching is at a deep level; the BofM is aligned with these 16c texts in terms of adjacency, inversion, and intervening adverbial use.

Table 14. ADP *did* Correlations (%) with High-Rate Texts.

Year	King James Bible		Book of Mormon	
1534		63	(p < 5%)	98
1537		79	(p < 1%)	100
1542		57	(p < 5%)	96
1557		18		5
1563	(p < 10%)	83	(p < 1%)	100
1574		59		70
1576		51	(p < 5%)	95
16c averages	(p < 10%)	86	(p < 5%)	95

Included are two texts whose ADP *did* rate is closer to the biblical text. Again, the correlation that I have performed weights the breakdown in use more heavily than the overall ADP *did* rate, so the KJB could have been closer in correlation to these texts if their rates of adjacency, inversion, and adverbial use had been a better match. Despite this, the 1574 text is more closely correlated with the BofM than it is with the KJB. However, neither scriptural text shows a significant relationship with the lower-rate 1574 text.

Of course the 1611 KJB is undoubtedly a close match with other texts from the early 16c. However, the point being made here is that the BofM is a close match with the usage patterns of certain high-rate texts from this time period: a significant relationship exists between them in terms of ADP *did*.

Tables 15 and 16 list ADP *did* rates and correlations for three parts of the Pearl of Great Price. Their ADP *did* rates are all low, nothing like what is seen in the BofM, but Moses correlates well with it because they both have high rates of adjacency. Joseph Smith—History has only inversion. Abraham has very little data (only two counts of ADP *did*).

Table 15. ADP *did* Rates in the Pearl of Great Price.

Book	Year	ADP *did*	Adj.	Inv.	Adv.
Moses	1830	1.5	78	11	11
Abraham	1833	1.0	50	50	0
J. Smith—History	1838	1.2	0	100	0

Table 16. Correlations (%) with the Pearl of Great Price.

Book	King James Bible	Book of Mormon
Moses	(p < 5%) 92	(p < 5%) 92
Abraham	88	46
J. Smith—History	13	−44

As far as ADP *did* is concerned, Moses seems biblical, Abraham does not have enough data, and Joseph Smith—History is modern in character. It correlates significantly with Snowden and Hunt (100%; p<1%). On the other hand, it does not correlate with *View of the Hebrews*: 12%. So the theory of Joseph Smith as author relying substantially on Ethan Smith fails, in terms of ubiquitous past-tense syntax, on two counts. And the negative correlation of Joseph Smith—History with the BofM also indicates that Joseph Smith did not have ADP *did* as part of his idiolect.

Inversion and Intervening Adverbials

Table 11 shows that more than 90% of Snowden's and Hunt's examples involve inversion. But Ellegård observed that this construction was, on average, less common in EModE than the one with intervening adverbs.[96] We can look at 16c quotations in the OED for confirmation. It has five with *did*+SUBJECT inversion with two following infinitives. But there are fifteen with adverbs intervening between *did* and two following infinitives. So the dictionary's database confirms Ellegård's observations.

He estimated inversion at less than 5% for the first 75 years of the 16c. But he found that the inversion rate jumped during the last quarter of the

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96. Ellegård, *Auxiliary Do*, 182.

century to 12%, continuing to rise thereafter.[97] Consequently, the BofM, with its low rate of inversion, followed mid-16c usage in this regard. On the other hand, Hunt and Snowden followed the usage of the turn of the 19c with nearly complete inversion. But *View of the Hebrews* does have more adverbial use than inversion. However, Ethan Smith employed too much of both types — and therefore had very little adjacency — so his text is not a good match with earlier usage. Such arcane patterns of use are exceedingly difficult to mimic centuries after the fact when one's native-speaker intuitions are at odds with prior syntactic usage patterns.

The BofM has 69 examples of ADP *did* with two or more following infinitives. Sixty-three of these involve adjacency; three times it has inversion, and three times it has an intervening adverbial:

Inversion

1 Nephi 9:1
> all these things **did** MY FATHER *see* and *hear* and *speak* as he dwelt in a tent

1 Nephi 10:15
> after this manner of language **did** MY FATHER *prophesy* and *speak* unto my brethren, and also many more things

1 Nephi 17:22
> after this manner of language **did** MY BRETHREN *murmur* and *complain* against us.

Intervening Adverbials

Alma 55:27
> And it came to pass that they **did**, <u>notwithstanding all the intrigues of the Lamanites</u>, *keep* and *protect* all the prisoners

Helaman 11:32
> And THE ROBBERS **did** <u>still</u> *increase* and *wax* strong, insomuch that THEY **did** *defy* the whole armies of the Nephites and also of the Lamanites

Ether 2:2
> And THEY **did** <u>also</u> *lay* snares and *catch* fowls of the air

Hence there is no discernible pattern of use in the BofM in this respect. The text breaks slightly from the 16c in that it has a little more inversion than intervening adverbial use, similar to the London diarist, Henry Machyn (the KJB breaks decisively [see above tables]).

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97. Ellegård, *Auxiliary Do*, 182.

Ellegård estimated subject–*do/did* inversion at 4.6% for the third quarter of the 16c, when ADP *did* usage peaked in English.[98] I have carefully counted *did*+subject inversion in the BofM (89 counts); this represents a 4.8% rate, a very close match with Ellegård's estimate. This constitutes additional supporting evidence that ADP *did* in the BofM is a match with usage from this time period. From this we may conclude that the poor mimicry that the BofM has been thought to demonstrate (by some), is in all likelihood not mimicry; it is much more likely that the text is the result of independent, expert EModE authorship.

It should be noted that when we examine intervening adverbial usage for the third quarter of the 16c, there is a difference between Ellegård's estimates for this same period and the BofM rate: 13.3% versus 3.6% (EModE versus the BofM).[99] But four of the high-rate ADP *did* texts use intervening adverbial elements at a rate that is very close to what is found in the BofM (see the last column in Table 13 above). So several high-rate texts are aligned in their use of intervening adverbials. Generally speaking, when ADP *did* usage rates were very high, elements did not frequently intervene between *did* and its infinitive. As a result, because the KJB's overall rate was low, it was more apt to employ syntax with intervening subjects and adverbials than any of the high-rate ADP *did* texts.

Did the King James Bible Serve as a Model?

Could the KJB have been a model for ADP *did* syntax in the BofM? No. The correlation of ADP *did* rates for 75 individual verbs in the KJB and in the BofM is weak — 30% (p < 1%). Performing a similar correlation between Machyn's *Diary* (from the 1550s and '60s) and the BofM yields a relatively strong correlation of 79% (12 verbs; p < ½%).[100] Table 17 outlines some of the conspicuous differences between the KJB and the BofM.

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98. Ellegård, *Auxiliary Do*, 162, 182.

99. According to Ellegård, an intervening adverbial rate similar to what is found in the BofM obtained during the first quarter of the 16c.

100. A correlation has been made with verbs used at least 10 times in each text. We are 99% confident that only a weak relationship exists between the BofM and KJB, and we are 99.5% confident that a fairly strong relationship exists between the BofM and Machyn's writing.

Table 17. Some Notable ADP *did* Differences.

Differences	KJB	BofM
Overall rate	1.7%	27.2%
ADP *didst* rate	23%	71%
Adjacency rate	61%	92%
Inversion rate	31%	5%
Instances of *did eat*	115	1
Instances of *did eat & drink*	20	0
Instances of *did go*	0	57
Instances of *did cause*	2	50
Instances of *did come*	1	41
Instances of *did cry*	1	31
Instances of *did have*	0	19
Instances of multiple ellipsis	0	6
Rate of *did preach*	0%	78%
Rate of *did minister*	6%	74%
Rate of *did pursue*	3%	59%
Rate of *did pitch*	1%	54%
Rate of *did build*	4%	56%

On Nineteenth-Century Composition

I find it hard to support the notion that Joseph Smith could have produced the BofM's affirmative past-tense syntax with *did*. Simply put, he did not have the grammatical knowledge to be able to compose the narrative using high-rate 16c ADP *did* syntax. Adjacency usage is frequent in the text and much less frequent in the KJB;[101] the specific syntax was a rare phenomenon in English that flourished briefly and died off; and the construction is remote in time — its early distinctive patterns confined to the EModE period. Moreover, over the centuries there was a dramatic shift in rates of adjacency, inversion, and intervening adverbial use with *did*. That has made it extremely difficult for modern English writers to successfully imitate those aspects of the syntax. Finally, Ellegård did not find a text outside of the 16c (not having examined the BofM) with 20+% ADP *did* adjacency. There are outliers in the 1600s, but it is highly likely that there is no text from the modern era besides the BofM that contains this particular high-rate ADP *did* syntax. All this means that its

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101. The BofM has more than 1,600 instances, and the KJB has only about 350, and more than 100 of those are *did(st) eat*.

production by Smith or any of his (proposed) associates in the 1820s was virtually impossible.

Another implication of ADP *did* in the BofM is that it argues directly against LOOSE CONTROL of the translation.[102] Under that theory, would there have been 27% ADP *did* rates with high levels of adjacency and low amounts of SUBJECT–*did* inversion? No. Would there have been 10% usage or even 5% usage? No. Would there have been 2% usage of ADP *did*? Maybe. Under loose control we would expect either biblical patterns (about 2%), or 1820s syntax (about 1%) — that is, *did* used for emphasis and contrast, and with heavy doses of SUBJECT–*did* inversion. This array of use is of course lacking in the BofM.

Loose control theorists must view Smith as so imbued with King James English and its modes of expression that he was able to produce many of its structures in his dictation.[103] But had Smith been using the biblical text as a model for past-tense narration — either consciously or subconsciously — then the most likely conclusion is that he would have used the periphrasis no more than 2% of the time, since that is the observed biblical rate. Furthermore, he would have used much more inversion and much less adjacency, since that is what is found in the KJB and that is what his own dialect of English would have demanded. And if Smith had followed his own language for past-tense verbal expression, then he would have used the periphrasis at an even lower rate.

Conceivable Biblical Explanations

Let us suppose that Joseph Smith — in dictating the BofM text in the late 1820s — used King James ADP *did**st*** usage as a model for the text.[104] The figures in Table 18 suggest this to be a conceivable explanation for

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102. "Ideas were revealed to Joseph Smith, and he put those ideas into his own language (a theory advocated by many Book of Mormon scholars over the years)." Royal Skousen, "How Joseph Smith Translated the Book of Mormon: Evidence from the Original Manuscript," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 7.1 (1998), 24.

103. See Brant A. Gardner, *The Gift and Power: Translating the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Kofford, 2011), 302.

104. There is no historical evidence for such an endeavor. According to multiple eyewitnesses, neither the KJB nor any related books were consulted during the dictation process. And to my knowledge, Joseph Smith was never accused of poring over a large biblical concordance.

ADP *did* syntax in the BofM, since biblical ADP *didst* rates are close to BofM ADP *did* rates.[105]

Table 18. ADP *didst*.

	Overall rates	Adj.	Inv.	Adv.
BofM *didst*	71	100	0	0
KJB *didst*	23	90.5	9.5	0
BofM *did*	27.2	91.3	5	3.7

Presumably Smith would have had to consult the large, two-part *Cruden's Concordance* extensively,[106] isolating second-person singular (2sg) *didst* when used in ADP syntax and counting the number of times 2sg past-tense main verbs were used.[107] This of course would have been extremely difficult to do 200 years ago. In contrast, today it is a fairly straightforward matter to make these counts as long as one has sufficient grammatical expertise. A degree of interpretation is required but for the most part we can use a computer to quickly isolate and count qualifying words that end in *-e(d)st*.[108] However, it would have been very difficult using an alphabetically arranged concordance to find at least ninety (90) 2sg past-tense verb forms and to accurately make 360 or so counts.[109]

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105. One thing in Table 18, however, immediately casts doubt on this approach: the BofM ADP *didst* rate is much higher than the corresponding biblical rate.

106. For example: Alexander Cruden, *A Complete Concordance to the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament: or, a Dictionary and Alphabetical Index to the Bible: very useful to all Christians who seriously read and study the inspired writings*, 10th ed. (London: Thos. Tegg and Wm. Baynes & Son, 1824). 856 pages. <archive.org/details/complet0crud>. Accessed July 2014.

107. I have counted 83 instances of ADP *didst*. Three of these are used with two infinitives, but under this hypothetical assumption I will assume that these instances would have been counted only once. Beyond these fairly easy counts, one must make counts of irregular and regular 2sg past-tense verb forms. There are perhaps 278 of these: 194 irregular + 84 regular.

108. This involves discarding words that are not past-tense main verbs. For example, *diddest* in Acts 7:28 is a pro-verb. And *layest*, *rentest*, *cuttest*, *lettest*, *settest*, and *puttest* are opaquely present tense.

109. There may be 30 **irregular** 2sg past-tense verb forms: abodest, badest, barest, becamest, brakest, broughtest, camest, drewest, fellest, fleddest, forgavest, forsookest, foundest, gavest, heardest, knewest, leddest, madest, sawest, slewest, smotest, spakest, stoodest, swarest, thoughtest, threwest, tookest, wentest, withheldest, wroughtest.

     There may be 59 **regular** 2sg past-tense verb forms: anointedst, answeredst, buildedst, calledst, castedst, chargedst, comfortedst, commandedst, consentedst,

That is because *Cruden's Concordance* did not have a reversed word alphabetical listing. Furthermore, not only would it have been hard to make a complete and accurate count, but their implementation would have been a monumental task that would have necessarily stretched over years. Joseph Smith did not have a monk-like assistant tallying usage and keeping track of esoteric patterns of use; he only had scribes with at best second-rate spelling. We have seen that well-educated contemporaries failed to match King James English in this regard. That evidence alone is sufficient to put to rest the notion that this would have been an easily achievable task.

In addition, we note the following items:

- The BofM has a 71.5% ADP *didst* rate.[110] Why does it have triple the KJB's ADP *didst* rate if the biblical rate of 23% had been painstakingly calculated and consciously used as a model?

- Verb forms lack 2sg past-tense inflection five times in the BofM, against obvious King James usage. The BofM apparently followed an independent EModE option and used four nonbiblical verb forms *thou received* / *had* / *beheld* / *did* (the auxiliary adopts an unmarked shape twice in the text).[111] Why don't we find *receivèdst*, *hadst*, *beheldest*, and *didst* in 2sg contexts if the KJB's ADP *didst* rate had been consciously and carefully used as a template?[112]

- The KJB employs inversion 10% of the time with ADP *didst* but

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coveredst, crownedst, cursedst, deckedst, defiledst, deliveredst, desiredst, diggedst, driedst, executedst, filledst, followedst, fouledst, hearkenedst, humbledst, killedst, longedst, layedst, longedst, lovedst, marchedst, movedst, multipliedst, obeyedst, paintedst, passedst, plantedst, playedst, pouredst, preparedst, promisedst, provokedst, receivedst, redeemedst, refusedst, sacrificedst, servedst, shewedst, skippedst, sowedst, strengthenedst, stretchedst, subduedst, testifiedst, troubledst, trustedst, vowedst, walkedst, wateredst, woundedst.
  Many of these verb forms are found two or more times in the KJB.

110.   The only nonbiblical main-verb occurrences of the 2sg affirmative declarative past-tense in the BofM are *madest*, *saidst*, *saidest*, *beheld*, *received*, and *had*.

111.   See Carmack, "Nonstandard," 228–30.

112.   *Receivèdst* (Luke 16:25); *hadst* (cf. main-verb usage in Genesis 30:30, Psalms 44:3, Jeremiah 3:3, and Hebrews 10:8); *beheldest* (on the analogy of *withheldest* in Nehemiah 9:20).

the BofM has half the inversion rate in ADP *did* syntax.[113] Had the KJB been used as a model, we would expect higher rates of inversion in the BofM, especially since the KJB has 30% inversion with ADP *did*.

In short, had the KJB been followed in this regard, why are there so many clear differences in specifics and in patterns of use?

When dozens of verbs are considered, it is plain that the BofM is independent from King James English in its ADP *did* use (see Table 20 in the appendix). Furthermore, the BofM is consistent with the patterns of use found in texts that employ ADP *did* at high rates from the middle of the 16c. It has much less SUBJECT–*did* inversion and significantly higher rates of use of ADP *did(st)* than the biblical text. A comparison of ADP *did* rates and ADP *didst* rates in the BofM and the KJB exhibit independence but a positive correlation. In other words, ADP *did* is lower than ADP *didst* in each text, and BofM rates are higher than each corresponding rate in the KJB. This relationship points to a match in both texts with external EModE syntactic tendencies, but from different time periods.

Another biblical explanation involves considering that Joseph Smith might have used ADP *did* heavily on the analogy of *did eat* in the KJB. This periphrasis occurs 19 times in Genesis and 32 times in the New Testament. And *did eat and drink* is found 3 times in Genesis. Table 19 has the profile of use of *did eat* in the KJB if we consider a surrounding context of 11 words, compared with John Daniel's translation of 1576, *An excelent comfort to all Christians*. These figures correlate at nearly 100%. Of course this is an artificial profile that I have created for the KJB, easily done in today's digital age, but difficult to do 200 years ago.

Table 19. A Concocted ADP *did eat* Profile from the KJB.

	ADP *did*	Adj.	Inv.	Adv.
KJB *did eat* ± 11 words	55.5	89.2	4.2	6.7
John Daniel	51.0	86.9	6.0	8.1

We note that *did(st)…eat* is found 115 times in the KJB, but simple past *ate* only three times.[114] As a result, the periphrasis overwhelms the use of the simple past tense. There is not much data in the BofM, but we can say that the text does not favor the use of *did eat*. And it uses

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113. I exclude four cases of *didst not* and count one case of elliptical *(thou) did go* (Alma 39:3).

114. Psalms 106:28; Daniel 10:3; Revelation 10:10.

the verb *eat* in an independent fashion in other ways.[115] This also argues against the existence of any biblical ADP *did eat* influence as far as this prominent verb is concerned.

Moreover, Smith would have been unlikely to achieve a good match with the attested 16c preferential usage patterns of ADP *did* with many verbs such as *preach*, *die*, and *say* (discussed previously), since he would have used ADP *did* mechanically and at higher rates with all verbs. Under this scenario we would expect a BofM ADP *did* rate of 50% or more, not 27%. Furthermore, pseudo-biblical authors, knowledgeable themselves in King James English and familiar with *did eat*, failed to come close to the typical mid-16c distribution of adjacency, inversion, and adverb placement in relation to ADP *did*. Smith would have been hard pressed to do any better than they did, since coming close to the archaic distribution would have involved expressing himself against his own language and according to arcane patterns of use.

As we have seen, the BofM is very closely correlated with the average values of the high-rate ADP *did* texts that have been considered individually in this paper. The KJB is only moderately correlated with these texts, and the distributional averages of scriptural-style authors is negatively correlated with them. These observations argue against the notion that ADP *did* in the BofM could have been a possible outcome of such an endeavor on the part of Joseph Smith.

In summary, had Smith used biblical *did eat* as a template because of its salience, then the BofM's ADP *did* rate would be much higher and less principled. Had Smith followed biblical ADP *did* due to extensive familiarity with the text, then the BofM's ADP *did* rate would be much lower and exhibit a different usage profile. And had Smith followed biblical ADP *didst*, then (1) intensive research and laborious counting would have been required, (2) the process of dictation / composition

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115.   Excluding Isaiah passages, the BofM has one instance of *did eat* (Enos 1:20), two of *ate* (Alma 8:22; Ether 15:26), four of *had eat* (Alma 8:23; 3 Nephi 18:4; 20:4; 20:9), and two of *had (not) eaten* (3 Nephi 6:2; 18:5). There is little data, but the BofM's ADP *did* rate with *eat* is only one-third. In addition, it uses *eat* four times as a past participle (two-thirds of the time) (pronounced /ɛt/); the KJB uses only *eaten* (105 times):

1519 W. Horman *Vulg.* 164 b
   He hath **eate** all the braune of the lopster.

1594 Daniel *Cleopatra* iv. Wks. (1717) 286
   To have **eat** the sweet-sower Bread of Poverty.

would have been very different from what is known of it based on largely consistent eyewitness observations, and (3) many allied linguistic features of the BofM would be biblical in nature, not independent of the KJB.

Implications

Ellegård pored over English texts spanning centuries and found a concentration of them that had high rates of ADP *did* syntax; these center around the middle of the 16c. As far as their syntactic patterns are concerned, there is an excellent match between certain texts from this time and the BofM. What does this mean? This constitutes concrete evidence that the language of the BofM, at least in this regard, is based on EModE from this specific period of time. How can that be? God prepared the words of the book, using this variety of English for the narrative framework, and miraculously delivered the words to Joseph Smith. What other evidence is there for language coming from this time period? According to EEBO, peak use of finite-clause syntax with the verbs *cause*, *command*, and *suffer* also occurs before the 1580s. That archaic and obsolete usage occurs hundreds of times in the BofM; and it is in many ways deeply different from King James English. The same can be said for nonbiblical *if it so be that*, occurring 39 times in the Earliest Text. The usage disappears after those decades.[116]

Some may be concerned that the BofM would have been translated with archaic and obsolete forms that are not found in the KJB. Others wonder why this could be so. The why is fraught with speculation. But we may ask whether nonbiblical parts of the BofM are less understandable than the KJB is. My experience tells me that no, those sections are more comprehensible.

By and large, obsolete meaning and syntax — for example, "**it supposeth me** that thou art a child of hell," "**if it so be** that they exercise faith in him," "the waters of the Red Sea . . . **departed** hither and thither,"[117]

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116. EEBO shows hardly any use in the 17c. Biblical "if so be that" was dominant throughout the period except in the middle of the 16c (but still more common than "if it so be that"). There is some British revival in the latter half of the 18c, continuing on into the 19c. Google books has many false positives from reprinted older language. No American usage found, yet.

117. Helaman 8:11. This is an **intransitive** use of *depart* = 'divide'; the last example given in the OED is dated 1577: "[The sinews] **depart** agayne into two, and eche goeth into one eye." Recast, the BofM phrase might read "the waters of the Red Sea **divided** to the left and right."

and "the Lord did *cause* THE SERPENTS that THEY should pursue them no more"[118] — do not interfere with one's general understanding of the text. In fact, sometimes the old language actually promotes clarity. And of course the syntax discussed here does not impede understanding. But aren't we missing nuance in meaning occasionally? Yes, just as we often do reading King James English. Will we have a fuller understanding of this old usage in the BofM in the near future? Yes. Does the existence of nonbiblical 16c words and syntax in the BofM increase our confidence that the words are Christ's? Yes. And can all this strengthen our belief in the Bible (one of the stated purposes of the book)? I believe so.

Scriptural Foundation

I will now attempt to motivate this particular approach from a BofM passage — an important reference whose connection with this view was first brought forth by Royal Skousen. Consider the following extracts from 2 Nephi 27, in particular the use of the substantives *words*, *deliver*, and *command*, highlighted below:

> v.6 . . . the Lord God shall bring forth unto you the **words** of a book. And they shall be the **words** of them which have slumbered.
>
> 9 But the book shall be *delivered* unto a man, and he shall *deliver* the **words** of the book . . . .
>
> 19 . . . the Lord God will deliver AGAIN the book and the **words** thereof to him that is not learned. . . .
>
> 20 Then shall the Lord God say unto him: . . . thou shalt read the **words** which I shall give unto thee.
>
> 22 Wherefore when thou hast read the **words** which I have COMMANDED thee . . .
>
> 24 And again . . . the Lord shall say unto him that shall read the **words** that shall be *delivered* him:

Verses 20 and 24 in particular indicate that words were to be given to Joseph Smith by the Lord, and that Smith would be commanded to read the words as they were given to him. Verse 22 contains a figurative use of *command* that is frequently found in the KJB. The meaning of the verb in 2 Nephi 27:22 is 'cause to come' or 'send with authority':

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118. In this obsolete causative construction *the serpents* is the indirect object of *caused*, and it is repeated pronominally in the embedded object clause. This nonbiblical syntax is attested in the EModE textual record but it is relatively infrequent. The BofM has 12 examples of this structure.

OED **command**, *v.* 6b *fig.* To cause to come; to send with authority.

> **1611** BIBLE [*Leviticus* 25:21]
> I will **command** [Vulgate *dabo*, WYCLIFFE *give*, COVERDALE *send*] my blessing vpon you.

> **1781** COWPER Hope 669
> See me sworn to serve thee [Truth], and **command**
> A painter's skill into a poet's hand.

Recast, this excerpt from 2 Nephi 27:22 could therefore read: "That being the case, when you have read the words . . . that I have caused to come to you -or- that I have sent to you with authority." This recasting is based on the analogous syntax found in the two verses and the specific dictionary definition, given immediately above.

From this biblical usage we have a direct interpretation that *words* were (miraculously) sent to Joseph Smith by the Lord, that he was not given the responsibility of using his own language to express *thoughts* that were given to him.

This scriptural passage — in its repetitive use of the collective plural *words* — seeks to convey that Smith was given a concrete "form of expression or language" [OED **word**, *n.* 1 (*collect. pl.*)]. And because the dictionary makes clear elsewhere that *words* does not refer to thoughts but concrete verbal expression [word, *n.* 4], interpreting *words* as 'thoughts' is strained and unlikely. In fine, God conveyed words, not thoughts.

The other distinction to be made has to do with the interpretation of the verb *read* in these 2 Nephi 27 verses. The relevant OED definition is [11a], under the heading: *To peruse and utter in speech*. The question is: Did Smith "utter aloud (the words or sentences indicated by the writing, etc., under inspection)," or did he "render in speech (anything written, a book, etc.) according as the written or printed signs are apprehended by the mind" and put them into his own words? The former definition is indicated because of the existence in the book of dozens of instances of obscure meaning and syntax that were inaccessible to Smith in 1829.[119] Some of this syntax has been discussed in this paper. In short, Smith dictated God's words, not his own words.

In verse 19 the meaning of *again* may be biblical/EModE 'back': the Lord will give back the book — and its words — to the uneducated person (see, for example, *turn again* [Alma 8:25]). In verse 9 the verb

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119. See Skousen's various publications on point, referenced above; see also Carmack, "Nonstandard."

deliver is used twice, with different meanings. First the Lord declares that the book is to be committed into a man's (safe) keeping [**deliver**, *v.* 8a]; then the man, Joseph Smith, is to utter or dictate the book's words [10a].[120] This is nuanced usage.

Finally, in verse 6 the Lord tells us that "the words of a book" will be brought to light for our benefit [**bring**, *v.* †16d; **unto**, *prep.* 27].[121] Consequently, I take 2 Nephi 27 as directly telling us that God prepared the words we find in the BofM. That is an immensely powerful concept.

Consider next this supporting passage:

> 3 Nephi 21:11
>
>> whosoever will not believe in **my words** — which am Jesus Christ — which the Father shall cause *him* to bring forth unto the Gentiles and shall give unto him power that he shall bring them forth unto the Gentiles, it shall be done, even as Moses said: They shall be cut off from among my people which are of the covenant.

Recast, the relevant portion might read: "God the Father will cause Joseph Smith to bring to light Christ's words for the benefit of the Gentiles." Although I can see how this verse might be read with the interpretation that Joseph was to *transform* Christ's words into his own, once again the least strained, most direct, and most powerful interpretation is that Smith was to relay Christ's words, not utter his own. And this is because of:

- the language of 2 Nephi 27
- the book's 16c past-tense syntax
- principled use of command syntax

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120.   OED def. 10a has 'give forth in words, utter, enunciate, pronounce openly or formally'; Webster's 1828 def. 6 has 'utter; pronounce; speak; send forth in words; as, to deliver a sermon, an address, or an oration'. Using *words* as the object of *deliver* has been less common through the centuries than delivering a speech of some kind, but the use is possible even today.

121.   Most present-day English speakers use *bring forth* to mean other things. It was a common verbal phrase in the EModE period; Shakespeare employed it nearly 30 times. Two examples with the meaning of 'bring to light, or public view' are:

> 1601 Shakes. *All's Well* v. iii. 151
>> To **bring forth** this discou'rie.

> 1605 Shakes. *Macb.* iii. iv. 125
>> Augures and vnderstood Relations haue . . . **brought forth**
>> The secret'st man of Blood.

- refined use of SUFFER syntax
- infrequent, obsolete layered CAUSATIVE constructions
  (e.g. 2 Nephi 5:17; Mosiah 6:7; Alma 21:3; Mormon 3:5)
- inaccessible, obsolete meaning like:
  - **depart**, *v.* (*intr.*) = 'divide' (Helaman 8:11)
  - **counsel**, *v.* = 'ask counsel of, consult' (Alma 37:37; 39:10)
  - **scatter**, *v.* = 'separate without dispersal' (TITLE PAGE)
- inaccessible, obsolete usage like:
  - *but if* = 'unless' (Mosiah 3:19)
  - *to that* = 'until' (1 Nephi 18:9)
  - *hearts delighteth*, *flames ascendeth*, etc.
    (Alma 26:24; Mosiah 2:38; Alma 12:17)
  - *it supposeth me* (e.g. Jacob 2:8; Word of Mormon 1:2)[122]

Important Findings Regarding Past-Tense Syntax

- Sustained high-rate ADP *did* adjacency rates (20+%) are found in 16c and 17c writings.
- In the 1820s…
  - even experts in EModE syntax would have struggled to know peak-usage characteristics because of language change.
  - relevant prose texts were obscure and found only in remote research libraries.
  - the syntactic **knowledge** was inaccessible to Smith and scribe.
- Yet the 1829 BofM…
  - matches 16c high-rate profiles with statistical significance.
  - differs materially from the 1611 KJB.
- Still, the past-tense profile of the BofM correlates more closely with the KJB's profile than do scriptural-style writings of the early 19c, and the BofM is completely unlike those texts.

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122. Items like *depart, but if, to that, it supposeth me* — all found in the OED — show that Webster's 1828 *American Dictionary of the English Language* is insufficient to cover the range of usage found in the BofM.

Conclusion

As a general rule, obsolete syntax is completely inaccessible to an author or speaker because of a lack of knowledge. This observation also applies to lost meaning. (Here I refer to language that has never been encountered, with which one is wholly unacquainted. So some obsolete usage that one knows from prominent sources such as the KJB or Shakespeare is properly excluded from this statement.) Intelligence, savant-like capabilities, automatic writing cannot overcome an absence of syntactic knowledge. Writers cannot manufacture out of thin air vanished forms and lexical meaning when language shift has taken place, thereby obscuring prior usage. That of course is precisely the case of the BofM's past-tense syntax. High-rate nonemphatic ADP *did* adjacency disappeared before the 18c and was not generally known. So Joseph Smith had no knowledge that it was used at high rates during the 16c and the 17c. (The anomalous use of biblical *did eat* would not have told him that, just as it does not tell us that today.)

In terms of ADP *did*, we note a systematic match between the BofM and the syntactic usage of the EModE period, exclusively. On the basis of this evidence we conclude that God, consistent with his divine purposes, chose this specific language variety and syntax as a framework for much of the past-tense narrative of the BofM. Wherefore, in this and other respects the language of the book is EModE. Moreover, the pervasive use of this construction in the text and its close match with certain 16c texts (as well as other syntactic evidence alluded to above), point directly to the idea that the book is full of EModE syntax.

On the basis of the foregoing evidence and discussion, I would assert that the frequent occurrence of ADP *did* syntax in the BofM, as well as its deeper patterns of use, cannot reasonably be ascribed to the mind of Joseph Smith or anyone else associated with, or proposed to be associated with, the composition of the text in the late 1820s. And the odds that anyone else would have or even could have written a text in this fashion 200 years ago are vanishingly small. It seems that no one has done it since the EModE period. The data discussed here are compelling, and it is hoped that the related conclusions are as well.

We have seen that some who intentionally tried to follow King James English in their writings did not match 16c ADP *did* usage. Their efforts do not positively correlate with that stage of English: Snowden's *The American Revolution*, Hunt's *The Late War*, and Ethan Smith's *View of the Hebrews* ended up well off the mark. Sixteenth-century texts were

not readily available in the 1820s as they became later in the 19c.[123] As a result, the access to the relevant texts was extremely limited in the 1820s, especially to someone living away from populated eastern cities with research libraries. And the 16c printed books containing the heavy use of this syntax were still largely to be found only in British libraries. So a compelling position — on account of the lack of any specific, credible evidence to the contrary — is that the words of the BofM were revealed to Joseph Smith through the instrument, that they came from a divine source.

Appendix

Table 20. Tabular Comparison of ADP *did* Rates [29.5% correlation].

	King James Bible		Book of Mormon		
VERB	**n**	**rate**	**n**	**rate**	RATE DIFF
die	186	0.0	36	0.0	0.0%
see	555	1.6	258	1.9	0.3%
behold	54	3.7	114	4.4	0.7%
begin	621	0.0	430	2.8	2.8%
say	3795	0.1	262	4.2	4.1%
become	69	0.0	103	4.9	4.9%
know	180	0.6	99	6.1	5.5%
send	519	2.1	99	9.1	7.0%
have	560	0.0	169	11.2	11.2%
speak	600	0.3	189	12.7	12.4%
give	470	1.5	113	14.2	12.7%
come	1744	0.1	319	12.9	12.8%
fight	56	1.8	29	17.2	15.5%
lead	47	2.1	28	17.9	15.7%
find	158	0.0	33	18.2	18.2%
bring	570	1.8	60	21.7	19.9%
take	758	0.8	169	21.3	20.5%
inquire	24	0.0	14	21.4	21.4%
return	158	0.0	70	21.4	21.4%
look	129	1.6	30	23.3	21.8%
drive	21	38.1	15	60.0	21.9%
believe	90	0.0	50	22.0	22.0%
fall	243	0.0	58	22.4	22.4%
go	1414	0.0	251	22.7	22.7%
cast	152	6.6	47	29.8	23.2%
call	362	0.6	42	23.8	23.3%
flee	123	1.6	71	25.4	23.7%
make	808	1.9	88	26.1	24.3%
cause	54	3.7	162	30.9	27.2%
bear	164	1.8	20	30.0	28.2%
pray	58	0.0	34	29.4	29.4%
repent	30	3.3	29	34.5	31.1%
belong	13	7.7	18	38.9	31.2%
smite	229	0.4	34	32.4	31.9%

123. For instance, the Early English Text Society began its effort of making old texts accessible to researchers and the general public 20 years after Joseph Smith's death.

VERB	King James Bible		Book of Mormon		RATE DIFF
	n	rate	n	rate	
hear	376	0.3	66	33.3	33.1%
appoint	76	0.0	21	33.3	33.3%
turn	156	2.6	22	36.4	33.8%
shew	72	1.4	28	35.7	34.3%
receive	78	1.3	39	35.9	34.6%
gather	134	0.0	44	36.4	36.4%
prophesy	44	4.5	22	40.9	36.4%
keep	71	2.8	29	41.4	38.6%
do	410	0.0	54	38.9	38.9%
deliver	132	3.0	33	42.4	39.4%
lay	169	0.0	24	41.7	41.7%
slay	197	0.5	45	42.2	41.7%
enter	84	1.2	23	43.5	42.3%
cry	186	0.5	72	43.1	42.5%
meet	41	0.0	23	43.5	43.5%
teach	51	0.0	40	45.0	45.0%
pass	128	0.0	35	45.7	45.7%
harden	21	0.0	17	47.1	47.1%
carry	84	1.2	18	50.0	48.8%
fill	43	0.0	10	50.0	50.0%
raise	40	0.0	26	50.0	50.0%
build	113	4.4	25	56.0	51.6%
pitch	76	1.3	28	53.6	52.3%
remain	51	5.9	12	58.3	52.5%
baptize	14	7.1	10	60.0	52.9%
beat	25	20.0	19	73.7	53.7%
obtain	13	0.0	27	55.6	55.6%
pursue	37	2.7	22	59.1	56.4%
pour	41	0.0	10	60.0	60.0%
prosper	11	9.1	21	71.4	62.3%
minister	32	6.3	23	73.9	67.7%
follow	97	0.0	13	69.2	69.2%
wax	30	0.0	17	70.6	70.6%
declare	12	8.3	10	80.0	71.7%
rejoice	47	6.4	18	83.3	77.0%
preach	32	0.0	27	77.8	77.8%
continue	25	0.0	10	80.0	80.0%
humble	12	8.3	14	92.9	84.5%
stir	16	0.0	15	86.7	86.7%
cease	24	0.0	19	94.7	94.7%
walk	88	3.4	12	100.0	96.6%

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Why the Oxford English Dictionary (and not Webster's 1828)

Stanford Carmack

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Why the Oxford English Dictionary (and not Webster's 1828)

Stanford Carmack

In order to properly consider possible meaning in the Book of Mormon (BofM), we must use the Oxford English Dictionary (OED). Royal Skousen opened the door to this approach,[1] but unfortunately many have resisted accepting it as valid or have not understood the advantages inherent in it. The usual method of consulting Webster's 1828 *American Dictionary of the English Language* has serious drawbacks. First, that approach is based on the incorrect assumption that the English language of the text is Joseph Smith's own language or what he knew from reading the King James Bible (KJB). That incorrect assumption leads us to wrongly believe that nonbiblical lexical meaning in the BofM is to be sought in 1820s American English, or even perhaps from Smith making mistakes in his attempt to imitate biblical language (which is a canard). Second, by using Webster's 1828 dictionary we can easily be led astray and form inaccurate judgments about old usage and we can miss possible meaning in the text.

Let us consider the second point and a concrete example related to usage. To begin with, the OED definitively tells us that the pronoun *ye* was used to address both a single person and more than one person, and in both subject position and object position, starting in Middle English and continuing on into the Early Modern English era (EModE). *Ye* was a versatile pronoun.[2] The OED has a very helpful entry on this point.[3]

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1 Royal Skousen, "The Archaic Vocabulary of the Book of Mormon," *Insights: A Window on the Ancient World* 25 (2005), 2–6.

2 But by the end of the 16th century (16c), *you* had become dominant in subject position.

3 *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed. on CD-ROM, v.4 (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2009), **ye**, *pers. pron. 2nd pers. nom. (obj.), pl. (sing.).*

Webster's 1828 has nothing on this. Here is one example taken from the Early English Books Online database (EEBO):[4]

> 1507 Walter Hilton *Scala perfectionis*
> If **thou** loue moche god, **ye** lyketh for to thynke vpon hym moche
> If **thou** love much God, **ye** liketh to think upon him much
> where *like* = 'feel inclined to'

Note the close switch from *thou* to *ye*, even though it refers to the same person,[5] as we see in various places in the BofM (see, for example, 1 Nephi 17:19 and Jacob 7:6). Note the third-person singular inflection after *ye*, as we see in Helaman 13:21; 13:34 and elsewhere (see Royal Skousen, ed., *The Book of Mormon: The Earliest Text* [New Haven, CT: Yale UP 2009]). This 1507 example is representative of many others that are found in the English textual record. Here is another example from Tyndale:

> 1573 John Foxe, ed. *The vvhole workes of W. Tyndall* (d. 1536) [EEBO]
> … if **thou** vowe to go and visite the poore, … it is wel done, and a sacrifice that sauoureth well, **ye** wil happly say, that **ye** will go to this or that place … .
> … if **ye** abyde in me, and my wordes also abyde in **you**, then aske what **ye** wyll and **ye** shall haue it. If **thou** beleue in Christe and hast[6] the promises whiche God hath made **thee** in thine hart, then go on pilgrimage … .

The entry for the word *ye* in Webster's 1828 states that it is the nominative plural of the second person, nothing more. The dictionary misses that *ye* was frequently used for **singular** address in EModE. We have just seen examples of this, and it can rather easily be found in Shakespeare. The OED points this out with several relevant examples. The KJB itself slides almost imperceptibly and frequently between *ye/you* and *thou/thee* in passages such as Deuteronomy 13:1–5 and Matthew 6:1–9, to give just two examples.[7] Webster's 1828 also misses that *ye* was frequently used as a grammatical **object** during the early modern era, including by Shakespeare. The BofM has this usage (e.g. Alma 14:19

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4   Chadwyck-Healey <eebo.chadwyck.com>.

5   Modern edited versions have *thou likest* instead of *ye lyketh*. See, for example, Rev. J. B. Dalgairns, ed., *The Scale (or Ladder) of Perfection* (Westminster: Art and Book Company, 1908), 126.

6   Note the subjunctive variation ("if thou believe … and hast") as we see in the BofM at, for example, Mosiah 26:29, Helaman 13:26, and Moroni 7:44.

7   These can often be ascribed to the underlying Hebrew and Greek (either wholly or in part), complicating the issue. In some biblical cases, justifying the pronominal switching in English as a move between singular and plural referents makes for a strained analysis.

and Mormon 3:22), and the OED points this out with several relevant examples.

Misleading views, such as the one that Webster's 1828 provides us with, have led some to blithely make inaccurate pronouncements on this aspect of BofM grammar. Some even go so far as to claim, without sufficient analysis or expertise, that there is a massive misuse of archaic personal pronouns in the text. Yet it is the unknowing critics who have been mistaken.[8] It is simply that there was a massive amount of variation in EModE, and the BofM is a text that has a complex mixture of unexpurgated language from the EModE period and beyond. While Webster's 1828 sheds no light on the matter, the OED elucidates this issue.

Let me also say at this point that it is wrongheaded to propose Moroni as translator in order to account for "errors" in the text.[9] He

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8. Not addressed here, but important, is the use of thou with plural referents. This is seen quite a few times in the *Earliest Text* (the most egregious instances have been edited out) and will be thoroughly addressed in the forthcoming volume 3 of the critical text project.

Here I would like to note that all serious readers of the King James Bible implicitly know that *thou is* (generally) a singular pronoun. So this is not a mistake that one can reasonably expect Joseph Smith would have made. Many other assumed mistakes are much more likely than this one. But we also note that the King James Bible at times clearly goes against this general stricture: "and say unto Zion, **Thou art** my people" (Isaiah 51:16); "I will say to them which were not my people, **Thou art** my people; and they shall say, Thou art my God" (Hosea 2:23). In Isaiah and Hosea thou is used with a general plural referent, and in the latter the text makes a close switch back to a singular referent. See also the frequent switching in Deuteronomy 13:1–5 and Matthew 6:1–9. In these verses *thou*, etc. can very reasonably be viewed as applying to general plural referents.

The sometimes expansive Book of Mormon usage of second-person singular pronouns with **specific** plural referents could be ascribed in isolation to Joseph Smith making mistakes in attempting to follow biblical usage. However, because there is so much language in the Earliest Text that Smith could not have known, it is most reasonable to think that he simply received the words that he dictated. And these words included the use of *thou*, etc. applied rather liberally in places to certain plural referents, perhaps for a strengthening effect (as in 1 Nephi 7:8 and Mosiah 12:30—see Joseph Wright, *The English Dialect Dictionary*, Vol. 6 [Oxford: Henry Frowde, 1905], 101).

9 See Roger Terry, "What Shall We Do with *Thou*? Modern Mormonism's Unruly Usage of Archaic English Pronouns," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 47.3 (2014), 56. There is good material in this article, but there are also problems with his analysis vis-à-vis the BofM. The main one is the view that the BofM is full of grammatical errors. That misleading view was promulgated right after its publication, perpetuated by many, including influential church leaders and

may have been involved in the divine translation effort, but to employ him as an explanatory device in order to account for putative errors is misguided. The English-language text is too complex, diverse, and even well-formed to ascribe it to a non-native translation effort. Again, as I have stated in an earlier paper,[10] the BofM is not full of grammatical errors. Rather, it is full of EModE — some of it is typical and pedestrian, some of it is elegant and sophisticated, and some of it is, to our limited or uninformed way of thinking, objectionable and ungrammatical. The BofM also contains touches of modern English and late Middle English. It is not a monolithic text, and we are just beginning to learn about its English language. (A striking example of late Middle English is provided at the end of this short study.) I have certainly come to realize that it is not the text of the BofM that is full of errors, but rather our judgments in relation to its grammar.

Let us now consider an example that shows the shortcomings of Webster's 1828 in relation to meaning in the BofM:

> Moroni 1:1
> I had **supposed** to not have written more, but I have not as yet perished.

What is the meaning of *suppose* in Moroni 1:1? There are a few possibilities. One that I favor in this context is 'incline (or tend) to think,' with the implication of a mistaken belief (see OED definition 8).

Webster's 1828 tells us that *suppose* can mean, among other things, 'believe,' 'imagine,' or 'think.' The OED has these senses (*sense* is its favored term for 'meaning'), but it also has several additional meanings that are possibly relevant and that are not found in Webster's 1828, including 'expect.' The OED states that this sense of the verb *suppose*

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scholars, and has now been re-asserted, which is a regrettable circumstance because it is inaccurate from the point of view of EModE, which is the language of the book. I also disagree with the author's tendency to consider KJB variation to be well-formed syntax while ascribing BofM variation to grammatical errors. I also note the following regarding Terry's article: *has*/*hath* variation in the BofM (9.5% *has*) matches the variation found in the textual record of the late 1600s (Shakespeare employed *has* 16.5% of the time); the BofM's partially levelled past-participial system is also a match with this time period; as shown above, Tyndale employed close *ye* ~ *thou* alternation in his independent writing, as other contemporary authors did, and just as the BofM does; *needs* is an adverb, not a verb, so it never carried *-th* inflection.

10   Stanford Carmack, "A Look at Some 'Nonstandard' Book of Mormon Grammar," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 11 (2014), 216ff.

is obsolete, providing examples to the year 1760.[11] Because Webster's 1828 does not have the meaning 'expect,' this is good evidence that it was truly obsolete by the 1820s.[12] In this way Webster's 1828 is useful. But because *suppose* in Moroni 1:1 **could** convey a notion of 'expect,' and since the sense is not found in Webster's 1828, we find that this reference dictionary is inadequate in relation to BofM textual meaning and usage, just as we have seen is the case with the personal pronoun *ye*. Moreover, the BofM phrase *it supposeth me*, as discussed below, amply demonstrates the inadequacy of Webster's 1828 dictionary and the superiority of the OED in relation to BofM meaning and syntax.

The phrasing *had supposed to* and *had supposed that* is found mainly in the first half of the EModE era. In fact, 95 OF the instances that I have located in that period are from before the year 1600. In addition, there are relatively few examples of this wording to be found in the much more extensive textual record of the 1700s and early 1800s. Thus it is reasonable on that basis alone to seek older meaning in this case.

Here is an OED quotation from the influential printer/publisher William Caxton:

> **1474** CAXTON *Chesse* III. iii. (1883) 100
> He was ryght seeke And … men **supposid** hym to dye.
> 'He was very[13] sick and men **expected** him to die'

This is from one of the earliest books printed in English. In this example, as in Moroni 1:1, *suppose* is used with a following infinitive with a **future** orientation. The OED tells us that *suppose* with the meaning 'expect' was always used with a complement referring to the future. So in that way the meaning is a good fit with Moroni 1:1. The following excerpts taken from EEBO are very similar syntactically to Moroni 1:1:[14]

> **1474** when she approached unto her enemies and *had supposed to have distressed* them, she found them arrayed and ranged

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11   OED **suppose**, *v.* †4 = 'expect.' The dictionary states that the verb with this sense is often combined grammatically with an infinitive "referring to the future." The BofM context is the pluperfect of *suppose* followed by an infinitival verb phrase used in an anterior **future** context.

12   Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language* [Volume 2, London: 1756], from which Webster borrowed heavily, does not have 'expect' either. (Volume 1 was published in 1755.)

13   OED **right**, *adv.* 9b.

14   Accidentals regularized; alternate senses for *suppose* such as 'intend' are possible (see OED definition 5).

> in good ordinance of battle | **1474** he took leave of King Affer and the Egyptians, and *had supposed to have departed* thence | **1474** I *had supposed to have remained* and continued a stable virgin | **1477** the realm of Myrmidon which he *had supposed to have enjoyed* | **1485** And of that of which the ass *had supposed to have had* grace, honor, and profit, he had shame and damage | **1492** I made by the virtue of some enchantments die suddenly the espouse, whom he *had supposed to have enjoyed.*

This evidence points to suppose = 'expect.' But we must duly consider other possibilities such as 'believe,' 'imagine,' and 'think.'

Let me state at the outset of the following brief semantic analysis that such argumentation can be exceedingly difficult. I do not lay claim to any special insight on the matter. I can only do my best to argue based on examples, syntax, and the authority of the OED. With that said, we note that Moroni 1:1 involves infinitival complementation after the verb *suppose*, which is used in the pluperfect. In addition, the understood tense of the complement *to not have written more* is the anterior future, or the future in the past. We have seen several examples of this, from the beginning of the EModE era. But we note that the other meanings under consideration — 'believe, imagine, think' — can also be used with future complementation. However, 'imagine' and 'think' also semantically work with complementation that has a present-tense orientation, while 'believe' and especially 'expect,' with its clear future anticipation, do not, as in these rewritings for Moroni 1:1:[15]

> I **imagine** I won't write anything else *right now* (*imagine* = 'have in mind; entertain an idea').
> I **think** I won't write anything else *right now* (*think* = 'have in the mind').
> ? I **believe** I won't write anything else *right now* (*believe* = 'have a belief').
> ?? I **expect** I won't write anything else *right now* (where *expect* ≠ 'think, imagine').

These same verbs are all grammatical with the future orientation of Moroni 1:1:

> I **imagine** I won't write anything else *in the future.*

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15   In these expressions I have put Moroni 1:1 language in the present tense, with *more* = 'something more/else'; thus I use present-day English 'not…anything else' (cf. Moroni 1:4).

> I **think** I won't write anything else *in the future.*
> I **believe** I won't write anything else *in the future.*
> I **expect** I won't write anything else *in the future.*

If we use infinitival complementation, only the phrasing with *expect* is felicitous in present-day English:

> ? I **imagine** to not write anything else in the future.
> ? I **think** to not write anything else in the future (where *think* ≠ 'intend, design, purpose' as in 2 Nephi 5:3: "Our younger brother thinketh to rule over us").
> ? I **believe** to not write anything else in the future.
> I **expect** to not write anything else in the future.

Syntactically (both historically and contemporaneously), and with its obligatory future orientation, *suppose* = 'expect' fits the context well: Moroni had not expected to have engraved[16] again because he thought he would be dead before he had another opportunity to do so. Relying on Webster's 1828, we miss this possibility. Yet as indicated, the others are possible in present-day English with finite complementation, and 'tend to think' (implying mistaken belief), is semantically a good fit: Moroni had mistakenly thought that he would not have had an opportunity to engrave again.

How about the split infinitive? Skousen discusses this passage, noting that the wording was transposed to *not to have* by the 1830 typesetter (matching Moroni 1:4), and that "[t]he idea that split infinitives are somehow wrong in English is a complete artificiality."[17] The linguist Jespersen observed: "The name [split infinitive] is misleading, for the preposition *to* no more belongs to the infinitive as a necessary part of it, than the definite article belongs to the substantive, and no one would think of calling 'the good man' a split substantive."[18] Here is a 16c example that is similar to the split-infinitive syntax of Moroni 1:1:

> **1551** Anne Cooke Bacon tr. (Ital. orig. by Bernardino Ochino, d. 1564) [EEBO] [God] is not also compelled of hys perfecte goodnes, mercie and charitie, **to not haue created** the worlde, … .

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16 OED **write**, *v.* 1b = 'engrave.'

17 Royal Skousen, *Analysis of Textual Variants of the Book of Mormon*, 6 parts (Provo, UT: FARMS and BYU, 2004–09), 3890.

18 Otto Jespersen, *Essentials of English Grammar* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1933), 345. See the following for several interesting and insightful quotes: David Crystal, *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995), 195.

. . .

In further support of the assertions made at the beginning of this paper in favor of using the OED, I make the following observations:

- The BofM is full of King James English whose meaning obligatorily derives from the 1500s (since much KJB language derives from 16th-century translations, especially Tyndale's).

- The BofM has quite a few instances of older, **nonbiblical** meaning, including:

    counsel = 'ask counsel of, consult,' used in Alma 37:37; 39:10; this sense is not in Webster's 1828, and the last OED quote is dated **1547**.[19]

    depart = 'divide,' used **intransitively** in Helaman 8:11; this sense is not in Webster's 1828, and the last OED quote is dated **1577**.[20]

    scatter = 'separate from the main body (without dispersal),' as used in the BofM's TITLE PAGE; this sense is not in Webster's 1828, and the last OED quote is dated 1661.[21]

    choice = 'sound judgment' or 'discernment,' used as an abstract noun in 1 Nephi 7:15.[22]

- Past-tense syntax with *did* matches only mid to late 1500s usage.

- Complementation with the verbs *command*, *cause*, *suffer* matches only the late 1400s and the 1500s.[23]

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19   See Royal Skousen, "The Original Text of the Book of Mormon and its Publication by Yale University Press," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 7 (2013), 90–91.

20   See Skousen, "The Original Text," 91.

21   OED **scatter**, *v.* †2d. Some usage is found in the 1700s in Google books, but it was obsolete by the 1800s.

22   This sense of *choice* is actually in Webster's 1828, via Johnson 1755, who quotes only Francis Bacon writing in 1625; the last OED quote is poetic (probably archaic) from Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1667). So in the absence of specific evidence to the contrary, we can take this to be a sense that was obsolete by the 19c. Webster's entry is unreliable here — echoing Johnson with variation, quoting early 17c Bacon; it appears there was obsolescence in meaning by the 19c.

23   See Stanford Carmack, "What Command Syntax Tells Us About Book of Mormon Authorship," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 13 (2015), 212–16.

- Syntax like *Nephi's brethren rebelleth* (in the prefaces to 1 Nephi and 2 Nephi) corresponds to 1500s usage; it is not in the KJB and was obsolete in the 1800s.

In view of the foregoing observations and evidence, I assert the following:

- There is undeniably substantial evidence in the BofM of EModE meaning and syntax that was inaccessible to Smith and scribe.

- Smith could not have known the obsolete meaning of some of these words except from context because semantic shifts are unpredictable and unknowable to anyone in the absence of specific philological study.

- The **pervasive** EModE syntax as well as the existence of obsolete, inaccessible (nonbiblical) meaning in the text mean that Smith must have received specific words from the Lord **throughout** the translation.

- Therefore, the wording of the BofM did not come from Smith's mind; he dictated specific words that were given to him.

- God was in charge of the translation of the English-language text of the BofM; no mortal translated it.

- Smith translated the BofM in the sense of being the person on earth integrally involved in *conveying* Christ's words from the divine realm to our earthly sphere; Smith was **not** the translator in the conventional sense of the term.

- Much of the literature devoted to difficult or interesting meaning in the BofM wrongly assumes that word choice derives from Smith's mind; that means that in many cases the approach and even some of the conclusions, as far as meaning is concerned, have been wrong.

- It is time to stop referring to Webster's 1828 dictionary when seeking English-language meaning in the BofM; while many old senses persisted into the 1820s, a considerable number did not; only the OED covers almost all the range of usage found in the BofM.

. . .

The final section of this paper addresses the old phraseology *it supposeth me*, found four times in the BofM (twice in one verse). The language

was objected to as contrived by Edward Spencer one century ago.[24] This curious syntax is found in a lengthy late 14c poem written by a contemporary of Chaucer.[25] The OED calls the construction inverted, and notes the status as *rare*[-1] (discussed below):

> **1390** Gower *Confessio Amantis* ('The Lover's Confession') book 5, lines 22–23
>
> Bot al to lytel **him supposeth**, Thogh he mihte al the world pourchace.
>
> 'But it seemed all too small to him, though he could buy the whole world.'

Both the dictionary and a website with margin notes,[26] from which I have made the above rendering, indicate a meaning of 'seem' for *suppose* in this construction. The OED status *rare*[-1] indicates "that only *one* … actual instance of the use of the word in context is known."[27]

This 33,000-line poem was **printed** for the first time by Caxton in 1483, and it was reprinted in 1532, 1544, and 1554.[28] We also find it in the second volume of a 21-volume collection of English poetry published in 1810,[29] and in a three-volume work published in 1857.[30]

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24   Edward B. T. Spencer, "Notes on the Book of Mormon," *The Methodist Review*, Ed. William V. Kelley, Vol. 87 — 5th series, Vol. 21 (New York: Eaton & Mains, 1905), 36.

25   The webpage <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Confessio_Amantis> provides background. This quote is relevant and instructive (emphasis added): "While not of immense importance as a source for later works, the *Confessio* is nonetheless significant in its own right as **one of the earliest poems written in a form of English that is clearly recognizable as a direct precursor to the modern standard**, and, above all, as one of the handful of works that established the foundations of literary prestige on which modern English literature is built." Accessed October 2014.

26   John Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, Vol. 3, ed. Russell A. Peck with Latin translations by Andrew Galloway (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute, 2004) [Robbins Library Digital Projects, TEAMS Middle English Texts Series] <d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/text/peck-gower-confessio-amantis-book-5>.   Accessed January 2015.

27   OED § **General explanations**. Caxton's *me supposeth* in *Polychronicon* (1480, 1482) does not have modern English *me*, but the Middle English indefinite pronoun *me* (< OE *man*), meaning 'one.' So although *me supposeth* appears to be the same syntax as *him supposeth*, it is not. In Caxton's *Polychronicon* it means 'one supposes.' See Churchill Babington, ed., *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden Monachi Cestrensis together with the English Translations of John Trevisa and of an Unknown Writer of the Fifteenth Century* (London: Longmans, Green, 1865–69), 1:lxiv; 1:111; 2:167.

28   Reinhold Pauli, ed., Confessio Amantis *of John Gower*, 3 vols. (London: Bell and Daldy, 1857), 1:xli–xliii.

29   Alexander Chalmers, ed., *The Works of the English Poets, from Chaucer to Cowper*, 21 vols. (London: Printed for J. Johnson *et al.*, 1810) 2:123.

30   Pauli, Confessio Amantis *of John Gower*.

But all to littl hym supposeth,
Though he might all the worlde purchace.

1483	1810

The phrase *it supposeth me* is similar to *methought* in *methought I saw* (1 Nephi 8:4; Alma 36:22),[31] a phrase used twice by Milton in *Paradise Lost* (London: 1667) [book 7, line 1099; book 10, line 152]:

Mine eyes he clos'd, but op'n left the Cell
Of Fancie my internal fight, by which
Abstract as in a tranfe methought I faw,
Though fleeping, where I lay, and faw the fhape
Still glorious before whom awake I ftood;

Ev'n to the Seat of God. For fince I faught
By Prayer th' offended Deitie to appeafe,
Kneel'd and before him humbl'd all my heart,
Methought I faw him placable and mild,
Bending his eare; perfwafion in me grew
That I was heard with favour; peace returnd

Methought conveys 'it seemed to me,' deriving from the Old English verb *þyncan* = 'seem,' distinct from OE *þęncan* = 'think' (whence modern English *think*).

The following OED quotation has the old verb *think* = 'seem' used similarly to *supposeth me* — in both sense and syntax:

> **1530** TINDALE *Pract. Prelates* I vij
> The maryage of the brother with the sister is not so greuouse agenst the lawe of nature (**thinketh me**) as the degrees aboue rehersed.

The OED indicates under the etymology section of [**think**, *v*.[2]] that *him thought* and *he thought* were practically equivalent, that there was no difference of import between *me thinks* and *I think*. By extension, *it supposeth me* is practically equivalent to *I suppose*, with no difference in import between them. We have already discussed a variety of meanings of *suppose*; additional ones mentioned in the OED are 'intend,' 'assume as true,' 'take for granted,' and 'suspect.' According to the OED, John Gower used *supposeth* elsewhere in his poem *Confessio Amantis* with senses of 'imagine' and 'suspect.'

Here are the relevant Book of Mormon passages, with some possible alternate senses for the phrase *it supposeth me* given in brackets:

Jacob 2:7–8 ['I believe/imagine']
And also it grieveth me that I must use so much boldness of speech concerning you before your wives and your children,
many of whose feelings are exceeding tender and chaste and delicate

---

31 See the excellent discussion in Skousen, *Analysis of Textual Variants*, 159–60.

before God,
which thing is pleasing unto God.
And **it supposeth me** that they have come up hither
to hear the pleasing word of God,
yea, the word which healeth the wounded soul.

Words of Mormon 1:2 ['I expect' (future complementation: *he will witness*)]
And it is many hundred years after the coming of Christ
that I deliver these records into the hands of my son.
And **it supposeth me** that he will witness the entire
destruction of my people.
But may God grant that he may survive them,
that he may write somewhat concerning them
and somewhat concerning Christ,
that perhaps some day it may profit them.

Alma 54:11 ['I suspect']
But behold, **it supposeth me** that I talk to you concerning
these things in vain,
or **it supposeth me** that thou art a child of hell.[32]

Could Joseph Smith have known about this inverted syntax? I suppose he could have seen it, had he spent time reading Middle English poetry. Was it accessible to him? No. This grammatical structure is exceedingly rare, the embodiment of obsolete usage. Had he ever seen it, he hardly would have recognized it and been able to transform it:

«ADVERBIAL»	«DATIVE»	«VERB»	
all too little	**him**	**supposeth**	=>

«EXPLETIVE»	«VERB»	«DATIVE»	«ADVERBIAL»
it	**supposeth**	**him**	**all too little**

Yet the text employs inverted syntax with *suppose* appropriately and consistently four times. The implications are evident:

---

32   There are dozens of instances of the phrase *child of hell* in the EEBO database, including this one:
   1648 William Fenner *Wilfull impenitency, the Grossest Selfe-Murder*
   Thou art yet a **child of hell**, an heire of damnation, wilfull in thy sinnes to this houre.

- The Lord revealed a concrete form of expression (words) to Joseph Smith.
- The Book of Mormon contains some Early Modern English language whose syntax is independent of the King James Bible (it even has some transformed late Middle English syntax).
- The text itself reveals its divine origins.

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The More Part of the Book of Mormon Is Early Modern English

Stanford Carmack

The goal of The Interpreter Foundation is to increase understanding of scripture through careful scholarly investigation and analysis of the insights provided by a wide range of ancillary disciplines, including language, history, archaeology, literature, culture, ethnohistory, art, geography, law, politics, philosophy, etc. Interpreter will also publish articles advocating the authenticity and historicity of LDS scripture and the Restoration, along with scholarly responses to critics of the LDS faith. We hope to illuminate, by study and faith, the eternal spiritual message of the scriptures—that Jesus is the Christ.

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The More Part of the Book of Mormon Is Early Modern English

Stanford Carmack

Royal Skousen has done an excellent job of summarizing the use of the construction "the more part of + ‹NOUN PHRASE›" (and close variants) in the Book of Mormon at Helaman 6:21 in his *Analysis of Textual Variants*.[1] In this phrase, the adjective *more* conveys an obsolete meaning of 'greater'.[2] My concern here is to compare Book of Mormon usage to that of the King James Bible and the textual record and to place it in its proper time.

The Oxford English Dictionary[3] has about 12 instances of the phrase (and several more with the less-common variant *party*, not found in the Book of Mormon). From that source we find that John Trevisa, William Caxton, and Robert Fabyan used it before the 16th century:

> **1398** OED TREVISA Bartholomew's *De Proprietatibus Rerum* VI. xiv. 199
>
> > Lawe woll that the eldest sone haue **the more parte of** therytage.

> *c***1477** OED CAXTON *Jason* 35
>
> > **The more parte of** men haue no verite ne loyalte as to the regard of loue.

> **1494** OED FABYAN vii. 664
>
> > He rode about **the more parte of** the lande,

---

1. See Royal Skousen, *Analysis of Textual Variants of the Book of Mormon*, 6 parts (Provo, UT: FARMS and BYU, 2004–2009), 2976–79 (Helaman 6:21). In this study I exclude the phrase "**for** the more part", akin to modern "for the most part".

2. See the Oxford English Dictionary entry for **more**, *a. (n.)* and *(adv.)*, definition †1c.

3. The Oxford English Dictionary, 2nd ed. on CD-ROM, v.4 (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2009).

In addition, Geoffrey Chaucer used "the more part", "the more party of", and "the more part . . . of" at least once each in his writings.[4] So we learn that the usage arose no later than the late Middle English period and that it continued into the Early Modern era. Even though most OED quotations occur before the 17th century, the last-dated example in the dictionary is surprisingly late — 1871. This was a conscious, scholarly use by an Oxford historian, Edward Freeman, apparently well-versed in old historical writings such as Holinshed's *Chronicles* — heavily used by Shakespeare — which employed many instances of "the more part (of)".[5]

It is noteworthy that although the phraseology and the sense of *more* in "the more part (of)" are obsolete, the meaning is nevertheless transparent. Thus Freeman knew that his readership would have no trouble understanding what he meant by "the more part of them perished by falling over the rocks". That is one way we encounter obsolete meaning in the Book of Mormon. Another is that various words persist with modern meanings and the obsolete senses are close and may not be clearly perceived. As a result, we often don't consciously notice that we are reading obsolete language. For example, such is the case with the verb *scatter*, as used in the title page, or with *detect* at Helaman 9:17.

Besides the above 1871 outlier, the last quotation in the OED containing "the more part of " is dated 1610.[6] This suggests that the phrase (and its congeners) was characteristic of preceding centuries. Yet this phrase-type occurs 26 times in the earliest text of the Book of Mormon, a book dictated and scribed in the late 1820s in rural America.

The 1611 Bible only employs a truncated form of the phrase — without *of*. It does so twice, and both instances are found in the book of Acts:

> Acts 19:32
>
> and **the more part** knew not wherefore they were come together.

---

4. Here I exclude "for the more part" (three times; see note 1).

5. Davies' *Corpus of Historical American English* shows the use of the phrase "the more part of" only four times, in a single 1882 book, *Hopes and Fears for Art*, by an English author who was educated in the classics at Oxford and a devotee of medieval subjects and Chaucer. William Morris, similar to Freeman, would have learned the phraseology by studying earlier writings, and consciously employed it in his book. Mark Davies, *The Corpus of Historical American English: 400 million words, 1810–2009* (2010–) [‹http://corpus.byu.edu/coha›].

6. There is also an example with "the more party of", dated 1648.

Acts 27:12

And because the haven was not commodious to winter in,
the more part advised to depart thence also,

Here is how the Coverdale Bible expressed the language of Acts 27:12, seventy-six years earlier:

1535 EEBO A10349 Miles Coverdale, tr. [1488–1568] *Biblia the Byble, that is, the holy Scrypture of the Olde and New Testament, faithfully translated in to Englyshe*

for somoch as the haven was not comodious to wynter in,
the more parte off them toke councell to departe thence,

> The principal data source used in this study is *Early English Books Online* (EEBO) [Chadwyck-Healey ‹http://eebo.chadwyck.com›]. Many of these texts can be freely accessed by using the provided EEBO number and entering it after ‹http://name.umdl.umich.edu/›. The publicly searchable portion of EEBO–TCP (Text Creation Partnership) is ‹http://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebogroup/›. Mark Davies provided a very useful corpus and interface: *Early English Books Online, 400 million words, 1470s–1690s* (2013–). I have also derived some of the examples from a 500-million-word corpus of my own elaboration, made from several thousand publicly available EEBO–TCP texts.

We see that Miles Coverdale chose to convey the notion in this verse with the longer, explicit phrase. (Coverdale has the short form in the other verse.) Tyndale had used *many* here:

1526 William Tyndale, tr. [d.1536] *New Testament* (London, 1836)

And because the haven was nott commodius to wynter in /
many toke counsell to departe thence /

The Book of Mormon always matches Coverdale's syntax in this case, employing the longer wording seven times:

Alma 14:2

the more part of them were desirous that they might destroy Alma and Amulek,

> Royal Skousen, ed., *The Book of Mormon: The Earliest Text* (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 2009).

Alma 47:2

or **the more part of them** would not

Helaman 6:1

the Lamanites had become **the more part of them** a righteous people,

Helaman 6:31

the more part of them had turned out of the way of righteousness

Helaman 15:5

> I would that ye should behold that **the more part of them** are in the path of their duty,

Helaman 15:6

> I say unto you that **the more part of them** are doing this.

Helaman 16:6

> **the more part of them** did not believe in the words of Samuel.

The construction caught the eye of Edward Spencer in 1905, who thought that it was used too frequently. He concluded that Joseph Smith was more concerned with style than substance — while acknowledging similar biblical usage in Acts.[7]

One can reasonably argue that the King James Bible did not serve as a model for this Book of Mormon language, despite strong evidence that the phraseology was obsolete long before the 1820s. The textual record seems to indicate that Joseph Smith could have known of the old usage only from reading it in two New Testament verses. But it is unlikely that he could have derived Book of Mormon usage from these two verses for at least two reasons. First, had he learned it there, he probably would have used the short, biblical phrase "the more part" in some or all of the above passages. Indeed, in volume 4 of the *History of the Norman Conquest of England* (1871), Freeman employed the obsolete phrase a total of five times, twice using the short form, "the more part", and twice using the long form, "the more part of them". So Freeman, who almost certainly had encountered both types, split usage. On the other hand, Smith, who could have read or heard only the short form, consistently dictated the long form. Second, there are phrasal variants in the Book of Mormon that were rare/uncommon during the Early Modern period. We now turn to that evidence.

Significantly, there is one instance of "**a** more part of" in the earliest text:

Helaman 6:32

> insomuch that **a more part of** it had come unto them in the sixty and seventh year

---

7. Edward B. T. Spencer, "Notes on the Book of Mormon", *The Methodist Review*, ed. William V. Kelley, Vol. 87 — 5th ser., Vol. 21 (New York: Eaton & Mains, 1905), 37.

The phraseology with the indefinite article is scarcely found in the print record of English:[8]

> **1494** EEBO A00525 Robert Fabyan [d.1513] *Chronicle* (1533)
>
> In revengement wherof, Cadwaladyr of new destroyed **a more parte of** the sayde provynce.

> *c***1530** EEBO A06462 Thomas Lupset [1495?–1530] *A compendious and a very fruteful treatyse, teachynge the waye of dyenge well*
>
> For trees and herbes haue a parte of life, and **a more parte of** life is in muskylles, oysters, and wormes:

So it was rare in both the textual record and the Book of Mormon. This effectively anchors this grammatical construction to the 16th century, since we don't find the phrase with the indefinite article in later centuries.

There are also two instances of plural "the more parts of" in the earliest text:

> Helaman 6:21
>
> Satan did stir up the hearts of **the more parts of** the Nephites,

> 4 Nephi 1:27
>
> and yet they did deny **the more parts of** his gospel,

Here are three examples of this wording from the textual record:[9]

> **1553** EEBO A19723 John Brende, tr. | Quintus Curtius Rufus *The history of . . . the greate Alexander*
>
> They buylded Cyties and put in them inhabiters through out **the more partes of** the worlde,

> **1583** EEBO A12533 Sir Thomas Smith [1513–1577] *The maner of gouernement or policie of the realme of England*
>
> **The more parts of** them that be present only maketh the consent or dissent.

---

8. Beyond these two 16th-century examples, Google books currently gives four false positives from the pre-1830 modern era (14 October 2015): "a more *airy* part of", "till a part of", "a more *extraordinary* part of", "and a *Close,* part of which is".

9. Here I have excluded one false positive from the 16th century found in EEBO (a transcription error from Holinshed's *Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (1587).

1680 EEBO A32698 Walter Charleton [1619–1707] *Enquiries into human nature*

> The narrow or slender cavity of the Gutts, wanting deep profundity, applies it self to **the more parts of** the Chyle contein'd in it at once:

This was also uncommon Early Modern English usage, and a modern English example has not yet been found.[10] So again, what was uncommon in the textual record, is uncommon in the Book of Mormon. The alignment is solid: the dominant form in earlier English is the dominant form in the Book of Mormon; the least common forms in earlier English are the least common forms in the Book of Mormon.

The following chart shows that the phrase-type "the more part (of)" flourished in the 16th century. The chart represents more than 800 instances of the phrase, with and without *of*. It clearly indicates that by the time the King James Bible was first published, the usage of the phrase had dropped off dramatically. This fact explains the near absence of "the more part" from the biblical text. It had waned by that time; the phrase "(the) most of" had taken over.[11] By the end of the 17th century "the more part (of)" was nearly extinct.

Textual usage rate of the phrase *the more part*

---
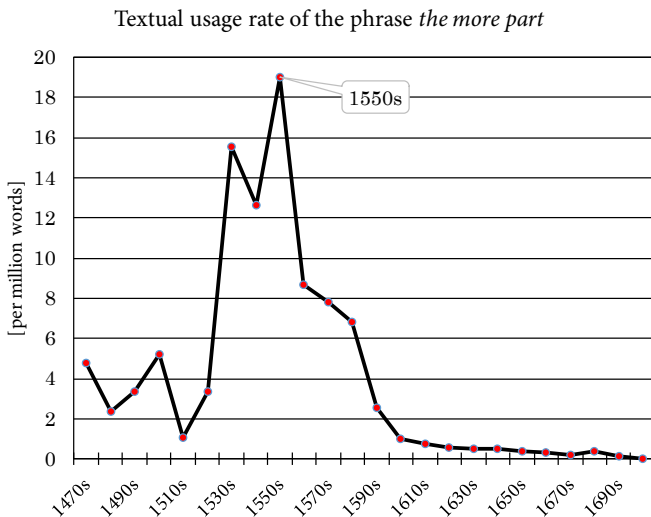
10. Two apparent instances from Google books (accessed 20 June 2015) are semantically and syntactically distinct: "the more . . . the more" (1741) and "the more [parts of air] there are . . . the greater the . . ." (1742).

11. The phrase "(the) most of" dominated and grew during the Early Modern period, and the phrase "the majority of" emerged in the 17th century.

Google books yielded approximately 80 hits of "the more part of" in the modern period,[12] but many were duplicates, and the rest were almost all reprints of legal language from the Early Modern era (primarily the 16th century). Here are some of the more important/interesting examples found:

1569 GOOG Richard Grafton *Grafton's Chronicle*, v.2 (1809) [**4** instances]
or **the more part of** hys disloyall people,

1585 GOOG Raphael Holinshed *The Scottish Chronicle* (1805) [**9** instances]
Their whole number was esteemed to be about 2000:
but **the more part of** them were commons and countriemen.

1621 GOOG Virginia. William Waller Hening *The Statutes at Large* (1823) [**5** instances]
in such order . . . as the councel of that collony, or **the more part of** them, shall sett downe and direct;
> Virginia Colony legal language.

1631 GOOG Edward Wedlake Brayley, John Britton *The Beauties of England and Wales*, p.156 (1810)
whereof **the more part of** the strangers were prisoners.

1716 GOOG William Jackson *An Account of the Many and Great Loans*, p.53 (1802)
The choice . . . to be made by his cousins . . . or **the more part of** them
> British legal language from a will.

1782 GOOG Thomas Caldecott *Reports of Cases* (1786)
or in default thereof by the church-wardens and petty constables of the same parish, or **the more part of** them;
> A paraphrase of early 17th-century legal language: 43 *Eliz.*

1823 GOOG Great Britain. Court of King's Bench *Reports of Cases*
and also to abide such order as the justices of the peace there assembled, or **the more part of** them,
> A paraphrase of late 16th-century legal language: 18 *Eliz.*

The latest examples were close paraphrases (or quotations) of Elizabethan legal language. There was also an instance from the early days of the Virginia Colony. The 1716 example was the last independent instance

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12. The search was limited to the years 1700 to 1830 and performed on 18 June 2015.

encountered. Every example was British in origin. Google books thus verifies the obsolescence of the construction; a modern American attestation is lacking at this time.[13] The phrase "the more part of" appears to have been virtually extinct by the year 1700, barely surviving as legal boilerplate in the British realm.

Holinshed's *Chronicles* (1577), with roughly two million words, has at least 86 instances of "the more part of", as well as 16 of the truncated form. Of these 86 phrases, 17 are of the form "the more part of them". Book of Mormon language is much closer to that of Holinshed's *Chronicles* in this regard, and unlike King James English. The best fit between this Book of Mormon language and past syntax is the middle of the 16th century.

To sum up, had Joseph Smith come up with the language of the Book of Mormon himself, out of his own language, it is possible but unlikely that he would have used "the more part" in the dictation. Also, had he followed rare biblical usage (comprising less than 0.001% of the words), then he likely would have used the short biblical phrase several times, instead of "the more part of them" every time. Finally, if we suppose that Smith was the translator (in the usual sense of the term), then it is highly **un**likely that the Book of Mormon would have "**a** more part of" and "the more part**s** of" (three times total).

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13. See note 5.

INTERPRETER

A Journal of Mormon Scripture

Joseph Smith Read the Words

Stanford Carmack

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Joseph Smith Read the Words

Stanford Carmack

2 Nephi 27:20, 22, 24

> wherefore thou shalt **read** *the* words which I shall give unto thee.
> . . .
> Wherefore when thou hast **read** *the* words
> which I have commanded thee[1]
> . . .
> the Lord shall say unto him that shall **read** *the* words
> that shall be delivered him:

This study examines the assertions of two investigators who have discussed the nature of the translation of the Book of Mormon and Joseph Smith's role in it: Brant Gardner and Orson Scott Card. Their writings on the subject have declared that Smith's own language frequently made its way into the wording of the Book of Mormon. However, a comparison of the earliest text with the textual record tells us that this is an incorrect view of the translation. The linguistic fingerprint of the Book of Mormon, in hundreds of different ways, is Early Modern English. Smith himself — out of a presumed idiosyncratic, quasi-biblical style — would not have translated and could not have translated the text into the **form** of the earliest text. Had his own language often found its way into the wording of the earliest text, its form would be very different from what we encounter. It is still appropriate to call Joseph Smith the translator of the Book of Mormon, but he wasn't a translator in the usual sense of the term. He was a translator in the sense of being the human involved in transferring or re-transmitting a concrete form of expression

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1. There is no ellipsis of a verb phrase after "commanded thee". This is biblical usage conveying the important notion that Christ was to cause words to come to Joseph Smith. See the Oxford English Dictionary, definition 6b of **command**, *v.* I used the 2nd edition on CD-ROM, version 4 (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2009).

(mostly English words) received from the Lord.[2] The above language of 2 Nephi 27 indicates such a state of affairs as well. And so I have undertaken to critique some of the observations that have been made with respect to Book of Mormon translation, and to lay out an entirely different view of the text, which has been argued for by Royal Skousen for quite a while now.

Card and Gardner represent the latest iteration of a line of proponents of the theory that Smith himself, from his own language, was responsible for much of the wording of the text. They are in good company. Former advocates of this view include B. H. Roberts, John A. Widtsoe, Sidney B. Sperry, Daniel H. Ludlow, and Robert L. Millett.[3]

A general problem with this approach has been that it restricts a divine translation to what the analyst has deemed to be probable, having decided that divine action would not have proceeded in certain ways. A driver of this has been the perceived ungrammatical nature of the dictation, the earliest text. For the first time, however, we can carefully compare it with earlier English, and we now find that the matching is extensive and surprisingly solid. As a result of this newly available evidence, in the future critics would do well to forbear giving grammatical opinions till they have examined the Early Modern English textual record.

Many researchers, including Brant Gardner, have gone beyond the grammatical and considered other, related features of the text, arguing that they point to Smith acting as an English-language translator. Gardner writes, "We see a clear dependence on Joseph's language culture when idiomatic expressions occur that emphasize cultural content from Joseph Smith's time rather than that of the ancient text."[4] In other words, Gardner (2011) asserts that various textual features found in the Book of Mormon necessarily point to Joseph's own linguistic knowledge directly influencing word selection. There are problems with this

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2. See OED **translate**, *v.* definition 1a, which includes a sense of 'transfer'; definition 5 has the sense of 're-transmit', as is implicit in the term "translation station".

3. See B. H. Roberts, "The Translation of the Book of Mormon", *Improvement Era* 9.6 (April 1906), 428–29; John A. Widtsoe, *Joseph Smith: Seeker after Truth, Prophet of God* (Salt Lake City, Deseret News, 1951), 42; Sidney B. Sperry, *Answers to Book of Mormon Questions* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1967), 184–86; Daniel H. Ludlow, *A Companion to Your Study of the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret, 1976), 141–42, 163; Robert L. Millett, "The Book of Mormon, Historicity, and Faith", *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 2.2 (1993): 1–13, 5.

4. Brant Gardner, *The Gift and Power: Translating the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford, 2011), 187.

view. To begin with, it must be admitted that a divine faculty could be responsible for such items since we cannot reasonably limit the reach and ability of such an undertaking. A divine translation could have carried out a functional/conceptual translation[5] of some of the plate script into English (as opposed to a literal translation). Therefore, evidence of functional/conceptual equivalence in the translation is not a conclusive argument in favor of Smith being the English-language translator. A divine translation is possible with the same textual evidence that Gardner presents, which he thinks indicates that Smith acted as a translator (in the usual sense of the term).

Part of the problem is that misinformation about Book of Mormon language has accumulated for decades, continuing to this day. Not only has the grammar been declared to be faulty, but often language has been taken to be of more recent origin than it actually may be. In particular, phrases like "mighty change" and "song of redeeming love" arose at least in the Early Modern period. Consequently, we cannot say with certainty that these came from burnt-over-district revival language of the early 19th century, when and where correspondence has been noted.[6] Hence, there is not necessarily dependence on Smith's language culture in these cases, nor with many other similar phrases that have been investigated, such as "infinite atonement":

> Alma 34:12
>
>> Therefore there can be nothing which is short of an **infinite atonement** which will suffice for the sins of the world.
>
> **1654** GOOG Anthony Burgess (or Burges) *The True Doctrine of Justification Asserted & Vindicated*, p.432
>
>> So that the two opinions about active and passive obedience differ not in this, Whether the Law be perfectly satisfied, and an **infinite atonement** made, but only Whether the passive doth solely concurre, or active and passive both.

From the above Google books excerpt we plainly see that "infinite atonement" was used as early as the middle of the 17th century (by a nonconformist English clergyman who died in 1664).

Here is an example of the phrase "mighty change" from the early part of the same century, paired with a Book of Mormon passage containing the same accompanying verb:

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5. See, for example, Gardner, *The Gift and Power*, 144, 150, 156.

6. Gardner, *The Gift and Power*, 190; Mark D. Thomas, *Digging in Cumorah: Reclaiming Book of Mormon Narratives* (Salt Lake City: Signature, 1999), 132–34.

1612 EEBO A10931 Richard Rogers [1550?–1618] *Certaine sermons preached and penned*

> And how doth God WORKE this **mightie change** in men?

Alma 5:12

> And according to his faith there was a **mighty change** WROUGHT in his heart.

In addition, a Puritan divine, *no later than the year 1680*, used the striking phrase "sing the song of redeeming love", which is also found in the Book of Mormon:

1699 GOOG Stephen Charnock (d. **1680**) *God the author of reconciliation*, p.29

> and see the saints there, in their white robes, with their harps in their hands, and hear them **sing the song of redeeming love**;

Alma 5:26

> and if ye have felt to **sing the song of redeeming love**,

We see that it continued into the early 18th century:

1721 GOOG Joseph Perry *The glory of Christ's visible Kingdom in this world*, p.188

> It is true the Saints do **sing this Song of Redeeming Love** in a measure now;

This next excerpt from the late 18th century indicates that the usage stems from Revelation 5:9 and 14:3:

1776 GOOG John Gill, D.D. *An Exposition of the Revelation of S. John the Divine*, p.176

> the same song of which mention is made, chapters v. 9. and xiv. 3. the **song of redeeming love**,

One can find quite a few examples in the early 19th century, so that we have a textually verified chain of use from the 17th century on.

Gardner also asserts that imagery such as the following, which involves a hanging sword, means that Smith was translating from ideas into his own words:

Alma 60:29

> except ye do bestir yourselves in the defense of your country and your little ones, the **sword of justice doth hang** over you; yea, and it shall fall upon you

As noted, functional/conceptual equivalence is also possible in a divine translation, so the presence of this imagery in the text does not

convincingly argue for Smith being a translator (in the usual sense of the word). This language is also found in an earlier time:

> **1587** EEBO A12622 Robert Southwell [1561?–1595] *An epistle of comfort to the reuerend priestes*
> The **sword of gods justice hangeth** over our soules,
> ready for our sins to divyde

Gardner has chosen to believe that every instance of apparently obsolete lexis found in the earliest text was current in Smith's dialect.[7] It is important to note that there are more than 30 instances of apparently obsolete, nonbiblical vocabulary found in the earliest text, so it is highly likely, in the absence of comprehensive, specific evidence to the contrary, that at least one of them was not part of his dialect. Here I provide a quick list of possibles, many of them mentioned before by Royal Skousen (Oxford English Dictionary definition numbers provided):

become = 'begin to act' (**come**, *v.* 63m; **be**, *v.* 23c) (3 Nephi 1:29)
break = 'stop' (†27) (Ether 6:10)
but if = 'unless' (†C10b) (Mosiah 3:19)
by the cause of = 'on account of, by reason of' (†6a) (Alma 7:5; 15:3)
captivate = 'subjugate' (†2) (2 Nephi 2:29)
choice = 'judgment' (†6) = 'sound judgment, discernment'
   (1 Nephi 7:15)
commend = 'recommend (to do a thing)' (†2d) (Ether 12:41)
counsel = 'ask counsel of, consult' (†4) (Alma 37:37; 39:10)
curious = 'ingenious' (†4) (Alma 63:5)
depart = 'divide' (*intr.*) (†1b) (Helaman 8:11)
desire = 'require' (†3) (1 Nephi 6:3)
desirous = 'desirable' (†5) (1 Nephi 8:12)
detect = 'expose' (†2a) (Helaman 9:17)
do away = 'dismiss, reject' (†44a) (Moroni 10:26)
extinct = 'dead (individual)' (†3) (Alma 44:7)
for this cause that = 'in order that' (†4, †6a)
   (*eg* 1 Nephi 4:17; 2 Nephi 10:15; Alma 9:25)
give = 'describe' (25, *rare*) (Alma 46:17)
go by = 'pass without noticing' (†57a) (2 Nephi 3:20)
hurl = 'drag' (†6) (Helaman 7:16)
manifest = 'expound' (†2) = 'declare' (2 Nephi 1:26)
mar = 'hinder' (†1) (Ether 6:10)
obtain = 'reach (a place)' (5b, *Obs.* or *arch.*) (1 Nephi 8:21; Alma 14:27)
pitch (battle) = 'set in array' (†11) (Helaman 1:15)

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7. Gardner, *The Gift and Power*, 164–65.

rebellion = 'opposition, variance' (†2c) (Mosiah 10:6)

retain = 'hold back, check, stop; prevent, hinder' (†1a)
    (Alma 11:25; 24:13; 59:10; 3 Nephi 3:10; Moroni 7:8)

scatter = 'separate (from the main body)' (†2d) (TITLE PAGE)

scorch = 'burn, consume' (†2) (Mosiah 17:13,14)

stripe = 'whip, beat' (†2) (Alma 11:2)

suppose = 'expect' (†4) (Words of Mormon 1:2; Moroni 1:1)

suppose = 'suspect' (†3a) (Alma 54:11)

to that = 'until' (†C1b) (1 Nephi 18:9)

turn upon = 'fall upon' (32, *rare* or *Obs.*) (1 Nephi 22:13)

withstand = 'oppose, deny, contradict' (†1b) (Alma 1:9; 5:53; 8:13)

Biblical

again = 'back' ([†]1) (*eg* 1 Nephi 22:12 & 1 Chronicles 21:12)

cast = 'shoot (arrows)' (†2) (Alma 49:4,19 & Proverbs 26:18)

errand = 'message (for a third party)' (†1a) (Jacob 1:17 & 2 Kings 9:5)

establish = 'confirm' (†1b) (1 Nephi 13:40 & Numbers 30:13)

for = 'because of, on account of' (21a & 23c)
    (*eg* 3 Nephi 17:10 & Mark 2:4)

frankly = 'freely' (†1) (1 Nephi 7:21 & Luke 7:42)

require = 'request' (5, †*of* one) (Enos 1:18 & Ezra 8:22)

suffer = 'endure, consent' (*intr.*) (†15b) (Alma 48:24 & Mark 10:4)

turn again = 'return' (†66b) (Alma 8:25 & Ruth 1:11)

wrap together = 'roll up' (9) (3 Nephi 26:3 & 2 Kings 2:8)

This is powerful evidence since semantic shifts in sense are unpredictable and not recoverable for later speakers when prior usage has become obsolete. Just one truly obsolete instance forces Smith to be a reader of that lexical item of English. Furthermore, one instance means that it is reasonable to think that others were obsolete as well, and that they were given to Joseph Smith. And of course some nearly obsolete words would have been rare in his time and unlikely to have entered his mind as well. It is therefore probable that such words would have been read.

Textual evidence suggests that some senses were dead **before** American colonization. Consider, for instance, *depart* = 'divide' (intransitive):

Helaman 8:11

Moses [smote] upon the waters of the Red Sea
and they **departed** hither and thither,

'and the waters **divided** to the left and right'

The last-dated example in the OED is 1577, and the latest one that I have found in a 500-million-word corpus is the following:

> **1615** EEBO A19628 Helkiah Crooke [1576–1635] *Mikrokosmographia a description of the body of man*
>
> but the Axillary veine **departeth** into two branches,

Obsolescence before American colonization also appears to be the case with *counsel* = 'ask counsel of, consult' (last-dated OED example is 1547) and *but if* = 'unless' (the last-dated OED example is from Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, a 1596 poem that is full of language that was archaic by its year of publication). There are other possibilities beyond these three examples.

In addition, even under the unlikely scenario that every apparently obsolete lexical instance was part of Smith's dialect, the view of Smith *qua* translator almost certainly fails because of abundant and pervasive syntactic evidence that demands a non-dialectal, Early Modern English view (a small subset of this evidence is mentioned immediately below). This in turn supports the (probably) obsolete lexical evidence. It is apparent that Gardner continues to ignore this substantial syntactic evidence which argues directly against Smith being a translator.[8]

Yes, there is plenty of language in the earliest text that had been used for centuries and which continued into Smith's time. However, because there is a considerable amount of language that we find exclusively in the Early Modern era, either Smith had read widely in older literature — some of it virtually inaccessible to him — and had mastered its syntax, or he must have read words off the instrument in those instances. Different types of systematic usage — for example, 16th-century past-tense syntax with *did*; heavy *that*-complementation with verbs like *command*, *cause*, *suffer*, and *desire*; the completely consistent use of the short adverbial form *exceeding* with adjectives; and morphosyntactic patterns and variation involving the {-th} plural[9] (and even the {-s} plural) — only match the systematic usage of the Early Modern period and are found throughout the text. As a result, the approach of Gardner (2011) and others ends up being one in which Smith continually switched during the dictation — thousands of times — between reading and translating. The

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8. Gardner, *Traditions of the Fathers: The Book of Mormon as History* (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford, 2015), 32–34.

9. See the discussion in Roger Lass, "Phonology and Morphology", *The Cambridge History of the English Language, Volume III: 1476–1776*, ed. Roger Lass (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999), 165–66; and in Charles Barber, *Early Modern English* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 1997 [1976]), 169–70.

view that Smith consistently read a concrete form of expression and did not translate (in the usual sense of the word) is an accurate, consistent, comprehensive view that is asserted by the scripture itself.

Gardner discusses biblical use, implicating Joseph Smith in the process of altering Isaiah passages and employing New Testament phrasing in Old Testament passages. He writes, "It is easy to see how Joseph could be so heavily influenced by the KJV New Testament; it is harder to explain why a divine interpreter would be."[10] That is a speculative statement to which one might reasonably respond, Why couldn't a divine interpreter choose to mix Old Testament and New Testament language? To my mind, a divine translation could quite understandably mix biblical language in conveying important truths. What agency could more properly and judiciously do so than a divine one? Biblical quoting, in all its variety, was possible as part of a divine translation, and more likely than Joseph Smith doing it. Otherwise we must imagine that he had a truly masterful command of biblical language in 1829, and the ability to incorporate it extensively during a short dictation period.

The switch in this Isaiah passage is interesting:

> 2 Nephi 8:16
>> And I **have** put my words in thy mouth
>> *and* **hath** covered thee in the shadow of mine hand,

> Isaiah 51:16
>> And I **have** put my words in thy mouth,
>> *and* (I) **have** covered thee in the shadow of mine hand,

The distinctive morphosyntactic form of the Book of Mormon passage — "I have + ‹past participle› . . . and **hath** + ‹past participle›" — is just like these two examples from the 1660s:

> **1662** EEBO A53060 Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle [1624?–1674] *Playes*
>> I think I **have** made my self a scorn,
>> *and* **hath** indangered my reputation.

> **1666** EEBO A47379 Sir William Killigrew [1606–1695] *Fovr new playes*
>> I **have** chid him for his lewd life,
>> *and* **hath** with-drawn my self from his ill company

The close inflectional contrast — driven by syntactic context — and the matching Book of Mormon usage are noteworthy. There are other examples to be found in the earliest text like this one. But 2 Nephi 8:16 is interesting for another reason. The 1611 King James Bible has "and

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10. Gardner, *The Gift and Power*, 257.

have covered" while the 1769 Blayney update inserted the pronoun *I*; the Book of Mormon has the 1611 wording in part, with a nonbiblical Early Modern English tweak, *hath*. Earlier Bibles do not use the verb *cover* here. So the Book of Mormon follows the lexical usage of the King James Bible, employing, however, an inflectional option of the Early Modern era that is not clearly found in King James English.

Also, Smith seems to have been given the Septuagint/Coverdale language "upon all the ships of the sea" found in 2 Nephi 12:16 but missing in the King James Bible.[11] He certainly didn't refer to that version of the Bible in that instance. By continuing to maintain the strained view that Smith consulted a Bible during the translation, which there has never been any eyewitness testimony of, Gardner (2011:257) has unfortunately cemented prior damage done to our understanding of the book's translation.

Smith was also likely to be a reader in the following passage, which is substantially different from the corresponding Isaiah language:[12]

> 2 Nephi 7:2
> I make the rivers a wilderness and their fish to stink
> because the waters are dried up and THEY **dieth** because of thirst.

> Isaiah 50:2
> I make the rivers a wilderness: their fish stinketh,
> because there is no water, and dieth for thirst.

Nowhere does the King James Bible use *they* with the {-th} plural. Smith would not have known that it was occasional Early Modern English usage:

> **1565** EEBO A07396 Thomas Stapleton, tr. [1535–1598] | Venerable Bede [673–735] *The history of the Church of Englande*
> the ship drawing nere unto the land, as sone as they ar towched wyth the smell of the ayer, THEY **dieth** owt of hand.

Lest the reader think that this was merely a case of Smith overdoing the biblical, I would point out that the {-th} plural isn't used stupidly in the Book of Mormon: it isn't overused or underused, and the earliest text manifests inflectional variation and differential usage rates typical

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11. See Royal Skousen, *Analysis of Textual Variants of the Book of Mormon*, 6 parts (Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 2004–2009), 660 (2 Nephi 12:16). See also Sidney B. Sperry, *Answers to Book of Mormon Questions* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1967), 92–93.

12. See also Sperry, *Answers to Questions*, 94–96.

of Early Modern English.[13] The match is solid. More examples of this are provided below.

The arguments found at Gardner (2011:184) about tense usage with respect to 1 Nephi 15:13 and 1 Nephi 19:13 are without merit. They do not hold up to scrutiny because these are prophetic contexts where earlier future events are referred to as if they have already occurred, and later future events are referred to as yet to occur. Abinadi implemented this approach, stating it explicitly here:

Mosiah 16:6

> And now if Christ had not come into the world
> — *speaking of things to come as though they had already come* —
> there could have been no redemption.
>
> Emphasis added.

In addition, Gardner misses Skousen's treatment of this issue in his *Analysis of Textual Variants*.[14] There Skousen has argued that the tenses employed are appropriate in their contexts. Even if we skew the matter in favor of Gardner's view, it can only be inconclusive.

Moreover, discussions about textual anachronisms are meaningless from the perspective of a divine translation that was able to include English-language cultural terms that had been in use for centuries, and often all the way up to the year 1829. Finally, Gardner wrote the following: "The problem of positing Joseph Smith as a reader is that it tells us next to nothing about the translation itself."[15] I don't think that viewing Smith as a reader creates a problem (see the 2 Nephi 27 language set forth at the beginning of this article), but since an examination of Early Modern English syntax tells us that the earliest text is similar to it in form in hundreds of instances, then it is accurate to state that it appears that Smith read revealed words to his scribes. And that is simply because it is highly likely that a significant amount of Early Modern English lexis and syntax found in the text was unknown to him. And in the near future we will learn a great deal about the English-language translation by studying the earliest text in relation to the textual record of earlier English.

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13. See Lass, "Phonology and Morphology", 165–66, for background. These observations stem from research that I have carried out (article forthcoming) using two large corpora of Early Modern English: one of 400 million words (Mark Davies, *Early English Books Online: 400 million words, 1470s–1690s*, 2013–), and one of my own elaboration with 500 million words.

14. Skousen, *Analysis of Textual Variants*, 319–20 (1 Nephi 15:13).

15. Gardner, *The Gift and Power*, 164.

In summary, Gardner's position must be abandoned in light of substantial textual evidence which makes it untenable; Skousen's TIGHT CONTROL position is the correct one. Not only does Gardner (2011:192) generally mislead us by a blanket assertion that the Book of Mormon was formed in imitation of King James language and style (when hundreds of pieces of lexical and syntactic evidence clearly say otherwise), but the book is also ultimately wrong about Smith being the English-language translator of the plate script. The data that follow give further evidence of this position.

■   ■   ■

IN THIS SECTION I address and elucidate various arguments made by Orson Scott Card more than 15 years ago in favor of Joseph Smith being the English-language translator.[16] Gardner (2011:184n2) mentions Card's analysis and agrees with his assessment that there are (many) grammatical errors in the translation. While there are grammatical errors in the earliest text, there are not many of them from the perspective of Early Modern English. That is its language, but its true character has been obscured over the ensuing decades by thousands of edits.

Card asserts that the *be* usage in the following passage is a case of "double use of future subjunctive on both sides of the logical assertion":

> 2 Nephi 2:13
> And *if there be no* righteousness, **there be no** happiness.

The second use of *be* may be viewed as an extension of the present-tense subjunctive from "if there be", or as a case of indicative *be* — either way we view it, it is attested usage of the Early Modern period:

> **1591** EEBO A05025 Henry Barrow [1550?–1593] *A brief discouerie of the false church*
> and so deferr and put off their comming out, either until the winter of Gods wrathful judgmentes circumvent and inclose them, or the saboth of his final indignation fal and rest upon them, and then **there be no** space granted them to flie, or grace to be preserued.

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16. Orson Scott Card, "Joseph Smith: Reader or Translator?" *Vigor: Advice & Commentary on Mormon Life* 16 [extra] (September 1998) ‹http://www.nauvoo.com/vigor/issues/16-extra.html› [accessed 24 July 2015]. As Card indicates at the outset of his article, this is a review of Royal Skousen, "Translating the Book of Mormon: Evidence from the Original Manuscript", *Book of Mormon Authorship Revisited: The Evidence for Ancient Origins*, edited by Noel B. Reynolds (Provo, UT: FARMS, 1997), 61–93.

> **1645** EEBO A57675 Alexander Ross [1591–1654] *The philosophicall touch-stone*
>
> Fifthly, *if there be no* accidents in the soule, *then* **there be no** habits, nor actions, nor intelligible species in her;

The following biblical passage might employ the phrase "he be" due to closely preceding usage:

> Numbers 5:30
>
> Or when the SPIRIT of jealousy *cometh* upon him, and HE **be** jealous over his wife, and shall set the woman before the Lord,

Sixteen verses earlier there are two instances of "and he be jealous" after a hypothetical. In the above verse, however, *be* is clearly paired with indicative *cometh*.

Discussing Early Modern English, Barber wrote, "In the present plural, we often find indicative *are* and subjunctive *be*, but some writers use *be* for both, especially early in the period. Indicative *be* is also common in the construction 'There be'."[17] This observation further explains "there be no happiness" seen in 2 Nephi 2:13. It also explains why the plural is the typical biblical use of what Barber calls indicative *be*. (The usage carried over from earlier English into modern dialects and colloquial speech.) In the following excerpts, *be* takes the place of indicative *are*, as is explicitly shown in the first and last examples:

> Isaiah 2:6
>
> because THEY **be** replenished from the east, *and* **are** soothsayers like the Philistines,

> Matthew 7:13
>
> and *many* THERE **be** which go in thereat:

> Acts 19:26
>
> this Paul hath persuaded and turned away much people, saying that THEY **be** no gods, *which* **are** made with hands:

Next Card points out a passage that appears to be "ungrammatically (not just stylistically) redundant":

> Alma 9:16
>
> For there are many PROMISES *which* **is** extended to the Lamanites, for it is **because** of the traditions of their fathers that **causeth** them to remain in their state of ignorance.

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17. Barber, *Early Modern English*, 172.

Before the apparent redundancy, which involves *because* and *causeth*,[18] we see the {-s} plural of Early Modern English[19] — "promises which **is**" — as in the following examples:

> **1652** EEBO A49252 Christopher Love [1618–1651] *The naturall mans case stated*
>
> he that is without the Lord Jesus Christ the foundation of hope, and without the Promises *which* **is** the pillar of hope, must needs be without all true hopes of heaven.

> **1663** EEBO A44832 Richard Hubberthorn [1628–1662] *Works*
>
> but the Saints baptism we own, and the believers, and the Promises *which* **is** to the seed, thou hast cleared thy self from,

We also see the {-th} plural of Early Modern English[20] used right after the relative pronoun *that*, as in the following examples:

> **1479** EEBO A19333 Anthony Woodville, Earl Rivers, tr. [1442?–1483] | Jean Miélot, tr. [d.1455] | Gerard van Vlierderhoven [14th cent.] *Cordyale, or Four last things*
>
> which answerd that of al Things *that* **causeth** moost payne to a dampned sowle was losse of tyme,

> **1634** EEBO A68954 Robert Bolton [1572–1631] *A three-fold treatise containing the saints sure and perpetuall guide*
>
> it is mens Corruptions, and prophane Hearts, *that* **causeth** all the stirre.

Both the {-th} plural and the {-s} plural were more often found after relative pronouns in earlier English, and so it is in the Book of Mormon.

Interestingly, it is reasonable to interpret the relative pronoun *that* in Alma 9:16 as non-restrictive. We expect the relative pronoun *which* in such a reading, since in modern English non-restrictive *that* is rarely seen. But in Early Modern English it was more common. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, by the modern period it was confined to poetic and rhetorical use (see OED **that**, *rel. pron.*, definition 2). Barber (1997:209–10) discusses this syntax, giving a Shakespearean example of non-restrictive (or continuative) *that*: "My foolish Riuall **that** her Father likes," (*Two Gentleman*). Recast for clarity, the relevant part of this Book of Mormon verse could read as follows:

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18. This reads *caused* in the current LDS text. See Skousen, *Analysis of Textual Variants*, 1760–63 (Alma 9:16), for a thorough discussion.

19. See the discussion in Lass, "Phonology and Morphology", 165–66; and in Barber, *Early Modern English*, 169–70.

20. *Ibid*.

Alma 9:16

> *Their current condition* is because of the traditions of their fathers,
> *which traditions* cause them to remain in their state of ignorance.

I have replaced the pronoun *it* with the first italicized phrase, placing a comma before the relative *which*. As is made explicit above, their forefathers' traditions caused them to remain in their state of ignorance. Here are similar examples with *that* and *which*:

1593 EEBO A14178 John Udall [1560?–1592] *A commentarie vpon the Lamentations of Ieremy*

> The use is, to teach us, that whensoever the Lord dealeth so with us, it is **because of** the hardnes of our HARTS **that** otherwise wil not be thorowly softned;

1602 EEBO A09809 Sir Thomas North, tr. [1535–1601?] | Simon Goulart, tr. [1543–1628] | Emylius Probus *Lives*

> it was **because of** the PLAGUE **that** tormented them much:

1627 EEBO A11649 Henry Ainsworth [1571–1622?] *Annotations upon the five bookes of Moses, the booke of the Psalmes, and the Song of Songs*

> for the Church did it not **because of** their TEACHING
> **which** caused them to erre:

As Skousen points out,[21] we find this same construction elsewhere in the earliest text:

Mosiah 7:20

> And behold, it is **because of** our INIQUITIES and ABOMINATIONS,
> **that** *has* brought us into bondage.
>
> > I have added a comma after *abominations* to indicate a non-restrictive reading.

In other words, their iniquities and abominations brought them into slavery. The current LDS text has it wrong here:

Mosiah 7:20

> *that* ***he** has brought us into bondage.

Skousen writes:

> For the third printing of the 1905 LDS Chicago edition (in 1907), the pronoun *he* was added to the last clause of this passage. All subsequent LDS editions, from 1911 on, have followed this reading with the *he*. The selection of *he* is consistent with the verb form *has*, which is found in all the (extant) textual sources. The editing here suggests the possibility that *he* might have been accidentally lost during the early transmission of the text.

---

21. Skousen, *Analysis of Textual Variants*, 1212–14 (Mosiah 7:20).

The verb form *has*, however, is a likely instance of the Early Modern English {-s} plural after non-restrictive *that*. Recast we have:

Mosiah 7:20

Our current condition is because of our iniquities and abominations, **which** *have* brought us into bondage.

For those who doubt that *has* might have been used by the literate with plural antecedents in Early Modern English, I provide the following examples, along with an exact Book of Mormon variational match:

1653 EEBO A70988 F.G., tr. | Madeleine de Scudéry [1607–1701] *Artamenes*

it must be an entire heart, and none of THOSE *that* **has** been pierced with a thousand Arrows;

1658 EEBO A40227 George Fox [1624–1691] *The papists strength, principles, and doctrines*

and strike down all THOSE *that* **has** got the words but not the power,

1668 EEBO A47152 George Keith [1639?–1716] *Immediate revelation*

And now a few words by way of tender advice, to THOSE *who* **has** been long seeking a pure Church, not a mined confused Rabble of godless Atheists,

■ ■ ■

Mosiah 8:17

But a seer can know of THINGS *which* **has** passed,
and also of THINGS *which* **is** to come;

1696 EEBO A34770 tr. | Gatien Courtilz de Sandras [1644–1712] *The memoirs of the Count de Rochefort*

'twas not that I was really present there, or that I am troubled with that itch of scribbling, to write of those THINGS *which* **has** already employ'd the Pens of so many worthy men

■ ■ ■

1681 EEBO A47819 Sir Roger L'Estrange [1616–1704] *The character of a papist in masquerade*

the whole strain of THEM *that* **has** been taken off by the hand of Justice, . . . **have** so behaved themselves at the last cast,

Alma 57:36

and I trust that the souls of THEM *which* **has** been slain
have entered into the rest of their God.

The last pair of examples provide strong, striking evidence of correspondence because we see the same principled variation: the normal singular verb form is used after the relative pronoun, and the

normal plural verb form is used after the complex subject. The reason for the variation is that there was a greater tendency in Early Modern English to use the {-s} plural after relative pronouns than after noun phrases. Occasionally the difference ended up being expressed overtly in a compact, contrastive passage. And that is what we see in Alma 57:36 — the intriguing variation of the Early Modern era. We find it also with *hath ~ have*, *was ~ were* (Mosiah 24:15), and *is ~ are*. Here are two examples of the latter, along with a related pair:

> **1588** EEBO A01864 R. Parke, tr. | Juan Gonzáles de Mendoza [1545–1618] *The historie of the great and mightie kingdome of China*
>
> that [the most part of these RIVERS], those which do distil and run from the MOUNTAINES *which* **is** towardes the west, **are** very rich of gold,

> **1607** EEBO A13820 Edward Topsell [1572–1625?] *The historie of foure-footed beastes*
>
> for [the LIPS of the WOUNDS *which* **is** made by contusion], **are** cut off, and burned.

<p style="text-align:center">▪ ▪ ▪</p>

> **1615** EEBO A23464 Edward Grimeston, tr. | Pierre d'Avity, sieur de Montmartin [1573–1635] *The estates, empires, & principallities of the world*
>
> It is true in my opinion, that they[r] distrust of all THINGS *which* **is** stil recommended unto them (by reason of the infinit number of CHEATERS *which* **are** seen in Paris) is the greatest pollicie they have.

> Alma 32:21
>
> ye hope for THINGS *which* **is** not seen, *which* **are** true.

Next Card mentions that the Book of Mormon contains some ungrammatical gerundive constructions, a structure that lacks the preposition *of* before the object, as in the following example:

> 2 Nephi 3:24
>
> and do that thing which is great in the sight of God, unto *the bringing to pass much restoration* unto the house of Israel and unto the seed of thy brethren.

Card thought that the above phrasing should have been "the bringing to pass **of** much restoration". Yet this is not ungrammatical but Early Modern English usage found in Shakespeare and elsewhere:

> **1601** SHAKES. *All's Well That Ends Well* IV. iii. 4–5
>
> for on **the reading it** he chang'd almost into another man.

1566 EEBO A11445 Nicholas Sander [1530?–1581] *The supper of our Lord set foorth according to the truth of the Gospell and Catholike faith*

> because as the truth of the body was to be eaten,
> so the maner of **the eating it**, was determined.

The construction actually carried into the modern period.

The co-referential use of *you* right before *thou* is also fairly typical Early Modern English:

> 2 Nephi 2:1
>
> And now Jacob, I speak *unto* **you**: **Thou** art my first born in the days of my tribulation in the wilderness.

1496 EEBO A19336 Anthony Woodville, Earl Rivers, tr. [1442?–1483] | Jean Miélot, tr. [d.1455] | Gerard van Vlierderhoven [14th cent.] *Cordyale, or Four last thinges*

> all that is comyn unto them may happen *unto* **you**. **Thou** arte but a man

1668 EEBO A30582 Jeremiah Burroughs [1599–1646] *Gospel remission, or, A treatise shewing that true blessedness consists in pardon of sin*

> Now know and consider this day, what from God shall be said *unto* **you**, **thou** much dishonourest the pardoning grace of God.

1668 EEBO A74977 Richard Alleine [1611–1681] *The world conquered, or a believers victory over the world*

> when will it say *unto* **you**, **thou** hast served me long enough; **thou** hast serv'd *thy* pleasures, and *thy* estate,

It is even found in the King James Bible:

> Ezekiel 36:13
>
> Because they say *unto* **you**, **Thou** land devour*est* up men, and *hast* bereaved *thy* nations;

Second-person pronoun usage in the Book of Mormon shows extensive variation. Virtually everything in this domain that has been objected to (by many critics) can be found in either the Bible or the textual record: *thou*, etc. used with plural referents (e.g. Isaiah 65:11, 15), *you* used as a subject (e.g. the 1611 KJB), *ye* used for singular (e.g. Shakespeare), *ye* used as an object (e.g. Shakespeare), co-referential *ye ~ thou* (e.g. Tyndale), *ye ~ you* alternation (e.g. Shakespeare), co-referential *you ~ thou* (e.g. Ezekiel 36:13), close objective and subjective *ye* and *you* usage (e.g. Marlowe), as well as no {-st} inflection in the past tense. As one example, the following passage exhibits multiple switching between *thou* and *you*:

1674 EEBO A54126 William Penn [1644–1718] *The counterfeit Christian detected; and the real Quaker justified*

> Here again **thou** lettest drop [and **you** wrest the Scriptures to **your** own Destruction] (as the Unlearned and Unstable do; and is not this Dangerous in them?) Then **thou** bringest in this, And to **you** it is Dangerous to read or speak of them;

Next up for criticism is the use of the {-th} plural in the text, as in this example:[22]

Mosiah 12:20

> What **meaneth** the WORDS which *are* written
> and which *have* been taught by our fathers,

As mentioned, Lass discussed this Early Modern English phenomenon around the same time that Card wrote his article (other linguists such as Barber had discussed it previously):

1585 EEBO A09063 Robert Parsons [1546–1610] *A Christian directorie guiding men to their saluation*

> what **meaneth** the WORDS, Grace and Mercie brought with him?

<p align="center">■ ■ ■</p>

1530 EEBO A13203 William Tyndale, tr. [d.1536] *[The Pentateuch]*

> What **meaneth** the WITNESSES, ORDINAUNCES *and* LAWES which the Lorde oure God hath commaunded you?

1580 EEBO A19272 Thomas Cooper [1517?–1594] *Certaine sermons wherin is contained the defense of the gospell nowe preached against such cauils and false accusations*

> What **meaneth** the terrible THREATNINGS, against wicked and vitious livers?

The earliest text is full of Early Modern English — that is why the {-th} plural is found throughout it.

Next Card confronted the use of *what* as a simple relative:

2 Nephi 32:3

> the words of Christ will tell you ALL THINGS **what** ye should do.

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22. The particular verse that Card referred to — 1 Nephi 22:1 — has an error made by the 1830 typesetter that has persisted into the 1981 edition (he changed "what mean these things" to "what meaneth these things"). See Skousen, *Analysis of Textual Variants*, 3657 (Mormon 8:14), for some discussion.

Although it isn't biblical, we do find this in the textual record of earlier English (as well as in later dialectal and colloquial speech):[23]

> **1496** EEBO A08937 Henry Parker [d.1470] *Diues [et] pauper*
>
> Is the people bounde to obeye to the pope / to theyr bysshop / to theyr curate in AL THYNGES **what** they wyll byd them do

> **1643** EEBO A46823 Arthur Jackson [1593?–1666] *A help for the understanding of the Holy Scripture*
>
> the Levites, whom God hath set over you to teach you in ALL THINGS **what** ye should do, lest otherwise ye provoke God to punish you,

The matching between the last example and 2 Nephi 32:3 is excellent — "all things what ye should do".

Card mentions the following as failing to employ the subjunctive:

> Mosiah 4:16
>
> and ye will not SUFFER *that* the beggar **putteth** up his petition to you in vain and turn him out to perish.

The subjunctive was usually observed in this type of context in Early Modern English:

> **1551** EEBO A08444 Lady Anne Cooke Bacon, tr. [1528?–1610] | Bernardino Ochino [1487–1564] *Certayne sermons*
>
> God wil not SUFFER *that* they **be** tempted above their power,

> **1550** EEBO A13758 Thomas Nicolls, tr. | Thucydides *The hystory . . . of the warre, whiche was betwene the Peloponesians and the Athenyans*
>
> But if he SUFFRED *that* the ONE of the parties **were** destroyed,

And we even find it in the Book of Mormon with bare verbs:

> Mosiah 11:24
>
> Yea, and I will SUFFER them *that* they **be** smitten by their enemies.

---

23. See OED **what**, *pron., a.*[1]*, adv., conj., int. (n.)*, definition C7:

> **1557** OED NORTH *Gueuara's Diall Pr.* 244
> They do al thinges **what** they lyst, and nothing **what** they ought.

> **1645** OED FULLER *Good Th. in Bad T.* (1841) 36
> For matter of language there is nothing **what** grace doth do, but wit can act.

> **1657** OED S. TITUS *Killing no Murder* 9
> They . . . thought it not adultery **what** was committed with her.

> **1740** OED RICHARDSON *Pamela* xxiii. I. 57
> Do you think that so dutiful a Son as our Neighbour . . . does not pride himself, for all **what** he said at Table, in such a pretty Maiden?

Alma 39:11

> Suffer not *that* the devil **lead** away your heart again after those wicked harlots.

But the subjunctive was not always used in this context:

> **1517** EEBO A13670 William Atkinson, tr. [d.1509] | Giovanni Gersen [14th cent.] *A full deuoute and gostely treatyse of the imytacyon and folowynge the blessed lyfe of our moste mercyfull Sauyour cryste*
>
> Howe may this be that man by pacience suffereth *and* desireth *that* nature **fleethe**

Moreover, in the past tense the verb *suffer* did not always trigger subjunctive *were*, or an auxiliary functioning as a subjunctive marker, such as *should* or *might*:

> **1550** EEBO A13758 Thomas Nicolls, tr. | Thucydides *The hystory . . . of the warre, whiche was betwene the Peloponesians and the Athenyans*
>
> he suffred *that* the paymente of the souldyars **was** delayed by the sayd Tyssaphernes.

> **1607** EEBO A11931 Edward Grimeston, tr. | Jean de Serres [1540?–1598] *A general inuentorie of the history of France*
>
> And seeing that God had suffred *that* the bond of their coniunction **was** disolued,

In addition, the use of the syntax "would not suffer" with finite complementation and the auxiliary *should* is fairly common in the Book of Mormon (8 times) and not hard to find in Early Modern English, but found only once in the King James Bible:

> Mark 11:16
>
> And **would not suffer** *that* any man should carry any vessel through the temple.

> 2 Nephi 30:1
>
> for I Nephi **would not suffer** *that* ye should suppose that ye are more righteous than the Gentiles shall be.

■ ■ ■ ■

> **1481** EEBO A03047 William Caxton, tr. [ca.1422–1491] *Godfrey of Boloyne*
>
> Thenne the lord sende worde to peter that he **wold not suffre** / *that* they shold entre in to the toun

> **1541** EEBO A21318 Sir Thomas Elyot, tr. [1490?–1546] *The image of gouernance compiled of the actes and sentences notable, of the moste noble Emperour Alexander Seuerus*
>
> he **wolde not suffer** *that* any of them shulde be apprehended or punished:

1674 EEBO A26796 William Bates [1625–1699] *The harmony of the divine attributes in the contrivance and accomplishment of man's redemption by the Lord Jesus Christ*

> Therefore the Eternal Law that annexes Immortality to Innocence, **would not suffer** that He should remain in the state of Death.

Also, there is rare layered syntax (involving doubled pronominals) with *should* found in the Book of Mormon:

Alma 56:8

> But I **would not suffer** them that they should break this covenant which they had made,

1473 EEBO A05232 William Caxton, tr. [ca.1422–1491] | Raoul Lefèvre [fl.1460] *Recuyell of the historyes of Troye*

> but Jupiter **wold not suffre** [t]hem that they shold helpe hym in ony maner

All this is more evidence that the Book of Mormon is a well-formed Early Modern English text that would have been difficult to derive from the Bible by a non-expert.

Next up for consideration is the resumptive *that* in this passage:

Mosiah 8:4

> And it came to pass **that** *after* he had done all this
> **that** king Limhi dismissed the multitude

Resumptive *that* continues to this day, but the following excerpts match the usage well, with a repetition of *that* along with "it came to pass" and a time conjunction:

1677 EEBO A65369 John Webster [1610–1682] *The displaying of supposed witchcraft*

> And it came to pass, **that** *when* the evil spirit from God was upon Saul, **that** David took an harp,

1680 EEBO A66701 William Winstanley [1628?–1698] *The new help to discourse or, Wit, mirth, and jollity*

> Now it came to pass **that** *when* the Executioner had smitten off Saint Denis his head, **that** he caught it up, between his Arms,

Finally, Card discusses *has*/*hath* variation in the Book of Mormon. He understandably didn't know it, but the earliest text employs *has* slightly less than 10% of the time (the current LDS text is roughly ⅓ *has*, ⅔ *hath*). Similarly, Shakespeare employed *has* a little more than 15% of the time. Also, in EEBO we find that the decade of the 1660s matches the *has* usage rate found in the earliest text. Card mentions closely occurring *has*/*hath* variation in Mosiah 4:8–9 as a slip-up of Smith's,

but it was not present in the printer's manuscript or in the 1830 first edition. Still, the following example (and there are others) exhibits the close variation that he was trying to point out:

> Alma 29:10
>
> then do I remember what the Lord **has** done for me,
> yea, even that he **hath** heard my prayer.

Here are some 17th-century examples of this variation:

> **1637** EEBO A07832 Thomas Morton [1564–1659] *New English Canaan, or New Canaan containing an abstract of New England*
>
> on a sodane a thunder clap **hath** bin heard that **has** amazed the natives, in an instant hee **hath** shewed a firme peece of Ice to flote

> **1651** EEBO A43998 Thomas Hobbes [1588–1679] *Leviathan, or, The matter, forme, and power of a common wealth, ecclesiasticall and civil*
>
> and memory to retain, digest and apply what he **hath** heard. The difference and division of the Lawes, **has** been made in divers manners,

> **1652** EEBO A47682 Person of quality, tr. | Gaultier de Coste, seigneur de La Calprenède [d.1663] *Cassandra the fam'd romance*
>
> by those injuries he **hath** done thee, he **has** violated all manner of rights,

> **1653** EEBO A67462 Izaak Walton [1593–1683] *The compleat angler or, The contemplative man's recreation*
>
> as I know an ingenuous Gentleman in Leicester-shire **has** done; who **hath** not only made her tame, but to catch fish,

And so we see that the blunders which Card thought that Smith had made as a translator are actually instances of Early Modern English. In some cases Smith would not have been familiar with the language. It is possible to present and discuss scores of questionable bits of grammar found in the earliest text; in virtually every instance we find them in the textual record of Early Modern English:

"Here is" with plural noun phrases

> Mosiah 18:8
>
> Behold, *here* **is** the WATERS of Mormon, for thus *were they* called.

> Alma 11:22
>
> Behold, *here* **is** six ONTIES of silver; and all *these* will I give unto thee

1603 EEBO A09800 Philemon Holland, tr. [1552–1637] | Plutarch *The philosophie, commonlie called, the morals*

But *here* **is** the HEIGHTS of their folly and errour,

1653 EEBO A86328 Henry Haggar *The foundation of the font discovered to the view of all that desire to behold it*

observe *here* **is** the WORDS of the Prophet Jeremiah fulfilled

1656 EEBO A44342 Thomas Hooker [1586–1647] *The application of redemption by the effectual work of the word, and spirit of Christ*

And *here* **is** the LIMITS and BOUNDS of that comfort the Spirit is sent to bring,

Singular and plural *riches*

Helaman 13:31

the time cometh that he curseth your RICHES,
that **it** becometh slippery, that ye cannot hold **them**;

1598 EEBO A06447 Francis Meres, tr. | Luis de Granada [1504–1588] *The sinners guyde*

Consider that where much RICHES **is**, there are many that eate and devoure **them**, many that covet **them**, and many that lye in waite to steale **them**.

Switching from *that*-complementation to an infinitive

Mormon 6:6

And knowing it to be the last struggle of my people and having been commanded of the Lord that I should not SUFFER **that** the records which had been handed down by our fathers, which were sacred, **to** fall into the hands of the Lamanites

1598 EEBO A02364 A.M., tr. [fl.1598] | Jacques Guillemeau [1550?–1613] *The Frenche chirurgerye*

which was alsoe an occasione of his resanation, because he SUFFERED, **that** the tronchone of the Launce, which stucke clean through his heade, **to** be with force, and violence drawne therout.

1485 EEBO A21703 Sir Thomas Malory [15th cent.] *Le morte darthur*

And anone the kynge COMMAUNDED **that** none of them upon payne of dethe **to** myssaye them ne do them ony harme

[mis-say = 'speak evil against, revile']

Plural "have + ‹PAST PARTICIPLE›" followed by the {-th} plural in a conjoined predicate

Mosiah 24:23

for the LAMANITES **have** awoke *and* **doth** pursue thee.

1673 EEBO A26892 Richard Baxter [1615–1691] *A Christian directory*

when the Churches **have** felt such dreadful concussions,
and **bleedeth** to this day, by so horrid divisions,

1535 EEBO A07430 William Marshall, tr. [fl.1535] | Marsilius of Padua [d.1342?] *The defence of peace*

And afterwardis it is to be shewed how they **have** used hetherto, *and* **doth** use, and hereafter wyll use these powres,
. . .
they **have** hetherto disceyved, *and* **doth** newe dysceyve *and* **gothe** aboute more and more to begyle and dysceyve,

■ ▪ ▪

1697 EEBO A58807 John Scott [1639–1695] *Practical discourses upon several subjects*

and afterwards when *having* **awoke** his Disciples, he returned to his Prayer again,

> This passage has the same past participial leveling seen in Mosiah 24:23.

A large amount of textual evidence — and the foregoing discussion contains only a sliver of it — tells us that Joseph Smith did receive and read a revealed Early Modern English text. Understandably, he may not have been fully aware of it.

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The Case of the {-th} Plural in the Earliest Text

Stanford Carmack

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The Case of the {-th} Plural in the Earliest Text

Stanford Carmack

*Abstract: The earliest text of the Book of Mormon employs the {-th} plural — for example, "Nephi's brethren rebell**eth**" — in a way that is substantially similar to what is found in many writings of the Early Modern period. The earliest text neither underuses nor overuses the construction, and it manifests inflectional variation and differential usage rates typical of Early Modern English. The totality of the evidence tells us that the Book of Mormon is most reasonably classified as a 16th- or 17th-century text, not as a 19th-century text full of biblical hypercorrections.*

Careful readers of the Yale edition of the Book of Mormon notice the following language:

> 1 Nephi [HEADING]
>
> Nephi's BRETHREN **rebelleth** against him. He confoundeth them and buildeth a ship.
>
> 2 Nephi [HEADING]
>
> Nephi's BRETHREN **rebelleth** against him. The Lord warns Nephi to depart into the wilderness etc.
>
> > Royal Skousen, ed., *The Book of Mormon: The Earliest Text* (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 2009), pages 5 and 72. For many of the Book of Mormon examples discussed here, we can profitably consult Royal Skousen, *Analysis of Textual Variants of the Book of Mormon*, 6 parts (Provo, UT: FARMS, 2004–2009).

Indeed, we can find more than 100 instances of the type "Nephi's brethren rebell**eth**" in the earliest text. In the Book of Mormon and in Early Modern English, this particular syntax usually involves a grammatical subject that is third-person plural and a verb that carries archaic third-person singular inflection (ending in {-th}).[1] After Lass (1999), I refer to

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1. Phonetically speaking, this inflection is a voiceless interdental non-sibilant fricative — IPA symbol /θ/.

such morphosyntax as the {-th} plural.[2] This usage has been recognized and discussed by historical linguists like Lass for some time.[3] Barber (1997:169) wrote, "The old southern {-eth} plural appears sporadically throughout the sixteenth century, possibly encouraged by the analogy of the third-person singular."[4] Of course when we read the standard LDS text we miss most of these since they have been changed by subsequent editors, and more often than not by Joseph Smith himself in 1837.[5]

Here are a number of quotes exhibiting lexical and morphological correspondence between the above Book of Mormon language and the textual record:

> **1523** EEBO A71318 John Bourchier, tr. (Lord Berners) [1466/67–1533] | Jean Froissart [1338?–1410?] *Chronicles*
>
> as for the comon PEOPLE *that* **rebelleth** about London
>
>> This example is ambiguous since *people* can be construed as either singular or plural.
>
> **1548** EEBO A04807 William Kethe [d.1608?] *A ballet declaring the fal of the whore of babylone*
>
> Let THEY *that* **rebelleth** beware
>
>> The principal data source used in this study is *Early English Books Online* (EEBO) [Chadwyck-Healey ‹http://eebo.chadwyck.com›]. Many of these texts can be freely accessed by using the provided EEBO number and entering it after ‹http://name.umdl.umich.edu/›. The publicly searchable portion of EEBO–TCP (Text Creation Partnership) is ‹http://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebogroup/›. Mark Davies provided a very useful corpus and interface: *Early English Books Online, 400 million words, 1470s–1690s* (2013–). I have also derived some of the examples from a 500-million-word corpus of my own elaboration, made from several thousand publicly available EEBO–TCP texts.

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2. See Roger Lass, "Phonology and Morphology", *The Cambridge History of the English Language: Volume III: 1476–1776*, ed. Roger Lass (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999), 165–66.

3. See also, for example, Henry C. Wyld, *A History of Modern Colloquial English* (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1936), as well as the Lass citation in the previous footnote.

4. Charles Barber, *Early Modern English*, 1976 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 1997).

5. Nevertheless, six or seven instances of the {-th} plural remain in the current LDS text. Besides "mine eyes hath beheld" (2 Nephi 25:5), the few that have escaped emendation involve relative pronouns and subject–verb inversion: "for I will contend with them that contendeth with thee" (2 Nephi 6:17; cf. 1 Nephi 21:25), "the judgments of God which hath come to pass" (2 Nephi 25:6); "the prophecies . . . which leadeth" (Helaman 15:7); "what meaneth the things" (1 Nephi 15:21); "what meaneth the words" (Mosiah 12:20); "these . . . works . . . of which hath been spoken" (Helaman 16:16). This last example could also be considered to be an adjunct construction where the subject slot of the clause is occupied by the prepositional phrase, which is construed as singular by default.

▪   ▪   ▪

2 Nephi 2:10

And because of the intercession for all, all MEN **cometh** unto God.

1537 EEBO A02303 John Bourchier, tr. (Lord Berners) [1466/67–1533] | Antonio de Guevara [d.1545?] *The golden boke of Marcus Aurelius Emperour and eloquent oratour*

Many tymes of wyse yonge men **cometh** olde FOLES,
And of yonge fooles customably **cometh** wise olde MEN:

▪   ▪   ▪

Mosiah 3:18

but MEN **drinketh** damnation to their own souls

1542 EEBO A18528 William Thynne, ed. [d.1546] | Geoffrey Chaucer [d.1400] *Works*

To say this worde, and fouler is the dede whan MEN so **drinketh** of the whyte & rede

1675 EEBO A37049 James Durham [1622–1658] *A practical exposition of the X. Commandements*

and so one man, or several MEN, **drinketh** by the measure, will, and appetite of another;

Besides the possibility of proximity agreement, this could be "one **man** . . . drinketh".

▪   ▪   ▪

Helaman 5:12

a foundation whereon if MEN **buildeth** they cannot fall.

1484 EEBO A07095 William Caxton, tr. [ca.1422–1491] | Aesop *The subtyl historyes and fables of Esope*

And that of me MEN . . . **byldeth** fayre edefyces

1525 EEBO A71319 John Bourchier, tr. (Lord Berners) [1466/67–1533] | Jean Froissart [1338?–1410?] *Chronicles*

But the Frensshe MEN **knoweth** all our secretes and counsayles

When it comes to Book of Mormon language, the tendency has been (and is) to suspect that virtually every identifiable instance of variation is bad grammar, such as the use of modern *warns* after obsolete *rebelleth*, in the heading of 2 Nephi. Yet here are clear examples from the 1670s of this same close inflectional variation:

1676 EEBO A61535 Edward Stillingfleet [1635–1699] *A defence of the discourse concerning the idolatry practised in the Church of Rome*

> but withal, he saith, honour that which is most excellent in the world, THAT WHICH **disposeth** *and* **Governs** all:

1677 EEBO A43357 *Heraclitus Christianus, or, The man of sorrow*

> being born, IT **nourisheth** *and* **sustains** us, *and* at last **takes** us into her entrails as in our Couch, *and* **keepeth** us until our God shall call us to appear before his Tribunal:

1677 EEBO A45885 Nathaniel Ingelo [1621?–1683] *A discourse concerning repentance*

> This goodness HE **despiseth**, *and* **maintains** in himself the hardness of an impenitent heart, a heart that will not relent.

That being so, an apparent failing of the earliest text points us to Early Modern English. Indeed, in my examination of the text, I have found that in almost every instance of suspect grammar, both the curious and the critical have pointed out archaic or obsolete usage. This next passage not only has *rebelleth/warns* variation, but also mixed use of the {-th} plural and the {-th} singular (the same as "brethren rebelleth" and "he counfoundeth" in the heading of 1 Nephi):

1660 EEBO A85476 Daniel Gotherson *An alarm to all priests, judges, magistrates, souldiers, and all people*

> for THEY *that* **hath** the Commandments, and **keepeth** them, **dwelleth** in Christ, and Christ in them: . . . for HE *that* **manifests** his faith by being obedient, he shall live for ever: for the KINGDOME of God **consisteth** not in words, but in life and power, which is righteousness; and THAT **procureth** true peace, such peace as men and Devils can never take from you:

■ ■ ■

JOSEPH SMITH is known to have used the following grammar book in Kirtland in 1835, as part of his study in the School of the Prophets: Samuel Kirkham, *English Grammar, in Familiar Lectures* (New York: Robert B. Collins, 1829).[6] Kirkham's grammar clearly states that {-th} inflection was only to be used with third-person **singular** (3sg) subjects, and that {-st} inflection was only to be used with **second**-person singular (2sg) subjects. So Smith could have learned from that resource precisely what biblical style was. In 1829, however, it is highly likely that he knew biblical style only implicitly. Therefore, one possible view of Joseph's heavy 1837 editing is that in 1829 he willingly dictated without question

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6. This is mentioned in *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*, Vol. 15 (Liverpool: Samuel W. Richards, 1853), 230.

the words revealed to him. A better educated man might have imposed his own will on the revealed text. Of course in 1837, with increased education and awareness, Smith consciously edited for biblical style. As a result, while he may have placated grammarians and his own emergent views on proper scriptural style, an important, tell-tale component of the text was lost. What has remained of the {-th} plural in the current LDS text could be called a vestigial use characteristic of the first half of the 18th century. Which being the case, this study points out a vital accomplishment of the critical text project.

The extensive presence of the {-th} plural in the Book of Mormon is one more piece of evidence in support of the position that its extrabiblical language is Early Modern English.[7] A seemingly viable view is that {-th} plural inflection in the Book of Mormon results from a HYPERCORRECTION[8] on the part of its presumed author/translator. One could always attempt to argue in this case that Joseph Smith was overdoing the biblical, the notion being that he was trying too hard to be scriptural. But did Smith overuse {-th} inflection in the wrong places because of biblical influence and in order to make the text sound scriptural? Hypercorrection is a valid linguistic explanation that holds in many instances. But the approach fails in the case of the Book of Mormon, since {-th} plural syntax in particular, and the entire book in general — given the extensive, principled, nonbiblical Early Modern English usage in many contexts — would have to be viewed as a *sophisticated* hypercorrection, which is an oxymoron.

There are a few arguments to be made against viewing the {-th} plural in the Book of Mormon as an error of Joseph Smith's. Three of these are general in nature and four are specific. The general arguments have to do with the LEXIS, the SYNTAX, and the SYNTACTIC SYSTEMS found in the Book of Mormon.[9] Skousen has written about various instances of lexical usage that are old and extrabiblical (or barely found in the King James Bible). These are not amusing or trivial pieces of evidence, but

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7. This has been mentioned before, but in less detail, and without reference to what precisely searchable databases can tell us — see Stanford Carmack, "A Look at Some 'Nonstandard' Book of Mormon Grammar", *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 11 (2014): 234–35.

8. A hypercorrection is a linguistic construction "falsely modelled on an apparently analogous prestigeful form" (definition taken from the Oxford English Dictionary).

9. See Stanford Carmack, "The Case of Plural *Was* in the Earliest Text", *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 18 (2016): 136–37 for relevant references.

powerful and significant. Semantic shifts in sense are unpredictable and not recoverable for later speakers when prior usage has become obsolete.

Examples of nonbiblical syntax include, but are by no means limited to, "it supposeth me that", "a more part of it", "nor no manner of ", "with our/your/their mights", "of which hath been spoken", and barely biblical syntax such as "it sufficeth me". Syntactic systems include *did* usage (nearly 2,000 instances) and *command*, *cause*, and *suffer* complementation syntax (nearly 500 of these in the text, patterning very differently from what is found in the King James Bible, but reflecting well-formed older usage), as well as *exceeding* with adjectives. There are others. That is only a glimpse of the extensive textual evidence found in the Book of Mormon which, taken together, indicates that the book is not a faux Early Modern English text. It is not a book that is full of hypercorrections. The abundant linguistic evidence (from English) cannot be reasonably dismissed as mere artifacts of apologetic investigation. And how are all of them to be accounted for naturalistically? By numerous plagiarisms of largely inaccessible texts? By scores of analogical bull's-eyes? By *ad hoc* stipulation that all these forms were part of Smith's dialect, without any evidentiary support for the view?

Before presenting specific arguments, I provide additional examples of unexpected {-th} inflection and we look at possible cases of the {-th} plural in the King James Bible. It is little known and discussed, but we can find all persons with {-th} inflection in Early Modern English, even 1sg *I* and 2sg *thou*:

> 1 Nephi 22:2
>> And **I** Nephi **saith** unto them:

> **1639** EEBO A09971 John Preston [1587–1628] *Grace to the humble: As preparations to receive the Sacrament*
>> Thus Paul argues this, **I saith** that every one of you saith,
>> I am Paul, I am Apollo, I am Cephas, & I am Christ:

> ■ ■ ■

> Mosiah 26:23
>> For it is I *that* **taketh** upon me the sins of the world, for it is I *that* **hath** created them. And it is I *that* **granteth** unto him that believeth

> Ether 4:19
>> And behold, it is I *that* **hath** spoken it.

> **1583** EEBO A67926 John Foxe [1516–1587] *Actes and monuments of matters most speciall and memorable, happenyng in the Church*
>> O Israel, it is I, it is I, *which* **forgeeveth** thee thy sinnes.

1598 EEBO A08550 R.P., tr. *The sixth booke of the Myrrour of knighthood*

It is I *that* **doth** profit thereby

1630 EEBO A09950 John Preston [1587–1628] *The breast-plate of faith and love*

It is I (saith the Lord) *that* **doth** sanctifie you: It is I *that* **doth** act every Grace; it is I *that* **do** put your hearts into a good frame:

1682 EEBO A45630 Sir James Harrington [1607–1680] *Horæ consecratæ, or, Spiritual pastime*

it is I, *that* **worketh** in thee both to will, and to do, of my good pleasure:

■ ■ ■

1 Nephi 12:9 [MANUSCRIPTS & EARLY EDITIONS]

THOU **remembereth** the twelve apostles of the Lamb.

> The critical text reasonably takes this to be a scribal error for original *rememberest*; ultimately we cannot be sure of the original reading.

1560 EEBO A10245 tr. | Pythagoras *A brefe and pleasaunte worke, and sience, of the phelosopher*

He is sycke that THOU **asketh** after.

A discussion of 1sg and 2sg {-th} is left for another time.

Lass (1999:166) mentions that there was approximately 20% usage of the {-th} plural in a corpus of early 16th-century eastern correspondence (letters). He also states that in the 16th century "the southern {-th} plural is always a minority form, though it persists (if decreasingly) in the standard well into the seventeenth century". Here are three instructive examples, two taken from the Book of Mormon, and one from EEBO:

2 Nephi 7:2

I make the rivers a wilderness and their fish to stink
because the waters are dried up and THEY **dieth** because of thirst.[10]

Moroni 7:17

for he persuadeth no man to do good — no, not one —
neither **doth** his ANGELS,

> Examples of inverted {-th} plural syntax with *doth* are provided below.

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10. Here is the corresponding Isaiah passage:

Isaiah 50:2

I make the rivers a wilderness: their FISH **stinketh**,
because there is no water, *and* **dieth** for thirst.

> The noun *fish* is treated as singular throughout the King James Bible (see below).

1566 EEBO A06932 Thomas Becon [1512–1567] *A new postil conteinyng most godly and learned sermons vpon all the Sonday Gospelles*

[And the ANGELS **giveth** him such honor, as CHRIST **giveth** to us all.]

And the Angels **geueth** hym suche honour, as Christ **geueth** to vs al.

The King James Bible does not have the {-th} plural with the pronoun *they* as used in 2 Nephi 7:2, a passage that is a substantial and interesting alteration of biblical language. Indeed, there is no {-th} inflection directly associated with *they* in that biblical text. Likewise, there is no {-th} certainly associated with plural noun phrases in the biblical text, even in inverted constructions, as seen in Moroni 7:17 (compare "which things the ANGELS **desire** to look into" [1 Peter 1:7]).

In the above 16th-century excerpt, the Protestant reformer Thomas Becon (or Beccon) used *giveth* in both instances, whether the subject was plural *angels* or singular *Christ*. This example is thus analogous to "brethren rebelleth" ~ "he confoundeth", as shown at the outset of this study.

Interestingly, the {-th} plural is a minority usage both in Early Modern English and in the Book of Mormon. Still, Lass notes that the {-th} plural was standard use into the 17th century. As a result, in this domain (and in many others) the earliest text of the Book of Mormon offers us a wider glimpse of Early Modern English than the King James Bible does.

In that influential scriptural text, {-th} was consistently singular. Nearly dispositive of this issue is the fact that verbs whose explicit subject is *they* never take {-th} inflection in the biblical text:

Psalms 41:8

An evil DISEASE, **say they**, *cleaveth* fast unto him:

1635 EEBO A20987 Scipion Dupleix [1569–1661] *The resoluer; or Curiosities of nature*

A[nswer]. The cause is (**saith they**) that the Fever proceeding f[r]om a sweete Phlegme in those which have great drouth or thirst,

The string "saith they" (and spelling variants) appears to be rare in the print record.

The {-th} plural is not even found in the King James Bible when *they*, *them*, or *those* precedes a relative pronoun, syntax that seems to have favored the use in the Early Modern period:

Psalms 50:5

Gather my saints together unto me; THOSE *that* **have** made a covenant with me by sacrifice.

Revelation 2:9

> I know the blasphemy of THEM *which* **say** they are Jews,

The following verse may contain the most likely case of the {-th} plural:

John 7:49

> But THIS PEOPLE *who* **knoweth** not the law **are** cursed.

Yet even here we cannot be sure that the language doesn't switch from singular to plural construal, since it reads "**this** people", not "these people" (cf. Deuteronomy 20:16), and *people* is used with *was* elsewhere:

Isaiah 23:13

> THIS PEOPLE **was** not, till the Assyrian founded it for them that dwell in the wilderness:

Mark 11:18

> for they feared him, because ALL THE PEOPLE **was** astonished at his doctrine.

Again, this next one could well be a case of singular construal followed immediately by resumptive plural reference:

Jeremiah 5:23

> But THIS PEOPLE **hath** a revolting and a rebellious heart;
> THEY **are** revolted and gone.

The following biblical examples are also ambiguous on their face as to whether they involve the {-th} plural. An ordinary reading doesn't tell us, one way or the other, what the real syntax is:

ANTECEDENT AMBIGUITY

Numbers 21:15

> And at the STREAM of the BROOKS *that* **goeth** down to the dwelling of Ar, *and* **lieth** upon the border of Moab.

> > Other English translations indicate that KJB *stream* is the antecedent of *goeth* and *lieth*.

Micah 5:7

> as a DEW from the Lord, as the SHOWERS upon the grass,
> *that* **tarrieth** not for man, *nor* **waiteth** for the sons of men.

> > Either *dew* or *showers* can be viewed as the subject on an ordinary reading; the underlying Hebrew verb forms are singular.

Conjoined abstract nouns used with 3sg {-th}

1 Kings 10:7

> thy WISDOM *and* PROSPERITY **exceedeth** the fame which I heard.[11]

Matthew 6:19

> Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth,
> where MOTH *and* RUST **doth** corrupt,[12]

1 Corinthians 13:13

> And now **abideth** FAITH, HOPE, CHARITY, these three;
> but the greatest of these is charity.[13]

Fish was consistently construed as singular

Exodus 7:18

> And the FISH that **is** in the river shall die,

Exodus 7:21

> And the FISH that **was** in the river died;

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11. Lack of number resolution with abstract nouns is still the case in modern English. See Lass (1999:166), where lack of number resolution is mentioned and exemplified in the context of animate nouns. The underlying Hebrew verb forms support this view.

12. In Matthew 6:19, two singular nouns convey roughly the same meaning with a figurative sense. A singular verb here is unsurprising, *following the underlying Greek*, as is also seen in the following verse with "neither moth nor rust". Again, an ordinary reading of the King James Bible here does not tell the non-specialist that there was such a thing as the {-th} plural.

13. The syntax of 1 Corinthians 13:13 is quite different from "Nephi's brethren rebelleth". The complex subject — "faith hope charity" — is postverbal and consists of three singular, abstract nouns. Both things work together to prevent the resolution of this complex subject as plural. The use of {-th} in 1 Corinthians 13:13 may reflect the Greek, which reads in the singular, *menei* (in Kurt Aland's critical text). The Latin Vulgate (also the Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft's version) has singular *manet* as well, but a footnote for the plural variant *manent* is to be found in the Sixto-Clementine Vulgate of 1592, 1593, and 1598. Therefore, we see that the singular form of the verb was preferred in Greek and Latin, and thus Tyndale 1534 and the 1611 KJB understandably have *abideth*.

This study is primarily concerned with simple, plural **pre**verbal grammatical subjects, as in "mine eye**s** ha**th** beheld great things" (2 Nephi 4:25; emended to *have*) and "mine eye**s** ha**th** beheld the things of the Jews" (2 Nephi 25:5; never emended). (Cf. 2 Nephi 16:5 [a biblical Isaiah passage] "For mine eye**s** ha**ve** seen the King, the Lord of Hosts"; the King James Bible has three instances of only "mine eye**s** ha**ve**.") Following Lass (1999), abstract number resolution is not assumed in this discussion.

Deuteronomy 4:18

> the likeness of any FISH that **is** in the waters beneath the earth:

Isaiah 50:2

> their FISH **stinketh**, because there is no water, *and* **dieth** for thirst.

■ ■ ■

THE KING JAMES BIBLE may lack the {-th} plural in part because the majority of the decrease in use occurred before the year 1600. Barber (1997:169) wrote that "[i]n the later sixteenth century, plural {-eth} is very rare." Lass observed that the {-th} plural decreased during the Early Modern period, but doesn't give many details. Corpora made from

Plural {-th} usage rates in English over time (after relative pronouns)
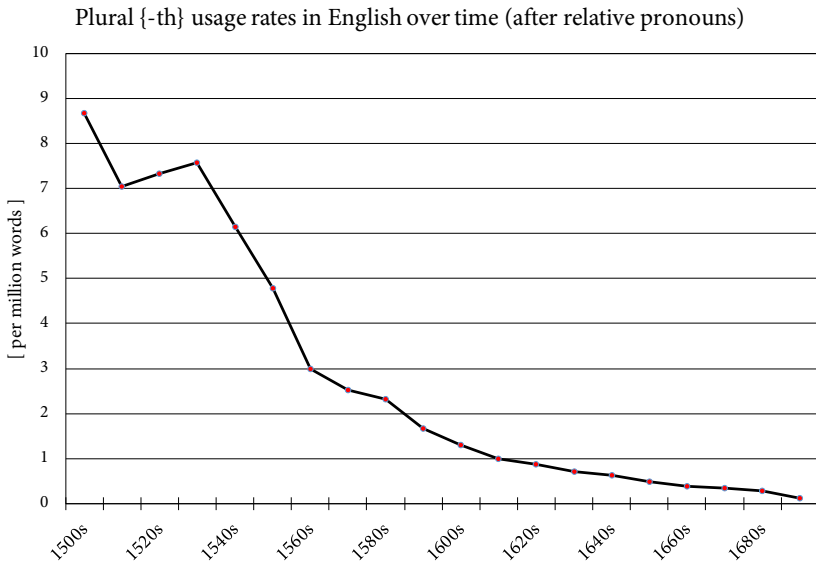
EEBO texts tell us that much of the decrease took place during the second half of the 16th century. (Textual data from the beginning of the era is intermittent.) The peak period of syntax like "ANGELS **hath** ministered unto him" (1 Nephi 16:38) appears to have been during the first half of the 16th century. It was certainly employed at a much higher rate in the year 1500 than it was 200 years later.[14]

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14. The chart was derived from a 500-million-word corpus and from contexts with nouns ending in {-es} as well as *people*, *men*, *things*, and *words* followed by a relative pronoun and *hath*, *doth*, and words of at least six letters ending in {-eth} (to limit the number of false positives). The following smoothing was applied to

In relation to this discussion, the relative rates are important in the chart, not the absolute numbers. From this data set we learn that the {-th} plural — which was verb inflection from the Middle English period — was **relatively** frequent in the first half of the Early Modern period, especially during the early 1500s. But it was never the dominant form, and neither is it in the Book of Mormon. By the year 1600 a large drop-off in usage had occurred, partially elucidating its absence in the King James Bible. By the 1690s the syntax was rare, and still in a downward trend. By the 1800s it is virtually nonexistent (3sg {-th} inflection having all but dropped out of the language, with formulaic and religious use remaining).[15]

Now we consider specific arguments against taking the {-th} plural in the Book of Mormon to be 19th-century usage. They are that the earliest text:

- does not **under**use the {-th} plural
- does not **over**use the {-th} plural
- exhibits VARIATION typical of the Early Modern period
- employs the {-th} plural at a significantly higher rate after relative pronouns than it does after pronouns

The Book of Mormon does not underuse the {-th} plural. The text has more than 100 instances of the morphosyntax. The usage is neither biblical nor like the early 19th century. It occurs with many more verbs besides high-frequency auxiliary verbs, and in many more contexts besides conjoined singular, abstract noun phrases. If the usage were similar to biblical usage, then it might be claimed reasonably that it was done in imitation of it. But the earliest text contains {-th} plural syntax that goes well beyond the following examples, in which {-th} could be singular:

Mosiah 8:12

> Or perhaps they will give us a knowledge
> of this very PEOPLE *which* **hath** been destroyed.

---

the chart: the decade itself was weighted 70%, and the two nearest decades were weighted 15% each; end decades were deleted (data is intermittent in the early years of the period). The search gives a reasonable approximation; it is difficult with current database coding and search limitations to achieve a good approximation of this syntax with a global search. Related searches that I have performed corroborate this chart as generally accurate.

15. See Lass (1999:162–63); at pages 164–65 he mentions that *hath* and *doth*, from about the 1650s, probably did not reflect pronunciation.

Helaman 15:7

which FAITH *and* REPENTANCE **bringeth** a change of heart unto them

Ether 12:28

And I will shew unto them
that FAITH, HOPE *and* CHARITY **bringeth** unto me,

As mentioned, the King James Bible has no examples of *they* with {-th} inflection. The Book of Mormon has four of these, one inverted (here I exclude five instances of historical-present "they saith", which is semantically equivalent to 'they said'):

2 Nephi 7:2

and THEY **dieth** because of thirst.

2 Nephi 26:10

for because THEY **yieldeth** unto the devil
and **choose** works of darkness rather than light,

> The inflectional variation — *yieldeth ~ choose* — is addressed below.

Alma 55:8

Behold, we have escaped from the Nephites and THEY **sleepeth**.

Moroni 7:17

neither **doth** THEY which subject themselves unto him

Here are some relevant examples from the print record of English:

1557 EEBO A21119 Roger Edgeworth [d. 1560] *Sermons very fruitfull, godly, and learned*

yet THEY **sprinkleth**, **boileth** and **welleth** up.

1565 EEBO A07396 Thomas Stapleton, tr. [1535–1598] | Venerable Bede [673–735] *The history of the Church of Englande*

the ship drawing nere unto the land, as sone as they ar towched wyth the smell of the ayer, THEY **dieth** owt of hand.
. . .
and their possessions THEY **kepeth** for them,

1583 EEBO A67922 John Foxe [1516–1587] *Actes and monuments of matters most speciall and memorable, happenyng in the Church*

Other mens fields THEY **repeth**,

1664 EEBO A28337 Stephen Blake *The compleat gardeners practice*

There be double and single flowered ones,
and BOTH OF THEM **yeeldeth** seed;

■ ■ ■ ■

c **1540** GOOG George Cavendish [Singer, ed.] *The Life of Cardinal Wolsey*, p.252 (1827)

> there **doth** THEY in likewise displease the contrary party,

c **1550** GOOG Richard Lant *The Harleian Miscellany* (1813)

> All THESE but for a time **doth** serve,
> Soone come, soone gone, so **doth** THEY fare:

1601 GOOG Arthur Collins *Letters and Memorials of State in the Reigns of Queen Mary, Queen Elizabeth, King James, King Charles the First, Part of the Reign of King Charles the Second, and Oliver's Usurpation* (1746)

> nether **doth** THEY much Harme ours;

So *they* used with {-th} inflection is another instance — that we may add to many others — of the Book of Mormon containing extrabiblical Early Modern English.

"They sayeth/saith", which occurs five times in the Book of Mormon as a verb in the historical present (Mosiah 12:18; Alma 9:4, 6; Alma 18:9; 3 Nephi 27:3), is hard to find in the textual record. I found one late Middle English example in Google books (accidentals regularized):

c **1365** GOOG Sir Richard Worsley *The History of the Isle of Wight*, p.lxxxii (1781)

> Also THEY **sayeth** that in Fithekfield are contained 165 acres of land and every acre is worth three shillings.

Lass (1999:166) notes that the auxiliaries *doth* and *hath* were more robust in maintaining {-th} plural syntax after the 17th century. Frequency would have played a role in this retention. Consequently, if the earliest text **primarily** contained plural *doth* and *hath*, then it could be classified as an 18th- or 19th-century text in this regard.

When we examine the **modern** English textual record leading up to 1829, we find occasional examples of *they* (and *those*) used with high-frequency *doth* and *hath*.[16] Wading through many OCR errors, I found the following 1705 phrase written by a Quaker from Warwick, England: "he or THEY *that* **doth** his Will shall enter into his Kingdom". This can be legitimately interpreted as agreement with either *he* or *they*. In addition, I encountered a mid–16th-century quote with the string "they that hath" from the author Andrew Boorde, whose writings have plenty of varying inflectional usage:

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16. Unfortunately, when using Google books one must examine each search hit because 18th-century searches yield many false positives, as well as reprints of older language (and duplicates). I performed searches in early May 2015, limiting them to the period 1700 to 1830. I looked for "they/those ‹RELATIVE PRONOUN› doth/hath", as well as instances of "they doth/hath", and inverted "doth/hath they".

1542 Andrew Boorde *Introduction of Knowledge* EETS Extra Series No. X (1870) 178, 185

> Whan THEY **do** heare masse, & se[e] the sacrament,
> THEY **do** inclyne, & **doth** clap theyr hand on theyr mouth
> . . .
> THEY **doth** begyn *and* **do** reken
> . . .
> the VENYSCIONS **hath** great prouision of warre,
> for THEY **haue** ever in a redyness tymber.

Searches for "they which doth/hath" and "they who doth/hath" resulted in false positives, but I did find the following quote that seems to be taken from a much earlier translation of a work by Louis Ellies Du Pin (d. 1719):

> **1784** GOOG Owen & Johnston *A new and general biographical dictionary*, p.153
>
> Theodoret is one of THOSE *who* **hath** succeeded the best in every kind.

There are also early 18th-century instances (often with later date-stamps) of "those that doth/hath".

Picking through many false positives and duplicates, I found eight actual examples of "they hath" and "hath they" — only two were on point:[17]

> **1811** GOOG T. B. Hughes *A report of the case of the King against Bebb and others*, p.9 (London)
>
> or at any time since, nor had or **hath** THEY, or either of them, or any person

> **1828** GOOG *The Collateral Bible* (Philadelphia) [cf. John 15:24]
>
> but now **hath** THEY both seen and hated both me and my Father.

Therefore, we do find modern instances of inverted "hath they" (but none in the earliest text), consonant with what Lass (1999:166) asserts: "plural *is*, *hath*, *doth* are commoner than inflected plurals of other verbs, **and persist longer**" (emphasis added).

I encountered four legitimate instances of "doth they", one modern (Scottish):

> **1707** GOOG Walter Steuart *Pardovan*, p.52 (Edinburgh: 1770)
>
> How **doth** THEY observe the Lord's day?

---

17. Five search hits were reprints of 16th- and 17th-century language, and one was a typo from a 1746 King James Bible printed in Leipzig: "and they gave them wives which they hath saved alive of the women of Jabesh-gilead" (Judges 21:14); other editions have "they had" in this verse.

This syntax is found once in the Book of Mormon (at Moroni 7:17 — see above).

As for "they doth", there were four legitimate hits, three from modern English (two American):

> **1735** GOOG William Mitchel *The Tinklarian Doctor's Fifteenth Epistle*, p.8
>
> THEY **doth** not so commonly curse and swear,

> **1813** GOOG *Journal of the House of Representatives of the United States*, p.307
>
> Resolved, That this HOUSE **doth** recede from their disagreement to the amendment insisted upon by the Senate, and that THEY **doth** agree to the residue of the report

> **1828** GOOG *The Works of Aristotle: The Famous Philosopher*, p.245 (New-England)
>
> When they are burned by physicians THEY **doth** assume another kind of shape.

The second example illustrates how the formulaic bled into a rare use of "they doth". House reports from this era commonly had "this House doth . . . and doth . . . and doth". The last example is American-published, no author given.[18] There is no example of "they doth" in the Book of Mormon.

Finally, searches for some high-frequency main verbs with *they* yielded old language except for one interesting case discussed in the next section. In particular, I found 14th-century instances of "they taketh" and "they sayeth" (the latter shown above). These searches also verify what Lass (1999:166) asserts (see above quote). As a result, we must conclude that by the year 1830, the {-th} plural was rare, in both American and British English, and confined to use with *doth* and *hath*.

In summary, we have seen that the {-th} plural, as contained in the earliest text of the Book of Mormon, is neither biblical (covert singular use) nor 19th-century in character (confined to rare use with high-frequency auxiliary verbs). So by using syntax of the type "Nephi's BRETHREN rebell**eth**" somewhat frequently throughout the dictation, Smith went against both his own American English and biblical language.

■ ■ ■

The Book of Mormon does not overuse the {-th} plural. An overuse of this construction might have been an order of magnitude higher in rate of use. I found an example of such overuse from the 1820s, quite by

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18. The book was first published anonymously in England in the late 1600s. This is the only edition of this oft-printed book that I have seen with this syntax. Other editions have "they assume" or "they do assume" here.

accident. Searching for "they maketh" in Google books, I encountered one from the late 14th-century poem *Piers Plowman*, another from Trevisa's version of Higden's *Polychronicon* (1387), and a third from 1823. The last one naturally caught my eye.

The early 19th-century instance turned out to be from a play written by the Jewish-American dramatist Samuel B. H. Judah (b. 1799): *A Tale of Lexington: a National Comedy, founded on the opening of the Revolution. In three Acts.* (New York, 1823). A London review of this play included a curious exchange between two characters, exhibiting a remarkable amount of "quaker-dialogue and burlesque of scripture phraseology".[19] In the space of about 350 words, Grimalkiah manages to say "men returneth", "they maketh", "men prevaileth", "we crieth", "we sacrificeth", "we putteth", "they layeth", "legs and spirit rumbleth", "bowels yearneth", "limbs quaketh". Modern instances include "we wax/lament/melt". In addition, he utters nonbiblical *smited*, "exceed-ing**ly** wroth" (biblical would have been "exceeding wroth"), as well as the odd query "sayeth **it** that Sampson moaneth?" (odd because we're not sure what *it* refers to). In the whole of the Book of Mormon — about 270,000 words — there is one instance of the {-th} plural with *we*:

> Helaman 13:34
>> Behold, WE **layeth** a tool here and on the morrow it is gone.

This is attested usage from the past:

> **1540** EEBO A10769 Lancelot Ridley [d. 1576] *A commentary in Englyshe vpon Sayncte Paules Epystle to the Ephesyans*
>> WE **thynketh** the Apostle dothe speake
>> these wordes to stoppe the vngodly mouthes

> **1574** EEBO A69056 Arthur Golding, tr. [1536–1606] | Jean Calvin [1509–1564] *Sermons . . . vpon the booke of Iob*
>> when WEE **suffereth** vs not to bee deafe too his doctrine,
>> but **giueth** it enterance into vs

In addition, we have seen that there are only four examples of *they* + {-th} in the earliest text (excluding the aforementioned "they saith"). That is a far cry from Grimalkiah's rate: two instances in 350 words. His overall rate of use of the {-th} plural is greater than 70%. The Book of Mormon's {-th} plural rate appears to be less than 10%. Thus one can reasonably argue that the {-th} plural of the earliest text is not a case of consciously overusing the construction.

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19. *The London Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres, Arts, Sciences, Etc.* 366 (24 January 1824): 49–50.

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There are four cases of "ye hath/doth" in the Book of Mormon (but no examples of the {-th} plural with *ye* and a main verb). Because some may think that this is a misuse of language, we consider it briefly here. Three cases of *ye* + {-th} actually involve **singular** *ye*:

> Alma 41:9
>
> do not risk one more offense against your God upon those points of doctrine which Y E **hath** hitherto risked to commit sin.

> Alma 41:15
>
> For that which Y E **doth** send out shall return unto you again and be restored.

> Alma 61:9
>
> And now in your epistle Y E **hath** censured me, but it mattereth not.

Here is an example of singular *ye* + {-th}:

> **1507** EEBO A03936 Walter Hilton [d.1396] *Scala perfectionis*
>
> If T H O U loue moche god Y E **lyketh** for to thynke vpon hym moche / & yf thou loue lytyl / thenne lytyl thou thynkest vpon hym

So we see singular *ye* + {-th} in both the Book of Mormon and earlier English (and we see close *thou* ~ *ye* switching in the 1507 example, as we see in various places in the Book of Mormon as well).

Both Alma 41:9 and the next example have "ye hath hitherto":

> Mosiah 2:31
>
> I would that ye should do as Y E **hath** hitherto done; as Y E **have** kept my commandments, and also the commandments of my father,

Mosiah 2:31 is an instance of plural *ye*, and therefore the {-th} plural. The following passages exemplify and elucidate the Book of Mormon usage:

> **1681** EEBO A38821 Edmund Everard *The great pressures and grievances of the Protestants in France and their apology to the late ordinances made against them*
>
> Hitherto the C L E R G Y **have** done nothing else but contradict the Edicts,

> **1680** EEBO A97353 Richard Baxter [1615–1691] *The nonconformists plea for peace*
>
> The worst Magistrates almost were like to use the sword more harmlesly, than the Secular C L E R G Y **hath** hitherto done, through most of all the Christian world.

The first example shows that *clergy* can be construed as plural; the second example contains the morphosyntax of Mosiah 2:31.

Here are three examples of plural *ye* + {-th} from three different centuries:

1485 EEBO A23591 *Saint Albans chronicle*
sires YE **hereth** all what he has said

1583 EEBO A17698 Arthur Golding, tr. [1536–1606] | Jean Calvin [1509–1564] *Sermons vpon the fifth booke of Moses called Deuteronomie*
as if he had said, although YE **eateth**:

1655 EEBO A90622 John Pain *A discovery of the priests*
the anointing which YE **hath** received of him abideth in you

The last example has "ye hath + ‹PAST PARTICIPLE›", as in various Book of Mormon passages.

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The Book of Mormon exhibits variation in this domain that is typical of the Early Modern period. We have seen that {-th}/{-s} variation after a singular subject is attested 17th-century language:

1 Nephi [HEADING]
NEPHI **taketh** his brethren
and **returns** to the land of Jerusalem after the record of the Jews.

1652 EEBO A57652 Alexander Ross [1591–1654] *The history of the world*
HE **taketh** divers Towns, *and* **returns** to Spain;

The above is a syntacto-lexical match. When we read the earliest text, we are reading Early Modern English:

1607 EEBO A02841 Thomas Hayne [1582–1645] *The times, places, and persons of the holie Scripture. Otherwise entituled, The generall view of the Holy Scriptures*
Let us behold the Sunne, IT **riseth** and **setteth**, and **returnes** againe to his place,

1633 EEBO A09833 Edward Grimeston, tr. | Polybius *The history of Polybius the Megalopolitan*
In the meane time PHILIP **razeth** his Campe, *and* **returnes** to Corinthe,

1638 EEBO A08025 Henry Isaacson, tr. [1581–1654] | Saint Bellarmino [1542–1621] *Iacob's ladder*
in the grave IT **dryeth** up, *and* **returnes** to dust.

1640 EEBO A13752 Daniel Featly et al. *Thrēnoikos. The house of mourning*
The body is of the dust, and **returneth** to dust,
the SOULE **commeth** from God, *and* **returnes** to God againe.

■ . . ■

1604 EEBO A09442 William Perkins [1558–1602] *Lectures vpon the three first chapters of the Reuelation*

> HE **sheweth** his feruencie, *and* **repeates** the same againe

1607 EEBO A11931 Edward Grimeston, tr. | Jean de Serres [1540?–1598] *A general inuentorie of the history of France*

> He **assureth** the Citties, *and* **levies** men with all expedition.
> He **pincheth** some, *and* **ruines** others:
> He **raiseth** the siege, *and* **retires** in good order, fearing a charge.
> He **dislodgeth** without Trumpet, *and* **seemes** rather to flie, then retire.
> He **dischargeth** two pistolls, *and* **seekes** to force the house.
> He **chargeth**, *and* **overthrowes** the first he encounters.

This order of inflectional variation was apparently favored by the translator Edward Grimeston in 1607.

The Book of Mormon also has passages that have verbs carrying {-th} plural inflection followed by bare verb stems, under ellipsis. Here are two with that pattern:

2 Nephi 26:10

> for because THEY **yieldeth** unto the devil
> *and* **choose** works of darkness rather than light,

Helaman 7:23

> save it be unto THOSE *who* **repenteth** of their sins
> *and* **hearken** unto my words.

The next three examples exhibit the same syntax:

1565 EEBO A07396 Thomas Stapleton, tr. [1535–1598] | Venerable Bede [673–735] *The history of the Church of Englande*

> THEY **maketh** them bowers about their churches,
> *and* feasting together after a good religious sorte, **kill** their oxen

1646 EEBO A92138 Samuel Rutherford [1600?–1661] *The divine right of church-government and excommunication*

> for we dispute only of THOSE *who* **acknowledgeth** their sins,
> *and* **promise** amendment.

1648 EEBO A85404 John Goodwin [1594?–1665] *Neophytopresbyteros, or, The yongling elder, or, novice-presbyter*

> he, and many more, speake highly of the Scriptures,
> not because THEY **loveth** Truth, or the minde of God, and of Christ,
>   contained in the Scriptures,
> *or* **care** much for the propagation or knowledge of these in the world,

We also see inflectional variation in the other order, from unmarked to marked:

Mosiah 3:18

> except THEY **humble** themselves *and* **become** as little children
> *and* **believeth** that salvation . . .

1582 EEBO A05237 Stephen Batman [d. 1584] | John Trevisa, tr. [d. 1402] |
Anglicus Bartholomæus [13th cent.] *De proprietatibus rerum*

> and glad when THEY **have** the masterie, *and* so **feeleth** *and* **knoweth**
> theyr enemies in battaile,

But we also often see consistent inflection in the textual record:

1557 EEBO A21119 Roger Edgeworth [d. 1560] *Sermons very fruitfull, godly,
and learned*

> for THEY **spotteth** *and* **defouleth** them selues by ebrietie and surfets,

These next three passages contain examples of repeated {-th} plural
inflection:[20]

Mosiah 8:21

> Yea, they are as a wild FLOCK
> which **fleeth** from the shepherd *and* **scattereth**,
> *and* **are** driven *and* **are** devoured by the beasts of the forest.

Mosiah 15:14

> these are THEY which **hath** published peace, *that* **hath** brought good
> tidings of good, *that* **hath** published salvation, *that* **saith** unto Zion:

Helaman 8:19

> ever since the days of Abraham
> *there* **hath** been many PROPHETS *that* **hath** testified these things

Here are three 16th-century excerpts that are the same, from a syntacto-
lexical standpoint, as Helaman 8:19:

1509 EEBO A16638 Sebastian Brant [1458–1521] *The shyppe of fooles*

> *there* **hathe** ben but FEWE *that* **hathe** edefyed grete places and houses

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20. The following are probably not examples of consistent {-th} plural usage,
since the antecedents of the relative pronoun *which* are probably the closest nouns,
which are singular:

1 Nephi 12:17
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

Alma 34:15
this being the intent of this last sacrifice, to bring about the BOWELS of MERCY,
which **overpowereth** justice and **bringeth** about means unto men that they may
have faith unto repentance. And thus MERCY can satisfy the demands of justice.

1545 EEBO A02886 John Bale [1495–1563] *A mysterye of inyquyte*

There **hath** bene Popes *which* **hath** bene poyseners

1583 EEBO A67926 John Foxe [1516–1587] *Actes and monuments of matters most speciall and memorable, happenyng in the Church*

there **hath** bene many, *that* **hath** sclaundered you,
and the Gospell of our Saviour Christe.

So the syntax of Helaman 8:19 was not Smith overdoing the biblical. Instead, it was Early Modern English usage not to be found in the King James Bible.

Here are some further examples of close variation:

2 Nephi 6:17

I will contend with them *that* **contendeth** with thee. And I will feed them *that* **oppress** thee with their own flesh.

1534 EEBO A00387 William Marshall, tr. | Desiderius Erasmus [d.1536] *A playne and godly exposytion or declaratio[n] of the co[m]mune crede*

And the name of thefte / whiche in Latyne is called furtum / is a generall worde unto them / *that* **stealeth** out of the commune treasurehouse / which are called peculatores / and unto them *that* **committe** sacrilege / by takyng away halowed or holy thynges

1626 EEBO A11058 Alexander Ross [1591–1654] *An exposition on the fourteene first chapters of Genesis, by way of question and answere*

Fourthly, hee will blesse them *that* **blesseth** him,
and curse them *that* **curse** him;

■ ■ ■

Mosiah 15:11

all those *who* **hath** hearkened unto their words and believed that the Lord would redeem his people *and* **have** looked forward to that day

1548 EEBO A16036 Nicholas Udall, tr. [1505–1556] | Desiderius Erasmus [d.1536] *The first tome or volume of the Paraphrase of Erasmus vpon the Newe Testamente*

Therfore equitie would, and no lesse becummeth our bounteousnesse, that those *whiche* **hath** forsaken the worlde to come to us,
and **have** commit and credite themselfes wholy to us,

■ ■ ■

Moroni 7:28

and he claimeth all those *that* **hath** faith in him. And they *that* **have** faith in him will cleave unto every good thing.

1655 EEBO A89817 Philiatros *Nature unbowelled*

> This is a present remedy in burning Agues, and to THOSE *that* **hath** a hot Liver, or heart, and it helpeth also THOSE *that* **have** any roughness in the wind pipe or throat,

■ ▪ ▪ ▪

2 Nephi 26:10

> And THEY **sell** themselves for naught, for for the reward of their pride and their foolishness they shall reap destruction;
> for because THEY **yieldeth** unto the devil . . .

1557 EEBO A21119 Roger Edgeworth [d.1560] *Sermons very fruitfull, godly, and learned*

> And brookes, although neither man nor beast drinke of them, yet never the lesse THEY **kepe** their course and **floweth**.
> . . .
> while they be full, yet THEY **desire**, Therefore THEY **desireth** to see,

1583 EEBO A67922 John Foxe [1516–1587] *Actes and monuments of matters most speciall and memorable, happenyng in the Church*

> THEY **plucke** awaye the grapes: THEY **leveth** men naked,

1582 EEBO A05237 Stephen Batman [d.1584] | John Trevisa, tr. [d.1402] | Anglicus Bartholomæus [13th cent.] *De proprietatibus rerum*

> The HUMOURS **come** from the head the pipes of the throate, and THEY **maketh** there a postume:

All of the above language clearly varies between the {-th} plural and the unmarked state.

The following late 15th-century example shows three different inflectional possibilities after *they*, as discussed by Lass (1999:165):

1482 EEBO A03319 William Caxton [ca.1422–1491] | John Trevisa, tr. [d.1402] | Ranulf Higden [d.1364] *Polychronicon*

> THEY **woneth** in celles and **lyven** under a pryour . . .
> but THEY **take** leude men . . .

Barber (1997:169) wrote that "in [Middle English], broadly speaking, {-es} was Northern, {-en} Midland, and {-eth} Southern. There was an alternative Midland plural form in which the final /-n/ had been lost, and from this descends the normal plural of Modern English." The above examples provide evidence that Early Modern English was full of inflectional variation, which we also see in the Book of Mormon (except for the old {-en} Midland plural).

Here are examples where the subject is *ye* (and *they*) and the {-th} plural only occurs under ellipsis (in the conjoined predicate):

Helaman 13:21

> YE **have** set your hearts upon them
> *and* **hath** not hearkened unto
> the words of him who gave them unto you.

1660 EEBO A50450 Sir George Mackenzie [1636–1691] *Aretina*

> YE **have** disarmed my tongue of complement,
> *and* **hath** turned the edge of my own weapon against me

■ ▪ ▪

1607 EEBO A19504 William Cowper [1568–1619] *A preparatiue for the new Passeouer*

> THEY **haue** found a treasure,
> *and* **hath** felt the sweetnes of this Manna

1659 EEBO A44800 Francis Howgill [1618–1669] *Mistery Babylon*

> THEY **have** come sick and weakly, *and* **have** gone away so,
> *and* **hath** found your promises and assurances of no effect at all.

1660 EEBO A44802 Francis Howgill [1618–1669] *One of the Antichrists voluntiers defeated and the true light vindicated*

> THEY **have** ordained one another, *and* **hath** set up a trade of preaching,
> *and . . .* **hath** fill'd the world with darknesse

These examples may be evidence of an Early Modern English tendency to employ *hath* more readily in conjoined predicates or less readily after pronouns.

In the next group of examples we see *hath* after noun-phrase subjects, but not after closely preceding *they*:

Mosiah 8:11

> And again, THEY **have** brought swords;
> the HILTS thereof **hath** perished

1623 EEBO A01554 Thomas Gataker [1574–1654] *Two sermons tending to direction for Christian cariage, both in afflictions incumbent, and in iudgements imminent*

> especially when THEY **have** been of long continuance,
> and much PAINES **hath** beene taken for the recovery of it againe.

1651 EEBO A30575 Jeremiah Burroughs [1599–1646] *An exposition . . . of the prophesy of Hosea*

> that THEY **have** prevail'd over their consciences,
> that their CONSCIENCES **hath** given them leave to do such a thing;

There seems to have been a tendency in Early Modern English to employ the {-th} plural more readily after noun-phrase subjects than after *they*. Further study is required.

In summary, we have encountered ample evidence that various kinds of inflectional variation found in the Book of Mormon are, syntactically speaking, examples of attested/acceptable Early Modern English usage. The overall matching is solid, suggesting implicit knowledge of particular syntactic tendencies of earlier English. What on its face seems to be questionable grammar, actually turns out to be attested variation patterns.

■ ■ ■

The Book of Mormon employs the {-th} plural at a significantly higher rate after relative pronouns than after pronouns. To facilitate and properly constrain this study, I narrowed the range of inquiry to third-person plural (3pl) pronominals: *they*, *them*, *those*. I found that the earliest text prefers the use of the {-th} plural in relative clauses, whose antecedents are 3pl pronominals, to the use in simple predicates after *they* (p ≅ 0.001). This same syntactic preference is noticeable in the Early Modern period. For convenience, I refer to these two types of {-th} plural syntax here as RELATIVE {-th} and PREDICATE {-th}. (Again, the {-th} plural is the clear minority usage in all texts.)

In present-tense contexts (in the Book of Mormon), excluding language using a form of the verb *be*, there are about half as many relative-clause contexts as simple (non-conjoined) predicate contexts. Nevertheless, there are more cases of relative {-th} even though there are fewer potential constructions. All told, I counted 11 instances of relative {-th} with 3pl pronominals in the earliest text:[21]

> 2 Nephi 6:17
> I will contend with THEM *that* **contendeth** with thee.

> 2 Nephi 9:26
> upon all THOSE *who* **hath** not the law given to them,

> Mosiah 15:11
> all THOSE *who* **hath** hearkened unto their words

> Mosiah 15:14
> these are THEY *which* **hath** published peace,

> Alma 32:16
> blessed are THEY *who* **humbleth** themselves without being compelled to be humble.

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21. There is also one interesting case of "them which has", treated later in this section.

Alma 60:1

all THOSE *who* **hath** been chosen by this people to govern and manage the affairs of this war.

Alma 60:27

even until THOSE *who* **hath** desires to usurp power and authority shall become extinct.

Helaman 7:23

save it be unto THOSE *who* **repenteth** of their sins

Helaman 13:19

And cursed be THEY *who* **hideth** not up their treasures unto me,

3 Nephi 9:14

And blessed are THEY *which* **cometh** unto me.

Moroni 7:28

and he claimeth all THOSE *that* **hath** faith in him.

I have estimated that relative {-th} with 3pl pronominals occurs about 8.5% of the time in the earliest text. In contrast, predicate {-th} with *they* occurs less than 1.5% of the time in the earliest text.[22] I haven't estimated these two rates for the Early Modern period, but I have verified the existence of the same differential with 3pl pronominals. It is also a statistically significant difference. Evidence from a 500-million-word corpus suggests that in Early Modern English, the relative {-th} with 3pl pronominals was used at a little more than four times the rate of the predicate {-th} with *they*. In the Book of Mormon, it is used at a little more than five times the rate. As a result of this inquiry, we find that the arcane differential usage rate tendencies of Early Modern English with 3pl pronominals and the {-th} plural are found in the Book of Mormon.

This is akin to the Early Modern English tendency to favor the use of *was* after plural relative pronouns over the use of *was* after plural noun-phrase subjects, a tendency that is also found in the earliest text (exemplified at the end of this section). Both of these basically involve singular ~ plural morphological variation. Generally speaking, verb forms that are singular in shape were used at a higher rate after plural relative pronouns than in predicates with plural noun-phrase subjects. Occasionally overt expression (close variation) exhibiting this underlying tendency is found.

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22. As discussed earlier, there are three non-inverted instances — "they dieth/yieldeth/sleepeth". If we include inverted "doth they", then the rate is between 1.5% and 2% and $p \cong 0.003$ (here I exclude historical-present "they saith", whose use is formulaic and whose tense is covert).

Lass (1999:165–66) discusses the {-s} plural (in addition to the {-th} plural), noting that this "(Northern) East Midlands" usage is "common throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as a minority alternant of zero, and persists sporadically into the eighteenth century." Analogous to plural *hath*, plural *has* would have persisted longer than plural {-s} with lower frequency verbs. (Lass mentions only *is* and {-th} forms in this regard: *hath*, *doth*.) Plural *has* is what we see in the following passage:

> Alma 57:36
>> and I trust that the souls of THEM *which* **has** been slain
>> **have** entered into the rest of their God.

Reading this can be a bit of a shock, but the *has ~ have* alternation is attested in Early Modern English. First, here are six examples of the relative {-s} plural with *has* from the latter half of the 17th century:

> **1653** EEBO A70988 F.G., tr. | Madeleine de Scudéry [1607–1701] *Artamenes*
>> it must be an entire heart, and none of THOSE *that* **has** been pierced with a thousand Arrows;

> **1658** EEBO A40227 George Fox [1624–1691] *The papists strength, principles, and doctrines*
>> and strike down all THOSE *that* **has** got the words but not the power, and reach to the life and immortality
>> . . .
>> are not they THEM *that* **has** set up all these outward things,

> **1659** EEBO A85769 William Guild [1586–1657] *The throne of David, or, An exposition of the second of Samuell*
>> and leave the persons for their faults to God, and THEM *who* **has** power to punish them.

> **1668** EEBO A47152 George Keith [1639?–1716] *Immediate revelation*
>> And now a few words by way of tender advice, to THOSE *who* **has** been long seeking a pure Church, not a mined confused Rabble of godless Atheists,

> **1678** EEBO A30130 John Bunyan [1628–1688] *Come & welcome to Jesus Christ*
>> That the Father giveth no such gift to THEM *that* **has** sinned this sin; Is evident,

Second, here is the same, close variation pattern — *has* is used after the relative pronoun, and *have* is used in the predicate after the complex subject:

1681 EEBO A47819 Sir Roger L'Estrange [1616–1704] *The character of a papist in masquerade*

> the whole strain of THEM *that* **has** been taken off by the hand of Justice, . . . **have** so behaved themselves at the last cast,
> as if the whole Schism were upon a vie who should damn bravest.

The matching between the syntax of this passage and that of Alma 57:36 is essentially identical: "[them ‹RELATIVE› **has** . . .] **have** . . ."

This pattern is similar to the following:

> Mosiah 24:15
>
> the BURDENS *which* **was** laid upon Alma and his brethren
> **were** made light;

The tense and verbs are different, but the singular ~ plural morphological pattern is the same and both passages involve high-frequency verbs. This was an arcane tendency of the Early Modern era:

1591 EEBO A19179 Antony Colynet *The true history of the ciuill warres of France*

> the raging FOLLIES *which* **was** committed at T[ou]louse
> **were** incredible to report,

This next one is notable as well because the syntactic pattern also matches Alma 57:36 — only the verb morphology is different:

1658 EEBO A40227 George Fox [1624–1691] *The papists strength, principles, and doctrines*

> which the . . . KINGS . . . *which* **hath** been converted **have** drunk of

> I see the blindnesse, and the ignorance, and the rottennesse, and the foundation of the Roman Church to be but rubbish, and sandy, for it stands upon inventions, mens traditions, and devised fables, and lying stories, and is not founded upon the Rock of ages, and stands in the WATERS, *which* **are** moveable and unstable upon which the whore sits, *which* **has** made all Nations drunk, which the great KINGS thou speaks of, *which* **hath** been converted, **have** drunk of,

This example has other interesting variation: "waters which are . . . [waters] which has". As highlighted, we see here "which hath . . . have"; the Book of Mormon at Alma 57:36 has "which has . . . have". Both of these are thus instances of the {-th}/{-s} plural of the verb *have* followed by the typical plural (base) verb form *have*. The close singular-to-plural switch mediated by the syntactic context is analogous to "which was . . . were", shown above.[23]

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23. Moroni 7:28 ("those that ha**th** . . . they that ha**ve**") has the same order of variation as the above examples, but no change in syntactic context. The next example has the same order of variation as well, but the syntax involves a conjoined predicate:

Conclusion

Plural {-th} syntax in the earliest text is very different from rare 19th-century auxiliary usage and from King James style (with occasional singular {-th} usage that looks to be plural). The systematic use of the {-th} plural in the Book of Mormon falls in the "Goldilocks" zone — it is neither overblown nor underdone. Interestingly, {-th} plural usage in the earliest text is similar to 16th- and 17th-century syntactic patterns, in a number of ways. We have seen that inflectional variation and differential usage rates in the earliest text are a strong match with little-known patterns attested in Early Modern English. In view of the textual evidence, it is reasonable not to attribute Joseph Smith's dictation of the {-th} plural — as in "whose flames ascendeth up" (2 Nephi 9:16; Mosiah 2:38; Alma 12:17) — to a presumed idiosyncratic, quasi-biblical style:

1566 EEBO A19713 William Page [fl.1566] | Celio Secondo Curione [1503–1569] *Pasquine in a traunce a Christian and learned dialogue*

and the smoke of their tormentes, Ascendeth **up** for ever and ever.

> Showing the redundant use of *up* with *ascend* in the Early Modern era.

1591 EEBO A01504 William Garrard [d.1587] *The arte of warre*

in the night the FIRES *and* FLAMES **signifieth** the campe to be there

> Showing the {-th} plural with *flames* as subject in the Early Modern era.

1597 EEBO A06400 Peter Lowe [ca.1550–ca.1612] *The whole course of chirurgerie*

by the euill VAPORS *which* **ascendeth**, *and* **corrodeth** the gummes,

> Showing the verb *ascend* carrying {-th} plural inflection in the Early Modern era.

1635 EEBO A09500 David Person *Varieties: or, A surveigh of rare and excellent matters necessary and delectable for all sorts of persons*

The fourth kind of VAPORS *which* **ascend**, are cold and moyst,

> Showing "vapors which" used with the base form of verb.

Mosiah 15:11

those who ha**th** . . . *and* [who] ha**ve**

> I say unto you that all THOSE *who* **hath** hearkened unto their words
> and believed that the Lord would redeem his people
> *and* **have** looked forward to that day for a remission of their sins

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The Case of Plural *Was* in the Earliest Text

Stanford Carmack

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THE CASE OF PLURAL *WAS* IN THE EARLIEST TEXT

Stanford Carmack

Abstract: *Because it is primarily an Early Modern English text (in terms of its English language), the earliest text of the Book of Mormon understandably employs plural* was — *for example, "the words which **was** delivered" (Alma 5:11). It does so in a way that is substantially similar to what is found in many writings of the Early Modern period — that is, it manifests the syntactic usage, variation, and differential rates typical of that era.*

THIS STUDY LOOKS AT A SUBSET of the questionable grammar of the Book of Mormon. It focuses on the use of *was* in contexts where standard modern English requires the verb form *were*. This has been called plural *was* by linguists, as a convenient way to refer to the not-infrequent use of *was* with plural subjects that has been present in the language since Middle English and possibly earlier.[1] Of course we miss these readings in the current LDS text; we must turn to the following edition to see them today: Royal Skousen, ed., *The Book of Mormon: The Earliest Text* (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 2009). Indeed, we could not learn about these matters without such a critical text.

Because of the resources that have become available recently, it is a new day in the study of the English-language text of the Book of Mormon. Most of the examples presented here — from both the Book of Mormon and the Early Modern English textual record — will be new to virtually everyone; they should be eye-opening. Here I unapologetically focus on the form of expression, not the content; cases of exceptional usage, not the majority usage. Still, some excerpts provide us with a glimpse of interesting content.

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1. Terttu Nevalainen, "Vernacular universals? The case of plural *was* in Early Modern English", *Types of Variation: Diachronic, dialectal and typological interfaces*, edited by Terttu Nevalainen, Juhani Klemola, and Mikko Laitinen (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2006), 351–69, 355.

Interestingly, syntactic variation in the earliest text of the Book of Mormon at times matches what may be found in the textual record of earlier English. This suggests that implicit knowledge of Early Modern English and its tendencies was part of the translation of the Book of Mormon. When we consider the array of diverse matching, at times obscure, an Early Modern English view is compelling. That is the approach adopted here. Let us now consider why that is the correct approach.

Abstracting away from Hebrew-like expressions and non-English words found in the earliest text, we may reasonably assert, based on evidence, that there are four sources for the English of the Book of Mormon:

1. King James English
2. Standard modern English
3. Modern American dialect
4. Nonbiblical Early Modern English

Numbers 1 and 2 are uncontroversially accepted by everyone, number 3 has been largely accepted and assumed from the beginning, but many reject the possibility of number 4, often resorting to protesting that because it is not readily apparent why nonbiblical Early Modern English would have been used, it cannot be so. Nevertheless, there is abundant evidence for that position. Indeed, pertinent lexical, morphological, and syntactic evidence has been provided for some time by Skousen (1990, 1994, 1998, 2002, 2004–2009 [*Analysis of Textual Variants of the Book of Mormon*], 2005, 2006, 2009, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015), and more recently also by Carmack (2014, 2015a, 2015b, 2015c, 2016a, 2016b). Volume 3 of the Book of Mormon critical text project contains a large amount of evidence as well. Those who choose to reject the existence of nonbiblical Early Modern English in the earliest text must ignore or dismiss hundreds of pieces of evidence that are mutually supportive.

As for number 3, it turns out that provincialisms such as *drownded*, *massacreed*, and *had ought to* are found in earlier English as well (these three examples are taken from Grant Hardy's introduction to Skousen's *The Book of Mormon: The Earliest Text*, page xx). Here is evidence in support of that assertion:

1656 EEBO A62145 Sir William Sanderson [1586?–1676] *A compleat history of the lives and reigns of, Mary Queen of Scotland, and of her son and successor, James the Sixth*

And finding that he was thus betrayed,
ran into the sea and **drownded** himself.

1672 EEBO A30510 Edward Burrough [1634–1662] *The memorable works of a son of thunder and consolation*

> Surely when you are sober you will consider, and when you are come to your selves you will be ashamed, and will not open any more your malice and wrath which hath **drownded** your honesty and civility;

> > The principal data source used in this study is *Early English Books Online* (EEBO) [Chadwyck-Healey: ‹http://eebo.chadwyck.com›]. Many of these texts can be freely accessed by using the provided EEBO number and entering it after http://name.umdl.umich.edu/. The publicly searchable portion of EEBO–TCP (Text Creation Partnership) is ‹http://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebogroup›. Mark Davies provided a very useful corpus and interface: *Early English Books Online, 400 million words, 1470s–1690s* (2013–). I have also derived some of the examples from a 500-million-word corpus of my own elaboration, made from several thousand publicly available EEBO–TCP texts.

▪ ▪ ▪

1655 EEBO A60194 Richard Sibbes [1577–1635] *A learned commentary or exposition: upon the first chapter of the second Epistle of S. Paul to the Corinthians*

> how doth he deliver his Children when we see them taken away by death, and oftimes are **massacreed**?

1658 EEBO A64619 James Ussher [1581–1656] *The annals of the world*

> some he surprized by treachery, the rest he **massacreed** in one night at a revelling;

▪ ▪ ▪

1535 EEBO A07430 William Marshall, tr. [fl.1535] | Marsilius of Padua [d.1342?] *The defence of peace*

> and yf it be not so / than tell thou me, In what thynge he meaned, that every soule **shulde** be subiecte to the powers, etc. For yf euery soule **hadde oughte to** be subiecte to Timotheus, and Titus, In suche maner iudgemente he shulde in vayne haue sayde admonysshe them.

1601 EEBO A07982 W. Traheron, tr. [fl.1601] | Remigio Nannini [1521?–1581?] *Ciuill considerations vpon many and sundrie histories*

> he suffered them to come into the playne, without making any such resistance, as he **had ought to** haue done, because hee had giuen his word, that he would not stoppe their passage.

The same can be said of *attackt*, *bellowses*, *fraid*, *grievious*, *kinsfolks*, *tremendious*, etc., as well as various phrasal items. All these are cases of the earliest text employing Early Modern English that persisted in dialectal use. Interestingly, this is therefore language that Smith could have been quite familiar with when he saw and read words during the dictation. And it also provides evidence against a common misconception that dialect forms are recent inventions (corruptions of the language) when they are often (less-common) historical forms that

were marginalized. In view of the evidence, we may rewrite the above list as follows:

1. Early Modern English found in the King James Bible
2. Early Modern English that persisted in standard modern English
3. Early Modern English that persisted in modern dialects
4. Nonbiblical Early Modern English that underwent obsolescence

In addition to this, there is a very small amount of 18th-century language (vocabulary and perhaps syntax) in the earliest text, as well as dialectal overlay from dictation and scribal errors (the latter often hard to pin down definitively).

To sum up, the position that the text is **not** Smith's language (mainly Early Modern English) is comprehensive and fully explanatory. On the other hand, the position that the text is Smith's language (quasi-biblical, standard English, and American dialect) is inadequate, failing to explain much textual usage (all of number 4). For the above reasons I adopt the Early Modern English view, as set forth above.

The {-s} plural of Early Modern English

The data presented here are related to what Charles Barber and Roger Lass have called the {-es} or {-s} plural of earlier English (they refer to the present-tense only).[2]   Lass (1999:166) mentions that this particular morphosyntactic phenomenon was a minority alternant, "persist[ing] sporadically into the eighteenth century". Barber (1997:169) wrote that in Middle English

> the use of {-es} as a plural inflection is found in Scots, in Northern England, and in part of the North-East Midlands. Its occasional use in the standard southern language may be due to the influence of these northern forms. Alternatively, it may be due to the analogy of the third-person singular {-es} inflection. This is suggested by the fact that plural {-es} is seldom found in the early sixteenth century, and is commonest around 1600, when {-es} had displaced {-eth} as the singular ending.

2. See Charles Barber, *Early Modern English* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 1997 [1976], 169–70; Roger Lass, "Phonology and Morphology", *The Cambridge History of the English Language: Volume III: 1476–1776*, ed. Roger Lass (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999), 165–66.

Lass (1999:166) takes *is* to be an "{-s} form", noting heavy plural *is* usage in one late 15th- and early 16th-century northern dialect (the Yorkshire *Plumpton Correspondence* [letters]).

Ten years ago, in an article on plural *was* in Early Modern English, Nevalainen wrote that

> the use of *was* with plural subjects was a northern English dialect feature in the 15th and 16th centuries, but it was by no means restricted to the north. In the course of the 17th century the pattern levelled dialectally, and declined, but continued to be used as a minority variant **even by the literate social ranks** *throughout the country.*[3] (emphasis added)

So plural *was* was a widespread literate usage. And although plural *is* usage may have reinforced plural *was* usage, there appears to have been a greater tendency in earlier English to use *was* with plural pronouns than *is*.

Here is a passage with close variation exemplifying that tendency (more examples could be given), along with a Book of Mormon match:[4]

> **1664** EEBO A57970 Samuel Rutherford [1600?–1661] *Joshua redivivus*
>
> the Lord saw YE **was** able by his grace to bear the loss of husband and childe, and that YE **are** that weak and tender

> Alma 7:18–19
>
> I had much desire that YE **was** not in the state of dilemma like your brethren, even so I have found that my desires have been gratified. For I perceive that YE **are** in the paths of righteousness
>
> > For many of the Book of Mormon examples discussed here, we can profitably consult Royal Skousen, *Analysis of Textual Variants of the Book of Mormon*, 6 parts (Provo, UT: FARMS and BYU, 2004–2009).

Adam and Eve

The following passage has frequently received notice as an example of Joseph Smith failing in an attempt to imitate older language:

> 1 Nephi 5:11
>
> and also of ADAM *and* EVE, *which* **was** our first parents
>
> > The change from "which was" to "who were" was made for the 1837 edition, marked in the printer's manuscript by Joseph Smith.

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3. Nevalainen, "Vernacular universals?", 366.

4. See also the examples at Nevalainen, "Vernacular universals?", 358; one of these is provided at Carmack (2014:223).

We can find this phrase criticized in various places today on the internet. In view of that, this is an important one to address at the outset. The relative pronoun here is non-restrictive, providing information that isn't critical to the understanding of the main clause. It is employed with human antecedents, which makes it biblical in nature. The following old syntax, partly nonbiblical, is a close match:

> **1566** EEBO A06932 Thomas Becon [1512–1567] *A new postil conteinyng most godly and learned sermons vpon all the Sonday Gospelles*
>
> not after the maner of ADAM *and* EUE, *which* **was** made of the grounde

The author was Thomas Becon (or Beccon), a British Protestant reformer. I have not found this language outside of the Early Modern period. So it turns out that in this case Smith actually succeeded admirably in matching older syntax.[5]

The plagiarism argument made against the Book of Mormon is a charge frequently leveled against the text when convenient. In this case, the match is obscure, so a plagiarism charge is inconvenient (hardly any one would believe it), and the argument is not made. That is the case in the majority of instances.

Because of the 1566 example, it is reasonable to view 1 Nephi 5:11 as an instance of Early Modern English, similar to what Thomas Becon wrote 450 years ago. Which being the case, this piece of syntax, pointed out quite often as a glaring blunder — a howler — in fact qualifies as additional evidence of its 16th-century character. That is how it is with the earliest text. When we read language that seems odd or suspect, it almost invariably points us to Early Modern English usage.

Plural "which was" followed by "were"

The following passage has interesting agreement variation:

> Mosiah 24:15
>
> [the BURDENS *which* **was** laid upon Alma and his brethren]
> **were** made light;
>
> > The change from *was* to *were* was made for the 1837 edition, marked in the printer's manuscript by Joseph Smith; see Skousen, *Analysis of Textual Variants*, 2564 (Alma 46:33).

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5. During the 16th century, the relative pronoun *which* was used quite often (non-restrictively) to refer to people, and "‹PLURAL NOUN PHRASE› which was" was relatively common. In the 17th century, the non-restrictive use of *which* with personal antecedents continued, although it diminished over time, eventually remaining as a vestigial use, as in "Our Father, **which** art in heaven".

Singular *was* is used after a relative pronoun whose antecedent is plural (*burdens*); plural *were* is used after a complex subject (in brackets) whose head is plural (also *burdens*). So *burdens* acts as both an antecedent and a head, grammatically speaking.

Large corpora tell us that in earlier English *was* was employed at a relatively higher rate after the relative pronoun *which*, with a plural antecedent, than it was after plural noun phrases. Occasionally that manifested itself overtly, with close variation, as in Mosiah 24:15. Of course, the relative pronoun *which* is invariant in form — and so it doesn't indicate by its shape whether the antecedent is plural or singular. Whether this contributed to a higher degree of plural *was* usage at that time is not our concern here. We simply note that it is not hard to find Early Modern English examples of "which was" preceded by plural noun phrases. Here are three examples:

> **1605** EEBO A69226 John Dove [1560/61–1618] *A confutation of atheisme*
> neither how Moses his rodde devoured the SERPENTS *which* **was** made by the sorcerers of Aegipt,

> **1655** EEBO A52713 James Naylor [1617?–1660] *The royall law and covenant of God*
> and the Apostles which writ the EPISTLES *which* **was** to be read among the Saints,

> **1657** EEBO A56530 Henry, Earl of Monmouth, tr. [1596–1661] | Paolo Paruta [1540–1598] *Politick discourses*
> in such manner as he challenged
> all the PRAISES *which* **was** given unto him,

The usage seen directly above — "which_plural **was**" — though not uncommon, was not the dominant syntax of the period, becoming less common with the passage of time. Here is a Book of Mormon excerpt that is similar to these Early Modern English examples:

> Alma 9 [HEADING]
> The WORDS of Alma and also the WORDS of Amulek *which* **was**
> declared unto the people which was in the land of Ammonihah.

This has received direct criticism, but it is simply an instance of Early Modern English plural *was*.[6] Here we see a syntacto-lexical match — "words /accusations . . . which was declared":

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6. At Carmack (2014: 226–28), I discussed it as a possible case of proximity agreement.

1623 EEBO A07466 Edward Grimeston, tr. | Pedro Mexía [1496?–1552?] *The imperiall historie*

> he made **ACCUSATIONS** to be exhibited against Brvtvs and Cassivs,
> and the rest of the conspirators, *which* **was** declared against them all:

In this next example "which was" is both preceded and followed by plural nouns:

Mosiah 25:11

> when they thought upon the Lamanites, *which* **was** their brethren,
> of their sinful and polluted state,

The following may be an example of this syntax:

1650 EEBO A40026 George Foster *The pouring fourth of the seventh and last viall upon all flesh and fleshlines*

> where formerly I did make out my glory and my name to your
> Fathers of old, *which* **was** the people whom I did chuse out of all
> nations;

More to the point, these next examples match the variation seen in Mosiah 24:15:

1550 EEBO A13758 Thomas Nicolls, tr. | Thucydides *The hystory . . . of the warre, whiche was betwene the Peloponesians and the Athenyans*

> But pryncipally the Brasides, *whyche* **was** adioygninge unto them,
> **were** of that intelligence and confederacy,
> and had bene alwayes ennemys of the Athenyans:

1591 EEBO A19179 Antony Colynet *The true history of the ciuill warres of France*

> the raging follies *which* **was** committed at Tholouse
> **were** incredible to report,
> except his owne disciples had written them in his legend.

Examples like these, along with many other verified variational matches, indicate that Early Modern English competence was part of the translation. Syntactically, these expressions are extremely close:

[‹PLURAL NOUN PHRASE› *which* **was** ‹PARTICIPLE›

‹PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE›]subject **were** . . .

Here are two more clear examples that demonstrate the same syntactic matching:

1560 EEBO A04920 John Knox [1505–1572] *An answer to a great number of blasphemous cauillations written by an Anabaptist*

> That place of Paule proveth not that all the Israelites,
> *which* **was** called from Egypt, **were** within gods holie election
> to lief everlasting in Christ Jesus.

1692 EEBO A36910 John Dunton [1659–1733] | Frederick Hendrick van Hove [1628?–1698] *The Young-students-library*

> he praised God for that the CONTROVERSIES *which* **was** amongst them, **were** not upon any fundamental Article.
>
>   This is reprinted older language, possibly from the 1630s.

This next example is also similar to the above, but the syntax is more complicated because *squadron* is formally singular and because of the prepositional phrase with a plural noun (in braces):

1663 EEBO A33560 Henry, Earl of Monmouth, tr. [1596–1661] | Pier Giovanni Capriata *The history of the wars of Italy*

> Moreover, [the SQUADRON { of the Kings *Gallies* }]
> *which* **was** kept in Genoa
> **were** generally commanded by Genoese Captains,

Despite outward appearances, the verb agreement, in both cases, probably derives from the head noun *squadron*. It is of course semantically plural, and it is probably grammatically plural as well. While "which was kept" doesn't tell us this, "were generally commanded" suggests it, and unsurprisingly we find that *squadron* could be construed as plural during this time (as in certain varieties of present-day English):

1693 EEBO A37989 John Edwards [1637–1716] *A discourse concerning the authority, stile, and perfection of the books of the Old and New-Testament*

> The fourth SQUADRON **were** rank'd under the Standard of Dan,
> to whom belonged the Tribes of Naphthali and Asher.

This next example involves two conjoined nouns that overtly resolve to plural only in the larger agreement phrase:

1695 EEBO A56253 J. Crull, tr. [d.1713?] | Samuel Pufendorf [1632–1694] *An introduction to the history of the principal kingdoms and states of Europe*

> The DIVINITY *and* PHILOSOPHY *which* **was** professed in these
> Universities **were** not taught with an intention to make the young
> Students more learned and understanding,

Plural number resolution is likely in the first instance as well, although it isn't visible there ("which was professed"). These last two examples from 1663 and 1695 illustrate the complexity of language, and make understandable the emergence and persistence of variation.[7]

---

7. The following syntax is perhaps distinguishable because the antecedent of *which* is *army*, and that noun was usually grammatically singular in the latter half of the 18th century:

1776 GOOG Granville Sharp *The Just Limitation of Slavery*, p.22
> The prodigious ARMY, of a million of Ethiopians, *which* **was** overthrown by Asa,
> **were** not all DESCENDANTS of Chus,

In summary, the agreement pattern found in Mosiah 24:15 involves close variation that is an excellent match with no fewer than six examples of earlier usage. In that verse we see the tendencies of the past, with overt plural expression occurring only after the noun-phrase subject, not after the relative pronoun.

"Were" followed by conjoined "and was"

Next we take a look at the agreement variation found in this passage:

> Mosiah 7:7
>> and THEY **were** surrounded by the king's guard
>> *and* **was** taken *and* **was** bound *and* **was** committed to prison.

This is straightforward syntax, if unexpected and objectionable to the modern eye and ear. Normal "they were" is followed by three instances of elliptical syntax with conjoined *was*, even though the ellipted subject is clearly *they*. I have found three Early Modern English examples with the same syntactic pattern — that is, with *were* used right after the pronoun, and *was* used in conjoined predicates:

> **1581** EEBO A06863 John Merbecke [ca.1510–ca.1585] *A booke . . . to those that desire the true vnderstanding & meaning of holy Scripture*
>> Confirmation was that Ceremonie, which the Apostles did use, when they laide their handes upon those which received the holy Ghost after THEY **were** baptised of them, *and* **was** likewise ordeined by the auncient Fathers.

> **1659** EEBO A52921 Humphrey Norton [fl.1655–1659] et al. *New-England's ensigne*
>> so we were put in prison again, and some hours after WE **were** called forth again, *and* **was** had before the Governour John Indicot,

> **1659** EEBO A44796 Francis Howgill [1618–1669] *The invisible things of God brought to light by the revelation of the eternal spirit*
>> inwardly THEY **were** ravened from the spirit, *and* **was** gone from it into the earth, into the world, and served not the Lord Jesus Christ, but their own bellies,

Three different writers, from two different centuries, employed the same syntax found in Mosiah 7:7. In every case the syntax is passive in parallel: "they were ‹PAST PARTICIPLE›" followed by "and was ‹PAST

If *army* is grammatically singular here, then *were* may agree with the following noun phrase, headed by *descendants*, or "a million of Ethiopians" may be the understood subject of *were*. Alternatively, semantically plural *army* may be construed as grammatically plural throughout, with overt expression only in the larger phrase, as in Early Modern English.

participle›". The textual match is excellent because of the same pattern of variation, even though we don't like the sound of the language today.

"Every soul which was . . . were"

Next we consider the following variable agreement pattern:

> Alma 14:28
>
> and EVERY SOUL *which* **was** within the walls thereof,
> save it were Alma and Amulek, **were** slain;

In order to accurately analyze the language of this passage, it is helpful to note that "every ‹SINGULAR NOUN›" could be treated as either singular or plural during the Early Modern period. I have placed three examples of "every one was" (standard in modern English) in a note,[8] providing here two examples of "every one were":

> **1597** EEBO A22560 William Burton, tr. [1575–1645] | Achilles Tatius *The most delectable and pleasaunt history of Clitiphon and Leucippe*
>
> one of the passengers . . . got holde of the rope, and almost brought the boat to the ship side, and EVERY ONE **were** made ready,

> **1616** EEBO A08882 Anthony Munday, tr. [1553–1633] *Palmerin of England and Florian de Desart his brother*
>
> insomuch as EVERY ONE thought **his** labour well imployed to do him seruice, and EVERY ONE **were** desirous to question with him,

Notice how in the 1616 example the first instance of "every one" appears to be singular because of the following pronoun *his*, but then it is construed as plural in the second instance. The takeaway from this? At this point in time the language was quite fluid and unpredictable in this regard.

---

8. Examples of "every one was":

1599 EEBO A04845 John King [1559?–1621] *Lectures vpon Ionas deliuered at Yorke*
because the portions of the Levites and singers had not beene given to them, and EVERIE ONE **was** fled to his lande,

1602 EEBO A04680 Tho. Lodge, tr. [1558?–1625] | Flavius Josephus *Works*
For all the porches were double, and EVERIE ONE **was** supported by pillars,

1629 EEBO A11516 Nathanael Brent, tr. [1573?–1652] | Paolo Sarpi [1552–1623] *The historie of the Councel of Trent*
For the Bores in Germany rebelled against the Princes, and Magistrates, and EVERY ONE **was** busied with the warre of the Anabaptists,.

As we might expect, there are more examples of "every one which **was**" than there are of its plural counterpart,[9] nevertheless, here are two 16th-century examples of "every one which/that **were**":

> **1579** EEBO A07026 George Gylpen, tr. [1514?–1602] | Philips van Marnix van St. Aldegonde [1538–1598] *The bee hiue of the Romishe Church*
>
> > he . . . coniured EVERIE ONE *which* **were** there present, that THEY shoulde beware from doing those,

> **1583** EEBO A13091 Phillip Stubbes *The second part of the anatomie of abuses*
>
> > to gather the benevolencies, and contributions of EVERIE ONE *that* **were** disposed to give,
> >
> > > This could be an example of indefinite, subjunctive *were*, rather than indicative *were*; in the subjunctive case the verb would convey a sense of 'might be'.

Here is syntax that is the close to that of Alma 14:28, with variation in verb morphology:

> **1615** EEBO A23464 Edward Grimeston, tr. | Pierre d'Avity, sieur de Montmartin [1573–1635] *The estates, empires, & principallities of the world*
>
> > They carried a hundred mils [i.e. mills] in carts,
> > [EVERY ONE of *which*] **was** turned with a horse,
> > and **were** brought to grind their corne;

The subject is "every one of which", the relative pronoun referring to *mills*; the verb phrases (truncated) are "was turned" and "were brought". Even though *which* is **not** the grammatical subject of *was*, its immediacy may have influenced the choice of the singular by analogy with plural "which was" — syntax that wasn't uncommon at the time. The alternative interpretation is that there is close variation in number construal, as we have seen above with "every one thought **his** labour" followed closely by

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9. The first example of "every one which was" shows consistent use of *was*:

1604 EEBO A16795 George Abbot [1562–1633] *The reasons which Doctour Hill hath brought, for the vpholding of papistry*
and for that EVERY ONE *which* **was** against them
was ever accounted and reputed for an Heretike.

1654 EEBO A33335 Samuel Clarke [1599–1682] *The marrow of ecclesiastical history*
But Regius did so clearly and fully open the genuine sense of them,
that EVERY ONE *which* **was** not wilfully blinde
might easily discern the truth:

1675 EEBO A43515 John Hacket [1592–1670] *A century of sermons upon several remarkable subjects*
EVERY SOUL *which* **was** a thirst drank.

1675 EEBO A45465 Henry Hammond [1605–1660] *Sermons*
That EVERY SOUL *which* **was** to spring from these loins,
had been without those transcendent mercies.

"every one **were** desirous". The same can be said of the Book of Mormon passage under consideration:

> Alma 14:28
>> and [EVERY SOUL *which* **was** within the walls thereof],
>> save it were Alma and Amulek, **were** slain;

"Every soul" is the head of the complex subject (in brackets) whose predicate is "were slain"; "every soul" is also the antecedent of *which*. It is impossible to know whether "every soul" is construed consistently as plural, or variably. Under the former view, the intervening relative pronoun *which* led to the use of singular *was*, while the head of the subject phrase, construed as plural, led to *were*.

Absence of plural number resolution

The conjunction *save* usually triggers the subjunctive in the text, as it does in Alma 14:28 (covertly). Otherwise, we would expect *was* in this clause, without resolution of the postverbal conjuncts *Alma* and *Amulek*, akin to what is possible in modern English and the following Book of Mormon examples:

> Modern English
>> The pig was in the corral, and so **was** [the HORSE *and* the DONKEY].

> Mosiah 24:16
>> And . . . so great **was** [their FAITH *and* their PATIENCE]

> 3 Nephi 6:6
>> And now **it was** GIDGIDDONI *and* the judge LACHONEUS *and* THOSE which had been appointed leaders

This is a reasonable position to take because there is lack of resolution in the text even with preverbal conjuncts, as in this obvious example:

> Alma 22:32
>> the LAND of Nephi *and* the LAND of Zarahemla
>> **was** nearly surrounded by water

The closest example of this syntax that I have seen is the following, taken from Tyndale's translation of the Pentateuch (cf. Numbers 32:1):

> **1530** EEBO A13203 William Tyndale, tr. [d.1536] *[The Pentateuch]*
>> when they sawe the LONDE of Jaeser *and* the LONDE of Gilead
>> that IT **was** an apte place for catell

So for Tyndale, "the land of X and the land of Y" didn't automatically resolve to plural, and neither does it in the Book of Mormon. Here are

two more examples showing a lack of number resolution with singular conjuncts:[10]

> **1607** EEBO A13820 Edward Topsell [1572–1625?] *The historie of foure-footed beastes*
>
> The FAT of Wolues and the MARROW of Swyne **is** good to anoint bleare-eyes withall

> **1608** EEBO A02239 Edward Grimeston, tr. | Jean François Le Petit [1546–ca.1615] *A generall historie of the Netherlands*
>
> The TOWNE of Romerswaell, the CASTELL of Lodycke and the SCLUSE of Creeke **was** all carried away.

---

10. Here are further examples of no plural resolution with singular conjuncts:

1550 EEBO A15297 John Purvey [1353?–1428?] *The true copye of a prolog wrytten about two C. yeres paste by Iohn Wycklife*
for which the PUPLE of Israell and the PUPLE of Juda **was** thus punishid and conquerid of heathen men

1572 EEBO A17219 John Coxe, tr. | Heinrich Bullinger [1504–1575] *Questions of religion cast abroad in Helvetia by the aduersaries of the same*
For the WOORDE of God and the INSTITUTION of Christ **was** sufficient for them.

1587 EEBO A68202 Raphael Holinshed [d.1580?] | John Hooker [ca.1527–1601] *The first and second volumes of Chronicles*
For the SERPENT of division, and the FIER of malice, **was** entered into the citie, manie being inuenomed with the one, but more scaulded with the other.

1593 EEBO A15431 Andrew Willet [1562–1621] *Tetrastylon papisticum, that is, The foure principal pillers of papistrie*
That the BAPTISME of John, and the BAPTISME of Christ, **was** one and the same in substance, and of the same efficacie and force, we prove it thus:

1602 EEBO A06131 Lodowick Lloyd [fl.1573–1610] *A briefe conference of diuers lawes diuided into certaine regiments*
could not stand before the arke, where the PRESENCE of God, and the FIGURE of Christ **was**,

1602 EEBO A06143 Lodowick Lloyd [fl.1573–1610] *The stratagems of Jerusalem*
So the KINGDOME of Judah and the HOUSE of David **was** likewise taken by Nabuchodonozer in the eleventh yeare of Zedechiah, the last king of Judah.

1602 EEBO A19602 Simon Patrick, tr. [d.1613] | Jean de Hainault [d.1572] *The estate of the Church with the discourse of times, from the apostles vntill this present*
The FALL of Tyles, and the CRY of persons, **was** horrible and fearefull.

1603 EEBO A04911 Richard Knolles [1550?–1610] *The generall historie of the Turkes*
hee determined to returne againe into Thracia, because the RAINE of Autumne, and the COLD of Winter **was** now come in.

1607 EEBO A12475 Henry Ainsworth [1571–1622?] *The communion of saincts*
the REWARD of humility and the FEAR of God, **is** riches and glory and Life.

"That were" followed by "was"

Next we see a different kind of syntax, where the larger agreement employs plural *was*, while the internal agreement is recognizably plural:

> Helaman 1:7
>
> [Paanchi and that part of the people
>   *that* **were** desirous that he should be their governor]
> **was** exceeding wroth

Here is a close syntactic match with this curious language:

> **1588** EEBO A01864 R. Parke, tr. | Juan Gonzáles de Mendoza [1545–1618] *The historie of the great and mightie kingdome of China*
>
> which was the occasion that
> [the citie and all those *that* **were** in it],
> **was** not destroyed and slayne:

Because the second part of the complex subject shows plural agreement, we naturally expect plural agreement with the full subject phrase. The foregoing examples suggest that the prominent head of the complex subject governs the larger, singular agreement. Yet it may be the case that the translator simply opted for plural *was* as a contrast with closely occurring *were*, as seems to be the case in the following example:

> **1580** EEBO A07911 Anthony Munday [1553–1633] *Zelauto. The fountaine of fame*
>
> [the Ladyes and all *that* **were** present],
> **was** stroken into a great maze, some for joy clapped theyr handes,
> and some on the other side began to weepe:

This next excerpt is like the 1588 example except that it has an additional noun phrase:[11]

> **1606** EEBO A22474 William Attersoll [d.1640] *The badges of Christianity. Or, A treatise of the sacraments fully declared out of the word of God*
>
> so [the field and { the cave *that* **was** therin }
> withal { the trees and appurtenances *that* **were** therin }],
> **was** made sure to him for a possession.

---

11. The following is a normal case of *was*, since singular abstract nouns often do not resolve as plural, cross-linguistically:

> **1608** EEBO A02239 Edward Grimeston, tr. |Jean François Le Petit [1546–ca.1615] *A generall historie of the Netherlands*
> [the keeping *and* possession of { the goods *that* **were** in them }]
> **was** delivered into the hands of them that tooke them.

The objectionable use of "they was"

Let us consider the five instances of "they was" found in the earliest text of the Book of Mormon. Most readers find this language completely unacceptable. Indeed, had Edward Spencer noticed these in 1905, it is likely he would have added it to his list of shocking grammar.[12] Here they are:

> 1 Nephi 4:4
>
> Now when I had spoken these words, THEY **was** yet wroth and did still continue to murmur.

> Mosiah 18:17
>
> And it came to pass that *whosoever was* baptized by the power and authority of God, THEY **was** added to his church.

> Mosiah 29:36
>
> telling them that these things ought not to be, that THEY **was** expressly repugnant to the commandments of God.

> Alma 9:31–32
>
> when I Alma had spoken these words, behold, the PEOPLE **were** wroth with me because I said unto them that THEY **was** a hard-hearted and a stiffnecked people. And also because I said unto them that THEY **were** a lost and a fallen people, THEY **was** angry with me and sought to lay their hands upon me,

In the last example we notice close variation, in the following order: "people **were**", "they **was**", "they **were**", "they **was**". Here is an example of close variation of "they was" and "they were", in both cases referring to plural *arms*:

> **1659** EEBO A40651 Thomas Fuller [1608–1661] *The appeal of iniured innocence*
>
> The ARMS of the Knights of Ely, might on a threefold title have escaped the Animadvertor's censure: First, THEY **was** never before printed. Secondly, the Wall whereon THEY **were** depicted, is now demolished.

Here is another example, without variation, but where "they was fitted" clearly references plural *ships*.

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12. Spencer, "Notes on the Book of Mormon," *The Methodist Review*, William V. Kelley, ed., Vol. 87 — 5th ser., Vol. 21 (New York: Eaton & Mains, 1905), 33.

1658 EEBO A62144 Sir William Sanderson [1586?–1676] *A compleat history of the life and raigne of King Charles from his cradle to his grave*

> Lewis of France . . . obtained . . . the Merchants consent for six of their own SHIPS to joyn with that; But in the Interim, before THEY **was** fitted for that purpose, K. James dies:

In Early Modern English, "they was" was a minor variant of heavily dominant "they were", with low but varying rates of use depending on the dialect and other factors. The usage rate in the Book of Mormon is also low, less than 1%.

Mosiah 18:17, shown above, has "whosoever was baptized . . . they was . . .", which is an interesting complication. "Whosoever was" is singular on its face, but in Early Modern English it could be referenced immediately afterwards by **plural** pronouns. There are, of course, examples where following, referential pronouns are singular,[13] but more interesting are examples containing *they* and its congeners:

1625 EEBO A03149 Peter Heylyn [1600–1662] *Mikrokosmos A little description of the great world*

> But WHOSOEVER **was** the first *Bishop*, certain it is, THEY **were** subiect to much persecution,

1671 EEBO A40073 Edward Fowler [1632–1714] *The design of Christianity, or, A plain demonstration and improvement of this proposition*

> and WHOSOEVER **was** so, and did those works it enjoined (which THEY might do by THEIR own natural strength) **was** esteemed according to that Law

In the 1625 example singular *Bishop* is immediately followed by plural *they*. Also, the 1671 example goes from singular to plural to

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13. Examples of "whosoever was" with following singular pronouns:

1631 EEBO A01974 William Gouge [1578–1653] *Gods three arrowes plague, famine, sword*
And WHOSOEVER **was** yet strong of body and well liking, **him** they presently killed;

1668 EEBO A34964 R.F. | Serenus Cressy [1605–1674] *The church-history of Brittany from the beginning of Christianity to the Norman conquest*
that WHOSOEVER **was** seen to have it in **his** hands, they foolishly shew'd the same respect and veneration to **him**,

1676 EEBO A46286 Thomas Lodge [1558?–1625] | Arnauld d'Andilly, tr. [1588–1674] | Flavius Josephus *Works*
WHOSOEVER **was** strong of Body, and in good liking they killed; upon presumption that HE had some secret stores, ...

singular.[14] These passages suggest that the third-person plural pronouns act as INDEFINITE SINGULAR pronouns.[15] Wherefore it is possible that Mosiah 18:17 contains an instance of indefinite singular *they*:

> And it came to pass that WHOSOEVER$_i$ **was** baptized by the power and authority of God, THEY$_{singular\ i}$ **was** added to his church.

If that is the sense, then *was* might signal that fact. In any event, it's an intriguing possibility.

Here are more examples of Early Modern English "they was" with close variation:[16]

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14. More examples of "whosoever was" followed by plural pronouns:

1578 EEBO A06590 John Lyly [1554?–1606] *Euphues. The anatomy of wyt*
If this order had not bene in our predecessors, Pithagoras, Socrates, Plato, and WHOSOEVER **was** renowmed in Greece for the glorie of wisdome: THEY had never bene eternished for wise men,

1583 EEBO A67926 John Foxe [1516–1587] *Actes and monuments of matters most speciall and memorable, happenyng in the Church*
Thou false heretike hast taught plainly against the vowes of Monkes, Friers, Nunnes, and Priestes, saying: that WHOSOEVER **was** bounde to such like vowes, THEY vowed **them**selues to the estate of damnation:

1676 EEBO A61366 Aylett Sammes [1636?–1679?] *Britannia antiqua illustrata, or, The antiquities of ancient Britain derived from the Phœnicians*
Now the Mysteries of these Rites were accounted so Sacred and Powerful, that WHOSOEVER **was** initiated in them, immediately received, as THEY thought, some extraordinary gifts of Holiness, ...

15. See the Oxford English Dictionary entry for **they**, *pers. pron.*, definition B2, discussing pronominal use with singular nouns made universal, with quotations from 1526.

16. Here are examples of the syntax without close variation:

1525 EEBO A03315 Hieronymus Brunschwig [ca.1450–ca.1512] *The noble experyence of the vertuous handy warke of surgeri*
And than he wolde put in agayn the guttys /
and THEY **was** so sore swollen that they cowde natbe handelyd

1658 EEBO A40227 George Fox [1624–1691] *The papists strength, principles, and doctrines*
when THEY **was** speaking of justifying by faith without the works of the Law,

1659 EEBO A52921 Humphrey Norton [fl.1655–1659] et al. *New-England's ensigne*
and the first relation we had was concerning him, and how THEY **was** laboring to save his life;

1663 EEBO A44832 Richard Hubberthorn [1628–1662] *Works*
The judgement did not come upon Corah because THEY **was** Lay-persons,

1665 EEBO A35520 Thomas Curwen et al. *An answer to John Wiggans book*
and though the Disciples were led into all truth by the Spirit, by which THEY **was** to preach the Gospel to all Nations,

1523 EEBO A71318 John Bourchier, tr. (Lord Berners) [1466/67–1533] | Jean Froissart [1338?–1410?] *Chronicles*

So THEY **was** a great hoost whan bothe hoostes **were** assembled togyder.

1653 EEBO A70988 F.G., tr. | Madeleine de Scudéry [1607–1701] *Artamenes*

The reason why WE **were** more civilized then THEY **was**,
because WE **were** not very far from the Euxime Sea,

1671 EEBO A42277 tr. | Count Galeazzo Gualdo Priorato [1606–1678] *The history of the managements of Cardinal Julio Mazarine*

[the Ships] entred into the River, not knowing THEY **was** departed, and were so far engaged amongst the French Ships before THEY **were** aware,

1679 EEBO A30211 John Bunyan [1628–1688] *A treatise of the fear of God*

by which THEY **were** brought into a bondage fear; yea THEY **was** to remember this especially.

The above excerpts contain close instances of *were*, clearly demonstrating that such variation was permissible. Again, this is like Alma 9:31–32, shown above, which has "they was/were/was". In the 1523 example, *was* conveys a fairly typical biblical meaning of 'became', just as in the last instance of the Alma 9:31–32 passage.

This next example is interesting because there is no expected number resolution:

1691 EEBO A30499 John Burnyeat [1631–1690] *The truth exalted*

and there he did affirm in his preaching to the People,
that *both* HE *and* THEY **was** without the Life of both the Law and the Gospel.

Nevertheless, Early Modern English usually employed *were* after this compound subject. This leads us to another example of suspect Book of Mormon grammar.

1673 EEBO A40785 John Faldo [1633–1690] *Quakerism no Christianity. Clearly and abundantly proved, out of the writings of their chief leaders*
and so THEY **was** in the Spirit which is invisible, and not in the flesh.

1678 EEBO A30130 John Bunyan [1628–1688] *Come & welcome to Jesus Christ*
Fifthly, What did Eulalia see in Christ, when she said, as THEY **was** pulling her one Joynt from another;

1678 EEBO A30170 John Bunyan [1628–1688] *The pilgrim's progress from this world to that which is to come delivered under the similitude of a dream*
THEY **was** then asked, If they knew the Prisoner at the Bar?

1678 EEBO A58876 John Davies tr. [1625–1693] | Madeleine de Scudéry [1607–1701] *Clelia*
The danger THEY **was** in was more then ordinary,

Both X and Y was

In the earliest text, there is one striking instance of this syntax — conjoined nouns preceded by the conjunctive adverb *both* — without plural number resolution:

> Mosiah 18:14
>
> > *both* Alma *and* Helam **was** buried in the water

I have located quite a few instances of this pattern in Early Modern English. With non-abstract nouns, resolution became *de rigueur* during the modern period. Besides the 1691 example, there is this pronominal one as well:

> **1657** EEBO A28378 Francis Bacon [1561–1626] | William Rawley [1588?–1667] *Works (Resuscitatio)*
>
> > In the end, I expresly demanded his Opinion,
> > as that, whereto *both* he, *and* I **was** enjoyned

In the previous two examples, and in most that I have found of this type, a past participle is used (almost) immediately after *was*. Here is a sampling of the syntax:[17]

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17. The following examples might be typical instances of no plural resolution with singular abstract nouns:

> **1583** EEBO A67926 John Foxe [1516–1587] *Actes and monuments of matters most speciall and memorable, happenyng in the Church*
> after dinner, Butler *and* Smith **were** brought to the starre chamber before the privie Counsayle, where *both* sedition *and* heresie **was** obiected against them

> **1572** EEBO A14710 John Bridges, tr. [d.1618] | Rudolf Gwalther [1519–1586] *Homelyes or sermons vppon the Actes of the Apostles*
> this was an evident and infallible argument, that *both* sinne *and* death **was** vanquished

> **1602** EEBO A04680 Tho. Lodge, tr. [1558?–1625] | Flavius Josephus *Works*
> but *both* the hope of Caesar *and* the forwardnes of Aristobulus **was** overthrown through enuie

> **1644** EEBO A57969 Samuel Rutherford [1600?–1661] *A peaceable plea for the government of the Church of Scotland*
> *both* question *and* cause **was** determined by the Synodicall-Church

> **1689** EEBO A59082 Nathaniel Bacon [1593–1660] *An historical and political discourse of the laws & government of England*
> *Both* Right *and* Possession **was** now become theirs

> **1696** EEBO A46926 Richard Johnson [1573–1659?] *The famous history of the seven champions of Christendom*
> So *both* time *and* place **was** appointed, which was the next morning following, by the King's Commandment,

1560 EEBO A09567 John Daus, tr. | Johannes Sleidanus [1506–1556] *Sleidanes Commentaries*

> at certen howres *both* DYNNER *and* SUPPER **was** serued

1600 EEBO A06128 Philemon Holland, tr. | Livy *The Romane historie*

> So *both* CITIE *and* CAMPE **was** spoiled and sacked

1650 EEBO A40681 Thomas Fuller [1608–1661] *A Pisgah-sight of Palestine and the confines thereof*

> and soon after *both* TEMPLE *and* CITY **was** destroyed, by Vespasian and Titus his son, seventy two years after our Saviours birth

1659 EEBO A26947 Richard Baxter [1615–1691] *A key for Catholicks, to open the jugling of the Jesuits*

> there was no monsters of filthiness, or sink, or plague of uncleanness, with which *both* PEOPLE *and* PRIEST **was** not defiled

1660 EEBO A50450 Sir George Mackenzie [1636–1691] *Aretina*

> where by *both* ARMY *and* NAVIE **was** maintained

1668 EEBO A53044 Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle [1624?–1674] *The description of a new world, called the blazing-world*

> when she saw that *both* CHURCH *and* STATE **was** now in a well-ordered and setled condition

Singular syntax with the conjunctive adverb *both* and **abstract** conjuncts persisted more robustly. The same syntax, with animate or concrete conjuncts (as in Mosiah 18:14), was largely confined to the Early Modern period.

As X and Y was V-ing

The earliest text has no plural number resolution after the subordinating time conjunction *as*, at least this one time:

> Alma 20:8
>
> *as* AMMON *and* LAMONI **was** a journeying thither[18]

The following example is different, since it has conjoined **plural** noun phrases:

---

18. The other two items in Alma 20:8 are biblical: the directional adverb *thither* and the action preposition *a*, meaning 'engaged in' (see OED **a**, *prep.*[1] definition 13; cf. "as he was yet **a** coming" [Luke 9:42]). We also see "a journeying" in the following example:

> **1661** EEBO A42833 Joseph Glanvill [1636–1680] *The vanity of dogmatizing*
> wherein other spirits are continually **a journeying**.

Helaman 5:2

> For *as* their LAWS *and* their GOVERNMENTS **were** established by the voice of the people

Here are late 17th-century examples with plural *was*:

1669 EEBO A66812 Thomas Bayly [d.1657?] *Witty apophthegms*

> not long time had passed before it happened, that *as* HIMSELF *and* TRAIN **was** riding through the streets to see how well this order was put in execution

1676 EEBO A53472 Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery [1621–1679] *Parthenissa, that most fam'd romance*

> I met the generous Falintus at his Landing, *as* VENTIDIUS *and* I **was** diverting our selves upon a pleasant Strand, not far from his Palace

1682 EEBO A30018 Richard Brathwaite, tr. [1588?–1673] | Heinrich Bünting [1545–1606] *The travels of the holy patriarchs, prophets, judges, kings, our Saviour Christ and his apostles*

> *as* PETER *and* JOHN **was** going into the Temple by this Gate, they healed a man that had been born lame from his Mothers Womb, Acts. 3.

1686 EEBO A56820 John Pearson [1613–1686] *Antichristian treachery discovered*

> *as* HE *and* I **was** speaking together concerning the payment of Tythes

In the publicly available subset of Eighteenth Century Collections Online (ECCO–TCP ‹http://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/ecco/›) there are examples of this syntax dated 1718 ("*as* my WIFE *and* I **was** sitting together") and 1756 ("*as* if HEAVEN *and* EARTH **was** coming together"). So the usage continued into the modern period, dropping off in use in standard modern English.

King and people

Here is another case of unexpected singular *was*:

Mosiah 21:33

> [KING Limhi *and* MANY OF HIS PEOPLE] **was** desirous to be baptized

The more common alternative in the textual record is *were*:

1566 EEBO A12943 Thomas Stapleton [1535–1598] *A retur[ne of vn]truthes vpon [M. Jewel]les replie*

> the KING *and* HIS PEOPLE **were** conuerted and Christened.

Nowadays we expect *were* after a combination of *king* and *people*; we expect plural number resolution. But we don't always see that in the Early Modern era:[19]

> **1581** EEBO A06481 Thomas Lupton *A persuasion from papistrie wrytten chiefely to the obstinate, determined, and dysobedient English papists*
>
> yet KING Aram *and* HIS PEOPLE **was** not blessed of God,
> nor yet **wer** the PEOPLE of God,

> **1583** EEBO A20370 Thomas Deloney, tr. [1543?–1600] | Bonaventure Des Périers [1500?–1544?] *The mirrour of mirth and pleasant conceits*
>
> that the KINGE *and* ALL HIS PEOPLE **was** so amased with feare,
> that they fel downe as deade:

The 1581 example has close variation: "**were** the people" comes right after "king and people **was**". Many of these examples suggest that such immediate variation was not only permissible, but even embraced in Early Modern English. The Book of Mormon exhibits this same phenomenon quite often, as in this example:

> Alma 21:21
>
> And he did also declare unto them that THEY **were** a PEOPLE *which* **was** under him and that THEY **were** a free people,

In looking for "king and people" agreement syntax, I encountered the following:

> **1494** EEBO A00525 Robert Fabyan [d.1513] *Chronicle* (1533)
>
> so that whan all THINGES necessarye
> to the honoure and nede of the kynge and his people
> **was** redy,

Here are two examples of *was* used right after plural noun phrases:

> **1523** EEBO A71318 John Bourchier, tr. (Lord Berners) [1466/67–1533] | Jean Froissart [1338?–1410?] *Chronicles*
>
> WHan the frenche kyngis BATAYLS [i.e. battalions] **was** ordred
> and every lorde under his banner among their owne men:

---

19. The following examples containing the preposition *with* more naturally take singular *was* and are usually deemed to be prescriptively correct. This syntax may have contributed to *was* usage after the conjunction:

> **1533** EEBO A00525 Robert Fabyan [d.1513] *Chronicle* (1533)
> and the KYNGE *with* HIS PEOPLE **was** receyved into the cytye.

> **1583** EEBO A67922 John Foxe [1516–1587] *Actes and monuments of matters most speciall and memorable, happenyng in the Church*
> that the KING *wt* [i.e. with] HIS PEOPLE **was** not able to resist them.

1583 EEBO A17698 Arthur Golding, tr. [1536–1606] | Jean Calvin [1509–1564] *Sermons vpon the fifth booke of Moses called Deuteronomie*

> GOD sheweth the authoritie of a Father in beyng grieved
> when the FAMILIES **was** not maintayned in Israel:

This is low-frequency language in both the Early Modern period and the Book of Mormon, as in the following example (with close variation):

Mosiah 18:26

> And the PRIESTS **was** not to depend upon the people for their support, but for their labor THEY **were** to receive the grace of God,

"So great was" with plural noun phrases

In this next group of examples, the Book of Mormon employs singular *was* after the adjective *great* and before plual noun phrases:

1 Nephi 17:2

> And *so great* **was** the BLESSINGS of the Lord upon us

2 Nephi 3:4

> And *great* **was** the COVENANTS of the Lord which he made unto Joseph.

Mosiah 24:10

> And . . . *so great* **was** their AFFLICTIONS that they began to cry mightily to God.

Alma 4:3

> and *so great* **was** their AFFLICTIONS that every soul had cause to mourn,

There is variation in the text; three times we read plural *were* in this context:

3 Nephi 8:22

> for *so great* **were** the MISTS of darkness which **were** upon the face of the land.

Mormon 5:6

> for *so great* **were** their NUMBERS that they did tread the people of the Nephites under their feet.

Ether 15:16

> And *so great* **were** their CRIES, their HOWLINGS *and* LAMENTATIONS that **it**[20] did rend the air exceedingly.

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20. The resumption of "cries, howlings, lamentations" as singular *it* is reminiscent of Tyndale, and these other two examples:

Here are several Early Modern English examples of the type "(so) great **was** ‹PLURAL NOUN PHRASE›":

> **1571** EEBO A10649 Richard Rainolde [d.1606] *A chronicle of all the noble emperours of the Romaines*
>
> so great **was** the CALAMITIES of those dayes in the often chaunge of Princes and officers

> **1660** EEBO A26603 George Monck, Duke of Albemarle [1608–1670] *The declaration and speech . . . to the right honourable the Lord Mayor, aldermen and common-councel of the city of London*
>
> Upon which, *great* **was** the ACCLAMATIONS of the people

> **1670** EEBO A47947 G.H., tr. | Gregorio Leti [1630–1701] *The history of the cardinals of the Roman Church*
>
> Yet *so great* **was** the DIFFERENCES amongst them,

> **1698** EEBO A55340 Andrew Tooke, tr. [1673–1732] | François Pomey [1618–1673] *The Pantheon representing the fabulous histories of the heathen gods and most illustrious heroes*
>
> they are called Hercules Labors, *so great* **was** the PAINS and so infinite the Toil of them.

These next two excerpts deserve special notice because they contain close variation in verb agreement:

> **1602** EEBO A19029 William Clowes [ca.1540–1604] *A right frutefull and approoued treatise, for the artificiall cure of that malady called in Latin Struma, and in English, the evill*
>
> for *great* **was** the TROUBLES *and* DAUNGERS *that* **was** like to haue followed, but happily **were** THEY preuented through the helpe of Almighty God, &c.

> **1673** EEBO A41204 Francis Kirkman, tr. [1632–ca.1680] | Jerónimo Fernández *Don Bellianis of Greece, or, The honour of chivalry*
>
> *Great* **was** the PREPARATIONS *that* **were** made for the Solemnity of the Wedding betwéen the Prince of Greece and the fair Princess of Babylon

---

> **1530** EEBO A13203 William Tyndale, tr. [d.1536] *[The Pentateuch]*
> when they sawe the LONDE of Jaeser *and* the LONDE of Gilead
> that **it** was an apte place for catell

> **1655** EEBO A40897 Ralph Farmer *The great mysteries of godlinesse and ungodlinesse*
> So sharp and hot **were** the FLAMES thereof,
> that **it** made the maker of the whole creation grone and cry out,

> **1680** EEBO A26808 William Bates [1625–1699] *The soveraign and final happiness of man*
> Such **were** the most precious MERITS of his Obedience, that **it** was not only sufficient to free the guilty contaminated race of Mankind from Hell, ...

The variation seen in the 1673 example is similar to the following:

> Omni 1:27
>> for *there* **was** a large NUMBER *which* **were** desirous
>> to possess the land of their inheritance;

This next pair of examples also have similar syntax:

> 1535 EEBO A10349 Miles Coverdale, tr. [1488–1568] *Biblia the Byble, that is, the holy Scrypture of the Olde and New Testament, faithfully translated in to Englyshe*
>> And they perceaved that it **was** THEY *which* **were** come agayne out of captivyte,

> 3 Nephi 10:12
>> and it **was** THEY which had not shed the blood of the saints
>> *which* **were** spared.

"There was" with plural noun phrases

There are quite a few instances of "there was + ‹PLURAL NOUN PHRASE›" in the earliest text. This syntax was not uncommon in the Early Modern period. Here are sets of examples that show a high degree of correspondence:

> Ether 13:18
>> *there* **was** many PEOPLE *which* **was** slain by the sword

> **1687** EEBO A47127 George Keith [1639?–1716] *The benefit, advantage and glory of silent meetings*
>> *there* **was** many PEOPLE both in that Nation and elsewhere, in whom *there* **was** some true DESIRES *and* BREATHINGS raised and begot

. . .

> 1 Nephi 18:25
>> we did find upon the land of promise as we journeyed in the wilderness that *there* **was** BEASTS in the forests of every kind

> **1598** EEBO A05569 William Phillip, tr. | Jan Huygen van Linschoten [1563–1611] *His discours of voyages into ye Easte & West Indies*
>> When the Portingales first discouered it, *there* **was** not any BEASTS, nor fruite, at all within the Iland

> **1635** EEBO A01108 Luke Foxe [1586–1635] *North-west Fox, or, Fox from the North-west passage*
>> for *there* **was** WHALES, SEA-MORS, *and* SEALES,

. . .

Alma 4:9

there **was** Envyings *and* Strifes and malice *and* Persecutions and pride,

1688 EEBO A56509 John Partridge [1644–1715] *An astrological judgment on the great and wonderful year 1688*

At that time *there* **was** Murmurings *and* Plottings against the then Oppressors

. . .

3 Nephi 8:7

And *there* **was** exceeding sharp Lightnings such as never had been known in all the land.

1654 EEBO A91909 John Robotham [fl.1654] *The mystery of the two witnesses unvailed*

And *there* **was** Lightnings, *and* Voyces, *and* Thundrings, and an earthquake, and great haile.

. . .

Mormon 9:19

And if *there* **was** Miracles wrought, then why has God ceased to be a God of miracles and yet be an unchangeable Being?

1688 EEBO A56539 Joseph Walker | Blaise Pascal [1623–1662] *Monsieur Pascall's thoughts, meditations, and prayers, touching matters moral and divine*

there **was** also greater Miracles wrought in behalf of Truth.

. . .

Ether 13:26

And *there* **was** Robbers, and in fine, all manner of wickedness upon all the face of the land.

1667 EEBO A40122 George Fox [1624–1691] *The arraignment of popery*

when Christ was crucified, *there* **was** two Thieves crucified, and one of the thieves reviled Christ

Conclusion

The foregoing textual examples show us that the earliest text of the Book of Mormon contains a wide range of diverse expression that matches the Early Modern period, at times unexpectedly. Thanks to the ground-breaking work of Royal Skousen, and texts/corpora provided by EEBO–TCP, ECCO–TCP, Google books, and Mark Davies, this study has been possible. They have provided heretofore inaccessible evidence that it

is reasonable to consider the past-tense verb agreement found in the Book of Mormon to be well-formed Early Modern English. It bears repeating that this view of the earliest text is a comprehensive one that is explanatory. From this rich perspective, the Book of Mormon is full of beautiful old language and intriguing linguistic variation.

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How Joseph Smith's Grammar Differed from Book of Mormon Grammar: Evidence from the 1832 History

Stanford Carmack

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How Joseph Smith's Grammar Differed from Book of Mormon Grammar: Evidence from the 1832 History

Stanford Carmack

Abstract: *Some of the grammar of Joseph Smith's 1832 History is examined. Three archaic, extra-biblical features that occur quite frequently in the Book of Mormon are not present in the history, even though there was ample opportunity for use. Relevant usage in the 1832 History is typical of modern English, in line with independent linguistic studies. This leads to the conclusion that Joseph's grammar was not archaizing in these three types of morphosyntax which are prominent in the earliest text of the Book of Mormon. This corroborating evidence also indicates that English words were transmitted to Joseph throughout the dictation of the Book of Mormon.*

Joseph Smith's 1832 History is a text of slightly more than 2,000 words, originally written down partly in his own hand (about two-thirds of it), and partly by Frederick G. Williams.[1] Here I look at some language usage in the history — both frequent and occasional — that has a bearing on Book of Mormon patterns of use. This evidence provides insight into the nature of Joseph's own linguistic preferences. In short, the 1832 History contains a significant amount of language typical of the early 19th century. Given what linguists know about English usage of this time, these particular usage tendencies would have been expected in this short write-up by Joseph of his personal history.

A descriptive linguistic analysis of the 1832 History shows that Joseph's language differed substantially from Book of Mormon usage in at least three important respects. This provides support for the view that English words were actually transmitted in some way to Joseph in 1829, words that he then dictated to scribes.

No attempt has been made to examine a larger corpus of Joseph's language at this time. Further studies based on a larger corpus may be carried out in the future. The 1832 History is examined for what it is and what it can tell us about Joseph's grammar in relation to the grammar of the Book of Mormon. The history has the advantage of being mostly written down by Joseph himself and close in time to when the Book of Mormon was set down in writing, making it a fairly reliable, homogeneous text. Also, some features of the history are archaizing and biblical, such as verbal inflection. These things tend to make a linguistic comparison of the Book of Mormon and the 1832 History valid and meaningful.

Findings

Against both frequent and occasional Book of Mormon usage, Joseph Smith's 1832 History does **not** employ:

- periphrastic *did* in positive declarative statements
- the relative pronoun *which* after personal antecedents
- the {-th} plural — that is, archaic {-th} inflection after plural subjects
- finite complementation after the verbs *desire* and *suffer*

Consonant with frequent or occasional Book of Mormon usage, Joseph Smith's 1832 History **does** employ:

- plural *was* as well as *were*
- "exceeding great" (as well as "exceedingly distressed")
- past-tense *come* and *become* (as well as *came* and *became*)

Frequent, Consistent Usage of the 1832 History

No Periphrastic *did* [2]

There is no *did*-periphrasis in positive declarative statements in the 1832 History, even though 88 past-tense main verbs are present.[3] To match Book of Mormon rates there would need to be 26 instances of periphrastic *did* in this account.[4]

The complete lack of periphrastic *did* in this account agrees with independent linguistic studies that did not find appreciable maintenance of this Early Modern English phenomenon after the 17th century (Early Modern English can be thought of as ranging in time from 1500 to 1700).[5] It constitutes strong evidence that periphrastic *did* was not part of Joseph's own dialect. Because Book of Mormon usage is not derivable

from biblical usage, the nearly 2,000 instances of positive periphrastic *did* found throughout the Book of Mormon point to English words being transmitted to Joseph throughout the dictation.

Skousen defined "tight control" nearly 20 years ago as the following: "Joseph saw specific words written out in English and read them off to the scribe — the accuracy of the resulting text depending on the carefulness of Joseph and his scribe."[6] This description, however, is no longer unambiguous since Brant Gardner has developed an approach that involves Joseph seeing specific words even though Gardner believes that only ideas were revealed to Joseph: "We need a mechanism that explains how Joseph could be the translator and still read what he saw on the interpreters or his seer stone."[7] For clarity, we must step back one degree and state that either ideas or words were transmitted to Joseph, something I do in this paper.

The delivery of words mentioned in 2 Nephi 27:24 supports the view that the Lord caused mostly English words to be sent to Joseph.[8] A concrete form of expression — words — is mentioned as being delivered. The primary evidence, however, resides in the archaic, extra-biblical vocabulary, form, and structure of the Book of Mormon text. Such language was foreign to Joseph Smith's way of speaking and writing. More than 1,800 instances of positive declarative periphrastic *did* is a prime example of that. The match with 16th-century English usage is present on multiple levels: rate of use, syntactic distribution of the auxiliary and infinitive, and individual verb use tendencies.[9]

No Personal *which*

The relative pronoun *which* is not used with personal antecedents in the 1832 History. There are only a dozen clear instances of personal *that* and personal *who:*

Personal *that* [2 instances]

- all **that** were able to render any assistance   [JS's hand]
  (cf. "that they might get all **which** were upon the face of the land"
                                                                [Ether 15:14])[10]
- but could find none **that** would believe the hevnly vision
                                                                [JS's hand]
  (cf. "there were none **which** were Amlicites or Amulonites"
                                                                [Alma 24:29])

Personal *who* [10 instances]

- the son of the living God of **whom** he beareth record
  [FGW's hand]
  (cf. "I am Jesus Christ of **which** the prophets testified"
  [3 Nephi 11:10])
- goodly Parents **who** spared no pains   [JS's hand]
  (cf. "our first parents **which** came out of the land of Jerusalem"
  [Helaman 5:6])
- even in the likeness of him **who** created ~~him~~ ^[*them*]   [JS's hand]
  (cf. "and slay him **which** should attempt to approach"
  [Alma 50:5])
- a being **who** makith Laws … **who** filleth Eternity
  who was and is and will be from all Eternity to Eternity
  (three instances) [JS's hand]
  (cf. "a being **which** never hath been seen nor known"
  [Alma 30:28])
- for there was none else to **whom** I could go   [JS's hand]
  (cf. "the Men, to **which** He speakes"   [1610, John Boys,
  EEBO A16549])[11]
- all those **who** believe on my name   [JS's hand]
  (cf. "And whosoever of those **which** belonged to their band"
  [Helaman 6:24])
- Daughtr of Isaach Hale **who** lived in Harmony Susquehana
  County   [FGW's hand]
  (cf. "the Gaddianton robbers, **which** dwelt upon the mountains"
  [3 Nephi 1:27])
- a man by the name of Martin Haris **who** became convinced of the
  vision   [FGW's hand]
  (cf. "a man **which** was large and was noted for his much strength"
  [Alma 1:2])

Above we can see that Joseph Smith favored the use of personal *who,* which agrees generally with the textual record and independent linguistic research.[12]

The systematic use of the relative pronouns *who* and *that* with personal antecedents in the 1832 History is also a problem for those who favor Joseph being responsible for the wording of the Book of Mormon, since the earliest text is quite heavy in its use of personal *which* (much of it edited out by 1837),[13] and relative-pronoun selection mostly reflects subconscious authorial preferences.

This is a complex area of study. Factors such as the function of the relative pronoun (restrictive [defining] versus non-restrictive; object versus subject) and the type of antecedent affect the (subconscious) choice of the relative pronoun. I have limited my analysis to restrictive contexts but have considered various antecedents.

On average, the earliest text of the Book of Mormon clearly prefers personal *which,* followed by personal *that,* followed by *who(m).* I have considered four different types of personal antecedents in the Book of Mormon and have found the earliest text employs *which* 56% of the time, *that* 28% of the time, and *who(m)* 16% of the time. This is very different from the usage found in the 1832 History, which contains 10 instances of *who(m),* two instances of personal *that,* but none of personal *which.*

Significantly, the Book of Mormon does not imitate biblical usage in this regard, although it is definitely archaic.[14] The King James Bible strongly prefers personal *that* (more than 80% of the time), followed distantly by *which* (about 12% of the time), and then *who(m).*[15] Overall, these two scriptural texts are uncorrelated in their choice of relative pronouns after personal antecedents.

With different antecedents, relative-pronoun usage varies in the scriptural texts. In the case of the antecedent *he/him,* the Book of Mormon is 80% "he/him **that**," approaching the 96% of the King James Bible. But when the antecedent is *those/they/them,* the Book of Mormon is only 20% *that.* This is quite different from the 81% of the King James Bible.

The Book of Mormon is very heavy in its use of "people which" (93%), while the King James Bible is heavy in its use of "people that" (82%). Thus far I have pinpointed only two or three Early Modern English writings that employ restrictive "people which" in the majority of possible cases. The two texts that clearly contain the distribution of Book of Mormon usage are Richard Hakluyt's *The Principal Navigations … of the English Nation* (1589–1600, 57% "people which") and Edward Grimeston's translation of a French work titled *The Estates, Empires, and Principalities of the World* (1615, 54% "people which"). The third text that is a candidate for majority "people which" usage is a mid-17th-century encyclopedia by Peter Heylin (1652, 56% "people which"). This work, however, has a large number of non-restrictive "people, who" examples.

After the year 1700, "people who" begins to dominate the written record, followed by "people that." "People which" is merely an occasionally found minor variant in the 18th century and beyond. I have cross-verified this by considering usage in two five-million-word corpora

of the authors Walter Scott and James Fenimore Cooper. I found only one instance of restrictive "people which" in these two single-author databases — in one of Cooper's books. These authors employed "people who" more than 80% of the time, with almost all the remaining use being "people that."

No {-th} Plural[16]

There are 12 verbs that carry archaic {-th} inflection in the 1832 History:

> doeth (twice), hath (twice), beareth, bindeth,
> decreeth, filleth, lieth, makith, saith, seeketh

All these verb forms occur after third-person **singular** subjects, meaning that these archaic, inflected forms are biblical in character. Consequently, there is not a single example of the {-th} plural in the account. I have noted at least eight possible contexts for the {-th} plural in this short text:[17]

- they **have** turned aside … and **keep** not the commandments
  (two instances) [JS's hand]
  (cf. except they **humble** themselves … and **believeth**"
  [Mosiah 3:18])
- they **draw** near to me   [JS's hand]
  (cf. "for because they **yieldeth** unto the devil"   [2 Nephi 26:10])
- many things … which since **have** been revealed   [FGW's hand]
  (cf. "my account of the things which **hath** been before me"
  [3 Nephi 5:19])
- all these **bear** testimony and **bespeak** an omnipotent and
  omnipreasant power   (two instances) [JS's hand]
  (cf. "them that are left in Zion and **remaineth** in Jerusalem"
  [2 Nephi 14:3])[18]
- all those who **believe** on my name   [JS's hand]
  (cf. "save it be unto those who **repenteth** of their sins"
  [Helaman 7:23])
- my Fathers family **have** suffered many persicutions [FGW's hand]
  (cf. "angels **hath** ministered unto him"   [1 Nephi 16:38])

In four cases the {-th} plural would have been particularly favored syntactically, historically speaking, and as reflected in the Book of Mormon: in conjoined predicates ("and keepeth," "and bespeaketh"), and after relative pronouns ("things … which … hath," "those who believeth"). But the {-th} plural is not used in these syntactic contexts in

the history. The non-use of the {-th} plural in the 1832 History suggests that it wasn't part of Joseph's own language. This view is corroborated by independent linguistic observations on the history of the {-th} plural in English.[19]

An examination of the textual record shows that the {-th} plural was very rare in the 1820s. However, it is anything but rare in the Book of Mormon, since we find about 200 instances of it in the text.[20] It is used in the earliest text with all the variety of the Early Modern English period: after noun phrases and infrequently after pronouns,[21] after relative pronouns and in conjoined predicates, and with different kinds of nearby variation.

Thus, the absence of the {-th} plural in the 1832 History also casts into doubt the view that Joseph was responsible for the wording of the Book of Mormon from revealed ideas. The fairly frequent and variable use of the {-th} plural found in the earliest text was almost certainly not a part of his dialect.

Summary and Implications of the Foregoing Linguistic Evidence

The 1832 History provides solid evidence that Joseph's dialect did not retain Early Modern English *did*-periphrasis in positive declarative statements or the {-th} plural, and that personal *which* usage was not common in his dialect. Yet these are found in great abundance in the earliest text of the Book of Mormon: periphrastic *did* occurs nearly 2,000 times; there are close to 200 instances of the {-th} plural; and there are close to 1,000 cases of personal *which,* the usage being dominant.

By way of comparison, the King James Bible contains fewer than 2% positive declarative periphrastic *did* [22] and no clear instances of the {-th} plural;[23] also, personal *that* is dominant in this biblical text.

These three linguistic features of Early Modern English are present in such quantities in the earliest text of the Book of Mormon that it is accurate to say that two of them are essential syntactic components of the book, and the third — the {-th} plural — is fairly prominent. These same features of the 1832 History, by reason of their frequency of occurrence and systematic, categorical nature, constitute the primary evidence found in this account that the Lord did indeed transmit words and their grammatical forms to Joseph Smith for the dictation of the Book of Mormon. This view is established by the following types of manuscript and textual evidence:

- spelled-out names in the original manuscript[24]

- archaic, extra-biblical semantic usage in context[25]
- archaic, extra-biblical morphology[26]
- archaic, extra-biblical syntax[27]

These are mutually supportive. To these we can now add the following specific evidence:

- no periphrastic *did,* personal *which,* or {-th} plural in Joseph Smith's 1832 History

The absence of these features from Joseph's 1832 History argues against the notion that the earliest text of the Book of Mormon might have emanated from a very conservative American dialect that Joseph grew up speaking. Such a dialect has been presumed to have maintained a host of archaic forms, structures, vocabulary, and systematic usage from centuries before.[28] That was always a doubtful view — whenever it might have been first conjectured — because of known, documented diachronic shifts in English usage. It does not appear that proponents of this theory have taken into account linguistic studies of the kind referenced in this paper.

Specific and general linguistic evidence indicates that the following view of the translation process of the Book of Mormon is an extremely unlikely one: "Because this process occurred in Joseph Smith's mind, the conversion of thought to language had access to his normal vocabulary, grammar, and cultural contexts."[29]

Descriptive linguistic research on Book of Mormon language provides concrete evidence that the earliest text is not fashioned specifically after Joseph's language. The present-tense verbal system of the earliest text of the Book of Mormon is different from both 19th-century American dialect and biblical usage. Nonetheless, the present-tense verbal system is archaic, with nearby {-s} ~ {-th} inflectional variation, ample doses of the {-th} plural, and some non-emphatic *do*-periphrasis as well, all characteristic of the 1500s and 1600s. In addition, the past-tense system is clearly different from both 19th-century American dialect and biblical usage, and the complex, variable perfect verbal system is as well. So also is verbal complementation, subjunctive marking, auxiliary usage, etc.[30]

In 2006, Skousen wrote that "the biblically styled language of the text seems to date from [the 1500s and 1600s], yet it does not imitate the specific language of the King James Bible."[31] This studied view generally runs counter to Oaks (2003:119), as quoted in Gardner (2011:165): "The

language of the Book of Mormon translation was likely influenced by Joseph's own language."[32]

Some aspects of the earliest text might have been tailored to specific dialectal idiosyncrasies that Joseph shared with others of his speech community (taken in a broad, multi-regional sense of upstate New York and New England), but a large amount of the language was not tailored to this dialect.

Archaic, extra-biblical features of the text, however, did not make it difficult to understand for 19th-century English speakers, especially for anyone familiar with archaic King James English, since there was plenty of shared use. But, as partially outlined, in quite a few important ways the usage of the two scriptural texts is systematically distinct. And the texts are different in many ways that fall short of being called systematic because there is less-than-frequent occurrence of forms and constructions.

Occasional and/or Mixed Usage of the 1832 History

The remaining sections of this short study address other linguistic evidence from the 1832 History.

No Finite Complementation after the Verbs *desire* and *suffer*

There is one example of the verb *desire* used with verbal complementation in the 1832 History and another example of the verb *suffer*. The instance involving the verb *desire* reads "he desired **to** carry them to read to his friends" [JS's hand]. The complementation in this case is infinitival, which is typical when the person desiring something and the person doing the desired action are the same. But twice the Book of Mormon employs a *that*-clause and the auxiliary *might* in such a case. Had this syntax been employed in this part of the history, it would have been of the form "he desired **that he might** carry them to read to his friends." Here are the two Book of Mormon examples of this:

Helaman 16:1

they confessed unto him their sins and denied not,
desiring **that they might** be baptized unto the Lord.

3 Nephi 28:9

for ye have desired **that ye might** bring the souls of men
unto me

It is important to note that in contexts with no change in subject between the main clause and the embedded clause, as in the above passages, finite complementation after the verb *desire* is exceptional in the Book of Mormon.[33] There is usually infinitival complementation when there is no change in subject. Consequently, there was only a small chance that Joseph would have used this uncommon construction once in the 1832 History, had he been responsible for its usage in the Book of Mormon.

It was more likely for Joseph to have employed finite complementation after the verb *suffer* in the 1832 History (had he been responsible for the wording of the Book of Mormon), since finite complementation after *suffer* occurs more than 60% of the time in the earliest text. The 1832 usage in question reads in the infinitive: "the Lord suffered the writings **to** fall into the hands of wicked men" [JS's hand].

Verbal complementation after the verb *suffer* in the Book of Mormon most commonly occurs with a *that*-clause and the auxiliary *should,* although there is substantial variation in usage, almost all similar to what is found in the Early Modern English period. In the 1832 History finite complementation in this case would have read: "the Lord suffered **that** the writings **should** fall into the hands of wicked men." Such language would have been analogous to the following Book of Mormon passages:

> 1 Nephi 17:12
>
> > For the Lord had not hitherto suffered **that** we **should** make much fire
>
> Mosiah 2:13
>
> > neither have I suffered **that** ye **should** be confined in dungeons

"Exceeding Great"

The 1832 History contains the following language written in Joseph's hand: "the things which are so **exceding great** and marvilous" and "my mind become **excedingly distressed**." The bigrams "exceeding great" and "exceedingly distressed" are found both before the year 1700 and after that time, in the modern period. They are also typical Book of Mormon usage: the earliest text always employs the abbreviated form of the adverb with the adjective *great* and the {-ly} form with verbal past participles.[34]

The Google Books *Ngram Viewer* indicates that around the year 1830 "exceeding great" appeared in printed books 77% of the time, and the later, modern form "exceedingly great" 23% of the time.[35] Over the following decades both phrases are used at decreasing rates, and the share of the older one, "exceeding great," diminishes so that it is close to 50% by 1940.

The 1816 pseudo-biblical text *The Late War*, written by the New Yorker Gilbert J. Hunt, has one instance of "exceeding great" and one of "exceedingly great." Based on Hunt's mixed usage and *Ngram Viewer* data, one would expect at least a few instances of modern "exceeding**ly** great" if Joseph Smith had been responsible for the wording of this bigram in the Book of Mormon. Consequently, the earliest text's consistent usage of "exceeding great" (57 times) is remarkable. A single instance of "exceeding great" in the 1832 History doesn't provide sufficient evidence that would lead one to alter that view. Frequent, categorical usage of "exceeding great" in the Book of Mormon also points to words and their grammatical forms having been transmitted to Joseph.

Nonstandard Usage of the 1832 History

Plural *was* and *were*

The 1832 History contains several examples of nonstandard plural *was*:

- There was plates [FGW's hand]
- there was engravings [FGW's hand]
- where the plates was deposited [FGW's hand]
- wherefore the Plates was taken from me [JS's hand]

There is variability in the account, with *were* used in the following cases:[36]

- they were given unto him [FGW's hand]
- all that were able [JS's hand]
- we were deprived [JS's hand]
- there were many things [FGW's hand]

We note that the earliest text of the Book of Mormon contains 47 instances of "there **were** many" and eight of "there **was** many." This means that the earliest text employs plural *was* 14.5% of the time in this three-word sequence. But "there was <plural noun phrase>" is found at much higher rates when *was* is not followed by *many*.

Either Early Modern English usage or Joseph Smith's dialect can explain a goodly portion of the earliest text's plural *was* usage, but dialectal usage doesn't explain all of it. For example, when archaic language is combined with plural *was,* an Early Modern English view is more likely. A prime example of this is "Adam and Eve, *which* **was** our first parents" (1 Nephi 5:11). This phraseology combines plural *was* with archaic personal *which* (a non-restrictive relative pronoun). This is a relative-pronoun usage that we don't expect to have come from Joseph's own language, based on evidence from the 1832 History and independent studies of American English.

The five-word sequence "Adam and Eve, which was" can be found in the 16th century by an author who also wrote about hiding **up** things *in the ground* — archaic, extra-biblical language that we read in the books of Helaman and Mormon.[37]

There is also no syntactically influenced *was ~ were* variation in the 1832 History, while there are a number of examples of this variation in the earliest text of the Book of Mormon (as well as analogous subject–verb agreement variation with *is ~ are* and *has / hath ~ have*). The extensive variation present in the earliest text points to Early Modern English possibilities, as in the following case:[38]

Mosiah 24:15

> the BURDENS *which* **was** laid upon Alma and his brethren **were** made light;

1560, John Knox, *An answer to a great number of blasphemous cavillations written by an Anabaptist*

> That … proveth not
> that all the ISRAELITES *which* **was** called from Egypt
> **were** within God's holy election to life everlasting
> in Christ Jesus.

Consequently, one cannot convincingly assert that the plural *was* of the Book of Mormon is 19th-century vernacular usage, nor that the earliest text's plural *is / has / hath* usage must stem from Joseph's American dialect.

Past-tense *come* and *become*

There are four instances of past-tense *come* and *become* in the 1832 History (all in Joseph Smith's hand):

- a piller of fire light … **come** down from above and rested upon me
- my mind **become** seriously imprest
- my mind **become** excedingly distressed for I **become** convicted of my sins

Ignoring cases of "it came to pass," we also note the following instances of standard past-tense *came* and *became:*

- an angel of the Lord **came** [FGW's hand]
- who **became** convinced of th[e] vision [FGW's hand]
- and ^[*h*[*e*]] imediately **came** to Suquehannah [JS's hand]

These examples provide evidence that past-tense *come* and *become* was a feature of Joseph Smith's language and that he varied his usage.

There might be a few examples of past-tense *come* and *become* in the earliest text of the Book of Mormon, although all possible candidates may be cases of scribal mix-ups A detailed treatment of the manuscript and first-edition evidence of past-tense *come* and *become* will appear shortly in part 3 of Royal Skousen, *The History of the Text of the Book of Mormon.*

Summary

Linguistic evidence from Joseph Smith's 1832 History appreciably strengthens the position that the delivery of the English-language text of the Book of Mormon involved transmitted words. This view ultimately rests on observable, descriptive linguistic facts: the earliest text of the Book of Mormon contains a large amount of archaic language — vocabulary, syntax, and morphology — that is not found, either systematically or at all, in 19th-century American dialect or in the King James Bible. Massively represented syntax supports independent instances of archaic, extra-biblical vocabulary. Obsolete lexical usage supports the descriptive linguistic conclusion that there is archaic, extra-biblical syntax and morphology.

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Primary Sources

Besides the page images and transcription of the 1832 History made available online by the Joseph Smith Papers project, bit.ly/2nN9fYY, the Yale edition of the Book of Mormon was essential to this study: Royal Skousen, ed., *The Book of Mormon: The Earliest Text* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), bit.ly/2ocoerM. Directly related to this is Royal Skousen, *Analysis of Textual Variants of the Book of Mormon* (Provo, UT: FARMS and BYU Studies, 2004–2009); Royal Skousen, *Analysis of Textual Variants of the Book of Mormon,* 2nd edition (Provo, UT: FARMS and BYU Studies, 2017); and Royal Skousen, *Grammatical Variation* [Parts 1 and 2 of *The History of the Text of the Book of Mormon*] (Provo, UT: FARMS and BYU Studies, 2016). LDS View provided access to the current LDS text of the scriptures (ldsview.wordcruncher.com; Salt Lake City, UT: Intellectual Reserve, 2001–).

The principal English textual source used in this study was the *Early English Books Online* database (EEBO; eebo.chadwyck.com). It currently contains close to 60,000 transcribed texts printed between the years 1473 to 1700. The publicly searchable portion of EEBO (Phase 1 texts) is to be found at <quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebogroup>. Other important textual sources include Literature Online (LION; literature.proquest.com), Google Books (books.google.com), and *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* (ECCO; quod.lib.umich.edu/e/ecco). The full database of ECCO is available through some public libraries, as is the Oxford English Dictionary (www.oed.com).

I have mainly derived Early Modern English examples from a 700-million-word WordCruncher corpus that I made from almost 25,000 EEBO Phase 1 texts (www.wordcruncher.com; Provo, UT: BYU, 1991–). This corpus is precisely searchable, making it a valuable resource for discovering Early Modern English usage. In addition to ECCO, the Google Books database was essential for the modern period, as well as the associated *Ngram Viewer*.

Notes

1. Page images, a transcript, source notes, and a historical introduction of Joseph Smith's 1832 History are available at "History, circa Summer 1832," 1, The Joseph Smith Papers, http://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/history-circa-summer-1832/1 (bit.ly/2piHjMI).

2. For some background, see Stanford Carmack, "The Implications of Past-Tense Syntax in the Book of Mormon," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 14 (2015): 119–186, bit.ly/2nLFIiA.

3. Here is a current alphabetical listing of past-tense main verbs taken from the 1832 History: appeared (4), became, become (3), brake, brought (2), built, called (2), came (2), come, commenced, considered (2), constituted, contained, covenanted, cried (3), desired, discovered, established, exclaimed, fell, felt, found (3), gave (3), heard, inquired (2), knew, learned, led (2), lived, looked, made (2), moved (2), obtained (2), opened, pervaded, pondered (2), proceeded, required, rested, returned, revealed (2), said (7), sought (2), saw, shewed (3), sinned, spake (2), spared, stood, suffered, took (3), transpired, went.

   For most of these verbs we can find Book of Mormon usage of positive declarative periphrastic *did*. According to a recent count, there are 397 cases of "did <infinitive>" adjacency with these verbs in the earliest text (see primary sources section at the end of this paper).

4. This figure is derived from a 30% usage rate in primarily non-biblical portions of the Book of Mormon and a current count of 88 positive past-tense main-verb instances in the 1832 History.

   Of course here I properly exclude five negative declarative cases: "they did not adorn," "mankind did not come," "[I] kept not," "[I] obtained them not," and "I had not where to go"; these give evidence of variation in Joseph's language with respect to verbal negation.

5. See, for example, Matti Rissanen, "Spoken language and the history of *do*-periphrasis," in *Historical English Syntax*, ed. Dieter Kastovsky (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1991), 324, 328, 332 (Table 2), bit.ly/2p2kHjK; and Alvar Ellegård, *The Auxiliary Do: The Establishment and Regulation of Its Use in English* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1953), 157, 161–162. Citing two earlier studies, Ellegård wrote on page 157 that periphrastic *do* (both present-tense and past-tense) "first occurred in prose ca. 1400, gained ground slowly in the 15th and rapidly in the 16th century. In the 17th century the tide fell fast in affirmative declarative sentences, whereas the use of *do* became regular in negative and interrogative ones. The modern state of things was practically achieved around 1700."

   Matti Rissanen wrote the following: "In the second half of the sixteenth century, the use of *do*-periphrasis in affirmative statements

reaches a peak … The periphrasis is common in most text types" Matti Rissanen, *The Cambridge History of the English Language, Volume III, 1476–1776,* ed. Roger Lass (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 240, bit.ly/2nN4FKs. On page 242 he observed that "in the eighteenth century *do*-periphrasis was used more or less in the same way as today."

Susanne Wagner discussed the lack of maintenance in a conservative North American dialect in "Unstressed periphrastic *do* — from Southwest England to Newfoundland?" *English World-Wide* 28 (2007): 249–278. On page 254 Wagner mentioned the 19th-century Dorset dialect and its use of *did* for "imperfect or habitual action."

6. Royal Skousen, "How Joseph Smith Translated the Book of Mormon: Evidence from the Original Manuscript," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 7.1 (1998): 24, bit.ly/2nLyn2t

7. Brant Gardner, *The Gift and Power: Translating the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City, UT: Greg Kofford Books, 2011), 274

8. The phraseology "the words which I have commanded thee" (2 Nephi 27:22), where the *I* is the Lord, is an expression that has a somewhat obscure, biblical meaning for the verb *command* (see definition 6b of the Oxford English Dictionary, both online and in the second edition). Taking this biblical meaning into account, we get that the above phrase means 'the words that I have caused to come to you, or sent to you with authority.'

9. See Carmack, "Past-Tense Syntax," 158–159, 169–172.

10. Royal Skousen, ed., *The Book of Mormon: The Earliest Text* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), bit.ly/2ocoerM.

11. The possible Book of Mormon case with personal "to which" is questionable: "and also by the maintenance of the sacred word of God to which we owe all our happiness" (Alma 44:5). Here the *which* may refer to *maintenance, word,* or *God*. If the *which* refers to Deity, it would be similar to the following: "to whom we owe this great victory" (Alma 57:22).

12. Xavier Dekeyser, on page 71 (Table XI) of "Relativizers in Early Modern English: A dynamic quantitative study," *Historical Syntax,* ed. Jacek Fisiak (Berlin: Mouton, 1984), 61–88, outlined the "de-humanization" of *which* over the period 1520–1649, a change that was "virtually completed by 1700," bit.ly/2pA1J0e.

For a brief overview, see Matti Rissanen, "Syntax," *The Cambridge History of the English Language, Volume III, 1476–1776,* ed. Roger Lass (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 293–294, bit.ly/2p2wL4I. See also, for example, Catherine N. Ball, "A diachronic study of relative markers in spoken and written English," *Language Variation and Change* 8.2 (1996), 227–258.

13. See Royal Skousen, *Grammatical Variation* (Provo, UT: FARMS and BYU Studies, 2016), 1188–1247.

14. Matti Rissanen, on page 430 of "The choice of relative pronouns in 17th century American English," *Historical Syntax,* ed. Jacek Fisiak (Berlin: Mouton, 1984), 417–435, wrote the following: "*Which* can be found with personal antecedents in seventeenth century texts, but the number of cases is low and decreases towards the end of the century. In the earlier corpus there are fifteen cases of *which* out of the total of 134 cases with personal antecedent, in the later [corpus there are] twelve out of 169 [cases with personal antecedent]," bit.ly/2pdeaCs. In other words, Rissanen's pre-1650s American English corpus is only 11% personal *which;* his late-1600s American English corpus is only 7% personal *which*.

15. One can rather quickly see that the King James Bible employs personal *that* more than personal *which,* and personal *which* more than personal *who,* by noting instances of "people that/which/who," "men that/which/who," and "a man that/which/who." My own counts of restrictive (defining) "people that/which/who" reveal that the 1769 biblical text (the last extensive standardization of the KJV) is 82% restrictive "people that," 14% restrictive "people which," and 4% restrictive "people who(m)."

16. For some background, see Stanford Carmack, "The Case of the {-th} Plural in the Earliest Text," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 18 (2016): 79–108, bit.ly/2oxH7rW.

17. In the first, second, and second-to-last items of this list, the Lord is quoted by Joseph Smith. The Lord could have tailored the language to Joseph's language, or Joseph could have remembered it according to his own language. Evidence that he could have imposed his own linguistic form on portions of the statements is provided by the close error *kindling* for *kindled* (as used in the phrase "mine anger is kindling against the inhabitants of the earth"). In any event, there is no direct evidence of Early Modern English {-th} plural usage in these four present-tense instances of the third-person plural.

18. The {-th} plural is not found in the corresponding biblical passage.

19. Herbert Schendl, on page 144 of "The 3rd Plural Present Indicative in Early Modern English — Variation and Linguistic Contact," *English Historical Linguistics 1994: Papers from the 8th International Conference on English Historical Linguistics,* ed. Derek Britton (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1996), 143–160, wrote that the {-th} plural was obsolete from the standard by the middle of the 17th century (bit.ly/2oFWNcO).

    Charles Barber, on page 169 of *Early Modern English* (Edinburgh, UK: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), wrote that already in "the later sixteenth century, plural {-eth} is very rare." Roger Lass, on page 166 of *The Cambridge History of the English Language, Volume III, 1476–1776,* ed. Roger Lass (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999), wrote that "the southern {-th} plural is always a minority form, though it persists (if decreasingly) in the standard well into the seventeenth century" (bit.ly/2obexd8). Henry Cecil Wyld, on page 339 of *A History of Modern Colloquial English,* 3rd edition (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1936), gave about 25 examples of the {-th} plural, mostly from the 16th century.

    Google Books shows that the {-th} plural is rare in 18th-century writings. By the early 19th century the {-th} plural is almost non-existent.

    Laura Wright, on pages 244–245 of "Third Person Plural Present Tense Markers In London Prisoners' Depositions, 1562–1623," *American Speech* 77.3 (2002): 242–263, discusses a historical *they*-constraint, something that the earliest text of the Book of Mormon shows signs of, since it has very low levels of {-th} usage after plural pronouns, and significantly higher rates of use in other plural contexts. Mosiah 3:18 contains a specific example of the *they*-constraint in which the {-th} inflection is used only in a predicate linked to *they,* not immediately after *they:* "They humble themselves and become … and believeth." Counterexamples to this occur in both Early Modern English and the Book of Mormon.

20. Skousen, *Grammatical Variation,* 465–474.

21. This includes first-person and second-person pronouns — for example, "we layeth" (Helaman 13:34) and "ye doth" (Alma 41:15)

22. See Carmack, "Past-Tense Syntax," 123, 143, 160. If "did eat" is excluded from counts, then positive declarative periphrastic *did* is only employed about 1% of the time in the King James Bible.

23. See Carmack, "The Case of the {-th} Plural," 86–89.

24. Skousen, "How Joseph Smith Translated," 24, 25, 31. Book of Mormon spelling control is largely confined to the first instance of proper nouns.

25. Evidence of archaic vocabulary was first published in Royal Skousen, "The Archaic Vocabulary of the Book of Mormon," *Insights: A Window on the Ancient World* 25.5 (2005): 2–6, bit.ly/2pAfoUW; and in his *Analysis of Textual Variants of the Book of Mormon* (Provo, UT: FARMS and BYU, 2004–2009), under Mosiah 19:24, bit.ly/2nLRMQI. Further discussion can be found on pages xxxvii–xxxix of Royal Skousen, "Editor's Preface," *The Book of Mormon: The Earliest Text,* ed. Royal Skousen (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), xxix–xlv; and on pages 89–93 of Royal Skousen, "The Original Text of the Book of Mormon and its Publication by Yale University Press," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 7 (2013): 57–96, bit.ly/2oxGVJe. See also pages 45–47 of Stanford Carmack, "Joseph Smith Read the Words," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 18 (2016): 41–64, bit.ly/2obtGex.

26. See Skousen, *Grammatical Variation,* 481–483, 491–492. An example of archaic, extra-biblical morphology is the occasional use in the earliest text of the Book of Mormon of the verb form *art* in non–second-person singular contexts. For instance, the earliest text has one example of "they who art" (Alma 32:15). This is a case of Book of Mormon grammar that was probably not part of Joseph's 19th-century vernacular. We can find this kind of language on *Early English Books Online:* "And a man's foes shall be they that art of his household" (1548, EEBO A16036); "Experience teacheth that those which art apt will construe almost as soon without the book" (1612, EEBO A16865); "the qualifications and fitness of those who art admitted into their Communion" (1700, EEBO A34020).

27. See the examples scattered throughout Skousen, *Grammatical Variation,* as well as my various articles on the subject in this journal.

28. See Dallin D. Oaks, "Book of Mormon, Language of the Translated Text of," in *Book of Mormon Reference Companion,* ed. Dennis L. Largey (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 2003), 116–119, as cited in

Brant Gardner, *The Gift and Power: Translating the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City, UT: Greg Kofford Books, 2011), 164–165. This may not be Oaks' view of things now. The statements Gardner quotes are basically 1990s conclusions based on non-systematic study of the 1981 text. Skousen once had similar, American dialectal views of the text, before systematically studying the earliest text.

29. Gardner, *The Gift and Power,* 276.

30. The future-tense system of expression (*will ~ shall* variation) appears to be close to biblical use, particularly Old Testament patterns, but it is different from 19th-century patterns.

31. Skousen, *Analysis of Textual Variants of the Book of Mormon* (Provo, UT: FARMS and BYU, 2004–2009), 1393 (Mosiah 19:24); *Analysis of Textual Variants of the Book of Mormon,* 2nd edition (Provo, UT: FARMS and BYU Studies, 2017), 1445 (Mosiah 19:24).

32. See Oaks, "Book of Mormon, Language of the Translated Text of," as cited in Gardner, *The Gift and Power,* 164–165.

33. See Skousen, *Grammatical Variation,* 1061 (bottom of page).

34. See Skousen, *Grammatical Variation,* 296–305.

35. *Ngram Viewer* (books.google.com/ngrams); Jean-Baptiste Michel et al., "Quantitative Analysis of Culture Using Millions of Digitized Books," *Science* 331/6014 (2011): 176–182 (published online ahead of print on 16 December 2010).

36. There is also an anomalous instance of *were:* "my Father Joseph Smith Seignior moved to Palmyra Ontario County in the State of New York and being in indigent circumstances were obliged to labour hard for the support of a large Family." This is either a case of proximity agreement, a switch to an unexpressed plural subject, or singular *were.*

   There are various examples of proximity agreement with *were* in the earliest text of the Book of Mormon, such as "whomsoever suffered himself to be led away by the Lamanites were called under that head" (Alma 3:10). There are also cases of singular *were* in the earliest text, such as "they whose flight were swifter than the Lamanites did escape" (Mormon 5:7).

37. See page 114 of Stanford Carmack, "The Case of Plural *Was* in the Earliest Text," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 18 (2016): 109–137, bit.ly/2oy0qzx. Thomas Becon also wrote "but have hid

them up in the ground" (1550, EEBO A06898). The phrasal verb "hide up" is characteristic of Early Modern English, as shown by more than 200 instances to be found on *Early English Books Online* and fewer than 150 instances to be found on *Eighteenth Century Collections Online.* See the final section for information on these primary sources.

38. Skousen, *Grammatical Variation,* 912, has this pair of examples as well as another similar to the curious *was ~ were* variation of Helaman 1:7 (which still persists in the current LDS text). Many Early Modern English examples similar to these could be provided. Some of these are shown in my article Carmack, "The Case of Plural *Was* in the Earliest Text."

INTERPRETER

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On Doctrine and Covenants Language and the 1833 Plot of Zion

Stanford Carmack

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On Doctrine and Covenants Language and the 1833 Plot of Zion

Stanford Carmack

Abstract: *Contrary to the generally accepted view, it seems likely that much of the wording of the Doctrine and Covenants was transmitted to Joseph Smith as part of the revelatory process. Apparent bad grammar and a limited reading of "after the manner of their language" (D&C 1:24) have led to the received view that "the language of the revelations was Joseph Smith's."[1] This judgment, however, is probably inaccurate. Abundant cases of archaic forms and structures, sometimes overlapping with Book of Mormon usage, argue for a different interpretation of "after the manner of their language." Scholars have chosen, for the most part, to disregard the implications of a large amount of complex, archaic, well-formed language found in both scriptural texts. As for the 1833 Plot of Zion, transmitted words in Doctrine and Covenants revelations, a key statement by Frederick G. Williams, and a small but significant amount of internal archaic usage mean that the layout, dimensions, and even some language of the city plat were specifically revealed as well.*

The impetus for this study was a desire to determine whether one could reasonably take the mile measurement of the June 1833 Plot of Zion as conveying an archaic sense that had become obsolete long before the 1830s. Because the city plat was given around the same time as sections 93 to 98, an analysis of Doctrine and Covenants language was determined to be essential to the task.

One item of archaic vocabulary in the Doctrine and Covenants is the adjective *strange* in "strange act" (D&C 95:4; 101:95). This is a biblical phrase (Isaiah 28:21), and different modern versions of the Bible translate the Hebrew adjective in this Isaiah passage as 'alien,' 'unusual,' 'extraordinary,' 'strange,' 'disturbing,' 'mysterious,' or 'unwonted.'[2] According to the Oxford English Dictionary, some of these are obsolete

meanings, and 'extraordinary' seems to be a good fit for the Doctrine and Covenants usage, which corresponds to definition 8 in the OED (2nd edition): "†8. Of a kind that is unfamiliar or rare; unusual, uncommon, exceptional, singular, out of the way. *Obs.*" We note that the sections containing the archaic phrase "strange act" were revealed in June 1833 and December 1833,[3] around the same time the city plat was revealed. That is one small point in favor of the possibility of archaism in plot language. (An appendix contains the plot description, laid out in sense lines.)

Frederick G. Williams, the scribe for the draft of the Plot of Zion,[4] wrote the following on the manuscript of the closely affiliated Plan of the House of the Lord: "NB[5] For your satisfaction we inform you that the plot for the City and the size form and dime[n]sions <of the house> were given us of the Lord."[6] Here Williams asserts that the details of the plot and the plan were revealed. On the basis of evidence given in this paper, we can reasonably conclude that the various measurements of the city plat and the temple plan set down in writing in 1833 were tightly controlled.[7] One of the purposes of this paper is to show that in some detail. However, one cannot determine by scholarly means that the plot description was tightly controlled throughout. A considerable portion of its wording could have been under loose control or even no control as part of this particular extra-canonical revelatory process.

As mentioned, one possibility of tight control in the delivery of the Plot of Zion is the term *mile*. It is used at the very beginning of the plot description and does not correspond to the English statutory mile in effect in 1830s America.[8] A simple calculation from specified plot dimensions leads to that conclusion. The question boils down to whether the mile of the plot was an error or whether it could be an obsolete 16th-century measurement, which fits the plot description. (This is given a fuller treatment in the last section of this paper.)

It is reasonable to consider tightly controlled elements in the Plot of Zion since there are substantive linguistic reasons for taking a goodly portion of the Doctrine and Covenants to be revealed words.[9] Frederick G. Williams was also involved, at the time he drafted the plot, with scribing dozens of revelations that would later become part of the Doctrine and Covenants. Indeed, the Plot of Zion was set down in writing between the time that sections 93 and 94 were revealed to Joseph Smith, with Williams acting as scribe.[10] Moreover, some language of the Doctrine and Covenants is found in the plot description, and D&C 94:2 states that the Lord revealed the pattern of the city.[11]

Outline of Article

This paper first discusses aspects of revelatory translation. In order to do this, I focus on the form and structure of the language, an almost entirely neglected field of inquiry. My focus on these aspects of the language doesn't mean I think they are more important than the content. It's just that the study of the form and structure of the language is the most effective way to determine whether ideas or words were transmitted to Joseph Smith.

Next I examine various types of language found in early manuscripts and printings that would later become sections of the D&C, showing how they are likely to be instances of tightly controlled language. The primary sources used in this study are given at the end of this article. These recently created digital databases have dramatically improved the analysis of revelatory language, greatly increasing our knowledge and understanding of it.

Doctrine and Covenants language is directly relevant to the 1833 Plot of Zion, since some contemporary revelations refer to the plot, and some of the language is found in the plot. These linguistic facts, together with the above supporting statement written down by Frederick G. Williams, mean that it is not a stretch to think that parts of the plot description could have been tightly controlled in the revelatory process.

After attempting to establish that words were transmitted to Joseph Smith as part of Doctrine and Covenants revelations, I then discuss some of its questionable grammar. This has a bearing on plot language, since it also contains some suspect grammar. In addition, there is a tendency to wrongly think that "bad grammar" in the Book of Mormon and the Doctrine and Covenants means the language could not have been rendered into English by the Lord.[12] Rather, we find that the apparently poor grammar fits literate writings of earlier English, at times in arcane ways, actually strengthening the argument for tight control.

Finally, I discuss some of the archaic and modern language found in the Plot of Zion. Terminology, phraseology, and syntax are briefly noted, as well as some rather unique design elements of the community plat and the temple plan.

On Revelatory Translation and Tight Control

Those who are opposed to tight control in relation to the Book of Mormon tend to misunderstand or misrepresent what it might mean in terms of Book of Mormon translation. The view of tight control does not declare that there was a 16th-century translator of the text (or a 17th-century

translator, etc.). The position of tight control is that the Lord rendered the ancient Nephite record into English or had it done, and then transmitted this translation to Joseph Smith. The process of rendering the plate text into English is unknowable without specific revelation on the matter. Furthermore, tight control can involve modern English vocabulary and syntax as well as Early Modern English (1500–1700), and even some late Middle English.[13] Tight control, however, is typically established by a subset of Early Modern English that had become obsolete or very rare by the 1820s[14] and by systematic archaic usage that fits the Early Modern English era exclusively.[15] That the language of the Book of Mormon is not a monolithic variety of English does nothing to weaken the evidence that the Lord caused words to come to Joseph Smith, words that he then relayed to scribes.

To a more limited degree, this type of analysis can be carried out in relation to Doctrine and Covenants language. Especially important to consider in this regard are the early revelations, given before or concurrently with the Book of Mormon dictation. Forms and syntactic structures that were obsolete, archaic, or rare in early 19th-century English point to a tightly controlled revelatory process, especially because receipt of the early revelations matched that of the Book of Mormon. The majority of the language, however, encompasses usage that persisted for centuries.

In the case of the Book of Mormon, abundant manuscript evidence and textual evidence strongly support the view that words were transmitted to Joseph Smith. For some, the question arises whether the revelatory process could have involved a mixture of tightly controlled and loosely controlled language. This is theoretically possible, but there are substantial problems with such a view.

The main issue is that one cannot reliably distinguish between tight and loose control in the original manuscript and in the text.[16] For example, suppose the "they was" of 1 Nephi 4:4 is taken to be loosely controlled language.[17] Immediately after "they was," we encounter two instances of *did*-periphrasis. This prevalent Book of Mormon usage is only a systematic fit with mid-16th-century patterns, patterns that Joseph was almost certainly unaware of in the 1820s.[18] If we accept a mixture of tightly and loosely controlled revelatory language for "they **was** yet wroth and **did** still continue to murmur," we must accept that the translation process switched between transmitted ideas and words in the same sentence, in this case and in many others like it — thousands of times. The same issue exists with the thousand or so instances of

personal *which* (for example, "Adam and Eve, **which was** our first parents" [1 Nephi 5:11]). If the systematically extra-biblical and archaic relative-pronoun usage of personal *which* was tightly controlled,[19] while the verb agreement was loosely controlled,[20] then again the view must be that there was a mixture of transmitted words and ideas within the same sentence, in this case and in many others like it.

Suppose, then, we stipulate that there was less frequent changing of the translation process. In other words, lengthier passages were tightly and loosely controlled. Less frequent but continual switching is unlikely, however, for at least a couple of reasons. First, the longer the passage, the more likely we are to encounter extra-biblical, archaic usage. There are probably more than 4,000 instances of such usage in the earliest text, out of approximately 250,000 words (excluding lengthier biblical passages). That means we can find stretches of 100 words or so without potential cases of extra-biblical archaism, but not many of them. Second, when we consider the original manuscript and its 75,000 extant words, there is no original manuscript evidence that the dictation changed character repeatedly — that is, there is no convincing evidence of indecision over lexical or syntactic choice, since such corrections are extremely minimal in occurrence. It is a uniformly dictated text with dictation-type errors. If Joseph had been periodically and repeatedly responsible for lexical and syntactic choice under loose control, the rate of scribal correction would have been higher. That is because a human trying to accurately convey a divine revelation would have changed his mind about how to express revealed ideas to a noticeable degree.

Another important item to consider is biblical passages. The dictation witnesses, the unchanging manuscript character at transitions between non-biblical and biblical passages (for example, 1 Nephi 19–20 and 1 Nephi 21–22) and the more than 800 word and constituent differences between King James and Book of Mormon versions indicate that a Bible was not used in the dictation (the figure of more than 800 differences derives from careful comparative work carried out by Royal Skousen). But the otherwise close match with King James passages points to words, not ideas, being sent to Joseph Smith during the dictation. Otherwise the differences in wording between the two texts would have been much greater than they are. In other words, 800+ differences are more than one reasonably expects from copying but fewer than what are reasonably expected from memory.

Consistent tight control is also likely to have been the case in contemporary Doctrine and Covenants revelations, and there is no

compelling reason that it could not have been the case in many later revelations.

Editing and Grammar in the Doctrine and Covenants

The Book of Mormon is of primary importance in determining the nature of the revelatory process between the Lord and Joseph Smith. That is because there is no critical text of the Doctrine and Covenants at this time, and its textual history is complex and difficult. A wide variety of emendations have been made through the years, and a large number have a difficult textual history. Some edits have obscured various archaic features of original revelatory dictations, and some of these have involved questionable grammar and nearby variation, but others have not. In many cases it is hard to be certain of original readings for Doctrine and Covenants passages. Also, some early manuscripts have been lost. This state of affairs hampers us in analyzing its language. Nevertheless, the Joseph Smith Papers project and website are helpful resources, as citations throughout this paper show.

In general, the Doctrine and Covenants is not as consistently archaic as the Book of Mormon. For example, there are fewer instances of archaic vocabulary, and the relative pronoun *who* is generally used in the Doctrine and Covenants (after human antecedents), while the Book of Mormon favors *which*.[21] Also, there is less archaic verbal {-th} morphology in the Doctrine and Covenants than in the Book of Mormon.[22]

First we take a look at language that has not tended to be edited out, that has been generally regarded as acceptable. Then we consider a few items of suspect grammar. These have usually been edited to conform to generally acceptable modern standards. The language to be considered includes:

Acceptable Grammar

- save it be/was/were
- dual-object *command* syntax
- if there shall come
- dual-object *cause* syntax
- if it so be
- expedient in me
- of which hath been spoken

Suspect Grammar

- you ~ thou switching
- *exceeding* used with adjectives
- you ~ ye switching
- the {-th} plural
- subjunctive ~ indicative variation
- the {-s} plural
- plural *was*

Acceptable Grammar and Its Implications

We begin by considering various types of language found in the Doctrine and Covenants that are uncommon or rare in the textual record but which have probably been viewed as unobjectionable and have not been edited out.

The presence of archaic, well-formed, extra-biblical language scattered throughout Doctrine and Covenants revelations casts doubt on the following conclusion by Bushman: "The revealed preface to the *Book of Commandments* specified that the language of the revelations was Joseph Smith's."[23] Although it is hard to pinpoint what exactly Bushman means by this statement when read in isolation, we can gather from the context that he concluded that much of the wording of the revelations came from Joseph's own language, influenced by his exposure through the years to the King James Bible.

Bushman refers to "the simple language of Joseph Smith" (173) and on the following page indicates the possibility that "Joseph's human mind" may have "introduced errors" as well as mentioning "human language coming through the Prophet." But he concludes this section on revelatory language with this sentence: "The words were both his and God's." From all this it seems most likely to me that Bushman meant that the language of these revelations was in the main loosely controlled, with God's language (King James idiom) often coming through because of Joseph's familiarity with the Bible.[24] In essence, Bushman seems to believe that in many instances the Lord gave Joseph Smith ideas that he put into his own words. But his statements don't appear to rule out the possibility of occasional tight control. However, the relative degree of tight and loose control is not discussed.

The principal reason for judgments such as Bushman's has been bad grammar. And more often than not verb agreement peculiarities prompt a conclusion of loose control. But this ignores a large amount

of textual evidence that informs us that the phrase "after the manner of their language" (D&C 1:24) certainly must also encompass complex, well-formed language that was rare, archaic, even obsolete by the 1820s. Therein lies the difficulty: the revelations are full of archaic, literary language mixed with occasional doses of bad grammar. Because of these facts, any explanatory view of revelatory language must account not only for bad grammar but also for archaic, literary language.

During the revelatory process, Joseph would have recognized the archaic language, since it seems to have been filtered for recognition and even sometimes for plainness,[25] but in case after case the textual record tells us that it is very likely he would not have produced the wording from ideas.

The phrase "after the manner of their language" doesn't force the conclusion that faulty verb agreement — from a modern, prescriptive perspective — was the result of Joseph putting ideas into his own words. First, some questionable subject–verb agreement could just as well have been archaic language (such as plural subjects used with singular verb inflection — treated below). Second, we cannot rule out the possibility that the Lord might have tailored some of the language to fit Joseph's American dialectal usage.[26] Nor can we conclude from tight control in relation to the Book of Mormon and the Doctrine and Covenants that the Lord favors Early Modern English in an absolute sense.[27] Both scriptural texts contain modern language as well as many archaisms, and they contain plenty of "good" grammar as well as some "bad" grammar.[28]

In summary, rare, archaic, obsolete usage in Doctrine and Covenants revelations indicates tight control. In isolation, modern usage, nonstandard grammar, or common archaisms (for example, high-frequency biblical language) could be either tightly or loosely controlled language. But in the Book of Mormon, nonstandard grammar is very weak evidence for loose control: in many cases it actually turns out to be evidence for tight control (as shown by non-superficial analysis). And nonstandard grammar in the Doctrine and Covenants that precedes in time or is co-extensive with Book of Mormon language should be considered in the same light. Tight control is able to cover all instances, but loose control fails to convincingly explain the presence of rare, archaic, obsolete language, as the following discussion attempts to demonstrate.

Summary of Findings in the Domain of Acceptable Grammar

Some rare, archaic grammar first appears in the Doctrine and Covenants before or close in time to when it was first dictated in the

Book of Mormon (not counting the lost 1828 dictation). Here is a list that shows the acceptable grammar discussed in this section, along with its earliest use in the Doctrine and Covenants and in the Book of Mormon (assuming that the dictation began with Mosiah):[29]

LANGUAGE	EARLIEST D&C OCCURRENCE	D&C DATE	EARLIEST BofM OCCURRENCE
dual-object *cause* syntax	D&C 5:3	March 1829	Mosiah 6:7
dual-object *command* syntax	D&C 5:2	March 1829	Mosiah 2:30
save it be	D&C 6:12	April 1829	Mosiah 29:21
of which hath been spoken	D&C 8:1	April 1829	Helaman 16:16
save it was	D&C 9:7	April 1829	Alma 49:4
finite *suffer* syntax with *shall*	D&C 10:14	ca. April 1829	Mosiah 13:3
save it were	D&C 18:35	early June 1829	Mosiah 18:19
if it so be that . . . should	D&C 18:15	early June 1829	1 Nephi 19:19
it behooveth <DATIVE> that . . . should	D&C 21:10	6 April 1830	3 Nephi 21:6
there shall a <NP> be <PAST PARTICIPLE>	D&C 21:1	6 April 1830	—
expedient in <NP> that . . . should	D&C 30:5	September 1830	—
if there shall <INTRANSITIVE VERB>	D&C 94:9	2 August 1833	—

"I have caused **him** that **he** should enter . . . " (D&C 5:3) was dictated *before* "king Mosiah did cause **his people** that **they** should till . . . " (Mosiah 6:7). This syntax was either obsolete or very rare by the modern period (after the year 1700).

"I have commanded **him** that **he** should stand . . . " (D&C 5:2) was dictated **before** "and hath commanded **me** that **I** should declare . . . " (Mosiah 2:30). This archaic syntax is biblical: "And commanded **them** that **they** should take nothing . . . " (Mark 6:8). Original instances were rare by the early 19th century.

Of the three non-biblical *save* phrases "save it be/was/were," indicative past-tense "save it was" (D&C 9:7) was probably dictated before the earliest Book of Mormon appearance. The first instances of subjunctive present-tense "save it be" were dictated close in time to each other. Subjunctive past-tense "save it were" (D&C 18:35) was dictated more than a month after the first Book of Mormon occurrence.

Rare "of which hath been spoken" (D&C 8:1) was dictated **before** Helaman 16:16.

"I will not suffer **that** Satan **shall** accomplish . . . " (D&C 10:14) may have been dictated months before (in 1828) or close in time (in April 1829) to "God will not suffer **that** I **shall** be destroyed at this time" (Mosiah 13:3).

Rare "if it so be that . . . should" (D&C 18:15) was dictated close in time to structurally identical 1 Nephi 19:19.

"Wherefore it behooveth me that he should be ordained" (D&C 21:10) was dictated almost 10 months **after** "it behooveth the Father that it should come forth from the Gentiles" (3 Nephi 21:6).

The archaic expression exemplified by "there shall a record be kept" (D&C 21:1) is not found in either the Book of Mormon or the King James Bible. This phraseology is akin to Shakespeare's "There shall not a maid be / married" (*Second Part of Henry the Sixth* 4.7.121–122).

The archaic expression exemplified by "it is expedient in me that thou shalt open thy mouth" (D&C 30:5) is not found in either the Book of Mormon or the King James Bible. An example with *should* has been found in the 17th century. Similar expressions **without** an *in*-phrase are fairly common in the Book of Mormon; the King James Bible has one of these.

Archaic "if there shall come" (D&C 94:9) is not found in either the Book of Mormon or the King James Bible, but it is Early Modern English usage.

While there is close-in-time production of identical archaisms, there are archaic Doctrine and Covenants structures whose dictation preceded that of the same archaic Book of Mormon structures. Thus there is no compelling reason to attribute close-in-time Doctrine and Covenants archaisms to Book of Mormon usage. While there might have been influence in some cases, there is no conclusive evidence against the occurrence of separately revealed, tightly controlled wording.

"Save it be/was/were"

There are 11 instances of "save it be/was/were" in the Doctrine and Covenants (sections 6, 9, 18, 33, 58, 61, 68, and 104; 1829–1834). This compact phraseology is rare in the textual record before 1830 and particularly suited to poetic use. As of this writing, I have encountered no American instance before the time of the Book of Mormon's publication.

Nine of the eleven instances take the present-tense subjunctive form "save it be."[30] In writings published before 1830, the short phrase "save it be" has currently been verified in the works of three late 17th-century Scottish authors[31] as well as once each in the 19th-century works of an English clergyman (who was also a translator and a botanist) and an Irish literary enthusiast.[32]

The earliest use of "save it be" in the Doctrine and Covenants can be seen in the 1833 Book of Commandments:

Book of Commandments 5:5 (D&C 6:12) [April 1829][33]

> Make not thy gift known unto any,
> **save it be** those which[34] are of thy faith.

The revelation was probably set down in writing before Alma 58:31, which reads identically in part: "all *save it be those which* have been taken prisoners." Even considering this evidence in isolation, we can reasonably assert that this five-word phrase was very likely tightly controlled in both instances. Had it not been tightly controlled, we would probably read the three-word phrase "**except** those **who**" in both Book of Commandments 5:5 and Alma 58:31.[35]

Interestingly, the nine instances of "save it be" in the Doctrine and Covenants are roughly equal to the number currently verified in the earlier textual record. This means there are no writings that employ this rare phrase in any frequency close to what is found in Doctrine and Covenants revelations.[36]

The phrase "save it was" is found in D&C 9:7.[37] This phrase is even rarer in the pre-1830 textual record than "save it be." William Tyndale employed the phrase as part of his glossary to the book of Exodus in 1530.[38] There is also an instance in a 1607 poetic translation of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*,[39] and another 17th-century example found in EEBO or in Literature Online (LION).[40] "Save **that** it was" is the phrase encountered in the textual record more often, but neither the Doctrine and Covenants nor the Book of Mormon ever employs this short phrase type with the complementizer *that*.

The phrase "save it were" is found in D&C 18:35.[41] This might be even rarer in the pre-1830 textual record than "save it was." Currently we know of an obscure poetic instance by a Scotsman in 1646[42] and an occurrence in an old Scottish folk song, published occasionally beginning no later than 1751.[43]

In summary, the phrase type "save it be/was/were," as found 11 times in the Doctrine and Covenants (and 128 times in the Book of Mormon), is very likely to be tightly controlled revelatory language.

Dual-Object *command* Syntax[44]

Because the original production of dual-object syntax[45] after the verb *command* was rare by the 1820s,[46] instances of this construction found in the Doctrine and Covenants are likely to be examples of tightly

controlled language. The most complex case of this syntactic structure found in the revelations is the following:

> D&C 124:38 [19 January 1841; scribed by Robert B. Thompson][47]
>
> > for, for this cause I **commanded** Moses
> > **that** he <u>should</u> build a tabernacle,
> > **that** they <u>should</u> bear it with them in the wilderness,
> > and **to** build a house in the land of promise,
> > that those ordinances might be revealed
> > which had been hid from before the world was;

Moses is the first object after the verb *commanded*, and then there are two *that*-clauses (which are also grammatical objects), followed by an infinitival complement.[48] There is a switch from co-referential *Moses ~ he* (*he* refers to *Moses*), to partially distinct *Moses ~ they* (*Moses* is part of *they*),[49] and then to infinitival "I commanded Moses . . . **to** build."[50] The complexity of the above structure and the rarity of mixed complementation in the textual record increase the likelihood that the wording here was tightly controlled.

There are other examples of dual-object *command* syntax in the Doctrine and Covenants, including D&C 5:2;[51] 5:4;[52] 19:25, 26, 28; and 76:115.[53] The last one in this list is noteworthy in that the *command* syntax is part of a relative clause, and it doesn't employ a complementizer *that*:

> D&C 76:115 [16 February 1832; copied between 16 February and 8 March 1832, handwriting of Frederick G. Williams and Joseph Smith, Jr.][54]
>
> > *Which* he COMMANDED **us we** <u>should</u> not write
> > while we were yet in the Spirit,

Similar syntax can be seen in Alma 63:12 and Helaman 6:25,[55] but the following is a precise match, since it also involves a dual-object structure in a relative clause:

> 1650, EEBO A40026, George Foster, *The Pouring Forth of the Seventh and Last Vial upon All Flesh and Fleshlines*, page 57
>
> > by his longing desire after the fruit
> > *which* I had COMMANDED **him he** <u>should</u> not eat of,
>
> > > The "which . . . commanded **us we** <u>should</u> not" of D&C 76:115
> > > exactly parallels Foster's "which . . . commanded **him he** <u>should</u> not."
> > > Both phrases have the relative pronoun *which*,
> > > repeated pronominals, and negation after *should*.[56]

Most complementation after the verb *command* in the Doctrine and Covenants, however, is infinitival. I haven't carried out an extremely careful tally, but a preliminary estimate yields a rate of 76% infinitival.[57] This marks the text as distinct from the systematic usage of the Book

of Mormon, which is only 21% infinitival. However, part of this large difference stems from the fact that there are many passive *command* verbs in the Doctrine and Covenants.

Interestingly, almost all cases of finite complementation in the Doctrine and Covenants are dual-object constructions, which is the more archaic variety that had become rare by the 19th century. Therefore, the Doctrine and Covenants is an interesting hybrid of syntactic structures in this regard: it is somewhat biblical in its complementation distribution (not modern), and quite archaic in its heavy use of dual-object finite *command* syntax.

"If there shall come"

The phrase "if there shall come" is marked as archaic in two ways: by the use of existential *there* with the intransitive verb *come*, and by the future subjunctive marker *shall* being used after the hypothetical *if*. The co-occurrence of these archaic elements in one short phrase makes it rare in the modern era. Surprisingly, there are no instances of the phrase "if there shall" in either the Book of Mormon or the King James Bible. The Doctrine and Covenants has one instance of this:

> D&C 94:9 [2 August 1833; scribed by Frederick G. Williams][58]
>> but **if ther shall come** into it any unclean thing
>> my glory shall not be there and my presence shall not come into it.

The EEBO database currently contains 21 examples of this four-word phrase.[59] Significantly, neither Google Books nor LION provides examples from the 18th or 19th centuries at this time.[60] Here are the two earliest-dated examples from EEBO:

> 1534, EEBO A13615, Nicolas Udall (translator),
> Terence's *Flowers for Latin speaking*, page 14
>> **If there shall come** more hurt or displesure vnto vs bothe
>> than profyte therby.

> 1583, EEBO A67922, John Foxe (editor), *Book of Martyrs*, page 481
>> First of al, **if there shall come** such one
>> (saying expresly that he is Christ)
>> what Christian would be seduced by him,
>> though he shuld do neuer so many miracles:

Thus the phrase "if there shall come" is language characterisitic of the Early Modern English era, not yet verified in the late modern textual record before 1833, when section 94 was revealed. Consequently, by

1833 it was very rare syntax, and even if textual attestations are found in the future, the wording in this case was likely to be tightly controlled.[61] Loose control might have given us "if any unclean thing come(s)," "if there come(s) any unclean thing," or "if any unclean thing shall come." In fine, there were five possibilities that were more likely than the one that the Doctrine and Covenants has in section 94, revealed just after the Plot of Zion.

Dual-Object *cause* Syntax and Related Structures[62]

Besides having two instances of dual-object *command* syntax, section 5 of the Doctrine and Covenants has one instance of dual-object **cause** syntax:

> D&C 5:3 [March 1829; copied about April 1829;
> handwriting of Oliver Cowdery][63]
>> nevertheless I have caused **him** that **he** should enter
>> into a covenant with me
>>> This currently reads: "**And** I have caused **you** that **you** should enter . . . "[64]

I haven't found this redundant syntactic structure in the modern period yet, and I have looked for it several times. In contrast, as of this writing I have been able to verify about 30 Early Modern English examples of this construction.[65] Here is one that is very close to the original language of D&C 5:3 (accidentals regularized):[66]

> 1550, EEBO A22686, Nycolas Lesse (translator),
> Augustine's *A Work of the Predestination of Saints*
>> Their works and deeds do not **cause him that he should** perform
>> that which he hath promised.

In the 19th-century textual record, virtually all causative constructions involving the verb *cause* and taking verbal complements were infinitival. Finite complementation was very uncommon by this time (probably less than 0.25%, and perhaps less than 0.1%).[67] As a result, had the language of D&C 5:3 not been tightly controlled, it almost certainly would have read differently, something like "I have caused him **to** enter into a covenant with me" or "I have **made** him enter." Even if we suppose that Joseph might have opted for finite complementation here, it is extremely unlikely that the superfluous object *him* would have been used, since dual-object syntax with the verb *cause* was obsolete or very rare by this time.[68]

Next we consider finite complementation with the auxiliary *shall*, which is rarely found in the early 19th-century textual record.[69] This

formal language involves future subjunctive marking in the *that*-clause *(shall)*. The usage rate of this syntax diminished century by century from the 16th century on. Yet there are two of these rare constructions among the earlier revelations found in the Doctrine and Covenants, both beginning with "I will cause":

D&C 9:8 [April 1829; copied by John Whitmer about March 1831][70]

> and if it is right I will CAUSE **that** your bosom **shall** burn within you;

D&C 21:8 [6 April 1830; copied by John Whitmer about March 1831][71]

> and I will CAUSE **that** he **shall** mourn for her no longer;

This particular construction is absent from the King James Bible, and it was very likely to be tightly controlled language when we consider it along with the obsolete dual-object *cause* syntax found in D&C 5:3 and the nearby co-occurrence of rare phraseology such as "save it was" in D&C 9:7 and "there shall a record be kept" in D&C 21:1[72] and "it behooveth me that he should be ordained by you" in D&C 21:10.[73] In other words, there is a slight possibility that Joseph Smith would have produced this syntax on his own, if we consider it in isolation, but that view is even less likely once we take into account other nearby or related Doctrine and Covenants language.

Very similar to D&C 9:8 and 21:8 is the following language, involving the verb *suffer*:

D&C 10:14, 43 [about April 1829; parts may date as early as summer 1828; copied by John Whitmer about March 1831][74]

> I will not SUFFER **that** Satan **shall** accomplish his evil design in this thing
>
> I will not SUFFER **that** they **shall** destroy my work

This *suffer* syntax with finite complementation containing the auxiliary *shall* was also rare language in the spring of 1829.[75] It is properly classified as archaic, literary usage.

There is one other instance of finite *cause* syntax in the Doctrine and Covenants that is very similar to the above. In the following example the auxiliary of the *that*-clause is *should*, for which there is matching King James language (but only two instances):[76]

D&C 29:41 [September 1830; copied by John Whitmer about March 1831][77]

> Wherefore I the Lord God CAUSED **that** he **should** be cast out
> from the Garden of Edan from my presence

Even though the auxiliary *should* in this syntax was relatively more frequent in contemporary texts than the auxiliary *shall*, this usage of D&C 29:41 was quite uncommon by the early 19th century.[78]

Elsewhere in the Doctrine and Covenants, infinitival *cause* syntax occurs slightly more than 20 times.[79] In the case of revelatory language, the finite rate of the Doctrine and Covenants is approximately 15%, which is extremely high for the modern period and very rare in the 19th century, but much lower than the extraordinary 56% finite complementation rate after the verb *cause* in the Book of Mormon.

"If it so be"

The 1611 King James Bible consistently employs the distinctive, emphatic hypothetical phrase "if so be" 18 times.[80] In contrast, the earliest text of the Book of Mormon consistently employs the four-word phrase "if **it** so be" 42 times.[81] This categorical difference indicates tight control of this phraseology in the Book of Mormon, since it is reasonable to assume that biblical influence would have prompted at least a few instances of "if so be" in the Book of Mormon under loose control (or no use at all of this archaic hypothetical). The very rare usage of the subjunctive auxiliaries *shall* and *should* in complementary *that*-clauses after "if it so be," found seven times in the Book of Mormon, cements this view.[82]

Interestingly, the only 16th-century Bible that has "if **it** so be" is the 1568 Bishops' Bible, which has a single example of this: "And yf **it** so be that he fynde it" (Matthew 18:13).[83] This archaic phrase can be found in Chaucer's writings more than a dozen times, and was used at approximately 30 times the rate in the 16th century versus the 17th century.[84] "If so be" was the more frequent phrase throughout the Early Modern English period, but was heavily dominant by the 17th century. Consequently, "if **it** so be" is clearly a phrase that is characteristic of the late Middle English period and the first half of the Early Modern English period.[85] This phrase can be found in the 19th century in novel production, but instances are very uncommon.[86]

The Doctrine and Covenants has three examples of this archaic phrase, each time followed by a *that*-clause. Two of these have following finite verbs whose grammatical mood cannot be determined:

D&C 27:2

> it mattereth not what ye shall eat or what ye shall drink
> when ye partake of the sacrament,
> **if it so be that** ye do it with an eye single to my glory

D&C 61:22

> And it mattereth not unto me, after a little,
> **if it so be that** they fill their mission,
> whether they go by water or by land;

In both these passages the nonbiblical, archaic phrase "it mattereth not" precedes the usage.[87] The subjunctive was often employed after "it mattereth not what" in the Early Modern English era, and D&C 27:2 has two instances of future subjunctive *shall* after this phrase. This is formal auxiliary usage in this context. That syntax, along with closely occurring "if it so be," points to tight control in this verse. But the third case of "if it so be" is from an early June 1829 dictation. The surrounding language strongly suggests tight control.

The earliest extant version of this case of "if it so be" in the Doctrine and Covenants reads as follows:

Book of Commandments 15:17 (D&C 18:15)[88]

> And **if it so be** that you **should** labor in[89] all your days,
> in crying repentance unto this people,
> and bring **save it be** one soul only[90] unto me,
> how great shall be your joy with him in the kingdom of my Father?

The Book of Mormon has one example of matching syntax: "if **it** so be that they **should** obtain these things" (1 Nephi 19:19). Both passages would have been dictated at roughly the same time, and it's possible that D&C 18:15 was written down before 1 Nephi 19:19. As a result, one cannot make the case that this Doctrine and Covenants language depended on the matching Book of Mormon language.

The co-occurrence of the auxiliary *should* (functioning as an archaic subjunctive marker) in the *that*-clause of the non–King James phrase "if **it** so be" is very rare in English of any time period.[91] To date I have found only one matching example:

1481, EEBO A69111, translation of Cicero's *Cato On Old Age*

> But **if it so be** that my soul **should** die with my body together
>
>   Spelling and morphology modernized.

Modern instances of the syntax "if **it** so be that <SUBJECT> **should** <INFINITIVE>" may be found going forward, but probably few of them. As discussed before, "save it be" is also a rare phrase, and it is used almost immediately after "if it so be that . . . should." The co-occurrence of these linguistic elements in D&C 18:15 makes tight control extremely likely in this revelatory instance. In other words, it is extremely unlikely

that Joseph Smith would have produced the combined wording of this passage from his own language or experience.

"Expedient in me"

The phrase "expedient in me" is an example of language that we can find in the Book of Mormon once, without a verbal complement: "ye shall have power to do whatsoever thing is expedient in me" (Moroni 7:33). Also, the Book of Mormon has many cases of "expedient that S," where S stands for sentence. These Book of Mormon sentences usually contain the auxiliary verb *should*. (Generally speaking, sentences have finite verbs, and these finite verbs can be non-main verbs such as *should* and *shall*.) The Doctrine and Covenants has more than 10 examples of "expedient **in me** that S" with *should*, as well as one with *shalt*. Doctrine and Covenants usage is thus derivable from the Book of Mormon, but the syntax "expedient in <NOUN PHRASE> that S" is very rare in the general textual record outside of the Doctrine and Covenants.

There are 20 instances of the phrase "expedient in me" in the current Doctrine and Covenants,[92] and most of these are followed by dependent *that*-clauses.[93] In contrast to Doctrine and Covenants usage, the few relevant examples seen in the greater textual record are almost always infinitival — that is, of the form "expedient in <AN AGENCY> **to** <INFINITIVAL VERB PHRASE>."

In the Doctrine and Covenants, the prepositional phrase "in me" always refers to the Lord, who is distinct from the entity that is the subject of the complement clause (the *that*-clause). This is apparently what makes the language rare.

The Oxford English Dictionary may not have a definition for the preposition *in* that is directly on point, and there are several possible meanings that we could assign to *in* as used in this construction.[94]

We can profitably contrast typical Doctrine and Covenants usage with the way Joseph Smith employed it in a 1 September 1842 letter that he wrote:

> D&C 127:1[95]
>
> > I have thought it **expedient** and wisdom **in me** to leave the place for a short season, for my own safety and the safety of this people.

This is probably Joseph's own language, and it shows an awareness of language he frequently received by revelation, but he employs it somewhat differently. Elsewhere in the Doctrine and Covenants the verb *think* and the *in*-phrase are not used together.[96] And in the letter the *me* of the

phrase "in me" is the same as the understood subject of the infinitival complement. In other Doctrine and Covenants instances, the Lord is the one who deems something suitable or proper to the circumstances of the case,[97] but humans are to take action or refrain from some action.

We find that the three-word phrase "expedient in **me**" is textually rare, currently attested in a single 17th-century translation out of Latin: "all things are lawful for me . . . but are not all **expedient in me**, making me better" (1646, EEBO A25854,; paraphrasing 1 Corinthians 6:12). Not too much should be made of this, however, since we can find examples of "expedient in him/them" in later language as well (see note 102).

As mentioned, most of the time a *that*-clause follows "expedient in me" in the Doctrine and Covenants. The one case with an accompanying **infinitival** verb phrase is the following:

> D&C 72:2 [4 December 1831; scribed by Sidney Rigdon][98]
>
> for verily thus saith the Lord
> it is **expedient in me** *for* a Bishop **to** be appointed unto you

Here the preposition *for* immediately follows the phrase "it is expedient in me," and there is an accompanying infinitival verb phrase after the noun phrase "a bishop." If this passage had been phrased in the usual way, it would have read: "it is expedient in me **that** a bishop **should** be appointed unto you." The phraseology with *for* is less archaic than the 17 instances of "it is expedient in me" immediately followed by dependent *that*-clauses.[99] So in its overall usage of this construction the Doctrine and Covenants is clearly more archaic than modern. Here are two examples that employ an auxiliary — *shall* and *should* — after the subject of the *that*-clause:

> D&C 30:5 [September 1830; scribed by John Whitmer][100]
>
> for the time has come, that it is **expedient in me**,
> *that* thou **shalt** open thy mouth to declare my Gospel

> D&C 64:18 [11 September 1831; scribed by John Whitmer][101]
>
> & now verily I say, that it is **expedient in me** *that* my servent Sidney
> (Gilbert) after a few weeks, **should** return upon his business,
>
> > The manuscript reads *should;* the current LDS text has *shall* here.

The D&C 30:5 example is the earliest one found in this body of scripture. It was dictated more than a year after Moroni 7:33, the lone Book of Mormon example, which, however, has no dependent *that*-clause or infinitival complement.

The particular syntax in question — "it <BE verb form/phrase> expedient **in** <agentive NP>" — is neither common nor rare in the

textual record, but what **is** rare is the co-occurrence of an *in*-phrase and a dependent *that*-clause. The closest match found to date with this fairly common Doctrine and Covenants language is the following:

> 1634, EEBO A23187, Meric Casaubon (translator),
> Marcus Aurelius's *Meditations*
>
> > It was **expedient in nature** *that* it **should** be so, and therefore necessary.

In every other instance encountered thus far — either before or after the year 1700 — the agent of the *in*-phrase is the same as subject of the complement, and an infinitival verb phrase is used.

The date distribution of the above 1634 example and the seven infinitival examples isolated for this study[102] suggests that this language was somewhat more characteristic of the 17th century than of the 18th century,[103] but nevertheless the usage clearly persisted into the 19th century.

When we consider cases of "it <BE verb form> expedient" **without** an *in*-phrase, we encounter hundreds of examples in the textual record with complementary *that*-clauses. The favored auxiliary in *that*-clauses after this impersonal expression is *should*, followed distantly by *shall*.[104] That same tendency is reflected in both the Book of Mormon and the Doctrine and Covenants. The latter has 12 instances of *should* (as in D&C 64:18, shown above) and only one of *shalt* (D&C 30:5, shown above).[105] I haven't yet found a precise match with D&C 30:5 in the textual record,[106] but the 1634 Casaubon example is structurally the same, differing only in the tense of the auxiliary.

As indicated, Joseph could have derived this syntax from analogous Book of Mormon usage. The other possibility (because of how uncommon this linguistic structure is in the written record) is that "expedient in me that <SUBJECT> should/shall" was tightly controlled revelatory language. We do not expect that Smith would have formulated it this way and in such a consistent manner from his own language. It is likely he would have expressed it another way from revealed ideas, and varied the language. Even under analogy, we expect that the language would be more variable than it actually is, similar to the idiosyncratic usage found in D&C 127:1. Consequently, no matter if we choose to think of this particular language as modern or archaic, it was most likely to have been the result of wording that was tightly controlled in its delivery.

"Of which hath been spoken"

Section 8 originally had one example of this archaic, little-known phraseology:

D&C 8:1 [April 1829; copied by John Whitmer about March 1831][107]

> those parts of my Scriptures **of which hath been spoken**
>
>> The 1833 Book of Commandments 7:1 reads "those parts of my scripture of which **have** been spoken"; the current reading is "those parts of my scripture of which **has** been spoken."

We see that *hath* was first changed to *have* for the 1833 Book of Commandments, and then later (after 1844) to *has*. Thus it is possible, if not likely, that the phraseology dictated one month later (for which the manuscripts are lost) read the same, since later editing followed the same path:[108]

> Book of Commandments 10:9 (D&C 11:19)
> [May 1829; copied by John Whitmer about March 1831][109]
>
>> those things of which **have** been spoken
>>
>>> This currently reads "those things of which **has** been spoken."

The Book of Mormon has two instances in the body of the work (Helaman 16:16; Ether 13:15) and one in each of the witness statements.[110] In three of these the antecedent is in the plural, as is the case in the above Doctrine and Covenants excerpts. These may be cases of the {-th} plural.[111]

Alexander Campbell criticized the Book of Mormon for employing "of which hath been spoken," giving three examples of it.[112] Campbell may have thought Smith had invented the phraseology in order to sound old. This is not dialectal speech, however, but formal in nature; it is uncommonly found in the Early Modern English era, as in these five examples:

> 1630, EEBO A01972, William Gouge [1578–1653]
> *An exposition on the whole fifth chapter of S. Johns Gospell*
>
>> The parts are, 1. A Preface, Verily, etc.] **of which hath been spoken** before, . . .
>>
>> The meanes are expressed in these words, (the whole armour of God) **of which hath been spoken** before, vers. 11.

> 1657, EEBO A57385, Francis Roberts [1609–1675]
> *The mysterie and marrow of the Bible*
>
>> Divine and Humane, and amongst Divine, both of Works and Faith do concur, That they are Compacts or Agreements. **Of which hath been spoken** sufficiently heretofore.

1683, EEBO A54597, John Pettus (translator) [1613–1690] | Lazarus Ercker [d. 1594] *Fleta minor the laws of art and nature, in knowing, judging, assaying, fining, refining and inlarging the bodies of confin'd metals*

> FLUSS (**of which hath been spoken**) is made thus,
> Take one part of Salt-peter and two parts of Argol

1685, EEBO A42965, Thomas Godwin [d. 1642]
Moses and Aaron civil and ecclesiastical rites

> First, he consulted with his arrows and staves,
> **of which hath been spoken** immediately before;

The 1683 example is a bare use without any accompanying adverb, similar to what is found in the Book of Mormon.[113] In addition, two or three of the above examples may have plural antecedents, as we encounter in both the Book of Mormon and the Doctrine and Covenants.

Significantly, section 8 was set down in writing before Helaman 16:16, and so archaic "of which hath been spoken" in D&C 8:1 preceded its use in the Book of Mormon.

Suspect Grammar

Now that it has been established that it is reasonable to accept tight control for a variety of Doctrine and Covenants language, we extend our view to examine some questionable grammar. This is the aspect of these revelations which has led commentators to conclude that the wording was Joseph Smith's. They did so without researching earlier English, which was extremely difficult to do until recently. We will see that the "bad grammar" of the Doctrine and Covenants only strengthens the claim of tight control; it does not diminish it.

Close Pronominal Variation: *you ~ thou*

First we consider the following revelation addressed to Martin Harris:

D&C 19:26 [summer of 1829; copied by John Whitmer][114]

> And again, I command **you** that **thou** shalt not covet **thine** own property, but impart it freely to the printing of the Book of Mormon,

Here the doubtful language is the immediate pronoun switch from *you* to *thou* (and continuing with *thine)*. There are several of these close switches in this section alone.[115] This may have been thought to be a mistake on the part of Joseph Smith, and so *you* was later changed to *thee* a few times in this section, since the addressee (Harris) is a single person.

As discussed in the prior section, dual-object syntax after the verb *command*[116] was rare by the 1820s, and so the *you* after the verb *command*

was probably tightly controlled language. If the wording hadn't been tightly controlled here, we would expect no *you* here, only "I command that thou shalt." There would have been only one pronoun, and therefore no grammatically suspect shift in pronominal form.

Interestingly, the immediate pronoun switching of D&C 19:26 can be found in various Early Modern English texts, as in the following examples (the spelling has been regularized):

1623, EEBO A16053, James Mabbe (translator), Mateo Alemán's *The Rogue, or the Life of Guzmán de Alfarache*, page 353

> And in case I should go hence, I will so far befriend **you**, that **thou** shalt be ranked like a rogue, according as **thy** villanies deserve,

before 1647, EEBO A30582, Jeremiah Burroughs, *Gospel Remission* (1668), page 59

> and therefore I beseech **you** look up higher than for such signs as reason may reach unto, and beg of God to reveal this unto **you**, that **thou** mayest have the witness of the Spirit of God to testify unto **thee** that **thy** sins are pardoned.

In the 1623 example, the pronominal switch involves the same auxiliary we see in the revelation given during the summer of 1829: "thou shalt."[117] And in the Burroughs example, there are two instances of *you* followed closely by *thou* and a continuation of *thou* forms, similar to the use of *thine* in D&C 19:26. The close switch is even found in the current King James Bible:

Ezekiel 36:13

> Because they say unto **you**, **Thou** land devourest up men, and hast bereaved thy nations;

Another biblical verse is worth pointing out as well, since it has "command you" followed closely by *thou:*

Deuteronomy 12:32

> What thing soever I COMMAND **you**, observe to do it:
> **thou** shalt not add thereto, nor diminish from it.

The Doctrine and Covenants usage in question can be viewed as a compact form of the language of Deuteronomy 12:32.

Therefore the questionable pronoun variation found in D&C 19:26 and elsewhere in these revelations and in the Book of Mormon[118] is actually biblical and not rare in the Early Modern English textual record. Its usage in the Doctrine and Covenants certainly does not argue against

tight control of the language or convincingly point to it being Joseph Smith's language.

The Adverb *exceeding* Used with Adjectives

Another type of edited Doctrine and Covenants language worth considering is the two instances of "exceeding angry," originally found at D&C 87:5 and 88:87 (scribed in late December 1832 by Frederick G. Williams).[119] This can only be a minor point, however, since by late 1832 frequent Book of Mormon usage could have influenced Joseph Smith to adopt the typical morphological form of the Book of Mormon in these Doctrine and Covenants revelations.[120]

The Google Books *Ngram Viewer* currently indicates that in the 1830s the short adverbial form without {-ly} in the phrase "exceeding angry" occurred less than 15% of the time in the textual record. But this same abbreviated form had been dominant in the 17th century and before. Consequently, we might expect that at least one of these would have been "exceeding**ly** angry" had the dictation not been tightly controlled here.[121] A contemporary example of the modern morphological usage is the phrase "exceding**ly** fateagued," found in a July 1833 letter scribed by Williams, but probably representing the language of Sidney Rigdon.[122] Because this letter contains an instance of *exceedingly* used with a following adjective, it strengthens the possibility of tight control over the morphology of the adverb in the Doctrine and Covenants bigram "exceeding angry."[123]

The 15% textual usage rate of "exceeding angry" in the 1830s agrees with the general rule of this decade that *exceeding* used before all adjectives was the less-common form (20%), slowly diminishing in rate decade by decade. The crossover for *exceeding(ly)* with adjectives, in terms of textual attestation, occurred in the 1770s.[124] In other words, during the decade of the 1770s "exceeding**ly** <small>ADJECTIVE</small>" finally surpassed "exceeding <small>ADJECTIVE</small>" in frequency of use in the textual record.[125]

In summary, two instances of "exceeding angry" in sections 87 and 88 are consistent with tight control but may also be ascribed to the influence of frequent Book of Mormon usage. If so, "exceeding angry" in Doctrine and Covenants revelations could be a case of indirect tight control.

Close Pronominal Variation: *ye ~ you*

Just as we see very often in the Book of Mormon, the Doctrine and Covenants switches between subject *you* and subject *ye*. This was quite

common during the Early Modern English period and close switching of subject *you* and subject *ye* is not hard to find in the original **1611** King James Bible (discussed below).

In terms of the history of English usage, we find that subject *you* had overtaken subject *ye* by the 1570s as the clearly favored form in textual use.[126] Yet despite the pronoun *ye* being quite archaic, it is familiar to many because of its prevalence in older biblical versions.[127] In Early Modern English there is plenty of evidence for nearby variation of subject *you* and subject *ye;* here are examples from the Doctrine and Covenants, the Book of Mormon, and a 17th-century sermon:

> D&C 98:14 [6 August 1833; copied about 6 August 1833, handwriting of Frederick G. Williams and Joseph Smith, Jr.][128]
>
>> I will prove *you* in all things
>> whether **you** will abide in my covenant even unto death
>> that **ye** may be found worthy
>>
>>> The *ye* was changed at some point to *you*.
>>> There is also an instance of object *you* in this verse, shown in italics here.
>
> Alma 5:20
>
>> Can **ye** think of being saved
>> when **you** have yielded yourselves to become subjects to the devil?
>>
>>> The subject *you* in this passage has remained in the text;
>>> grammatical editing in the Book of Mormon has been uneven.
>
> 1617, EEBO A17051, Robert Bruce [1554–1631] *The way to true peace and rest*
>
>> and if **ye** find these in any measure, though never so small,
>> **you** have the right faith in your hearts;

Significantly, the original **1611** King James Bible has 44 instances of subject *you* in the two-word phrase "that you."[129] (This 2-gram can no longer be found in modern versions of the King James Bible; a sampling showed them to be edited out by 1769.) There are many other cases of subject *you* to be found in the 1611 King James Bible besides these. Because there are so many instances of subject *you* in this Bible, there are also cases where subject *ye* is employed close to subject *you*. As a result, a number of 1611 King James Bible examples straightforwardly dismiss the view that nearby subject *ye* ~ *you* variation is ill-formed or inappropriate for a scriptural text. Here is one such example:

> Job 19:3 [original 1611 spelling retained]
>
>> These tenne times haue **ye** reproched me:
>> **you** are not ashamed that **you** make your selues strange to me.
>>
>>> The two instances of *you* were changed at some point to *ye*.

In view of this textual evidence, we see that the pronominal editing in D&C 98:14 has had the effect of making this passage less like Early Modern English and the 1611 King James Bible, and more like modern English.

This same variation occurred in **early** Doctrine and Covenants revelations as well, as the following examples show:

D&C 6:30[130]   blessed are **ye**, for **you** shall dwell with me in glory:

D&C 17:7–8[131]   wherefore **you** have received the same power . . .
                  and if **ye** do these last commandments of mine

Another item directly relevant to this discussion is the multiple occurrences of **singular** *ye* in manuscripts of early revelations. This questionable pronominal usage most likely represents tightly controlled Early Modern English usage,[132] lending support for viewing *ye* ~ *you* variation in the same way. Consequently, what looks at first blush to be a minor grammatical error by Joseph Smith might actually constitute further evidence of tight control in the revelatory process.

The {-th} Plural[133]

Elsewhere I have treated this topic in some depth, showing that the present-tense {-th} plural of the Book of Mormon is not a case of conscious overuse since there is very little of it after pronouns, and much heavier rates of use after relative pronouns and conjunctions, matching Early Modern English tendencies.[134]

By the 19th century, the {-th} plural was very rare, restricted to the archaic auxiliary verbs *hath* and *doth*. An early Doctrine and Covenants revelation (given July 1828) has an example with plural *hath* following the relative pronoun *who:* "the Lamanites . . . who **hath** been suffered to destroy their Brethren" (D&C 3:18).[135] In contrast to its considerable presence in the Book of Mormon, there are far fewer examples of the {-th} plural in the Doctrine and Covenants. Here are two possible cases with **main** verbs (which makes the usage anomalous for the 1830s):

D&C 93:33, 37 [6 May 1833; scribed by Frederick G. Williams][136]
     and SPIRIT and ELEMENT inseperably connected **receiveth** a fulness of Joy
     LIGHT and TRUTH **forsaketh** that evil one

These are examples with grammatical subjects made up of conjoined singular nouns. Although the nouns are fairly concrete in verse 33, in verse 37 they are not. And conjoined singular **abstract** nouns often did not (and do not) resolve to plural in English.

Nevertheless, based on textual evidence, even "light and truth" may be viewed as sufficiently distinct so that we can assume plural number resolution, and later editing has treated the phrase in this way, changing *forsaketh* to *forsake* (and *receiveth* was changed at some point to *receive* as well). Indeed, here is an excerpt with plural *are* after the subject phrase "light and truth":

> 1660, EEBO A62877, John Tombes, *True old light exalted above pretended new light*
>
> LIGHT and TRUTH **are** either the same, or very like, and helpfull to each other, Psal. 43. 3.
>
> > Psalm 43:3 reads, in part:
> > "O send out THY **light** and THY **truth**: let **them** lead me."

This 1660 example clearly shows plural construal of the complex subject "light and truth," and in Psalm 43:3 they are given their own possessive pronouns and referred to with the plural pronoun *them*.

More to the point, here are two Early Modern English examples with conjoined "truth and light" that could contain instances of the {-th} plural, similar to the language of D&C 93:37:

> 1618, EEBO A05105, Richard Dolman (translator), Pierre de la Primaudaye's *The French academie*
>
> and taught by the soueraigne doctor and supreme brightnes from which all TRUTH and LIGHT **doth** issue.

> 1656, EEBO A44342, Thomas Hooker, *The application of redemption by the effectual work of the word, and spirit of Christ*
>
> But now in a Godly man whose understanding is turned from darkness to light, when the TRUTH and LIGHT of it **hath** by the spirit of bondage been set on upon the mind and Conscience, you shal see day breaking as it were,

In summary, "light and truth" may be a complex plural subject in D&C 93:37, and "spirit and element" is probably a complex plural subject in D&C 93:33. From that perspective, their predicates contain main verbs carrying {-th} plural inflection. This could be tightly controlled language, just as it almost certainly is in the Book of Mormon (because of the deep match with 16th- and 17th-century inflectional tendencies).

Subjunctive ~ Indicative Variation

According to the current Joseph Smith Papers transcription of the manuscript found in *Revelation Book 2*, the following passage contained nearby variation in grammatical mood after the time conjunction *until:*

D&C 98:44 [6 August 1833][137]

> **untill** he **repent** and **rewards**[138] thee four fold in all things

Indicative *rewards* was edited for the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants to subjunctive *reward*,[139] since it is under the same uncertain future time condition as subjunctive *repent*. Here are two 17th-century examples of this close variation after the same time conjunction:

> 1662, EEBO A67153, Abraham Wright, *A practical commentary or exposition upon the Pentateuch*
>
> > So hard a thing it is to perswade sinners to beleeve that God is so just, or his Judgements so infallible, or their sins so destructive, **until** the Floud **come**, and a second Deluge, a Deluge of Fire **sweeps** them away, as that first of Waters did their unbeleeving fore-fathers.

> 1669, EEBO A23716, Richard Allestree, *Eighteen sermons*
>
> > yet he reckons of all this as if he had said nothing **till** he **speak** Plagues and **commands** afflictions; Psal. 50. 21.

Unlike the doubtful case of subjunctive ~ indicative variation in D&C 98:44, a solid example of such contextual variation is found in the following early revelation:

> D&C 3:4 [summer of 1828][140]
>
> > yet **if** he **boast** in his own strength & **Sets** at naught the councils of God & **follows** after the dictates of his will & carnal desires
> > he must fall to the Earth & incur the vengence of a Just God upon him
> >
> > > Subjunctive *boast* has been changed to indicative *boasts*.[141]

Here are similar examples after the hypothetical *if*,[142] as found in the Book of Mormon, the 1539 Great Bible, and the 1611 King James Bible:

> Helaman 13:26
>
> > **if** a prophet **come** among you and **declareth** unto you the word of the Lord
> >
> > > This reading persists in the current LDS text; it is natural language variation.

> 1539, Great Bible, James 1:23 [EEBO A10405, (1540)]
>
> > For **yf** any man **heare** yᵉ worde, and **declareth** not the same by hys workes,[143]
> >
> > > The indicative verb in the conjoined predicate is the same as the one in Helaman 13:26.

> 1611, King James Bible, 1 John 4:20
>
> > **If** a man **say**, I loue God, and **hateth** his brother, he is a lyar.

The language of 1 John 4:20 may be the only example of variable grammatical mood after a single instance of the hypothetical in the King James Bible,[144] but there are a few of these in the Book of Mormon. In the King James Bible, the phrase "I love God" interrupts the syntactic conjunction of *say* and *hateth*, just as "a deluge of fire" does in the 1662 example after the time conjunction *until*. The intervention of extraneous elements may explain the nearby variation in grammatical mood.

In any event, we can see that this kind of subjunctive ~ indicative variation is attested in earlier English, and this may be a source of the variation found in D&C 3:4 (and in D&C 98:44, if subjunctive ~ indicative variation was in fact original to the revelation).

The {-s} Plural

Linguists have called the use of is, *has*, and other present-tense verb forms ending in the verbal suffix {-s}, when used with plural grammatical subjects, the {-s} plural.[145] For example, in Early Modern English, when the agreement controller is plural *things*,[146] we quite often see the use of singular verb inflection. (Nevertheless, it was the less-common option overall in the textual record.) EEBO has hundreds of examples of "things that is" and "things which is." These can be found throughout the Early Modern English period, but the usage rate may have been two to three times greater in the 16th century than in the 17th century. Here are two examples from the 16th-century Great Bible, with the original spelling retained:

> 1539, Great Bible, Proverbs 21:7; Jeremiah 15:19 [EEBO A10405, (1540)]
>
> > The robberyes of the vngodly shall be theyr owne destruccyon,
> > for they wyl not do the THYNGES *that* **is** ryght.
>
> > and yf thou wylte take out the THYNGES *that* **is** precious from the vyle,
>
> > > The 1611 King James Bible does not have *things* in either case. It has quite different language: "because they refuse to doe iudgement" (Proverbs 21:7) and "if thou take forth the precious from the vile" (Jeremiah 15:19).

There are more than a dozen occurrences of "things that/which **is**" in the earliest text of the Book of Mormon, all edited out. Here are two found in early Doctrine and Covenants revelations:[147]

> D&C 11:14 [May 1829; handwriting of Hyrum Smith][148]
>
> > By this shall you know all THINGS whatso Ever you Desire
> > of me *which* **is** Pertaining unto things of rightousness

Book of Commandments 15:20 (D&C 18:18) [June 1829][149]

> and you shall have the Holy Ghost which manifesteth
> all THINGS *which* **is** expedient unto the children of men.

Therefore, we can take "things which **is**" to be a feature of Doctrine and Covenants revelations as well as a feature of the earliest text of the Book of Mormon.

According to the Joseph Smith Papers historical introduction, D&C 18:18 was dictated in Fayette "within the first few days of June 1829." Hence, it likely would have been first set down in writing very close in time to the dictation of the following Book of Mormon verse:

Moroni 10:23[150]

> If ye have faith, ye can do all THINGS *which* **is** expedient unto me.

These passages contain the same six-word phrase and raise the question of which dictation occurred first. There is one other case of "expedient unto" in the Book of Mormon, which was probably dictated after Moroni 10:23 and D&C 18:18:

2 Nephi 2:27[151]

> Wherefore men are free according to the flesh,
> and all THINGS **are** given them *which* **is** expedient unto man.

The syntactic variation seen above — "things are" ~ "things . . . which is" — is similar to what we read in the following excerpt:

1661, EEBO A44790, Francis Howgill, *The glory of the true church*

> and that all that come to the beginning again, to union with God,
> must die to all these THINGS *which* **is** got and entred into the
> hearts of men since the transgression, and while these THINGS
> **are** loved they alienate the mind from the Living God,

We see that when the verb *be* occurs immediately after *things*, both in the 1661 example and in 2 Nephi 2:27, its form is *are*, but when the verb *be* occurs after "things **which**," its form is *is*.[152] Another similar match with Early Modern English possibilities is the following:

Alma 9:16[153]

> For there **are** many PROMISES *which* **is** extended to the Lamanites,

1671, EEBO A59163, Henry Carey (translator),
Jean-François Senault's *The Use of Passions*

> there **are** some ERRORS, *which* **is** easier
> perswaded unto than to some truths.

The point of presenting these cases of plural *is* ~ *are* variation is that we encounter this sort of matching frequently in the Book of Mormon. This kind of linguistic evidence (and much more) leads to the conclusion that Early Modern English competence was involved in the elaboration of the Book of Mormon and that the delivery of the text was tightly controlled. From that it is likely that either D&C 11:14 and 18:18 were also given word for word, or that Joseph Smith followed Book of Mormon usage like Moroni 10:23 very closely, so that the Doctrine and Covenants language was effectively controlled by way of this Book of Mormon language. Either way we choose to look at it, it boils down to tight control for this questionable Doctrine and Covenants verb agreement.

This then informs our view of the following language, which in section 20 may have been a case of Oliver Cowdery borrowing directly from Book of Mormon phraseology:

> D&C 20:17 [about April 1830; some parts could have
> been revealed as early as the summer of 1829][154]
>
> > Wherefore, by these things we know that there is a God in heaven, who is infinite and eternal, from everlasting to everlasting the same unchangeable God, the Maker of heaven and earth, and all THINGS *that* in them **is**;

The distinctive six-word phrase "all thing**s** that in them **is**" can be found four times in the earliest text of the Book of Mormon, at 2 Nephi 2:14, 3 Nephi 9:15, Mormon 9:11, and Ether 4:7. (Alma 11:39 is a fifth case, but it has *which* instead of *that;* Mosiah 13:19 is a biblical case because it has Tyndale's phraseology—"and all that in them is"—which carried through to the 1611 King James Bible.) So the language of these Book of Mormon verses could have served as a source for D&C 20:17.

Nevertheless, when we examine these passages we find that there are some clear differences between them. In the Book of Mormon passages plural *heavens* is used in all but Alma 11:39 (the one with *which)*, and *Maker*[155] is not used in any of them to describe God. Those facts, then, make a word-for-word borrowing from the Book of Mormon less likely in this case, but still possible.

The {-s} plural used in this same Decalogue language is attested in the textual record, though it is not found in 16th-century Bibles or in the 1611 King James Bible. Here is an example that is nearly identical to D&C 20:17 and the five Book of Mormon instances:

> 1665, EEBO A35520, Thomas Curwen et al., *An Answer to John Wiggan's Book*
>
> > Thou art worthy Lord God of Heaven and Earth, who hath made the Heavens and the Earth, Sea, and all THINGS *that* **is** in them: but this thou will sure say was confusion,

EEBO contains at least two similar examples from the 16th century, with *therein* used for the phrase "in them."[156] Strong supporting evidence throughout the Book of Mormon leads one to take its five instances of "all things that/which in them **is**" to be tightly controlled. This combined with "things which is" — found at least in D&C 11:14 and 18:18 — points to direct or indirect tight control of plural *is* in D&C 20:17.

Also worth noting is the archaic time conjunction "after that," originally found in the phrase "For after **that** it truly was manifested" (D&C 20:5),[157] as well as the {-th} plural found in "those SCRIPTURES *which* **hath** been given of him" (D&C 20:21), part of the *Painesville Telegraph* version, which might have preserved the original language of the revelation in these instances.[158]

In view of all this, ascribing this verb agreement peculiarity of Doctrine and Covenants revelations to Joseph's dialect is a doubtful enterprise.

Plural *was*[159]

Joseph Smith certainly employed plural *was* as part of his speech and writing. It was part of his dialect. The early 1832 History written in his hand (two-thirds) and in the hand of Frederick G. Williams (one-third) gives direct evidence for this:

> 1832 History [written down around the summer of 1832][160]
>
>> and he revealed unto me that in the Town of Manchester
>> Ontario County N.Y. there **was** PLATES of gold upon which
>> there **was** ENGRAVINGS *which* **was** engraven by Maroni & his
>> fathers the servants of the living God in ancient days

Before this we read "there **were** many THINGS," so there is verb agreement variation, which we can take to have been part of Joseph's language as well. Of note is that the Book of Mormon uses only standard plural forms with *engravings* and the past participle *engraven*: "engravings <RELATIVE PRONOUN> are/were/have" and "which are/were engraven." This tends to reinforce a view that the above nonstandard verb agreement was due to Joseph's dialect.

There is also plural *was* in Doctrine and Covenants revelations, as this example from an early revelation shows:

> D&C 3:12–13 [received during the summer of 1828,
> after the loss of the 116 manuscript pages]
>
>> thou deliveredst up that which was Sacred into the hands of a wicked
>> man who has Set at naught the Councils of God
>> & hath broken the most Sacred PROMISES *which* **was** made before God

Earlier in this section, there is also an original instance of *were* after plural *which:* "the Promises *which* **were** made to you" (D&C 3:5). So just as in Joseph's own language, this section has fairly close variation of nonstandard (from a modern perspective) plural *was* and standard *were*.

In D&C 3:13 we also note the use of archaic, biblical "set at naught" and the nearby variation of *has* and *hath (has ~ hath* variation is not found in the King James Bible, since it never employs *has).* But nearby *has ~ hath* variation was typical of earlier writings and can be seen in these 17th- and 18th-century examples with very similar phonology and structure:

> 1680, EEBO A65829, Anne Whitehead [1624–1686]
> *An epistle for true love, unity, and order in the Church of Christ,*
> *against the spirit of discord, disorder and confusion*
>
>> which the Lord by his Power **has** set up, and **hath** given Wisdom
>> according to true Knowledge, to act in the Church of Christ:

> 1727, ECCO–TCP, Daniel Defoe, *An essay*
> *on the history and reality of apparitions*
>
>> Now I know of a surety, that the LORD **has** sent his Angel,
>> and **hath** deliver'd me.
>>
>>> This is a close quotation of Acts 12:11, which has "ha**th** sent."

As shown, both textual examples are solid matches with the variable form of the auxiliary *have* found in D&C 3:13. These examples inform us that we cannot be sure that the nearby morphological variation is a case of Joseph failing to be consistent. It could have been tightly controlled language that merely reflected earlier tendencies.

As for plural *was* in D&C 3:13, we cannot tell **in isolation** whether it is revealed archaic language or Joseph's dialectal usage. Despite the inherent difficulty in deciding between loose and tight control for plural *was* here and elsewhere in the Doctrine and Covenants, the earliest text of the Book of Mormon sheds light on this issue, and other linguistic evidence from section 3 does so as well.

I have shown elsewhere how nearby *was ~ were* variation in the Book of Mormon is very similar to earlier English usage.[161] For example, Mosiah 24:15 contains the exact distribution of variable forms that we find in the writings of the Scottish reformer John Knox and in the writings of quite a few others from the Early Modern English period:

> Mosiah 24:15[162]
>
>> the burdens *which* **was** laid upon Alma and his brethren **were** made light;
>>
>>> The change from *was* to *were* was made for the 1837 edition, marked
>>> in the printer's manuscript by Joseph Smith; see under Alma 46:33 in

> Royal Skousen, *Analysis of Textual Variants of the Book of Mormon*, 2nd edition (Provo, UT: FARMS and BYU Studies, 2017).

1560, EEBO A04920, John Knox [1505–1572] *An answer to a great number of blasphemous cauillations written by an Anabaptist*

> That place of Paule proveth not that all the ISRAELITES,
> *which* **was** called from Egypt, **were** within gods holie election
> to lief everlasting in Christ Jesus.

There is also the following match to consider, not involving variation:

1 Nephi 5:11[163]

> and also of Adam and Eve, *which* **was** our first parents

> > The change from "which was" to "who were" was made for the 1837 edition, marked in the printer's manuscript by Joseph Smith.

1566, EEBO A06932, Thomas Becon [1512–1567] *A new postil conteinyng most godly and learned sermons vpon all the Sonday Gospelles*

> not after the maner of Adam and Eue, *which* **was** made of the grounde

The 5-gram "Adam and Eve which was," where *which* and *was* refer to both Adam and Eve, is unlikely to be found in the modern era.

The archaic, systematic implementation of plural *was* in the Book of Mormon, along with plenty of supporting lexical and syntactic evidence, points to Early Modern English competence and tight control over this syntax in the Book of Mormon. And it is interesting to consider that by the summer of 1828 Joseph had probably dictated several instances of tightly controlled plural *was* as part of the early translation that was subsequently lost.

The internal evidence for treating plural *was* in section 3 and elsewhere as archaic, tightly controlled language is found particularly in verse 15. The original language of this verse contains an interesting vocabulary item as well as some odd syntax:

D&C 3:15 [copied about March 1831 in *Revelation Book 1* by John Whitmer]

> for thou hast suffered **that** the council of thy DIRECTORS
> **to** be trampeled upon from the beginning

> > Plural *directors* reads in the singular in the current LDS text.

Plural *directors* is found twice in the earliest text of the Book of Mormon at Alma 37:21, 24;[164] the term there refers to the Nephite interpreters.[165] It is likely that *directors* in D&C 3:15 also refers to the same sacred objects, whether they are called directors, interpreters, or Urim and Thummim. The use of the verb *suffer* with a following complementizer *that* also suggests tight control; in addition, the archaic

lexical choice of the verb *suffer*, instead of *allowed* or *permitted*, may be a further indication of tightly controlled archaism.[166]

As for the curious syntax, there's a switch from a *that*-clause after the verb *suffer* to an infinitive, the same type of language that Joseph dictated the following year for the Book of Mormon more than once.[167] The following passage involves the same governing verb *suffer:*

> Mormon 6:6
>
> > And knowing it to be the last struggle of my people
> > and having been commanded of the Lord
> > that I should not SUFFER **that** the records
> > which had been handed down by our fathers, which were sacred,
> > **to** fall into the hands of the Lamanites

Thomas More also used this variety of suspect grammar in the 16th century after the verb *think*,[168] and the following EEBO excerpt is a good match:

> 1598, EEBO A02364, translation of Jacques Guillemeau's *The French Chirurgery*
>
> > which was alsoe an occasione of his resanation,
> > because he SUFFERED, **that** the tronchone of the Launce,
> > which stucke clean through his heade,
> > **to** be with force, and violence drawne therout.
>
> > > Of course in all three cases the auxiliary *should* could have been used in place of infinitival *to*. Another point of similarity between D&C 3:15 and the 1598 EEBO excerpt is that both end with a phrasal verb in the passive: "to be trampled upon" and "to be drawn out."

In summary, D&C 3:15 vocabulary and syntax, as well as the Book of Mormon's varied, archaic use of plural *was*, argue for treating plural "which was" in D&C 3:13 as revealed archaic language, not as emanating from Joseph's dialect.

Summary of Suspect Grammar

The exact syntax "<COMMAND verb form> **you** that **thou**" is not found in either the Book of Mormon or the King James Bible; it is only found in the Doctrine and Covenants. The questionable pronominal switch, however, is attested in earlier English with other verbs and in other contexts. This switch is found in the Book of Mormon, and even in the King James Bible (Ezekiel 36:13), which contains similar language at Deuteronomy 12:32: "I command you . . . thou shalt." It is likely that this Doctrine and Covenants syntax is tightly controlled language — the dual-object construction is somewhat creative, well-formed, and archaic.

The 2-gram "exceeding angry" is not strong evidence of tight control because of extensive Book of Mormon usage, which may have influenced the morphology in later Doctrine and Covenants revelations.

Subject *ye ~ you* variation in early revelations such as "blessed are **ye**, for **you** shall dwell with me in glory" (D&C 6:30) may indicate tight control as it matches earlier King James usage that had been edited out by 1769. Had Joseph Smith closely followed either his own dialect or a 1769 King James Bible, there would be little nearby variation. Nevertheless, if he mixed modern *you* with biblical *ye*, we do get Doctrine and Covenants usage.

The {-th} plural with main verbs such as "spirit and element inseparably connected receive**th** a fulness of joy" (D&C 93:33) also indicates tight control, since it was very rare by May 1833. While this language might have followed Book of Mormon usage, the {-th} plural of section 3, received in 1828 ("the Lamanites . . . who ha**th** been suffered to destroy their brethren"), supports the view that D&C 93:33 could be independent of Book of Mormon influence.

Subjunctive ~ indicative variation is scriptural and a natural linguistic phenomenon. The D&C 3:4 example after the hypothetical — "if he boast . . . and sets . . . and follows" — preceded all Book of Mormon examples. Because this nearby variation in grammatical mood is probably tightly controlled in the Book of Mormon, there is no reason it could not have been in Doctrine and Covenants revelations.

The {-s} plural seen in early Doctrine and Covenants revelations (of the form "things which/that **is**") could have been tightly controlled. Examples of "things which is" occur sufficiently early in the Doctrine and Covenants so that their independence of rather frequent Book of Mormon usage is possible. The Decalogue-like phrase "all things that in them is" is a creative modification of biblical language, incorporating the Early Modern English plural *is*.

Plural *was* occurs early in the Doctrine and Covenants, just after Joseph had dictated the lost 116 pages (which probably had examples of it as well). The D&C 3:13 instance of plural *was* precedes published Book of Mormon language and is therefore independent. The Book of Mormon and internal evidence argue for taking the case of plural *was* at D&C 3:13 to be tightly controlled. There is no compelling reason why this also could not have been the case in later Doctrine and Covenants examples such as "things which was" at D&C 35:18 (7 December 1830), "glories which was" at D&C 66:2 (29 October 1831), and "even THINGS [which were from the beginning before the world was] *which* **was** ordained of the Father" at D&C 76:13 (7 February 1832).

The Challenge

In general, tight control of Doctrine and Covenants language also provides greater clarity with respect to the challenge found in section 67:

D&C 67:6–7 [about 2 November 1831;
copied about November 1831 by John Whitmer][169]

> now seek ye out of the Book of commandments even the least that
> is among them & appoint him that is the most wise among you
> or if there be any among you that shall make one like unto it then
> ye are Justified in saying that ye do not know that [it] is true but
> if you cannot make one like unto it ye are under condemnation
> if you do not bear [record/testimony] that it is true.

It is possible that this challenge would **not** have been made if Joseph Smith had been in control of the wording of these revelations from received ideas. At this time there were certainly a number of church members who were better educated and more literate than Joseph was and were able at that time to "express beyond his language," all things being equal.[170] But because the Lord was probably in charge of the wording of the revelations, any such persons were unable to surpass the revelatory language. Indeed, if we exclude the content from consideration, who among the challengers would have been able to readily produce, by dictation, some of the obscure, archaic language discussed throughout this paper?

Grandstaff asserts that "Section 67 was *not* given because the elders criticized Smith's grammar."[171] Nonetheless, it is interesting that section 66, given to McLellin days before section 67, probably contained a clear case of bad grammar.[172] Therefore McLellin could have very recently formed doubts about the source of revelatory language because a revelation containing "GLORIES which **was**" was addressed to him personally and he was a school teacher and thus probably held strict views on grammatical usage. These facts are certainly worth bearing in mind in relation to the challenge of section 67.

Analysis of Some Language of the Plot of Zion

The tight control of Doctrine and Covenants language combined with Frederick G. Williams's apparent upright character and general trustworthiness, as well as his lack of experience in city planning,[173] constitute the strongest evidence that various details of the Plot of Zion were revealed and tightly controlled. (An appendix contains the plot description, laid out in sense lines.)

As mentioned briefly in the introduction, an August 2, 1833, revelation to Joseph Smith states that a "pattern"[174] had been given for laying out a foundation for a city (see D&C 94:1–2).[175] Because of the likelihood of tight control, the import of this Doctrine and Covenants reference should be taken seriously. In D&C 94:4, dimensions are specifically given

for an inner court (55' × 65'), indicating that dimensions could have likewise been specifically given for the Plot of Zion as well.[176] Because of substantial evidence for tight control in this and other close-in-time revelations, we can reasonably take plot measurements to have been revealed by the Lord. Moreover, Frederick G. Williams wrote on the temple plan that the city plot was revealed (see the text accompanying note 11).

Nevertheless, there is a clear, uncorrected error in the original plot description of June 1833, which argues that this item was not tightly controlled. And so other parts of the plot description could have been under loose control (or even no specific control).[177] In this particular case, a narrow 4 × 20 rod building lot (66' × 330') is wrongly indicated to be ¼ of an acre. Yet a simple calculation tells us that this is too small by a factor of 2, and so it is no surprise that this fraction was corrected to ½ in the *Letterbook 1* copy.[178] However, before the incorrect figure of ¼ of an acre was written down, the governing dimension for a typical square or block had already been given as 10 acres and 40 square rods. This twice-specified areal measurement, along with the transparent 10 × 2 lot layout within a block, controls the size of individual building lots being one-half of an acre. Thus the mistake of "¼ of an acre," uncorrected on the original plot manuscript, is not specific evidence that the block area of 40 square rods (10 acres) was not tightly controlled, or that other independent plot dimensions such as street width (8 rods) were not specifically revealed.

In this same vein, there is a somewhat confusing note given on the back side of the plot that acknowledges a scribal error, and that the order of two multi-word constituents should be switched where indicated by two dotted symbols (the note calls the symbols stars; see the end of the appendix). But this same note also indicates how to group these constituents so that this error may actually provide evidence for word and constituent control in the plot specification.

The beginning of the plot description reads: "This plot contains one mile square." This language could be either archaic or modern, but *plot* used in this context in 1830s America was much less common than *plat*,[179] and "mile square" was much less common than "square mile."[180] Had the language at the outset been loosely controlled, Williams might have written "this plat contains 1.44 square miles" instead of "this plot contains one mile square." Also, this measurement was not corrected in *Letterbook 1*, unlike the ¼ acre ~ ½ acre variant.[181]

The Mile

The *one* square mile reference is the most interesting part of the opening sentence of the plot description: either it is an obvious error (as shown by the plot draft and its description),[182] or it corresponds to an archaic measurement of the past. We have considered one item of archaic vocabulary (*strange* in "strange act"), and we have seen that the Doctrine and Covenants has archaic grammar that corresponds with 16th- and 17th-century usage. In like manner, there is phraseology in the referred-to plot description that is possibly archaic, such as "according to wisdom" (see below), and there are other potential archaisms, as discussed below. Consequently, it is not out of the question that the term *mile* as used in the plot might be a 16th-century measurement.

The mile referenced in the plot draft and description is apparently 6,336 feet. This plot dimension corresponds to the Saxton mile, in use in England before a statutory decree of 1593.[183] That distance is determined by the language and the ground-plan of the plot in the following way:

First, measuring north to south (from left to right on the plot), the distance is 8 streets, each one having a width of 8 rods, and 7 blocks, each one having a width of 40 rods. Taken together, those give a distance of 344 rods. In addition, the ground-plan of the plot indicates two easements: an easement of 40 rods on the north and an easement of 40 rods on the south. Half of each of those easements belongs to the Plot of Zion, in accordance with common approaches under property law.[184] Thus the total north–south measured distance of the plot is 384 rods. Because a rod is equivalent to 16.5 feet, that means that one side of the plot of Zion is 6,336 feet.

Second, measuring east to west (from top to bottom on the plot), the distance is 8 streets, each one having a width of 8 rods; 6 blocks having a width of 40 rods; and 1 block having a width of 60 rods. The Plot of Zion is silent on the matter of the east and west easements, but to make a square for the entire plot, as indicated by the first sentence of the plot description, each of the easements on the east and on the west must be 20 rods in width. As a result, half of the total east–west easement width of 40 rods is 20 rods, giving a square for the Plot of Zion of 384 × 384 rods, or 6,336 × 6,336 feet, as shown in the figure below.

Wherefore, the MILE of the Plot of Zion is exactly 1.2 of a statute mile. Hence the community plat is 1.44 square statute miles in area.

EAST

NORTH   SOUTH

WEST
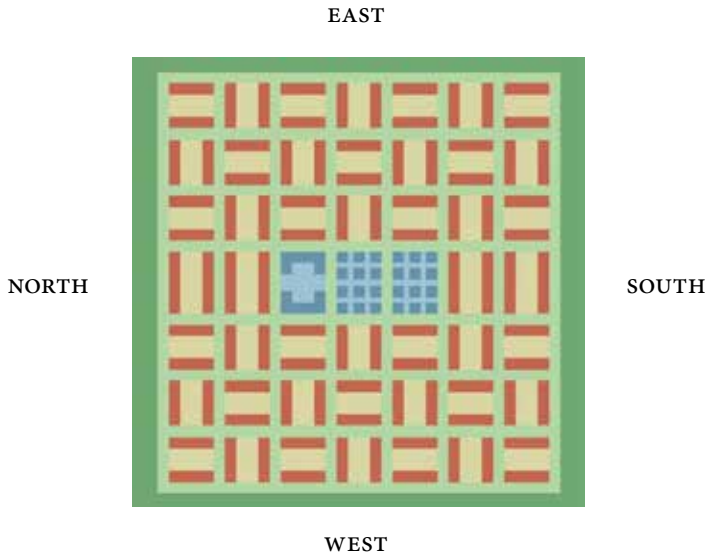
Unusual Features Found in the City Plat and the Temple Plan

This short section lists a number of features of the Plot of Zion and the Plan of the House of the Lord that appear to be rare or unique for 1830s America. Some of these are consistent with centuries-old usage. (It is expected that these items will be discussed and documented in another paper.)

City Plat

- narrow building lots: 66 feet wide
- high-density living in half-acre lots: 15 to 21 persons in several apartments
- the placement of east instead of north at the top of the plat drawing
- 24 central buildings can provide seats for the entire community

Temple Plan

- two inner courts of 55 × 65 feet, one above another
- inner-court size allows seating on two-foot-wide chairs
- curtains divide the house into four parts[185]
- "14 feet high between the floors"; "each story to be 14 feet"[186]

It is worth noting that the Kirtland Temple, as built, represents only about one-third of the prescribed plan. For example, the outer courts were left out of the temple as was space for pulpits. The builders put all the functions into the specified inner-court space; that may have been as much as they were able to build or could visualize building at the time. Also, the hanging chambers — mentioned not only in the temple plan but also at D&C 95:17 — were not implemented in the construction. These were to be located in the upper part of the inner courts.

"According to wisdom"

The three-word phrase "according to wisdom" occurs twice in the Doctrine and Covenants, and once in the plot description:

> D&C 63:44 [30 August 1831; copied about
> 30 August 1831 by Oliver Cowdery][187]
>> Behold, these things are in his own hands,
>> let him do **according to wisdom**.

> D&C 96:3 [4 June 1833; copied between 6 June and 30 July 1833 by Orson Hyde][188]
>> and again let it be divided into lots **according to wisdom** for the benefit of those who seek inheritances as it shall be determined in council among you.

> 1833 Plot of Zion
>> the ground to be occupied for these must be laid off **according to wisdom**

This 3-gram is rare in the modern era before the 1830s, and is principally found in the 17th-century textual record.[189] The 1560 Geneva Bible is the one Early Modern English Bible with this exact phrase,[190] and the 4-gram "do according to wisdom," found in D&C 63:44, occurs in this 17th-century example:

> 1638, EEBO A18610, William Chillingworth,
> *The religion of protestants a safe way to salvation*
>> For first, this is most certain, that we are in all things
>> to **doe according to wisdome** and reason rather then against it.

King James usage always has a determiner between *according to* and *wisdom*,[191] and that is the more typical textual usage.

The subject matter of the D&C 96:3 passage with "according to wisdom" is similar to that of the June 1833 Plot of Zion, and laying off lots is also mentioned twice at D&C 104:36, 43 (April 1834). The phrasal verb "lay off" as used in this context is modern in origin, according to the Oxford English Dictionary. But the general sense may have arisen in the 17th century.[192] And it is probably tightly controlled language in

D&C 104, and so even though it could correspond to modern usage, it could have still been tightly controlled in the plot description.

The {-s} Plural in Plot Language

There are two possible occurrences of the {-s} plural in the plot description:[193]

> all the squares in the plot **containes** ten acres each
> and the next the lots **runs** from the east and west to the middle line

In the first case, the intervening singular noun *plot* may make this a case of proximity agreement.[194] The adjacency of singular *plot* to the verb *containes* makes the apparent non-agreement sound less jarring to the modern ear.

Here are some 17th-century examples of the {-s} plural with the verbs *contain* and *run*, a usage which may account for the suspect verb agreement found in the plot description (since it may be an archaism):[195]

1605, EEBO A21691, L. T. A. [fl. 1592] *Falshood in friendship, or vnions vizard: or wolues in lambskins*

> All the forepart and exteriour shew of thy body is fayre, yet
> semblable to painted and guilded Sepulchers, *that* **containes**
> within them nothing but loth-some smels and rotten bones:

1605, EEBO A20836, Michael Drayton [1563–1631] *Poems*

> the riuer of Yarmouth runs, hauing West and South thereof a wood,
> and a little Village called Thorpe, and on the North, the pastures of
> Mousholl, *which* **containes** about six miles in length and breadth.

> > *Pastures* seems to be the antecedent of *which*, but it is not certain. This
> > describes land in the Norwich area of Norfolk, England.

1656, EEBO A92204, Robert Read, *The Fiery Change*

> though he be present in body, he is absent in minde, and either
> his minde wanders, & his thoughts **runs** out into the world,

1683, EEBO A58408, John Reid, *The Scots Gardener*

> Plant no Trees deep; (albeit some deeper than other) when
> their Roots **runs** near the surface, there they receive
> the beneficial influence of Sun and Showres,

The {-s} plural form *containes*[196] occurs both times in the above examples after a relative pronoun, which is the grammatical subject, and is unmarked for number. The {-s} plural and the {-th} plural were more often found after opaque relative pronouns in Early Modern English.[197]

An opposing kind of agreement phenomenon found in the plot is the phrase "none of these temples **are**," with plural *are* being used despite the word controlling agreement being *none*. If we consider, however, that in present-day English one says "zero feet," etc., then we can see that any prescriptive rule against plural *are* in this kind of grammatical structure is artificial. In this particular case, both early and late modern English have strongly favored the use of *are* after the 4-gram "none of these things."[198]

Some Semantic Usage

There is one term of measurement used in the plot description whose usage is found both early and late, but which is more characteristic of the Early Modern English period: perch. Like *rod*, *perch* signifies 16.5 feet. The plural form *perches* is used six times in the Plot of Zion, while *rods* is used only once (at the outset).

In all of EEBO (Phases 1 and 2) there are 46 instances of the two-word phrase "perches long/wide," compared with only 16 of "rods long/wide" (75% *perch*).[199] In contrast, the Google Books *Ngram Viewer* currently shows that in 1833 "rods long/wide" was used approximately 95% of the time, and "perches long/wide" only 5% of the time.[200]

I have ruled out other potentially archaic semantic and morphological usage, determining that they do not strongly point to archaism. The following may or may not represent archaic language. These include *range* used to mean 'row' (as in "the middle range of squares"),[201] *stand* in the phrase "the houses stand on one street,"[202] the adverb *alternate* used instead of *alternately* in the phrase "laid off alternate,"[203] and *painted* in "painted squares" meaning 'colored.'[204] Also, "inside **of** NP" used in "the circles inside of this square" still fits the 1830s well, since it was more common in the early 19th century than "inside NP," which grew dominant in the 20th century.[205]

Summary of Plot of Zion Language

To be sure, we can take the pattern and measurements of the 1833 Plot of Zion to be revealed because of supporting declarations made in section 94 and by the scribe Frederick G. Williams. The term *mile* was probably tightly controlled since it has an obsolete meaning of 1.2 statute miles. Also, the opening sentence "this plot contains one mile square" could have been revealed word for word. The term perch could have been tightly controlled since it fits the earlier period better than the 19th century. There is some verb agreement that might have been tightly

controlled since there is archaic matching of the syntax in question. However, loose control in these potential cases of the {-s} plural is also possible.

One mistake — "¼ of an acre" — may indicate lack of control with this dependent dimension (or scribal error), but another scribal mistake at the end of the plot description (on the back side) may indicate word and constituent control. One directive, "of which we send you the draft," could be uncontrolled language, while another directive, "let every man live in the city for this is the city of Zion," could be from the Lord (see note 177). Finally, the phrase "according to wisdom" is either tightly controlled language in the plot description or indirectly controlled by way of Doctrine and Covenants language. Beyond these items, it becomes more difficult to make definitive statements.

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Primary Sources

The Joseph Smith Papers project and website (www.josephsmithpapers. org) and the Yale edition of the Book of Mormon were essential to this study: Royal Skousen, editor, *The Book of Mormon: The Earliest Text* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009) (bit.ly/2ocoerM). Directly related to the latter is Royal Skousen, *Analysis of Textual Variants of the Book of Mormon* (Provo, UT: FARMS and BYU Studies, 2004–2009); Royal Skousen, *Analysis of Textual Variants of the Book of Mormon*, 2nd edition (Provo, UT: FARMS and BYU Studies, 2017); and Royal Skousen, *Grammatical Variation* [Parts 1 and 2 of *The History of the Text of the Book of Mormon*] (Provo, UT: FARMS and BYU Studies, 2016). LDS View provided access to the current LDS text of the scriptures (ldsview. wordcruncher.com; Salt Lake City: Intellectual Reserve, 2001–).

The principal English textual source used in this study was the *Early English Books Online* database (EEBO; eebo.chadwyck.com). It currently contains close to 60,000 transcribed texts printed between the years 1473 to 1700. The publicly searchable portion of EEBO (Phase 1 texts) is to be

found at <quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebogroup>. Other important textual sources include Literature Online (LION; literature.proquest.com), Google Books (books.google.com), and *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* (ECCO; quod.lib.umich.edu/e/ecco). The full database of ECCO is available through some public libraries, as is the Oxford English Dictionary (www.oed.com).

Mark Davies initially provided me with a very useful corpus and interface: *Early English Books Online, 400 million words, 1470s–1690s* (2013–) (corpus.byu.edu/eebo). I have mainly derived Early Modern English examples from a 700-million-word WordCruncher corpus that I made from almost 25,000 EEBO Phase 1 texts (www.wordcruncher.com; Provo, UT: BYU, 1991–). This corpus is precisely searchable, making it a valuable resource for discovering Early Modern English usage. In addition to ECCO, the Google Books database was essential for the modern period, as well as the associated *Ngram Viewer*.

Appendix

The 1833 Plot of Zion Description

The margin notes from the front side of the plot are rewritten below in sense lines:

East side of the plot

Explanation —
this plot containes one mile square
all the squares in the plot contains ten acres each
being 40 rods square
you will observe that the lots are laid off alternate in the squares
in one square running from the south and North
to the line through the middle of the square
and the next the lots runs from the east and west to the middle line
each lot is 4 perches in front and 20 back
making ¼ of an acre in each lot
so that no one street will be built on entirely through the street
but one square the houses stand on one street
and on the next on another
except the middle range of squares
which runs North and south
in which range are the painted squares
the lots are laid off in these squares North and south all of them
because these squares are 40 perches by 60

being twenty perches longer than the others
the long way of them being east and west
and by runing all the lots in these squares North and south
it makes all the lots in the City of one size
the painted squares in the middle are for publick buildings
the one without any figure is for store houses

West side of the plot

for the / Bishop and to be devoted to his use
figure one is for temples for the use of the presidency
the circles inside of this square are the places for the temples
you will see it containes twelve Figures
2 is for Temples for the lesser Priesthood
it also is to contain 12 Temples
the whole plot is supposed to contain
from 15 to 20 thousand people
you will therefore see that it will require 24 buildings
to supply them with houses of worship schools, &c.
none of these temples are to be smaller than the one
of which we send you the draft
this Temple is to be built in square marked figure one
and to be built where the circle is which has a cross on it.
On the north and south of the plot where the line is shown
is to be laid off for barns stables &c. for the use of the city
so that no barns or stables will be in the City among the houses
the ground to be occupied for these must be laid off according to wisdom
on the North and South are to be laid off the farms for the agraculturists
& sufficient quantity of land to supply the whole plot
and if it cannot be laid off
without going too great a distance from the city
there must also be laid off on the east and west
when this square is thus laid off and supplied
lay off another in the same way
and so fill up the world in these last days
and let every man live in the City for this is the City of Zion

South side of the plot

All the streets are of one width
being eight perches wide
also the space round the outer edge of the painted squares
is to be eight perches
between the temples and the street on every side

North side of the plot

No one lot in this City is to contain more than one house
& that to be built 25 feet back from the street
leaving a small yard in front to be planted in a grove
according to the taste of the builder
the rest of the lot for gardens &c.
all the houses to be of brick and stone

South side of the plot

the Scale of the plot is 40 perches to the inch

The notes from the back side of the plot are rewritten below in sense lines;
the phrases to be switched are preceded by dotted cross symbols:

Back side of the plot

The names of the temples to be built on the painted squares

Nos̲ 10–11–12 are to be called
The house of the Lord
for the presidency of the high and most holy priesthood
after the order of Melchisedeck
which was after the order of the Son of God
upon Mount Zion City of the New Jerusalem

Nos̲ 7–8–9
The Sacred Apostolical repository
for the use of the Bishop

Nos̲ 4–5–6
The holy Evangelical house
for the high priesthood of the holy order of God

Nos̲ 1–2–3
The house of the Lord
for the Elders of Zion an ensign to the nations

Nos̲ 22–23–24
house of the Lord
for the presidency of the high priesthood after the order of Aron
a standard for the people

Nos̲ 19–20–21
house of the Lord
✠ the law of the kingdom of heaven and Messenger to the people
✠ for the high priesthood after the order of Aron

Nos̱ 16–17–18
house of the Lord
for the teachers in Zion Messenger to the church

Nos̱ 13–14–15
house of the Lord
for the Deacons in Zion helps in government
underneath must be written on each house holiness to the Lord

NB. the Stars are to have the sentences placed together
having committed an error in writing
the sentence "for the high priesthood after the order of Aron
should be placed immediately after the house of the Lord

Endnotes

1. Richard Lyman Bushman, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling* (New York: Knopf, 2005), 174. See the text accompanying note 23.

2. See, for example, www.blueletterbible.org/lang/lexicon/lexicon.cfm?Strongs=H5237&t=KJV.

3. "Revelation, 1 June 1833 [D&C 95]," p. 59, *The Joseph Smith Papers*, accessed November 1, 2016, www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-1-june-1833-dc-95/1. "Revelation, 16–17 December 1833 [D&C 101]," p. 73, *The Joseph Smith Papers*, accessed November 1, 2016, www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-16–17-december-1833-dc-101/1.

4. See "Plat of the City of Zion, circa Early June–25 June 1833," p. [1], *The Joseph Smith Papers*, accessed November 1, 2016, www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/plat-of-the-city-of-zion-circa-early-june-25-june-1833/1.

5. NB stands for Latin *notā bene*, meaning 'mark well, observe particularly' (see under the entry in the OED for the phrase *nota bene*).

6. The signatories to this document were Joseph Smith, Jr., Sidney Rigdon, Frederick G. Williams, and Martin Harris. "Plan of the House of the Lord, between 1 and 25 June 1833," p. [2], *The Joseph Smith Papers*, accessed November 1, 2016, www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/plan-of-the-house-of-the-lord-between-1-and-25-june-1833/2. Because of frequent citation, this article will abbreviate Joseph Smith Papers references by using only the URL. Online access can be taken to have occurred on or about November 1, 2016.

7. "Tightly controlled" means that the Lord caused words, not ideas, to be sent to Joseph Smith (see 2 Nephi 27:22, 24). Royal Skousen expressed it this way: "*Tight control:* Joseph saw specific words written out in English and read them off to the scribe — the accuracy of the resulting text depending on the carefulness of Joseph and his scribe" ("How Joseph Smith Translated the Book of Mormon: Evidence from the Original Manuscript," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 7.1 [1998]: 22–31, 24). In opposition to the terminology *tight control* is "*Loose control:* Ideas were revealed to Joseph Smith, and he put those ideas into his own language (a theory advocated by many Book of Mormon scholars over the years)" (1998:24).

   Brant Gardner has developed an approach that involves Joseph seeing specific words even though Gardner believes that only ideas were revealed to Joseph throughout the dictation of the Book of Mormon: "We need a mechanism that explains how Joseph could be the translator and still read what he saw on the interpreters or his seer stone" (*The Gift and Power: Translating the Book of Mormon* [Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2011], 274). As used in this paper, the terms "tightly controlled" and "tight control" are not meant to convey the view of Gardner 2011.

8. The statutory mile of 5,280 feet had been established 240 years earlier in 1593 by an English Act of Parliament during the reign of Queen Elizabeth I.

9. This supporting evidence is addressed in some detail in this paper, as well as the challenge of D&C 67:5–8, which is consistent with the notion that the language of these revelations might have been beyond the natural abilities or knowledge of the revelator and his scribes.

10. Most of the sections revealed closely before and after June 1833 were scribed by Williams, but the earliest extant versions of sections 95 and 96 were copied by Orson Hyde. It is unclear from the source note whether Williams served as the original scribe for these revelations.

11. In particular, what would become the first part of section 94 (scribed on August 2, 1833, by Williams) states that the "laying off and preparing a begining and foundation of the city of the stake of Zion . . . must be done according to the **pattern** which I have given unto you" (emphasis added; see www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/ revelation-2-august-1833-b-dc-94/1).

12. See Gardner's discussion of this issue in Brant Gardner, *The Gift and Power: Translating the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2011), 148–152. See in particular B. H. Roberts, "Translation

of the Book of Mormon," *Improvement Era* 9.6 (1906): 428–429; B. H. Roberts, *New Witnesses for God* (Salt Lake City: The Deseret News, 1909), 2:110–121; 3:407–425; John A. Widtsoe, *Joseph Smith: Seeker after Truth, Prophet of God* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1951), 42; Sidney B. Sperry, *Answers to Book of Mormon Questions* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1967), 184–186; Daniel H. Ludlow, *A Companion to Your Study of the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976), 141, 163; and Robert L. Millett, "The Book of Mormon, Historicity, and Faith," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 2.2 (1993): 5.

13. The obscure phraseology "it supposeth me" is one possible example of late Middle English language. According to the Oxford English Dictionary (see definition 1d under the verb *suppose*), simple dative syntax involving the verb *suppose* is attested only once in a 1390 poem by John Gower. (The dative pronominal in Gower and in the Book of Mormon is not a "raised" object.)

   Descriptive linguistic evidence shows that the English-language text of the Book of Mormon is principally Early Modern English in form and structure but somewhat eclectic as well. In order for ideas to have been transmitted throughout the dictation, many anomalous forms like "did molten," "they who art," "they sleepeth," "it supposeth me," "had been spake," and "of which hath been spoken" must have been part of Joseph's dialect, along with much other systematic usage like the Early Modern English {-th} plural and 16th-century periphrastic *did*. See Stanford Carmack, "The Case of the {-th} Plural in the Earliest Text," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 18 (2016): 79–108, www.mormoninterpreter.com/the-case-of-the-th-plural-in-the-earliest-text; and Stanford Carmack, "The Implications of Past-Tense Syntax in the Book of Mormon," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 14 (2015): 119–186, www.mormoninterpreter.com/the-implications-of-past-tense-syntax-in-the-book-of-mormon.

14. After considering a large amount of textual evidence and reading a variety of independent linguistic studies, I have concluded that it is extremely unlikely that many morphological forms and syntactic structures found in the Book of Mormon (and in the Doctrine and Covenants) were part of Joseph Smith's pre-1830s rural New York and New England dialect. Documents containing aspects of Joseph Smith's dialect (such as a 2,000-word personal history written in 1832 scribed by Joseph Smith and Frederick G. Williams) generally support this view. See Stanford Carmack, "How Joseph Smith's Grammar Differed from Book of Mormon Grammar: Evidence from the 1832

History," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 25 (2017): 239–259, www.mormoninterpreter.com/how-joseph-smiths-grammar-differed-from-book-of-mormon-grammar-evidence-from-the-1832-history/; and www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/history-circa-summer-1832/1.

15. Systematic usage includes but is not limited to the present-tense, past-tense, and perfect-tense verbal systems. Tight control has crucial explanatory power since it makes sense of the hundreds of differences — small and large — between lengthy biblical passages found in the Book of Mormon and the King James Bible. Under tight control, changes that were expedient in the Lord to make were made. The text itself tells us that a human consulting a 1769 King James Bible would have been inadequate to the case since there are 1611 readings, as well as an apparent reliance on language found in other Early Modern English Bibles. These facts are problematic for loose control.

16. See Royal Skousen, editor, *The Original Manuscript of the Book of Mormon: Typographical Facsimile of the Extant Text* (Provo, UT: FARMS and BYU, 2001); and Royal Skousen, editor, *The Book of Mormon: The Earliest Text* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2009), bit.ly/2ocoerM.

17. "They was" is Early Modern English usage by consequential authors, and some of them varied "they was" closely with "they were," as we read in Alma 9:31–32. Also, "they were" was written down once by Joseph Smith for his 1832 History in the one case where he could have written "they was" (near the beginning).

18. For background on the Book of Mormon's use of the *did*-periphrasis, see Carmack, "Past-Tense Syntax," 119–186, bit.ly/2nLFIiA. For a historical treatment of the *do*-periphrasis in English, see Alvar Ellegård, *The Auxiliary Do: The Establishment and Regulation of Its Use in English* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1953). Pages 157 and 161–162 contain a brief summary that is relevant to Book of Mormon usage.

   Citing two earlier studies, Ellegård wrote on page 157 that periphrastic *do* (both present-tense and past-tense) "first occurred in prose [about] 1400, gained ground slowly in the 15th [century] and rapidly in the 16th century. In the 17th century the tide fell fast in affirmative declarative sentences, whereas the use of *do* became regular in negative and interrogative ones. The modern state of things was practically achieved around 1700."

19. The Book of Mormon employs personal *which* more than 50 percent of the time, the King James Bible less than 20 percent of the time.

20. Because the King James Bible doesn't have plural *was*, this has typically been attributed by LDS scholars to Joseph Smith.

21. I have not done a comprehensive study of this syntactic feature in the Doctrine and Covenants, but there is nearby variation of personal *which ~ who* in D&C 3:13 (July 1828), which we can also find in the earliest text of the Book of Mormon (e.g. 2 Nephi 9:26, Mosiah 3:5, Alma 1:7; 10:3; 15:1; 26:36; 43:44; 46:14; 61:3–4; Helaman 3:28; 3 Nephi 7:24; Ether 13:15) and in the King James Bible (e.g. Numbers 14:36; 26:9; 1 Samuel 16:16; 2 Chronicles 8:17; 30:7; etc.). The original Book of Mormon language can be read in Royal Skousen, editor, *The Book of Mormon: The Earliest Text* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), bit.ly/2ocoerM.

    Because the King James Bible favors the relative pronoun *that* after human antecedents, the heavy use of *which* in the Book of Mormon is distinct from biblical preferences. There are Early Modern English authors who favored *which* over *that* (after human antecedents), but it was clearly the less-common option for most authors.

22. But see below for a brief treatment of the {-th} plural as may be found sporadically in early versions of Doctrine and Covenants sections.

23. Bushman, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling*, 174. The preface was revealed on November 1, 1831 in Hiram, Ohio — see www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-1-november-1831-b-dc-1/2. This was around the time that sections 67 and 68 were revealed. The source note says that section 1 was "copied [between 12 and 20 Nov. 1831] in Revelation Book 1, pp. 125–127; handwriting of John Whitmer."

24. Attributing Book of Mormon language to Joseph Smith because he possibly had extensive subconscious knowledge of biblical usage is an impracticable idea since most Book of Mormon grammar is archaic but not biblical.

25. This judgment is made because the vocabulary and the syntax of the Book of Mormon appear to have been filtered for recognition but not for obsolescence. In the main, the archaic or obsolete vocabulary and syntax are quite plain to our understanding. For example, "cause X that X (should/shall) do something" (e.g., 3 Nephi 29:4), though apparently obsolete before the 19th century, is as easy to understand as "cause that X (should/shall) do something" or "cause X to do something." And the "but if" of "but if he yieldeth to the enticings of the Holy Spirit" (Mosiah 3:19) is made up of current, high-frequency words that can be determined to mean 'unless' from the context.

26. For example, this may be the case with "had **not** ought to + <small>INFINITIVE</small>" in the Book of Mormon. This negative quasi-modal auxiliary verb has not yet been found in the Early Modern English period, but the occasional uncontracted case can be found in the modern era, such as the seven instances in a Buffalo, New York book by Tallcut Patching (1822). This book also has at least 15 instances of "had ought to + <small>INFINITIVE</small>," which is uncommonly found in Early Modern English. The quasi-modal "ought to" is used with *had* approximately 30 times in the earliest text of the Book of Mormon.

27. On more than one occasion I have encountered the assertion that it means that the Lord favors or has a vested interest in Early Modern English. Of course the position of tight control doesn't depend on any such view nor does it assert any such thing. Tight control is merely shown by the occurrence of certain types of Early Modern English usage that did not carry through materially to modern English. Another recently made claim is that by analyzing the form and structure of the language — in order to answer the question of the nature of the revelatory process — I imply that the Lord is more concerned with the "mechanics" of language than with the expressiveness of communication. To my knowledge I have never stated that the Lord deems content to be less important than form and structure.

   Yet obviously the form and structure of the language of Joseph's revelations — a largely neglected topic — is important, since it has a direct bearing on who worded the text: the Lord or Joseph Smith. Because humans cannot accurately simulate foreign grammar, and the dictation grammar of the earliest text was effectively foreign to Joseph Smith in 1829, that aspect of the text resolves the nature of the revelatory translation. This is substantial evidence as the grammar of a lengthy text is massively represented and concrete in nature.

28. Bushman might simply mean by the Doctrine and Covenants revelations not being in "God's diction, dialect, or native language" (*Rough Stone Rolling*, 174), that they weren't given in dominant King James language. If so, then this is accurate. Royal Skousen noted the following in the case of the Book of Mormon: "the biblically styled language of the text . . . does not imitate the specific language of the King James Bible (of course, the biblical quotes in the Book of Mormon do follow the King James text for the most part)." (*Analysis of Textual Variants of the Book of Mormon* [Provo, UT: FARMS and BYU, 2006], 3:1393–94.) This important observation has been borne out repeatedly by subsequent research.

Yet five years later, Brant Gardner wrote the following: "The Book of Mormon's imitation of King James translation language and style is so obvious it does not need demonstration" (*The Gift and Power*, 192). While it is true that there is plenty of overlapping usage, there are also so many significant differences between the two texts that we do not obtain the form and structure of the Book of Mormon in many cases from a close imitation of King James language.

In 2011, the details of Book of Mormon language and earlier English were finally available to scholars: Skousen's 2009 Yale edition, his 6-part *Analysis of Textual Variants* (2004–2009), the Oxford English Dictionary, and the vast, searchable *Early English Books Online* database (there are currently approximately 25,000 publicly available Phase 1 texts, as well as almost 35,000 Phase 2 texts available by subscription). These sources provide evidence of the Early Modern English character of the Book of Mormon and for how the King James Bible and the Book of Mormon are distinct in their semantic, morphological, and syntactic usage.

29. See, for example, Royal Skousen, editor, *The Original Manuscript of the Book of Mormon: Typographical Facsimile of the Extant Text* (Provo, UT: FARMS and BYU, 2001), 6.

30. There are 48 instances of "save it be" found in the earliest text of the Book of Mormon.

31. The Scottish authors James Durham (1658), Andrew Honyman (1669), and James Canaries (1684) provide a total of five instances of "save it be." Here I list those instances, with spelling regularized. Durham (EEBO A37035): "the four monarchies, which were not any of them (**save it be** the third) in an individual person, yet they are called four kings:"; "not one of them is subject to the Roman emperor now (**save it be** Germany alone, which yet indeed is not so)"; Honyman (EEBO A86516): "Do they not, for the most part, live abstractly at their several charges, **save it be** one or two admitted by the king to his council?"; Canaries (EEBO B18463): "Wherefore as all those jejune and barren speculations are in themselves altogether uncapable to work upon practice, or employ anything of us below the chin, (**save it be** in those ebullitions of contention and strife which they are indeed *very* and *only* apt to occasion)" (emphasis in original); "I know none that ever held anything like this latter, **save it be** the Quakers."

32. William Herbert, Dean of Manchester, employed the phrase in 1804 while translating Icelandic poetry ("Thou canst not leave me, **save it be** my will;" <bit.ly/2rrKAqm>, reprinted elsewhere). The Dubliner Matthew Weld Hartstonge used it in 1825 in a Scottish romance

("**save it be** upon your death-bed alone that you may divulge it" <bit.ly/2pXoWZT>). The use of "save it be" by Hartstonge in a Scottish romance may speak to his viewing it as being characteristic of northern English dialects. See the end of note 43 for a short list of possible Scotticisms or northern Early Modern English usage found in the Book of Mormon.

33. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-april-1829-a-dc-6/1 and www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/book-of-commandments-1833/15. The citation in the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants is 8:5. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/doctrine-and-covenants-1835/117.

34. *Which* was changed to *who* for the 1835 edition.

35. The Google Books *Ngram Viewer* (https://books.google.com/ngrams; citation given immediately below) indicates that in 1830 "except those who" was used approximately 80% of the time versus "save those who," and more than 80% of the time throughout most of the preceding century. *Ngram Viewer* citation: Jean-Baptiste Michel *et al.*, "Quantitative Analysis of Culture Using Millions of Digitized Books," *Science* 331.6014 (2011): 176–182 (published online ahead of print on 16 December 2010).

36. Nor are there any writings that employ "save it be" anywhere close to the number of times that we encounter it in the Book of Mormon (48 times).

Suppose we were to assert that the heavy use of "save it be" in the Doctrine and Covenants and in the Book of Mormon was merely an indication that Joseph Smith overused rare phrases that he came to favor. This could be a possible explanation in isolation, but it fails to explain a host of forms found in the Book of Mormon. If one were to resort to this argument, then the strong match between the ubiquitous affirmative, declarative, periphrastic *did* usage of the Book of Mormon with 16th-century patterns, on multiple levels, would remain unexplained. Nor does such a view explain the prevalence of extrabiblical, archaic vocabulary in the earliest text, or the diversity of systematic syntax found in the Book of Mormon, including but not limited to the presence of a rich variety of 16th-century agentive *of* usage (which pseudo-biblical texts do not have), the solid match between *command* syntax with some late 15th-century Caxton usage, the good match between various causative constructions and the Early Modern English period, as well as personal *which*, embedded auxiliary usage, the {-th} plural, plural was, some past participle leveling, etc.

37. This revelation is also dated April 1829. See www.josephsmithpapers. org/paper-summary/revelation-april-1829-d-dc-9/1. In addition, there are three instances of "save it was" found in the earliest text of the Book of Mormon: Enos 1:20, 23; Alma 49:4.

38. Defining the term *ark:* "Arcke, a cofer or cheste as oure shrynes **saue it was** flatte" (EEBO A13203).

39. John Harington (translator), book 37, stanza 75: "That **saue it was** so darke they could not see" (EEBO A21106, page 311).

40. This work is dated variously: either *about* 1630 (LION), or 166–? (EEBO A78289). The author is given as S.C., and the title as *The famous and delectable history of Cleocreton and Cloryana:* "all the fabrick of her beautiful body was composed without fault, **save it was** too little" (London).

41. This language was received in early June 1829, copied by John Whitmer in March 1831, and typeset in early 1833. See www.josephsmithpapers. org/paper-summary/revelation-june-1829-b-dc-18/3. There are 77 instances of "save it were" found in the earliest text of the Book of Mormon.

42. William Mercer [1605?–1676?], *Angliæ speculum: or Englands looking-glasse:* "Some were confounded, others forc'd to fly, / Their bodies wounded all were glad to cry, / And beg for pardon, **safe it were** those Priests / And Jesuits, who counted all but jeasts / Till they were routed" (EEBO A89059).

43. One can currently read it online as it was set forth in *The Charmer*, volume 1, page 311 (Edinburgh, 1751): digital.nls.uk/special-collections-of-printed-music/pageturner.cfm?id=87773315&mode=fullsize. The first line is "Will you go and marry, *Kitty?*": "I could wish no man to get you, / **Save it were** my very sel[']." According to page 27 of William Scott Douglas, editor, *The Complete Poetical Works of Robert Burns*, Volume 2 (Kilmarnock: James M'Kie, 1871), the poet Robert Burns merely reworked the folk song and any attribution to him is incorrect. This is shown directly by the fact that *The Charmer* was published when Burns was only two years old.

The same song was published again in 1768, with slightly different wording, by Alexander Ross of Aberdeen [1699–1784], in *The Fortunate Shepherdess*, under the title "Wilt thou go and marry, Ketty?": "And yet, my dear and lovely Ketty, / I hae this one thing to tell: / I wad wish no man to get ye, / **Save it were** my very sell" (bit. ly/2pUPuvF).

The substantial presence of this Scottish or northern Early Modern English element ("save it were" and "save it be") in the Doctrine and Covenants and Book of Mormon should not be overlooked. We encounter it in this type of phrase, and in the Book of Mormon in a number of items including intransitive *anger*, *hurl*, *molten*, *proven*, *subsequent*, and the time conjunction "to that." (The past participle *proven* was Scottish usage in the 1600s, before spreading in the 1700s.)

44. For a discussion of this syntax in the Book of Mormon, see Stanford Carmack, "What Command Syntax Tells Us About Book of Mormon Authorship," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture*, 13 (2015): 180–184, 192–194, www.mormoninterpreter.com/what-command-syntax-tells-us-about-book-of-mormon-authorship. See also Royal Skousen, *Grammatical Variation* (Provo, UT: FARMS and BYU Studies, 2016), 1053–1057. Dual-object *command* syntax is called **layered** syntax in the 2015 *Interpreter* article.

45. In this syntax there are two object layers after the verb *command*: an indirect object noun phrase (or pronoun) and a direct object *that*-clause.

46. Here and elsewhere I refer to novel production, rather than quoted or paraphrased language of the past. A genuine modern example comes from the *Edinburgh Review* 28:367 (1817): "his Majesty . . . issued a general order, in May 1809, to the governors in the West Indies, COMMANDING **them**, *that* **they** should, on no pretence whatever, give their assent to any law relative to religion" (bit.ly/2pUA22G).

47. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-19-january-1841-dc-124/4. Source note: "Revelation, Nauvoo, IL, 19 Jan. 1841; in Book of the Law of the Lord, pp. 3–15; handwriting of Robert B. Thompson; CHL."

48. 3 Nephi 4:23 has essentially the same complex syntax, but the verb is *give* followed by the noun *command:* "Zemnarihah did give command unto his people **that** they should withdraw themselves from the siege and **to** march into the farthermost parts of the land northward." Here we can see that the first object, "his people" is an indirect object, marked by the preposition *unto*, as in this 1483 Caxton example: "David commanded **to** his servants to slay them" (EEBO A14559,; spelling regularized here and following). Here is another instance from the same book, *The Golden Legend*, which is a fairly good match with D&C 124:38: "And after this the emperor commanded **that** they should be hanged with cords and their bodies **to** be given to hounds and wolves to be devoured." A better match is the following from Holinshed's *Chronicles* (1577), because it involves

a dual-object construction: "**whom** the King commanded, **that he** should call all those before him which held any lands of the Crown, and **to** retain of them in his name their homages and fealties" (EEBO A03448). Mosiah 29:30, Alma 8:25, and Acts 24:23 have infinitival complements followed by *that*-clauses after the verb *command*.

49. *Moses* is one of the *they*, similar to this example from Holinshed's *Chronicles:* "**whom** he commanded that **each one** should kiss other's sword." Here *whom* is plural and *each one* is one of the *whom*. When there is a change in object reference in this lengthy Tudor history, the auxiliary is usually *may* or *might*, as in this example: "the king commanded Anselm that the consecration of the said Archbishop of York **might** stay till the feast of Easter" (EEBO A03448).

50. The understood subject of the infinitive may be either *Moses* or *they*.

51. This currently reads in the second person: "I . . . have commanded **you** that **you** should stand as a witness of these things." It originally read in the third person: "I have commanded **him** that **he** should stand . . ." See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-march-1829-dc-5/1.

52. There is an inline deletion of *should* in the manuscript, with *shall* written immediately after: "I have commanded him that he ~~should~~ shall pretend to no other gift." See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-march-1829-dc-5/1. This creates nearby variation in auxiliary usage in verses 2 and 4. Both auxiliary forms can be found in the textual record after present-perfect "have commanded," with *should* predominating. Here is a less-common example with *shall:* "I have commanded, that he **shall** be greatly favoured," (1687, EEBO A47555, page 950). The Book of Mormon also has both types in close proximity at 1 Nephi 3:2, 4.

53. The instance currently found at D&C 76:28 — "the Lord commanded **us** that we should write the vision" — was a later insertion by Joseph Smith. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/vision-16-february-1832-dc-76&p=3. Joseph may have decided to match the dual-object instance of verse 115, or he may have chosen to switch to the dominant finite structure of these revelations, or he may have been sufficiently familiar with the construction by 1831. (That would be unsurprising since he had dictated more than 100 dual-object complementation constructions in 1829.) At the very least, it is unlikely that Smith would have produced the early instances found in section 5 (in the hand of Cowdery, and dictated concurrently with the beginning of the Book of Mormon dictation), or the two extraordinary cases discussed here whose structures are consistent with uncommon usage of the Early Modern English era.

54. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/vision-16-february-1832-dc-76/10. There are also two nearby infinitival examples in a relative clause at D&C 76:80: "that the Lord commanded us to write"; and at D&C 76:113: "which we were commanded to write" (the *command* verb is in the passive voice which favored infinitival complementation with this verb historically).

55. Alma 63:12: "save it were those parts *which* had been COMMANDED by Alma <u>should</u> not go forth"; Helaman 6:25: "*which* Alma COMMANDED his son <u>should</u> not go forth unto the world." EEBO Phase 1 texts also have the following: "and to forbidde them to doe those things *which* God COMMAUNDED, they <u>should</u> doe" (1593, EEBO A03398, page 100); and "see here a paper *which* he COMMANDED I <u>should</u> deliver you" (1647, EEBO A41385, page 113).

56. To be sure, we can currently find other examples in Google Books of "commanded us [ø] we should not" and "commanded them [ø] they should not," in books printed between 1700 and 1830, but these are reprints/quotations of 16th- and 17th-century language (by Philip Sidney and Ben Jonson, respectively). While these instances are distinguishable (the *command* syntax is not part of a relative clause), this evidence reinforces the view that finite complementation lacking the conjunction *that* is archaic language.

57. I have made a preliminary count of 28 infinitival constructions. In 15 of these the verb *command* is in the passive voice, which favors infinitival complementation. In eight of the other 13 cases the object precedes the *command* verb.

58. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-2-august-1833-b-dc-94/1. There is also one instance of "if there shall be properties" in D&C 42:33. Both "if there be" and "if there is" were used much more often than "if there shall be" in the Early Modern English period (before the 18th century) and in the late modern period (after the 17th century). According to *Ngram Viewer*, "if there is" finally overtook "if there be" in the 1880s.

59. The EEBO Phase 1 database contains seven instances of "if there shall come": two from the 16th century, and five from the 17th century. EEBO Phase 2 currently contains 14 examples (texts are added to it periodically): 12 of these are from the 17th century, and the last one is dated 1700: "**if there shall come** to them *out of Zion a deliverer to turn away their Iniquity*" (EEBO A65710). This quote is from the biblical commentator Daniel Whitby, discussing Romans 11:27.

60. There are currently two 20th-century examples found on Google Books, as well as some false positives. One example is from a somewhat obscure 20th-century translation of Thomas Aquinas and the other is from Richard Llewellyn's *How Green Was My Valley* [1939]. (Google Books is not always reliable, and there are many reprints and editions that carry misleading or incorrect dates; *Ngram Viewer* is not currently reliable before the 18th century.)

61. Here are five 17th-century examples of the uncommon phrase "if there shall come," taken from publicly available EEBO Phase 1 texts:

    1633, EEBO A13053, John Stow [1525?–1605] *The survey of London*, page 723

    > And **if there shall come** no heire of the said Lands or Tenements,

    1638, EEBO A14258, George Herbert, tr. [1593–1633] |
    Juan de Valdés [d. 1541] *The hundred and ten considerations*, page 279

    > And **if there shall come** a fancy to him to say that his doubting is of the same quality with that of them who doubt without spirit,

    1643, EEBO A86477, Denzil Holles [1599–1680]
    Mr. Hollis his speech to the Lords in Parliament concerning peace, page 25

    > And therefore **if there shall come** any discord
    > between any of your quarter,

    1671, EEBO A45356, Henry Hallywell [d. 1703?]
    A discourse of the excellency of Christianity, page 22

    > And consequently, **if there shall come** one whose Doctrine tends to the establishing the pure Worship of the true God, and delivers nothing but what is for the promotion of Piety and Holiness, and shall

    1677, EEBO A48960, John Logan [17th cent.] *Analogia honorum, or, A treatise of honour and nobility, according to the laws and customes of England*, page 54

    > and to be a Judge, to sit, hear, and determine Life and Member, Plea and right of Land, **if there shall come** occasion:

62. See Skousen, *Grammatical Variation*, 1048–1052.

63. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-march-1829-dc-5/1.

64. Here is an example of the edited language: "God forbid it, for to doubt and stand in a ma*m*mering, would **cause you that you should** never truely loue God, but ever serue him of a servile feare," (1613, EEBO A19420, pages 207–208).

65. This is mainly from EEBO Phase 1 texts, so that there are almost certainly more instances of dual-object *cause* syntax in EEBO Phase 2 texts that I haven't encountered.

66. Here are two more examples with doubled *him ~ he* and embedded auxiliaries:

> 1520, EEBO A03126, translation of Frère Hayton's
> *La fleur des histoires de la terre d'Orient* [page xvii]
>
> > And an other thing was that he made warr vpon his neyghbours /
> > whiche **caused hym that he coude** nat ouercome the sodan of Egipt
>
> 1634, EEBO A09763, Philemon Holland (translator) [1552–1637] |
> Pliny the Elder's *The naturall historie of C. Plinius Secundus*, page 341
>
> > And verily the great master teeth and grinders of a wolfe, beeing
> > hanged about an horse necke, **cause him that he shall** neuer tire and be
> > weary, be he put to neuer so much running in any race whatsoeuer.

67. I estimate this on the basis of the following *Ngram Viewer* formula: "(caused that _PRON_ / (caused _PRON_ to + caused that _PRON_))."

68. It could be argued in this instance that there was influence from the closely preceding dual-object **command** syntax. Nonetheless, such influence is unlikely when another verb is involved for which the speaker has no evidence of analogous obsolete usage. One does not know that it had ever been used with the verb *cause* based on usage with the verb *command*. The historical usage may have been different in this regard, since the semantics of the two verbs are clearly distinct. (In terms of historical English usage, the semantic difference between the verbs *command* and *cause* might have disfavored the dual-object structure with the verb *cause*.) Moreover, infinitival complementation with the verb *cause* was probably heavily dominant in all English dialects in the 19th century (more than 99%), since it was very uncommon even in the 16th and 17th centuries, when the average usage rate was more than 95% infinitival.

    There are only four instances of finite complementation with the verb *cause* in the entire King James Bible (two in one verse with no auxiliary, and two with the auxiliary *should*), and there are absolutely no biblical examples of dual-object syntax with this verb. In contrast, the Book of Mormon has 12 instances of dual-object syntax with the verb *cause*, language that would have been dictated for the most part after the language of D&C 5:3 was set down in writing.

69. Currently there are a number of instances on Google Books of 18th-century language or earlier with early 19th-century date stamps. In terms of novel, 19th-century production, one can find several examples of this language in a translation of Plautus by George Sackville Cotter (*Seven Comedies of Plautus* [London, 1827]), such as "I will have caused, **that** you **shall** catch him in a manner openly

seen"; "Now I shall have caused, **that** the fortified town belonging to the Pimp, **shall** be totally sacked, and devastated" (bit.ly/2rrVsVW); "I will have caused **that** you **shall** say mischief." Cotter notes that he made a literal translation out of Latin, and that explains the finite syntax with *shall* found in these plays.

In addition, at this point in time I have encountered one 19th-century American instance, and so the language is attested, but seemingly rare: "and to cause **that** the proprietor thereof **shall** not be able to live, unless they receive their mark" (Abner Kneeland, editor, *The Olive Branch and Christian Inquirer* 1.17 [New-York, 6 September 1828]: 269, bit.ly/2rsasU6).

70. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-april-1829-d-dc-9/1. This revelation could have been given around the time that Mosiah 7:14 was dictated: "I will cause *that* my people **shall** rejoice also," which was almost certainly tightly controlled language.

71. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-6-april-1830-dc-21/1.

72. The word order was changed subsequently to "there shall **be** a record kept among you," with the change shown on the 1831 manuscript. This emendation was probably prompted by the archaic syntax. The rare phraseology ("there shall <INDEFINITE NP> be <PAST PARTICIPLE>") is found in two 16th-century Bibles (specifically, the 1539 Great Bible and the 1568 Bishops' Bible, which have "there shall a beam be taken from his house") as well as occasionally in other writings of the Early Modern English period. EEBO Phase 1 texts contain the following examples: "there shall a place be prepared," "there shall a certain be left for that use," "there shall a voice be heard crying in the wilderness," "there shall a mass be said by a chaplain," "there shall a proof or trial be made of the said monies," and "in the last day there shall a separation be made."

The apparent analogous example found in the King James Bible at Luke 22:10 — "there shall a man meet you" — is distinct in that *there* expresses location, not existence, so that it is equivalent to "a man shall meet you **there**."

73. In this syntax the *that*-clause after "it <BEHOOVE verb form> <INDIRECT OBJECT>" as well as the presence of the auxiliary *should* in the *that*-clause make this usage rare.

74. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-spring-1829-dc-10/1.

75. The JSP source note states: "Revelation, Harmony Township, Susquehanna Co., PA, [ca. Apr. 1829; though parts may date as early as summer 1828]" (www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-spring-1829-dc-10/1). See also www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-book-1/5.

76. See John 11:37 and Revelation 13:15 for two passages containing somewhat complex language that probably prompted the choice of finite complementation. Earlier biblical translations into English employed the verb *make* in John 11:37, but in Revelation 13:15 the verb *cause* is found early, in Tyndale.

77. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-september-1830-a-dc-29/4.

78. Here are two relevant American examples that I noted in July 2015: "caused, *that* he **should** be chosen and crowned emperor of the Romans" (1798, Northampton, Massachusetts; not found in May 2017) and "could have caused *that* all his people **should** be of one heart, and of one mind" (*The Triangle;* New York, 1816) (bit.ly/2rv5F35). During roughly the same time period I have noted at least 10 instances of finite *cause* syntax with *should* in British publications.

79. Excluding D&C 134:12 as a probable case of non-revelatory language, I have counted 22 instances of infinitival *cause* syntax. Three of these occur in sections with finite *cause* syntax — sections 8, 9, and 29 — so there is nearby variation.

80. This includes one instance found in the Apocrypha at 2 Esdras 14:34.

81. Forty-two appears to be the correct count. If so, then my essay at Skousen, *Grammatical Variation*, 91, has it wrong by one.

82. The auxiliary *shall* occurs six times in this context in the Book of Mormon, and the auxiliary *should* once, all in the small plates section of the Book of Mormon. The Doctrine and Covenants has one example with *should*, which is discussed below.

83. The 1568 Bishops' Bible also has 12 examples of "if so be." The modern update of the 1582 Douay-Rheims Bible (Catholic), the 1749 Challoner-Rheims Bible, also employs the phrase with *it* at Matthew 18:13, but the 1582 version has "if it chaunce." The Geneva Bible (1560) has 30 instances of "if so be," and earlier Bibles have fewer occurrences, but never employ the phrase with *it*.

84. EEBO Phase 1 texts have 147 instances of "if it so be" (and spelling variants) from the 16th century, versus only 25 instances from the 17th century (excluding 15 instances found in a 1687 edition of some

of Chaucer's writings). This database also has approximately five times as many 17th-century words as 16th-century words. Hence, 147 × 5 ÷ 25 = 29.4 ≈ 30.

85. As good evidence of its uncommon use, in the publicly available portion of *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* (ECCO–TCP; quod. lib.umich.edu/e/ecco) there are 117 instances of "if so be" and only two instances of "if **it** so be":

> 1773, David Henry, *An historical account of all the voyages round the world*
> and, **if it so be**, that I never come home,
> yet will her Majesty pay every man his wages

> 1797, Samuel Jackson Pratt, *Family secrets: literary and domestic*
> Such is your humble servant's good counsel; but **if it so be** it be not taken,

The second example above has a dependent clause in the subjunctive, with ellipsis of the conjunction *that*.

86. Here are five instances with sentential complements taken from Google Books (from both British and American sources):

> 1813 GOOG Pseudonymous author *It was me*, 54 (London)
> now **if it so be** that I positively don't know good grammar

> 1815 GOOG John Mathers (pseudonym) *The History
> of Mr. John Decastro*, 231 (London)
> But, **if it so be**, that I **am** called upon for mine objections to pretty Jenny

> 1826 GOOG L. S. Everett (editor) *Gospel Advocate*, 4:142, 220 (Buffalo, NY)
> **if it so be** that your conviction of its truth or falsity
> **are** honest and pure . . .
>
> But **if it so be**, that they **are** . . . under the influence
> of any predominant sect

> 1827 GOOG *The New-York Literary Gazette*
> **if it so be**, that you **are** come hither
> like the rest of your fraternity with a large bill

These examples have dependent *that*-clauses with verbs in the indicative mood (when it can be determined — that is, in all but the 1813 excerpt, whose grammatical mood cannot be determined).

87. The phrase "it mattereth not" is found seven times in the Doctrine and Covenants and 11 times in the Book of Mormon. La Roy Sunderland criticized this phrase, on page 59 of *Mormonism Exposed* (New York: NY Watchman, 1842) (bit.ly/2pXtuPS), but his criticism

was misplaced since one can currently find more than 200 instances of this phrase in the EEBO database.

88. This language was received in early June 1829, copied by John Whitmer in March 1831, and typeset in early 1833. See www.josephsmithpapers. org/paper-summary/revelation-june-1829-b-dc-18/3.

89. The *in* was edited out. EEBO Phase 1 texts provide a number of examples which show that the *in* here could have been archaic usage (tightly controlled language), as in the following two excerpts from the 16th and 17th centuries: 1540, Myles Coverdale, *Psalter:* "we have been glad and refreshed **in all our days**" (EEBO A13371); 1683, John Bulteel (translator), Mézeray's *A General Chronological History of France:* "Amongst his fervent exercises of piety, which never did abate **in all the days of his life**, he observed the fasts ordained by the church with great exactness" (EEBO A70580).

90. The *only* was edited out. EEBO Phase 1 texts have a few examples of this pleonastic language. There is one instance of closely related "save only it be" (in a 1691 translation of an Italian work), as well as three examples of "save only it is/was" (1652, 1671, 1684).

91. Not uncommon is for the auxiliary *should* to occur after the nearly identical phrase "if it **should** so be," which is found in the Book of Mormon at Enos 1:13: "if it **should** so be that my people the Nephites **should** fall into transgression." This language is found in the 18th-century language of wills. For example, the book *Maine Wills: 1640–1760*, edited by William Mitchell Sargent (Portland: Brown Thurston & Company, 1887), contains several instances of this language (archive.org/details/cu31924081314852). And it can be found in other legal references to wills, as in this example — (1772) "but if it **should** so be that my son . . . **shall/should** depart this life" (in William P. Mason, *Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Circuit Court of the United States, for the First Circuit* [Boston: Hilliard, Gray, Little, and Wilkins, 1828], 3:391–395, 543, bit. ly/2qVEWRc). But this language is not found in either ECCO–TCP or LION (after the year 1700).

92. One of these is a case of resumptive repetition (D&C 96:8). In D&C 37:1 *expedient* is used in the negative, and the tense is in the past at D&C 100:4. There are two instances in which *expedient* is conjoined with and preceded by *necessary* (D&C 71:1) and *wisdom* (D&C 96:6). And the phraseology of D&C 96:5 is slightly different from the usual: "this is **the most** expedient in me."

93. One instance has a following *that*-clause which is not dependent in the usual way, since the *that* is not a simple conjunction/complementizer. In this particular case the clause is **purposive**: "keep these things from going abroad unto the world until it is **expedient in me**, **that** ye may accomplish this work in the eyes of the people," (D&C 45:72), and *that* means 'in order that'. This is the only time the auxiliary *may* is used in a following *that*-clause, instead of *should* or *shall*.

94. The semantics of the noun phrase or the pronoun in the prepositional phrase after *expedient* appears to involve agents with power to influence things or agents with the authority to judge matters of importance.

95. In the 1844 Doctrine and Covenants, current section 127 is section CV (105): see www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/doctrine-and-covenants-1844/420. In that book there is a comma after *expedient*, tying the prepositional phrase "in me" only to *wisdom*, rather than to both *expedient* and *wisdom*, as the current lack of punctuation makes possible.

96. Substituting the adjective *wise* for the phrase "wisdom in me" would create a more compact, parallel structure that would express essentially the same content, since the verb *thought* effectively conveys the same notion as the *in* of "in me." The prepositional phrase "in me" in D&C 127:1 is therefore a possible redundancy, unlike the usage in similar Doctrine and Covenants passages.

97. This is taken from definition 2 in the Oxford English Dictionary for the adjective *expedient*.

98. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-4-december-1831-a-dc-721–8/1.

99. D&C 96:6 does not complete the *that*-clause until the resumptive repetition of verse 8. For a thorough treatment of resumptive repetition in the Book of Mormon, see Skousen, *Grammatical Variation*, 2:808–853. Also, D&C 100:4 reads "for thus it was expedient in me for the salvation of souls," without a verbal complement.

100. This is the earliest dictation of "it is expedient in me." See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-september-1830-d-dc-305–8/1. The manuscript includes redactions (*thou* to *you*, etc.) that are noteworthy but irrelevant to this particular discussion.

101. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-11-september-1831-dc-64/3.

102. The seven infinitival examples of this syntax that I have collected as of this writing (May 2017) are the following: "Because it was expedient **in** the . . . gouernment . . . **to** vse all rigor and seueritie" (1603); "Wherefore it is expedient **in** this . . . Councell, **to** remove that especially which is so opposite to Gods Lawes" (1638); "Whether it is expedient **in** a State **to** have Slaves" (1664); "and that therefore it was expedient **in them to** set the Commons an example and open their doors" (1774); "would it have been wise, would it have been expedient **in** him **to** have issued a direction too limited," (1780); "how far it may be proper and expedient **in** them, **to** carry the improvement of the quality of their butter" (1824); "You are not asked to say whether they are deeds that a wise or an affectionate man should have made; or if it was expedient **in** him **to** execute them" (1831).

103. This conclusion is made because a single 17th-century instance points to a much higher usage rate than a single 18th-century instance, since the number of imprints usually increased decade by decade.

104. There are more than 100 examples with *should* in EEBO Phase 1 texts, compared with only two examples with *shall* currently found in all of EEBO.

105. The King James Bible has a single past-tense example: "it was expedient that one man **should** die for the people" (John 18:14). Here are four uncommon early modern and late modern examples with *shall* in dependent *that*-clauses (the first two from EEBO Phase 2 texts, and the last two from Google Books):

> 1627, EEBO A18885, E.C.S. (translator), Cicero's *Scipio's dreame*
>> To be short, **it is expedient, that** you being Dictator
>> **shall** gouerne the common-wealth,

> 1672, EEBO A70912, H. Parsons, *The history of the five wise philosophers*
>> **it is expedient, that** any of the saids officers . . .
>> **shall** cause register the docquet

> 1789 GOOG Catholic Committee (England), *To the Catholics of England*
>> And that **it is expedient that** such persons . . . **shall** be relieved from
>> the penalties and disabilities to which Papists . . . are by law subject,

> 1813 GOOG *Parliamentary Papers* (in relation to the East India Company)
>> **it is expedient that** all the privileges, authorities,
>> and regulations and clauses affecting the same,
>> **shall** continue and be in force for a time to be limited;

106. The syntax is "it <BE verb form/phrase> expedient in <AGENTIVE NP> that <SUBJECT> **shall** <INFINITIVE>."

107. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-april-1829-b-dc-8/2 and www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-book-1/7.

108. In both cases the final edit from *have* to *has* occurred **after** the 1844 Doctrine and Covenants.

109. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-may-1829-a-dc-11/2.

110. There are also four with *has* in Alma 12:25; 27:15; 40:24; 41:1. A close Early Modern English example with *has* is the following:

    1677, EEBO A48816, William Lloyd [1627–1717] *Considerations touching the true way to suppress popery in this kingdom*

    they would be wakened by those Censures
    of which enough **has been spoken** already.

111. Another possibility is to consider "**of which** hath been spoken" to be an adjunct construction where the subject slot of the clause is occupied by the prepositional phrase (in bold), which is construed as singular by default. That may be how those responsible for the later edit to *has* took this phraseology.

112. Alexander Campbell, *Delusions: An Analysis of the Book of Mormon* (Boston: Greene, 1832), 13. These statements were first published the year before in Alexander Campbell, editor, "Delusions," *The Millennial Harbinger* 2.2 [7 February 1831] (Bethany, VA: A. Campbell, 1831): 85–96, at 93–95. The *Delusions* portion is dated 10 February 1831. (Bethany is located in present-day West Virginia [Northern Panhandle], sandwiched between Ohio and Pennsylvania; the volume is wrongly dated 1731 [MDCCXXXI], and thus it appears with that publication date in Google Books).

113. It was also possible and more common in the Early Modern English period to use *before-mentioned* and *afore-mentioned* to express the same meaning.

114. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-circa-summer-1829-dc-19/1.

115. The Book of Mormon doesn't have this exact language, but it does have several cases such as "And now Jacob, I speak unto **you**: **Thou** art my first born" (2 Nephi 2:1). These can be profitably compared with the following examples from EEBO, which show the same nearby variation: "when will it say unto **you**, **thou** hast served me long enough; **thou** hast serv'd thy pleasures, and thy estate," (1668, EEBO A74977, Richard Alleine [1611–1681], *The world conquered, or a*

believers victory over the world); "If **thou** desirest Christ, goe to him, and **you** shall speed;" (1649, EEBO A91791, Samuel Richardson [fl. 1643–1658], *Divine consolations, or, The teachings of God*).

116. The reader may recall that there are two grammatical objects after the verb *command:* the indirect object *you* and the direct object *that-*clause, which has two embedded verbs, *covet* and *impart.*

117. There are even interesting cases of co-referential "thee that you" found on EEBO, such as: "Knight I doo request **thee**, that **you** wil**t** take me into **your** Galley," (1583, EEBO A08548, translation of Pedro de la Sierra's *Second Part of the Mirror of Knighthood*); "What benefit will it be to **thee**, that **you** do no body else wrong, when **you** doe your own soul**s** wrong?" (1652, EEBO A49252, Christopher Love, *The naturall mans case stated*).

In this second example, taken from a sermon, *thee* may refer to more than one person, similar to Abinadi's usage with king Noah's priests: "**ye** shall be smitten for **thine** iniquities" (Mosiah 12:29); or Nephi's usage with Laman and Lemuel: "**thou** art mine elder brethren, and how is it that **ye** are so hard in your hearts" (1 Nephi 7:8).

118. Compare 2 Nephi 2:1 in the current LDS text. (The string "unto you: Thou" in Mosiah 13:12 involves Decalogue language and so the switch can be classified as a quotation.)

119. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-25-december-1832-dc-87/2 and www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-27–28-december-1832-dc-881–126/10.

120. In this particular case, there are seven instances of "exceeding angry" in the earliest text of the Book of Mormon, and none of "exceeding**ly** angry." Before 1830 Joseph had dictated scores of instances of "exceeding <ADJECTIVE>" for the Book of Mormon.

121. To be clear, tight control does not involve spelling control, but it does involve morphological control and/or word control, with the possibility of human error.

122. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/letterbook-1/63 or www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/letter-to-church-leaders-in-jackson-county-missouri-2-july-1833/1. Later in the letter we read the following: "I Sidney write this in great haste."

An example of "exceeding fatigued" can be found in a 1768 abridgment of Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (Edinburgh, 121 pages; first published on 25 April 1719) on ECCO. More examples are found on Google Books.

123. Sidney Rigdon was 12 years older than Joseph Smith, so Rigdon's personal usage could have been slightly more conservative than Joseph's in this regard.

124. The Google Books *Ngram Viewer* is, generally speaking, a lagging indicator. This is because it contains later editions and reprints of earlier publications, as well as internal quotations of earlier language.

125. It should be noted, however, that "exceeding great" appears more frequently in the textual record than "exceeding**ly** great" until the 1930s, when any form of this adverb was used far less frequently with adjectives. (*Ngram Viewer* shows that after the 1930s these nearly identical bigrams were employed at roughly the same rate.) Nevertheless, Gilbert Hunt, the author of the pseudo-biblical text *The Late War* (1816), split usage, employing one instance of "exceeding great" and another of "exceeding**ly** great." Based on that variable usage and *Ngram Viewer*, we reasonably expect that the Book of Mormon would have employed a few instances of "exceedingly great," had the wording not been tightly controlled, instead of the 57 consistent instances of "exceeding great" found in the earliest text (Skousen, editor, *The Book of Mormon* [bit.ly/2ocoerM]). This fact, along with the highly consistent use of *exceeding* with other adjectives, points to tight control in the Book of Mormon in this domain, which lends support, in this regard, for that view relative to many sections of the Doctrine and Covenants.

126. This fact can be determined from modern databases in a number of ways. For example, a comparison of "that/which ye" with "that/which you" (including several spelling variants) shows that in the 1570s subject *you* was already found in writing twice as often as subject *ye*.

127. Biblical language, of course, owes much to Tyndale, who began to translate in the 1520s, when subject *ye* was still dominant over subject *you*.

128. Seewww.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-6-august-1833-dc-98/1.

129. In current LDS scripture, there are nine instances of "that you" in the Book of Mormon, 148 in the Doctrine and Covenants, and two in the Pearl of Great Price. The earliest text of the Book of Mormon has only seven instances of "that you": Jacob 2:13, Mosiah 29:13, and Alma 41:14 were originally "that ye," and Alma 7:17 was originally "that you." These editorial changes account for the difference in these counts and demonstrate inconsistent editing.

130. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-april-1829-a-dc-6/4.

131. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-june-1829-e-dc-17/1.

132. See under *ye* in the Oxford English Dictionary, definition 2 (the dictionary provides a Shakespearean example of singular ye: "Will ye be gone?" *Two Gentlemen of Verona* 1.2.49). This OED entry suggests (and EEBO verifies) that singular *ye* was fairly common in the Early Modern English era, and this use persisted into the 19th century in various British dialects. Its presence, however, in Joseph Smith's dialect is uncertain; specific evidence for it is lacking at this time, but may be pinpointed in the future after further research.

An October 1829 letter from Joseph to Oliver doesn't have singular *ye* in this excerpt: "we want to hear from you and know how **you** prosper in the good work" (see www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/letter-to-oliver-cowdery-22-october-1829/1). Nor did Moroni address Joseph with singular *ye* in the 1832 History manuscript, which Moroni might have employed had it been part of Joseph's dialect: "**you** have not kept the commandments of the Lord which I gave unto you therefore **you** cannot now obtain them" (see www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/history-circa-summer-1832/4).

As for singular *ye* in the Doctrine and Covenants, we must look to the manuscripts, since there was a strong tendency to remove this particular usage for printed publication. For example, singular *ye* is originally found eight times in section 8 (addressed to Oliver Cowdery), as in this excerpt: "even so shure shall **ye** receive a knowledge of whatsoever things **ye** shall ask with an honest heart believeing that **ye** Shall receive" (see www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-april-1829-b-dc-8/1. In addition, this section has nine instances of object *you*, eight instances of possessive *your*, and six *thou* forms (*thou*, *thee*, *thy*).

Sections 9 and 10 have clear cases of singular *ye* as well, as in these examples: "because **ye** did not Translate according to that which **ye** desired of me" (see www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-book-1/8; Book of Commandments 8:1 (D&C 9:1) has *you* here); "therefore it is wisdom in me that **ye** should translate this first part of the engravings of Nephi" (see www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-book-1/5; Book of Commandments 9:11 (D&C 10:45) has *you* here).

133. For a discussion of the {-th} plural, see Charles Barber, *Early Modern English* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), 169; and Roger Lass, "Phonology and Morphology," *The Cambridge History of the English Language*, ed. Roger Lass (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 3:165–66, bit.ly/2obexd8. Barber calls it the {-eth} plural (or plural {-eth}). Because of the frequent use of *hath* and *doth* with plural subjects, I follow the shorter {-th} plural designation of Lass.

134. See Stanford Carmack, "The Case of the {-th} Plural in the Earliest Text," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 18 (2016): 79–108, www.mormoninterpreter.com/the-case-of-the-th-plural-in-the-earliest-text. See also Skousen, *Grammatical Variation*, 465 ff.

135. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-july-1828-dc-3/2 (copied about March 1831 in *Revelation Book 1* by John Whitmer). This excerpt currently reads quite differently: "whom the Lord has suffered to destroy their brethren the Nephites."

136. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-6-may-1833-dc-93/4.

137. This doubtful transcription is found on page 70 of *Revelation Book 2*. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-6-august-1833-dc-98/5 or www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-book-2/84. Both *repent* and *reward* have final *s*'s that appear to have been added later (since they do not match Williams's hand elsewhere on this page), but only the verb *reward* is transcribed as *reward**s***. It is hard, however, to make a reliable determination without visually inspecting the manuscript. Hence, a clear case of subjunctive ~ indicative variation from the Doctrine and Covenants is provided immediately below (after the hypothetical *if*).

138. In EEBO Phase 1 texts, the earliest dated example of "he rewards" is 1588. About the same number of instances of "he rewards" and "he rewardeth" are found in this database, which covers the years 1473 to 1700.

139. Both the 1835 and 1844 editions of the Doctrine and Covenants have "until he repent and reward the fourfold" (www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/doctrine-and-covenants-1835/227 and ~/doctrine-and-covenants-1844/339 and ~/doctrine-and-covenants-1844/340).

140. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-july-1828-dc-3/1.

141. A reading of consistent subjunctive mood in this passage sounds less acceptable to me than the current fully indicative reading. However, I judge the original, variable reading to be fully acceptable.

142. See also Stanford Carmack, "A Look at Some 'Nonstandard' Book of Mormon Grammar," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 11 (2014): 246–50, www.mormoninterpreter.com/a-look-at-some-nonstandard-book-of-mormon-grammar.

143. Tyndale (1534) has consistent subjunctive use here with a different second verb: "yf eny **heare** the worde and **do** it not." Coverdale (1535) follows Tyndale. The King James Bible has: "For if any be a hearer of the word, and not a doer." A second verb is not used.

144. The 1611 King James Bible in Genesis 4:7 reads "**If** thou **doe** well, shalt thou not be accepted? and **if** thou **doest** not well, sinne lieth at the doore." It currently reads "if thou doest" in both cases. The 1535 Coverdale Bible has "if thou do" twice here.

145. See, for example, Charles Barber, *Early Modern English* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), 169–70; and Roger Lass, "Phonology and Morphology" in *The Cambridge History of the English Language: Volume III: 1476–1776*, edited by Roger Lass (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 3:165–66. This terminology can be a little confusing at times, but I will use it here nevertheless.

146. Normally *things* is the antecedent of a relative pronoun in cases of plural *is*, etc., but here is an uncommon example where *things* is the grammatical subject:

> 1658, EEBO A44798, Francis Howgill, *The measvring rod of the Lord*
>
> > I say the light which comes from Christ by whom the World was made, will shew you that all these THINGS **is** sin and evil in the sight of God,
> >
> > > The immediate occurrence of singular *sin* in the complement probably made plural *is* more likely in this instance.

147.   D&C 45:28 has an apparent case of the {-s} plural with the subject *times*, but this was introduced by a later edit, and as a result, the plural *is* currently remains in this verse: "And when the **times** of the Gentiles **is** come in." The original, crossed-out language read "shall be" instead of "is." See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-circa-7-march-1831-dc-45/3. I have found an instance of "the times **is** comming" (1643), but *are* is usually used with *times* and the verb *come* in the Early Modern English textual record.

148. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-may-1829-a-dc-11-in-handwriting-of-hyrum-smith/1.

149. The 1833 Book of Commandments contains the earliest extant version, and in that publication there is a comma after *things* that I have left out. The current LDS text reads "things which are,"

without a comma. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-june-1829-b-dc-18/3. This same revelation may contain other instances of "things which is," but we cannot determine what the original readings actually were since the two earlier manuscript versions are lost.

150. Skousen, editor, *The Book of Mormon*, 734 (bit.ly/2ocoerM).

151. See Skousen, editor, *The Book of Mormon*, 80 (bit.ly/2ocoerM).

152. The following passage may also contain an example of nearby plural *is ~ are* variation, but it is difficult to be sure that the antecedent of *which* is *lies:* "And these THINGS **are** done to Seal and Confirm LIES, *which* **is** the more heavy, heinous, and prodigious;" (1689, EEBO A47362).

153. See Skousen, editor, *The Book of Mormon*, 309 (bit.ly/2ocoerM).

154. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/articles-and-covenants-circa-april-1830-dc-20/1. The source note states: "The *Painesville Telegraph* version and the copy found in Revelation Book 1 both appear to have been created about the same time, but differences between the two versions indicate that the [*Painesville Telegraph* version] was based on an earlier copy; therefore, the *Telegraph* version is featured here." See also www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-book-1/37.

155. *Maker* was edited to *framer* for the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/doctrine-and-covenants-1835/86?highlight=framer.

156. Here are these two examples with language that is similar to D&C 20:17 (in the original spelling):

1528, EEBO A03318, Andrew Laurence (translator) [fl. 1510–1537] | Hieronymus Brunschwig [*c.*1450–*c.*1512] *The vertuose boke of distyllacyon of the waters of all maner of herbes with the fygures of the styllatoryes*

> [Bu]t onely God that hath created hevyn and
> erthe / and all THYNGES *that* **is** there in

1549, EEBO A03622, John Hooper [d.1555] *A declaration of the ten holy co[m]maundementes of allmygthye God wroten Exo. 20. Deu. 5.*

> For in syx daies / God made Heaven and Earthe /
> the See / and all THINGES *that* **is** therin

There are other Early Modern English examples with quite similar language, such as the following: "to wean you from the love of the **World**, and all the THINGS *that* **is** in it," (1660, EEBO A60658).

157. There are two cases of "for after that <SUBJECT>" in the Book of Mormon, at Words of Mormon 1:3 and Ether 12:31.

158. Compare "scriptures which **have**" in *Revelation Book 1* (www. josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-book-1/38? highlight=scriptures+which+have) and in the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants(www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/doctrine-and-covenants-1835/86?highlight=scriptures+which+have).

159. For a discussion of plural *was* in earlier English, see Terttu Nevalainen, "Vernacular universals? The case of plural *was* in Early Modern English," *Types of Variation: Diachronic, dialectal and typological interfaces*, edited by Terttu Nevalainen, Juhani Klemola, and Mikko Laitinen (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2006), 351–69.

160. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/history-circa-summer-1832/4.

161. See Stanford Carmack, "The Case of Plural *Was* in the Earliest Text," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 18 (2016): 114–21, www. mormoninterpreter.com/the-case-of-plural was-in-the-earliest-text.

162. See Skousen, editor, *The Book of Mormon*, 259, bit.ly/2ocoerM.

163. See Skousen, editor, *The Book of Mormon*, 17.

164. See Skousen, editor, *The Book of Mormon*, 412.

165. See the thorough discussion in Skousen, *Analysis of Textual Variants of the Book of Mormon*, Alma 37:21. ("Directors" has been changed to "interpreters" in both Book of Mormon verses.) The interpretation of the Joseph Smith Papers transcription of D&C 17:1 — "the Urim and Thumim <which **was**> given to the brother of Jared upon the mount when he talked with the Lord face to face and the marveelus director**s** which **was** given to Lehi while in the wilderness on the borders of the red sea" — is difficult. It should not be taken as clearly indicating instances of plural *was*. The later addition of "which was" after "Urim and Thumim" appears to have been unnecessary, and plural *directors* could have been originally written in the singular. The term here signifies Liahona, and singular *director* is used three times in the Book of Mormon to refer to it (Mosiah 1:16, Alma 37:38, 45).

166. According to Google Books, the syntactic grouping "suffered that the," where the verb *suffer* means "allow, permit," is hardly to be found in early 19th-century writings, confined to uncommon literary use. According to *Ngram Viewer*, "allowed the <NOUN> to" was approximately 1.5 times as likely as "permitted the <NOUN> to"

in 1828 (taking the three most common nominal cases for each verb, two of which are shared: *enemy* and *people).*

167. Two other examples of complementation switching are found at 1 Nephi 1:3 and Moroni 4:1: "I know **that** the record which I make **to** be true" (cf. 3 Nephi 5:18) and "wherefore we know **that** the manner **to** be true." See Skousen, *Grammatical Variation*, 1:450–451.

168. In *A dialogue of comfort against tribulation* (1534; EEBO A07696, [1553]), More wrote "yet would I think **that** the least **to** be ours of the twain," which is equivalent to a construction with an immediate postmodification of the subject noun phrase: "yet would I think **that** the least [of the twain]$_i$ **to** be ours ø$_i$." This is akin to the phraseology of 1 Nephi 1:3. See the discussion in Skousen, *Grammatical Variation*, 451.

169. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-circa-2-november-1831-dc-67/2.

170. See Mark R. Grandstaff, "Having More Learning Than Sense: William E. McLellin and the Book Of Commandments Revisited," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 26.4 (1993): 42. Grandstaff wrote: "[Joseph Smith's] grammar was poor and undoubtedly Cowdery, Rigdon, David Whitmer, and McLellin were more eloquent."

171. Grandstaff, "Having More Learning Than Sense," 40.

172. McLellin made his own copy shortly after Joseph received this revelation ("[between ca. 30 Oct. 1831 and 15 Nov. 1831]"). A Joseph Smith Papers note placed after "glories which **are**" at www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-29-october-1831-dc-66/1 reads as follows: "John Whitmer's copy of the revelation in Revelation Book 1 has "was" instead of "are." (Revelation Book 1, p. 111.)" Whitmer's copy reads as follows: "that they might have life & be made partakers of the glories which **was** to be revealed in the last days as it was written by the Prophets & Apostles in days of old" (www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-book-1/97).

Either tense appears to be acceptable in this context, depending on the perspective. Hence, it is more likely that McLellin changed "glories which was" to "glories which are" than that John Whitmer changed "glories which are" to "glories which was." If so, then McLellin knew of the bad grammar and decided to eliminate the case of plural *was* and change the tense to the present, a reading he might have favored.

173. As objective evidence of Williams's good character, we note that he served as a ship's pilot during the War of 1812, a town clerk, a medical doctor for approximately 25 years (until his death in 1842), and that

he was elected to be justice of the peace for Geauga County, Ohio in 1836, the first Mormon to hold government office there. See Frederick G. Williams, *The Life of Dr. Frederick G. Williams: Counselor to the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Provo, UT: BYU Studies, 2012), 3, 11, 40, 43, 44, 50, 57–88, 374–375.

Beyond some general knowledge that Williams would have acquired from being a landowner in the Kirtland area and elsewhere, there is no specific evidence in this thorough biography that he was knowledgeable in city planning or architecture.

174. Definition 1a of the noun *pattern* in the Oxford English Dictionary reads: " 'The original proposed to imitation; the archetype; that which is to be copied; an exemplar' ([Samuel Johnson]); an example or model deserving imitation; an example or model of a particular excellence."

175. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-2-august-1833-b-dc-94/2.

176. As discussed, D&C 94:9 contains archaic "if there shall come," which is specific wording that was unlikely to have come from Joseph Smith's own language or linguistic experience. In addition, after the dimensions for the width and length of the inner court are given, we read archaic *thereof* twice, instead of modern *its*. Also, "an higher" and "an house" are used in this section (verses 5 and 10 currently read "**a** higher" and "**a** house," without the nasal). According to *Ngram Viewer*, archaic "an high(er)" and "an house" were only **3%** variants in the 1830s written record. In other words, the modern two-word phrases "a high(er)" and "a house" were used **97%** of the time.

177. One somewhat obvious candidate for no control is the phrase "of which we send you the draft." This directive includes the pronoun "we," who we can take to be (at least) Joseph Smith, Jr., Sidney Rigdon, and Frederick G. Williams. Another directive, however, at the end of the plot description, strikes one as consistent with what the Lord might issue: "when this square is thus laid off and supplied / lay off another in the same way / and so fill up the world in these last days / and let every man live in the City for this is the City of Zion."

178. Note 4 of www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/plat-of-the-city-of-zion-circa-early-june-25-june-1833/1 states: "Instead of "¼ of an acre," the JS letterbook copy has "½ of an acre." According to the dimensions listed here, the lots would occupy eighty square perches or rods, which is equal to half an acre. The plat, however, contains several inconsistencies. As drawn, some of the blocks contain only

eighteen lots, while others have twenty-two, rather than the twenty implicitly prescribed in the drawing and explanation." See also www. josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/letterbook-1/50.

It should be pointed out that this is merely a case of drawing, by accident, one too many lines, or one too few lines in a square of the plot, something that is almost to be expected, given that Williams had to draw hundreds of lines by hand.

In addition, "2 perches" was corrected to "4 perches," and there is a cross-out of *perches* with an immediate rewrite of the same word. The correction of 2 to 4 could have been immediate as well, and is subsidiary to the initial dimensions given for the majority of the squares (all but the middle row), which is 40 square rods (= 40 square perches). The middle row has blocks whose dimensions are 40×60 rods or perches, that is 660' $\times$ 990'.

179. A search for "plot/plat of the city of" in Google Books, limited to 1850 and before, yielded three instances on 27 August 2016 , two with *plat* (in the 1830s [Detroit and Cincinnati]) and one with *plot*: "the **plot** of the city of Baltimore" (1800, *Laws of the State of Maryland*, online at books.google.com/books?id=mc1JAQAAMAAJ). Even more contrastive were the 10 instances of "plat of the town of," versus only one example with *plot:* "which are included in the **plot** of the town of Owenboro" (1834, *Acts of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky*, online at books.google.com/books?id=J09NAQAAMAAJ).

On the other hand, the EEBO Phase 1 database (containing texts published before the 18th century) has 17 instances of "plot of" used within three words before *city* or *town* (including spelling variants) versus only 5 instances of "plat of" in the same context. So *plot* (meaning 'ground-plan') was used with *town* or *city* approximately 75% of the time in the Early Modern English period, according to this sampling from EEBO, but only about 15% of the time in the early 19th century, according to the above sampling from Google Books.

180. According to *Ngram Viewer*, "square mile(s)" was used nearly 90% of the time in the 1830s compared with "mile(s) square." But in the EEBO Phase 1 database, "square mile(s)" occurs only 30% of the time, and "mile(s) square" 70% of the time (29 and 68 instances, respectively). So the two-word phrase of the Plot of Zion was used at a higher rate in the Early Modern English era than the alternate word order.

181. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/letterbook-1/50.

182. The plot as sketched is neither square nor small enough to be a modern square mile. The plot is squared by adding two narrow

easements to the east and west sides, which aren't shown in the draft. These additional easements would be half as wide as the north and south easements shown.

183. Michael J. Ferrar has shown in an unpublished 2008 paper entitled "The Saxton Map, 1579; an Investigation" (www.cartographyunchained. com/pdfs/cs1_pdf.pdf [accessed 10 September 2016]), that the mile used by the English cartographer Christopher Saxton in 1579 to make his landmark map depicting both England and Wales was 1.2 statute miles. Ferrar concludes on page 4 of that paper, after many carefully considered drawings and calculations, the following: "Thus it can be shown that the Miliarum used by Saxton is the equivalent of 1.2 Statute Miles or 1.3 Roman Miles." Therefore, the 6,336-foot mile of the Plot of Zion is equivalent to Saxton's mile of 1579.

Moreover, Saxton's *Britannia* map of 1583, measuring 140 × 173 cm, provides three mile measurements: a long mile, a middle mile, and a short mile. Saxton's middle mile has been carefully determined by Bower, and is referenced in a 2011 article — see Table 2 on page 192 of David I. Bower, "Saxton's Maps of England and Wales: The Accuracy of *Anglia* and *Britannia* and Their Relationship to Each Other and to the County Maps," *Imago Mundi: The International Journal for the History of Cartography*, 63.2 (2011): 180–200. There Bower states that Saxton's middle mile is equivalent to 1.21 ± 0.02 of a statute mile. Therefore, the mile of the Plot of Zion also corresponds with Saxton's middle mile of 1583.

Furthermore, the Scots mile in Elizabethan times has been determined to have measured 5,951 feet; the Irish mile in Elizabethan times has been determined to have measured 6,721 feet (see page 70 in Arthur H. Klein, *The World of Measurements: Masterpieces, Mysteries, and Muddles of Metrology* [New York: Simon & Schuster, 1974]). The average of those two 16th-century standards is exactly 1.2 statute miles, equivalent to Saxton's 1579 mile, his 1583 middle mile, and another match with the 6,336-foot mile of the Plot of Zion.

184. An easement between two tracts of land is commonly defined as extending an equal distance from each side of the property line.

185. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/plan-of-the-house-of-the-lord-between-1-and-25-june-1833/1.

185. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/plan-of-the-house-of-the-lord-between-1-and-25-june-1833/1.

186. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/plan-of-the-house-of-the-lord-between-1-and-25-june-1833/2.

187. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-30-august-1831-dc-63/1.

188. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-4-june-1833-dc-96/1.

189. The textual usage rate of "according to wisdom" in the earlier period could have been more than 20 times that of the 18th century and early 19th century. EEBO currently has 14 instances in the Early Modern English era (dates ranging from 1560 to 1692), and Google Books currently has only four in the late modern era before the time of the Doctrine and Covenants (dates ranging from 1748 to 1823). (The 1748 example may be used in direct imitation of the 1638 example, quoted in this section.) There were nearly eight (approximately 7.7) times the number of imprints between 1700 and 1830 as there were between 1560 and 1700, leading to the above claim that the early modern textual rate could have been more than 20 times the modern rate: $14_{\text{eModE}} \times 7.7 \div 4_{\text{modE}} \approx \mathbf{27}$.

190. A comparison of Geneva and King James usage:

     1560, Geneva Bible, Job 34:35 [EEBO A10605, (1561)]

     Iob hathe not spoken of knowledge:
     nether were his wordes **according to wisdome**.

     1611 King James Bible, Job 34:35

     Iob hath spoken without knowledge,
     and his words were **without wisdome**.

191. 2 Samuel 14:20   and my lord is wise,
     according to **the** wisdom of an angel of God,
     to know all things that are in the earth.

     1 Kings 2:6   Do therefore according to **thy** wisdom,
     and let not his hoar head
     go down to the grave in peace.

     Proverbs 12:8   A man shall be commended
     according to **his** wisdom:

     2 Peter 3:15   even as our beloved brother Paul also according to
     the wisdom given unto him hath written unto you;

192. The earliest example given in the Oxford English Dictionary is from a mid-18th-century journal entry by George Washington:

     lay, *v*.[1] **54**. **lay off**. **c**. To mark or separate off (plots of ground, etc.); to plot out land in some way or for some purpose.

     1748 WASHINGTON *Jrnl.* 30 Mar.

     This Morning began our Intended business of **Laying of[f] Lots**.

From this OED quotation it is clear that "lay off" was a term used in 18th-century surveying, but we also find it in a 17th-century book on how to use a device called the TRIANGULAR QUADRANT. It was used to make sun-dials, and also in navigation and surveying: "which Numbers being gathered into a Table, and **laid off** by Chords or Sines in a Semi-circle, shall be the true Hour-points to draw the Lines by" (1671; EEBO A29762). This language, used here to measure off an area, may be the forerunner of the use of the phrasal verb "lay off" in surveying.

193. This usage is maintained in the *Letterbook 1* copy, despite the JSP mis-transcription of "lots runs" as "lots run" (there is a weak final *s*). See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/letterbook-1/50. Hence the {-s} plural of *containes* and *runs* was apparently not viewed to be an error like the clear mistake of ¼ acre ~ ½ acre.

194. For a discussion of proximity agreement or attraction — that is, the verb agreeing with the closest nominal — see Randolph Quirk, Sidney Greenbaum, Geoffrey Leech, and Jan Svartvik, *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* (London: Longman, 1985), 757 (§10.35). Here is a past-tense example taken from EEBO:

> 1696, EEBO A34032, Cornelius Nary, *A modest and true account of the chief points in controversie between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants*
>
> But the Remembrance of the Death and Passion of our Lord, by whom the SINS of the *World* **was** taken away.

195. Nevertheless, this verb agreement could still be loosely controlled American dialectal usage.

196. Even though spelling is not generally tightly controlled in the manuscripts of the Book of Mormon and the Doctrine and Covenants (in the Book of Mormon spelling control is largely confined to the first instance of proper nouns — see Royal Skousen, "How Joseph Smith Translated the Book of Mormon," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 7.1 [1998]: 24, 25, 31), I have considered the odd if consistent spelling of *containes*, with a silent *e*, found three times in the plot description, and spelled consistently as *contains* by Williams in the *Letterbook 1* copy (see www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/letterbook-1/50 and www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/letterbook-1/51).

(I have ruled out other spellings as insignificant, such as *runing*, *then* for *than*, *intirely*, *publick*, and *Melchisedeck*. An accurate transcription of the latter as used at the back of the plot description could be Melch[i(-)|e]sedec{h|k}, meaning that the *i* letter apparently

doesn't have a dot, so that it could be an *e*, but *i* is preferred; and that the scribe originally wrote *h*, then overwrote to get a *k*, giving us *Melchisedeck*.)

The odd spelling *containes* instead of *contains* is a type of misspelling that is never found in manuscripts of the Doctrine and Covenants or the Book of Mormon, but it is a rather high frequency spelling of the 17th century. Specifically, the directly analogous verb form *pertains* was spelled **without** a silent *e* by Williams at D&C 104:34 (see www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-23-april-1834-dc-104/9). Williams also spelled the plural noun *rains* without a silent *e* at D&C 90:5 (see www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-8-march-1833-dc-90/1). Other nouns ending in *-ains* do not show a silent *e* between the *n* and the *s*.

In addition, John Whitmer used *contains* twice in section 77 (see www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/answers-to-questions-between-circa-4-and-circa-20-march-1832-dc-77/2). And Cowdery wrote *contains* in the printer's manuscript at 2 Nephi 29:10; see Royal Skousen, editor, *The Printer's Manuscript of the Book of Mormon* (Provo, UT: FARMS and BYU, 2001), 230.

197. This is shown in the textual record by usage frequency and by nearby variation where {-s} plural and {-th} plural verb forms are used after relative pronouns, but where typical plural verb forms are used after complex subjects containing the same relative pronouns. This is exemplified in the present tense by Alma 57:36: "Yea, and I trust that the souls of them *which* **has** been slain **have** entered into the rest of their God."

198. In EEBO Phase 1 texts there are 69 instances of "none of these things **are**" and only 13 with *is* (84% plural). *Ngram Viewer* shows that plural *are* was used in this phrase about 90% of the time in 1833.

199. Also, there are 191 instances of perch* within five words of acre* in EEBO Phase 1, compared with 103 instances of rod* within five words of acre* (65% *perch*).

200. This 2-gram forces a measurement interpretation for both *rod* and *perch*. In addition, the most frequent measurements used before the 3-gram "in an acre" (restricted to the years 1750 to 1850) are *yards* then *feet* then **rods**. *Perches* is not one of the top 10 words occurring with this 3-gram, so it doesn't appear in the *Ngram Viewer* listing generated by the string "* in an acre."

201. The relatively high-frequency 3-gram "ranges of buildings" is found approximately 80% of the time in 1833 versus "rows of buildings." By

the year 2000 "rows of buildings" is found approximately 80% of the time.

202. I considered the possibility that the phrasal verb "stand on" in the plot description might mean 'face'. This particular meaning corresponds to the following obsolete definition found in the Oxford English Dictionary:

stand, *v*. †76p. **stand to** — . To **face**, be built opposite to. *Obs.*

1726 LEONI *Alberti's Archit.* I. 16 a

We shou'd also observe what Suns our House **stands to**.

Here is another example of "stand to" meaning 'face,' from the 17th century:

1621, EEBO A17310, Robert Burton [1577–1640]
The anatomy of melancholy, page 334

and will by al means haue the front of an house **stand to**
the South, which how it may be good in Italy I know not,
in our Northerne Countries I am sure it is best.

However, the preposition following the verb *stand* is different in the plot description — *on* instead of *to*. As a result, it seems more likely that the verb *stand* conveys a sense of 'situated/located.' Definition 19 of the verb *stand* in the OED reads in part: "Of a . . . dwelling, etc.: To be **situated** in a specified position or aspect."

203. I only found "placed alternately" in EEBO, while "placed alternate" is found as the less-common alternative to "placed alternately" in the 19th century. Here is a relevant example from Google Books:

1818, *Congressional Edition*

And that as to the residue of the said lots, into which the said
land hereby bargained and sold, shall have been **laid off** and
divided, . . . then such residue of the said lots, shall be **divided**
every other lot **alternate** to the said Samuel Davidson;

204. According to *Ngram Viewer*, "painted paper(s)" was slightly more common than "colo(u)red paper(s)" until the end of the 18th century. By the 1830s "colo(u)red paper(s)" had become slightly more than twice as common, and by the 20th century it was dominant. Here is a representative example of "painted paper" from Google Books, where *painted* may mean 'colored':

1814, *The Annals of Philosophy*

unless he compare the **colour** of his specimen with that
of the slip of **painted** paper in Mr. Syme's book.

205. The crossover in use occurred in the 1860s, as shown by a comparative *Ngram Viewer* chart using terms like these: "(and inside of the+or inside of the),(and inside the+or inside the)".

Barlow on Book of Mormon Language: An Examination of Some Strained Grammar

Stanford Carmack

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Barlow on Book of Mormon Language: An Examination of Some Strained Grammar

Stanford Carmack

Abstract: *Comments made by Philip Barlow on Book of Mormon language for an Oxford-published book are examined. Inaccuracies are pointed out, and some examples are given that show matching with 1611 King James usage as well as with other earlier usage. One important conclusion that can be drawn from this study is that those who wish to critique the English language of the Book of Mormon need to take the subject more seriously and approach it with genuine scholarship, instead of repeating earlier errors. This has a direct bearing on forming accurate views of Joseph Smith and Book of Mormon translation.*

There are some errors which is easilier persuaded unto than to some truths.

Henry, Earl of Monmouth (translator)[1]

Most LDS scholars have not carefully investigated Book of Mormon grammar before passing judgment. As a result, this is an area where error and misinformation abound. Even now, few take the trouble to study the earliest textual usage systematically. Work performed in this area by most researchers is done piecemeal and superficially. This has consequences for understanding the text.

Many have accepted and furthered the view that Joseph Smith was the English-language translator, chiefly because of perceived bad grammar. This currently dominant view, however, is greatly weakened because virtually all of its "bad grammar" is attested in literate writings

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1. 1671, Henry Carey (translator; died 1661), Jean-François Senault's *The Use of Passions* [*De l'usage des passions* (1641)], page 267 [*Early English Books Online* A59163]. Spelling and punctuation have been slightly modified.

of the past. Furthermore, there is a significant amount of suspect grammar found in the earliest text of the Book of Mormon that does not appear to have been the kind of grammar that Joseph Smith knew or would have used.

To be clear, however, the determination that suspect grammar is well-formed is not primary. First and foremost, descriptive linguistic studies show that the Book of Mormon contains a host of archaic and extra-biblical forms, constructions, and vocabulary items, and many of these do not fall into the category of potential bad grammar. All this evidence means that the earliest text is not pseudo-archaic, which in turn has explanatory power vis-à-vis questionable grammar. With the passage of time and a greater availability of external textual evidence, an ungrammatical view of Book of Mormon language will become increasingly anti-intellectual.

There is plenty of published opinion on Book of Mormon language that is largely inaccurate. For almost two centuries, writers have not felt a need to know or study past English usage or to be sufficiently and competently trained in English linguistic analysis before passing judgment on Book of Mormon usage. This is a call for all students of Book of Mormon grammar to begin to take the matter more seriously and carefully.

Present-day English intuitions about past usage as well as biblically derived grammatical perceptions can be entirely misleading. Consequently, not only must we reject and discard the grammatical opinions that have been made by many non-Mormon and anti-Mormon critics with respect to Book of Mormon usage, but we must also reject and discard the grammatical opinions made by many prominent LDS scholars.

Barlow's Comments

Philip L. Barlow — who recently directed a conference titled "New Perspectives on Joseph Smith and Translation" at Utah State University (16 March 2017) — wrote the following about Book of Mormon language:

> Like other translators of ancient texts and following the precedent set with earlier revelations, Smith cast the book into seventeenth-century prose, though his own vocabulary and grammar are evident throughout. Because Jacobean speech was not his native idiom, he sometimes rendered the style inexpertly: "ye" (properly a subject) sometimes lapsed into "you" (object) as the subject of a sentence, as in Mosiah 2:19; an Elizabethan suffix attached to some verbs but was inconsistently omitted from others ("yields … putteth," Mosiah 3:19). Much of this

strained language was refined in the second edition (Kirtland, Ohio, 1837). The preface, for instance, was changed from its 1830 rendering, "… now if there be fault, it be the mistake of men." Similarly, some 227 appearances of "saith" were changed to "said."[2]

This quotation differs slightly from the first edition reading,[3] telling us that Barlow reviewed and modified this paragraph for the 2013 edition. With the help of the Oxford English Dictionary, we can take the meaning of the adjective *strained* as used in this context to mean that Joseph Smith employed language "in a laboured, far-fetched, or non-natural" way.[4]

Despite Oxford's mission to "[further an] objective of excellence in research, scholarship, and education,"[5] much of this Barlow quotation is, lamentably, inaccurate. Although he is correct in saying Jacobean speech wasn't Joseph's native idiom, Barlow didn't research 1611 King James grammar before criticizing Book of Mormon usage, and he didn't consult text-critical materials for his updated edition of 2013, when oversights could have been more easily avoided. Because Barlow's observations are taken by many to be accurate, this book contributes to misperceptions about Book of Mormon language.

Critique of Barlow's Comments

First, the earliest revelations that Joseph Smith received — at least those meant for broad publication — were of the Book of Mormon. Furthermore, it is highly likely the language of the 1828 dictation was similar to the extant translation of Mormon's abridgment. Thus the dictation of the text of the Book of Mormon in 1828 and 1829 came before and at the same time as early Doctrine and Covenants revelations;

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2. Philip L. Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible: The Place of the Latter-day Saints in American Religion,* 2nd edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 27–28.

3. Philip L. Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible: The Place of the Latter-day Saints in American Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 27. In the first edition Barlow also gave the current reading of the title-page phrase in this paragraph: "if there are faults they are the mistakes of men." In both editions he writes that the phrase in question was found in the 1830 preface, even though the two-page preface is different from the title page. This is another minor inaccuracy. The 1830 preface begins on page iii (unnumbered) and contains Doctrine and Covenants revelatory language.

4. Oxford English Dictionary, **strained**, *adj.*, definition 5:
1747 LD. CHANC. HARDWICKE in G. Harris *Life* (1847) I. 374
I own I thought this a strained construction, and did not scruple to say so.

5. Oxford University Press (website), accessed 15 May 2017, global.oup.com.

it did not come after. In this way Barlow's mention of "earlier revelations" isn't accurate. Most readers are left with the wrong impression of things.

The three earliest Doctrine and Covenants revelations were given between the dictation of the 116 lost manuscript pages of the Book of Mormon and the dictation of the text that would be published in 1830. Other slightly later Doctrine and Covenants revelations were given not earlier than the 1829 dictation of the Book of Mormon.[6]

Second, the statement that Joseph's "own vocabulary and grammar are evident throughout" is a mischaracterization. In the ten years before 2013, Royal Skousen published a variety of material on archaic lexical usage found in the dictation of the Book of Mormon that Joseph Smith probably wasn't familiar with.[7] This lexical evidence was available to Barlow and could have been noted. In addition, John A. Widtsoe had written in 1951 "that the vocabulary of the Book of Mormon appear[ed] to be far beyond that of an unlettered youth."[8] Barlow doesn't convey or discuss this reality either.

Moreover, digital databases demonstrate that the earliest text of the Book of Mormon contains an abundance of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century grammatical usage that often does not overlap with King James idiom. Thus Book of Mormon grammar was effectively foreign to Joseph Smith's own grammar. Some of it is fairly common, but some of it is rather obscure and compelling, since a non-specialist in the early nineteenth century (someone who wasn't an English philologist) wouldn't have been able to make so many matches — both systematically and individually — with earlier usage.

Third, Barlow gives a naïve view of subject *ye ~ you* usage. This ultimately follows from a received view of Book of Mormon translation, which is the foundational assumption that Barlow operates from (this assumption is laid out below). Interestingly, he follows the generally

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6. See Joseph Smith Papers, "Documents, 1828–1829," accessed 15 May 2017, www.josephsmithpapers.org/the-papers/documents/pre1830.

7. Royal Skousen published information on obsolete "but if" under Mosiah 3:19 — one of the verses referred to by Barlow in the above quotation — in Part Two of *Analysis of Textual Variants of the Book of Mormon* (Provo, UT: FARMS and BYU, 2005). *Analysis of Textual Variants* (2004–2009) contains many other discussions of archaic vocabulary. See also "The Archaic Vocabulary of the Book of Mormon," *Insights: A Window on the Ancient World* 25.5 (2005): 2–6; and "Editor's Preface," *The Book of Mormon: The Earliest Text* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), xxxvii–xxxix.

8. John A. Widtsoe, *Joseph Smith: Seeker after Truth, Prophet of God* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1951), 42.

accepted view of Book of Mormon translation even though the opposing view — the textually more likely view — makes very good sense of data that he discusses on following pages.

According to a large database of Early Modern English, subject *you* had become the preferred form no later than the year 1570.[9] Consequently, subject *you* is found throughout the 1611 King James Bible. Only in later printings is it rarely found.[10] Here is an example of nearby subject *ye* ~ *you* variation taken from the 1611 Bible, with the original spelling retained and bolding added:

Job 19:3

These tenne times haue **ye** reproched me:
you are not ashamed that **you** make your selues strange to me.

> 1769 reading: These ten times have **ye** reproached me:
> **ye** are not ashamed *that* **ye** make yourselves strange to me.

In Job 19:3 we see subject *ye* and subject *you* used very close together. There are a number of instances of this in the 1611 Bible and in the earliest text of the Book of Mormon, as in the following examples:

Mosiah 5:15

that **you** may be brought to heaven,
that **ye** may have everlasting salvation and eternal life

Alma 7:6

Yea, I trust that **you** do not worship idols,
but that **ye** do worship the true and the living God

This was typical usage of earlier English, clearly shown by *ye* occurring within nine words of "that you" more than 1,000 times in EEBO Phase 1 texts (see note 9). This nearby variation of subject *ye* ~ *you* occurs at a slightly higher rate in sixteenth-century writings, but there are more than 750 seventeenth-century examples of it in EEBO Phase 1 texts. Thus it is something found in writing throughout the Early Modern English period.

Fourth, Barlow mentions the *yields* ~ *putteth* inflectional variation currently found at Mosiah 3:19. But the modern form, *yields*, was introduced by Joseph Smith in 1837, marked by him in the printer's manuscript.[11] (This appears to have been an unnecessary, entirely

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9. The WordCruncher database used for this study was prepared from nearly 25,000 publicly available *Early English Books Online* texts (EEBO Phase 1).

10. See Royal Skousen, *Grammatical Variation* (Provo, UT: FARMS and BYU Studies, 2016), 1268.

11. See Royal Skousen, *Analysis of Textual Variants*, Mosiah 3:19; and Royal Skousen, *Grammatical Variation*, 457.

optional edit; the dictated form was *yieldeth*.) For the 2013 edition, Barlow could have easily checked whether a modernizing edit had been made at Mosiah 3:19, but he didn't. Nor did he point out the obsolete *but if* = "unless" occurring just before "he yieldeth." Lexical usage such as *but if* dismisses Barlow's observation about vocabulary and weakens his foundational assumption (see below).

Suppose the *yields* ~ *putteth* inflectional variation had been original to the earliest text of the Book of Mormon — a reasonable consideration since this kind of variation is found elsewhere in the text. As it turns out, seventeenth-century writings have the same nearby variation:

> 1637, William Camden, *Britain*
>
>> Of joy and mirth the gladsome signes it **putteth** forth at last.
>> And now her ancient honour she doth vaunt in happy plight,
>> When to her Soveraigne Lord she **yeelds** all service due by right.

> 1681, Thomas Frankland, *The annals of King James and King Charles the First*
>
>> as in the other Cases where the Law **putteth** the King to any particular charge for the protection of the Subject,
>> it always enables him thereto, **yields** him particular supplies
>> of money for the maintenance of the charge:

And here is a rare example from the 1611 King James Bible in which {-s} inflection varies closely with {-th} inflection:

> 1 Esdras 4:21
>
>> He **stickes** not to spend his life with his wife,
>> and **remembreth** neither father, nor mother, nor countery.
>>
>>> This is from the Apocrypha;
>>> the verse is shown here in the original spelling.

In this verse "he sticks" is followed by "and [he] remembereth." We find similar examples of nearby variation in the Book of Mormon, sometimes with the same verb:

> Omni 1:25
>
>> for there is nothing which is good save it **comes** from the Lord;
>> and that which is evil **cometh** from the devil.
>>
>>> This inflectional variation remains in the current LDS text.

Here is an example of this same inflectional variation with the same verb, from an important seventeenth-century author who wrote the influential and widely read book titled *The Pilgrim's Progress:*

> 1669, John Bunyan, *The Holy City*
>
>> Gold, as it **comes** from the mine,
>> it **cometh** commixed with its dust and ore;

From this type of evidence we learn that nearby variation of {-s} and {-th} inflection was part of Early Modern English usage and was even rarely employed in the 1611 Bible.[12] As English changed over decades and centuries, there was a huge amount of closely occurring inflectional variation. Because of phonology, syntax, and other factors, usage could be quite variable. So it's incorrect to think that the variation was somehow defective. In fact, it is axiomatic that variation is characteristic of natural language and that it is does not necessarily equate with ungrammaticality.[13] (This can be verified generally by studying large textual databases or even smaller corpora of the writings of individual authors.)

In English, once {-th} inflection passed from general use, remaining only in exceptional cases, the notion took over among those predisposed to make black-and-white grammatical rules that inflectional variation was strained grammar. These prescriptivist views have been used by Barlow and others to critique Book of Mormon grammar.

The thinking may have proceeded along these lines:

- Joseph Smith was responsible for the English language of the earliest text of the Book of Mormon.
- Joseph Smith didn't know there was closely occurring third-person singular {-s} ~ {-th} variation in earlier English; or, earlier English didn't have closely occurring third-person singular {-s} ~ {-th} variation.
- Therefore, closely occurring inflectional {-s} ~ {-th} variation in the Book of Mormon is defective.

The first item is foundational to Barlow's view, but it is a premature assumption. Scholars must carefully study the form and structure of Book of Mormon language before making such a judgment. Most don't undertake such study; instead, they follow ideology or prior, inexpert opinions.

Joseph didn't know a lot of the archaic semantic and syntactic usage of the earliest text. For instance, external textual evidence indicates that he wasn't familiar with *but if* = 'unless,' *counsel the Lord* = 'consult the Lord' (Alma 37:37), *the waters departed* = 'the waters divided' (Helaman 8:11),

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12. Besides invariant *is*, there isn't much {-s} inflection in the 1611 version; for example, there is one case of *takes* (Ecclesiasticus 22:2) but none of *has* or *makes*.

13. Consider the following statements found at "Language Variation and Change," Linguistic Society of America, accessed 29 May 2017, www.linguisticsociety.org/resource/language-variation-and-change: "First, all living languages are always changing"; "Language change inevitably leads to variation, and variation within a speech community often leads to social valuation of particular features as 'good' or 'bad.'"

and *whereby* = 'why?' (Ether 8:9) (see note 7). And he wasn't familiar with high-rate, non-emphatic *did*-periphrasis of the sixteenth century, yet there it is in the Book of Mormon.[14]

Archaic, extra-biblical grammar found throughout the Book of Mormon argues strongly against the generally accepted assumption that Joseph could have been responsible for the English-language text. Systematic, extra-biblical Book of Mormon language importantly includes (but is not limited to) the core of grammar: the present-tense verbal system, the past-tense verbal system, the perfect-tense verbal system, and the future-tense verbal system. All these are genuinely archaic but unlike King James idiom in a variety of ways.[15]

Fifth, Joseph Smith didn't refine the language of the Book of Mormon in 1837; he attempted to modernize the text, and his editing was inconsistent.[16] Changing *yieldeth* to *yields* in Mosiah 3:19 is obviously one instance of that. It isn't difficult to argue from examples that he even occasionally eliminated some beautiful aspects of the text. As a linguist who considers a multitude of prior usage, I happen to find syntactically mediated subject–verb agreement variation quite interesting and unobjectionable. Most of these have been eliminated, and many by Joseph himself. Here is an example of that:

> Alma 57:36
>> Yea, and I trust that the souls of **them which has** been slain **have** entered into the rest of their God.
>>> The "which has" was changed to "who have" in 1837.[17]

The same kind of syntactically influenced *has ~ have* variation is found in the seventeenth century:

> 1681, Roger L'Estrange [1616–1704], *The character of a papist in masquerade*, page 66 [EEBO A47819]
>> the whole strain of **them that has** been taken off by the hand of Justice, . . . **have** so behaved themselves at the last cast,
>>> Larger context: "And it is not to say, that this is the transport of a *mad man;* but it is the effort of the very Principle, and the whole strain of them that has been taken off by the hand of Justice, (not for *treasonous words* neither, but *actual rebellions*) have so behaved themselves at the last cast, as if the

---

14. Periphrastic *did* in the Book of Mormon matches sixteenth-century usage patterns on multiple levels. See Stanford Carmack, "The Implications of Past-Tense Syntax in the Book of Mormon," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 14 (2015): 120, 123, 158–159, 169–172 (bit.ly/2nLFIiA).

15. The details are more complex than this, but this statement is generally accurate.

16. See Royal Skousen, *Grammatical Variation*, 36.

17. Ibid., 467, 890, 1200.

whole Schism were upon a vie who should damn bravest."

These examples exhibit nearby verb agreement variation in the same sentence. In the latter part of the Early Modern English period, plural *has* (along with plural *hath*, etc.) was relatively favored after relative pronouns, but even in those contexts plural *has* was not common. In the above examples, this underlying tendency is expressed overtly. The usual verb form *have* occurs outside of the relative clause, as the head of a predicate whose complex subject contains the exceptional verb form *has*.

Sometimes Joseph Smith reduced overall textual consistency in his 1837 editing, as in the following example:

> 1 Nephi 15:13 [1830 edition: page 36, line 16]
>> after **that** the Messiah **hath manifested himself**
>> in body unto the children of men,
>>> *changed to*
>> after the Messiah **shall be manifested**
>> in body unto the children of men,

The deletion of archaic *that*, though unnecessary, is hardly objectionable. But Joseph also changed active, reflexive "hath manifested himself " to passive "shall be manifested" in his 1837 editing. The passive switch is contraindicated, as shown by internal textual comparison: "everywhere else the text says that the Savior will 'manifest himself ' (23 times), never that the Savior will 'be manifested.' "[18]

Sixth, the title page's "if there be fault, it **be** the mistake of men" is an example of contextually influenced subjunctive, since we don't find "it be" without a governing subjunctive trigger elsewhere in the earliest text. The "it be" follows from the influence of a preceding subjunctive form — in this case, the *be* of "if there be." Here is a likely seventeenth-century example, since "it be" is in a resultative clause not directly governed by the hypothetical:

> 1629, Lancelot Andrewes (died 1626), *Sermons*
>> But, **if there be** no cause, and so **it be** in vaine, *I joy therein and will joy*.
>>> Italics in the original; bolding added.

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18. Royal Skousen, *Analysis of Textual Variants*, 1 Nephi 15:13. The insertion of *shall* by Joseph Smith, to make it like the surrounding language, was an optional edit, since the original Book of Mormon variation is well-formed and found in the textual record. Changing *hath* to *shall have* would have been a more conservative, better edit.

Brant Gardner, on page 184 of *The Gift and Power: Translating the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2011), makes assertions about tense usage in this passage that do not stand up to scrutiny. A critique of Gardner's view may be carried out at a later time.

This English bishop and scholar oversaw part of the translation of the King James Bible. He was the chief of the Westminster Translators and director of the First Westminster Committee, responsible for the translation of Genesis to 2 Kings. The above usage by Andrewes was not illiterate or strained; by extension, neither is that of the Book of Mormon.

In the next example, a stronger grammatical case can be made for a following subjunctive "it be," but the indicative mood was employed, telling us that indicative "it is" was possible in the Lancelot Andrewes example, where the independence of the clause was more likely:

> 1648, John March (compiler), Court of King's Bench:
> England and Wales, *Reports*
>
> > But **if there be** a *Venire facias*, and **it is** erroneous,
> > it is not holpen by any Statute.
> >
> > > Italics in the original; bolding added.

Singular *be* usage in indicative contexts is uncommon in the earlier textual record, but it can be found, even when there is no closely preceding subjunctive that might have led to the use of *be:*

> Numbers 5:30
>
> > Or when the spirit of jealousy come**th** upon him,
> > and **he be** jealous over his wife, and shall set the woman before the Lord,
> >
> > > King James "he be" is often rendered "he is" in modern versions.

> 1618, John Wood, *The true honor of navigation and navigators*
>
> > Though the Iewes would haue stoned him, Herod would haue killed him,
> > and here **he be** in a great tempest, to all shewes in extremitie of danger:
> > yet no maruell if hee sleepe securely,
> > knowing that no harme could come to him.

More common in the textual record is **plural** *be* in indicative contexts. Here are some examples that contain either contextually influenced subjunctive "they be" or indicative "they be" (depending on how one wants to look at it), matching Book of Mormon usage:

> 1532, Gentian Hervet (translator), Xenophon's *Treatise of household*
> No by my faith, and **if there be** any, **they be** very fewe.

> 1577, Barnabe Googe (translator), Conrad Heresbach's *Four books of husbandry*
>
> > which is a signe, that there is eyther but one king,
> > or **yf there be** moe, **they be** agreed:

> 1578, John Florio, *Familiar speech, merry proverbs,*
> *witty sentences, and golden sayings*
>
> > **if there be** any, **they be** brought,

Mormon 8:17

and if there **be faul**ts / they be the faul**ts of a** m*an*

Seventh, *saith* is frequently employed in the earliest text for the historical present, as it is in the King James Bible.[19] Barlow includes this item under the umbrella of strained language, perhaps because of a high usage rate, which in any event is not automatically chargeable to Joseph Smith.

Conclusion

The foregoing critique clarifies that understanding the English language of the Book of Mormon requires much more knowledgeable consideration than has been proffered by most LDS scholars through the years. Some well-known figures in the field might currently misunderstand Book of Mormon translation issues because of under-informed, inaccurate views of its vocabulary and grammar. Reliable pronouncements on Book of Mormon language must proceed from careful scholarship that involves the consulting of large databases of modern English (both early and late) as well as the 1611 King James Bible (and even other early Bibles). Analysts will take an important step forward once they free themselves of a desire to stipulate, against descriptive linguistic evidence, that the earliest text of the Book of Mormon is full of bad grammar and that Joseph Smith corrected much of it for the 1837 edition. Rather, the text and the textual record demand that we seek to know and understand the archaic English — both biblical and extra-biblical — that makes up the fiber of the book's language.

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19. See Royal Skousen, *Grammatical Variation*, 410, which gives Luke 24:36 as an example, where *saith* is used for present-tense *légei*. A sampling shows *saith* to be the most common translation of this Greek word, with *said* the second most common, followed by minor variants such as *saying*, *spake*, and *calleth*.

Is the Book of Mormon
a Pseudo-Archaic Text?

Stanford Carmack

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Is the Book of Mormon a Pseudo-Archaic Text?

Stanford Carmack

Abstract: *In recent years the Book of Mormon has been compared to pseudo-biblical texts like Gilbert J. Hunt's* The Late War *(1816). Some have found strong linguistic correspondence and declared that there is an authorial relationship. However, comparative linguistic studies performed to date have focused on data with low probative value vis-à-vis the question of authorship. What has been lacking is non-trivial descriptive linguistic analysis that focuses on less contextual and more complex types of data, such as syntax and morphosyntax (grammatical features such as verb agreement and inflection), as well as data less obviously biblical* and/or *less susceptible to conscious manipulation. Those are the kinds of linguistic studies that have greater probative value in relation to authorship, and that can determine whether Joseph Smith might have been able to produce Book of Mormon grammar. In order to determine whether it is a good match with the form and structure of pseudo-biblical writings, I investigate nearly 10 kinds of syntax and morphosyntax that occur in the Book of Mormon and the King James Bible, comparing their usage with each other and with that of four pseudo-biblical texts. Findings are summarized toward the end of the article, along with some observations on biblical hypercorrection and alternative LDS views on Book of Mormon language.*

This study addresses the degree to which Book of Mormon language differs from that of pseudo-biblical writings of the late 1700s and early 1800s, investigating whether there are small or large differences in form and structure. Pseudo-biblical writings can be considered a control group in relation to the linguistic form and structure that Joseph Smith might have produced had he been attempting to mimic biblical style in 1829. He was repeatedly exposed to King James idiom growing up. Thus, either adherence

to biblical language or deviations from biblical language that are close to pseudo-biblical patterns could support the position that Joseph was the author or English-language translator of the Book of Mormon text. On the other hand, there is nothing to indicate that Joseph was well-versed in many Early Modern English texts when he dictated the Book of Mormon. Hence, large deviations from both biblical and pseudo-biblical patterns that approach attested archaic usage could support the position that Joseph was not its author or English-language translator.

By means of deeper linguistic analysis we can discover whether the influence of pseudo-biblical style on the earliest text of the Book of Mormon is noticeable, or (as another possibility) whether there is substantial correspondence in style between pseudo-biblical texts and the Book of Mormon. Are there fundamental, structural similarities in syntax and morphosyntax? Alternatively, do low-level differences rule out classifying the Book of Mormon as just another pseudo-biblical literary production? Does the earliest text match Early Modern English usage sufficiently so that it should not be regarded as a pseudo-archaic text?

There is of course a very large amount of syntactic data to consider, and much of the syntax would have been produced subconsciously, based as it is on implicit knowledge.[1] Consequently, systematic analysis is possible and meaningful. Careful, thorough investigation of Book of Mormon grammar can therefore go a long way toward telling us whether Joseph could have been the author or English-language translator.

Specifically, this study focuses on those grammatical features whose usage patterns are either less noticeable (to non-linguists) or not as easily imitated. This is a crucial point. Linguistic items that are readily noticed and easily imitated are, at least as far as authorship determination is concerned, trivial and uninteresting. Such items have made up the bulk of the linguistic comparisons that the Book of Mormon has been subjected to up to this point. In contrast, some of the features analyzed

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1. See, for example, Nick C. Ellis, "Implicit and Explicit SLA and Their Interface" in *Implicit and Explicit Language Learning: Conditions, Processes, and Knowledge in SLA and Bilingualism*, eds. Cristina Sanz and Ronald P. Leow (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2011), 35, 36: "Children … automatically acquire complex knowledge of the structure of their language;" "language skill is very different from knowledge about language;" and Bill VanPatten, "Stubborn Syntax: How It Resists Explicit Teaching and Learning," in *Implicit and Explicit Language Learning*, 9–21. See also "The brain's implicit knowledge of grammar is important for understanding spoken language," National Aphasia Association, accessed December 20, 2017, https://www.aphasia.org/stories/the-brains-implicit-knowledge-of-grammar-is-important-for-understanding-spoken-language/.

for this study are reliably characterized only after rather detailed linguistic analysis.

The Pseudo-Biblical Texts Examined

The four pseudo-biblical texts examined for this study have been chosen based on frequent comparison to the Book of Mormon and/or being prominent, worthy specimens of the genus.[2] The four texts include John Leacock's *The First Book of the American Chronicles of the Times* (1774–1775), Richard Snowden's *The American Revolution* (1793), Michael Linning's *The First Book of Napoleon* (1809), and Gilbert Hunt's *The Late War* (1816).[3] These four pseudo-biblical texts are freely available in the WordCruncher library.[4]

The background of these authors is as follows: John Leacock (1729–1802) was a goldsmith and silversmith from Philadelphia, Richard Snowden (1753–1825) was a Quaker from southwest New Jersey, Michael Linning

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2. Ethan Smith's *View of the Hebrews* (Poultney, VT: Smith & Shute, 1823) has not been included as part of this study. Although its connection with the question of Book of Mormon authorship is fairly well-known, and its language is biblically influenced, it is not a pseudo-biblical text in the style of the other four texts examined here, so it is properly excluded from this analysis. Its forms are no more archaic than the forms found in the above four pseudo-biblical writings, and in most cases its patterns of use are less archaic.

3. The bibliographic information for the editions consulted is as follows:

- John Leacock, *The First Book of the American Chronicles of the Times, 1774–1775,* ed. Carla Mulford (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 1987), 130 pages, 6 chapters, approximately 14,500 words.

- Richard Snowden, *The American Revolution* (Baltimore: W. Pechin, [1802]), 360 pages, 60 chapters, approximately 49,300 words: https://archive.org/details/americanrevoluti00snow.

- Michael Linning, *The First Book of Napoleon*, *the Tyrant of the Earth* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees & Orme, 1809), 146 pages, 23 chapters, approximately 19,000 words, https://archive.org/details/firstbooknapole00gruagoog.

- Gilbert J. Hunt, *The Late War*, *between the United States and Great Britain*, *from June*, *1812*, *to February*, *1815*, 3rd edition (New York: Daniel D. Smith, 1819), 224 pages, 55 chapters, approximately 42,500 words: https://archive.org/details/latewarbetweenun00inhunt.

Despite the titles, Leacock and Linning did not produce any sequels.

4. Those interested can download the application, load the texts, and search them. Look under the category History in the WordCruncher Bookstore. WordCruncher (website), Brigham Young University, last updated 2017, http://www.wordcruncher.com.

(1774–1838) was a Scottish solicitor originally from Lanarkshire near Glasgow, and Gilbert J. Hunt was a manufacturer from New York City.[5]

According to Eran Shalev, Leacock's work was "the most popular writing in biblical style of the Revolutionary era;" Snowden's two-volume effort was "the first full-blown, thorough, earnest, and mature attempt to biblicize the United States and its historical record;" and Hunt's history of the War of 1812 was "the most impressive text among the numerous published during the opening decades of the nineteenth century."[6] A contemporary review of Linning's pseudo-biblical effort found that

> the book gives, in language with which they [the Bible-reading public] are best acquainted, a just view of the principle which led to the French revolution, to the elevation of Buonaparte to the throne of the Bourbons, and to all the miseries under which the continent of Europe has so long groaned; contrasting those miseries with the happiness which Britons, here denominated Albions, enjoy under the mild government of our excellent and amiable sovereign.[7]

Other Primary Sources

The critical edition of the Book of Mormon was essential to this study: Royal Skousen, editor, *The Book of Mormon: The Earliest Text* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2009). Directly related to this is Skousen, *Analysis of Textual Variants of the Book of Mormon*, 2nd edition (Provo, UT: FARMS and BYU Studies, 2017) and Skousen, *Grammatical Variation* (Provo, UT: FARMS and BYU Studies, 2016). LDS View provided access to the current LDS text of the scriptures,

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5. For further information on Leacock see "John Leacock Commonplace Book," *American Philosophical Society*, last updated 2017, https://search.amphilsoc.org/collections/view?docId=ead/Mss.B.L463-ead.xml; for Snowden see "To George Washington from Richard Snowden, 13 November 1793," Founders Online, *National Archives*, last updated 2018, http://founders.archives.gove/documents/Washington/05-14-02-0249; for Linning see "Michael Linning," *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*, last edited on 17 July 2016, at 15:21, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Michael_Linning; and for Hunt see "Gilbert J. Hunt to Thomas Jefferson, 30 January 1816," Founders Online, *National Archives*, last updated 2018, https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-09-02-0270.

6. See Eran Shalev, "'Written in the Style of Antiquity': Pseudo-Biblicism and the Early American Republic, 1770–1830," *Church History: Studies in Christianity and Culture* 79, no. 4 (December 2010): 809, 813, 817.

7. Author unknown, "Art. II," *British Critic* 35 (January, February, March, April, May, June): 110.

https://ldsview.wordcruncher.com (Salt Lake City: Intellectual Reserve, 2001–).

The principal English textual source used in this study was the Early English Books Online database (http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home). The publicly searchable portion of EEBO (Phase 1 texts) is currently found at https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebogroup. I have mainly derived Early Modern English examples from a precisely searchable 700-million-word WordCruncher corpus I made from approximately 25,000 EEBO Phase 1 texts. Other important textual sources include Eighteenth Century Collections Online (https://www.gale.com/primary-sources/eighteenth-century-collections-online and https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/ecco), Literature Online (https://literature.proquest.com), and Google Books (https://books.google.com).

Observations on Pseudo-Biblical Influence

Both LDS and non-LDS perspectives on Book of Mormon language have tended toward the pseudo-archaic or pseudo-biblical. Two commonly held beliefs are the following: (1) archaic Book of Mormon usage is not systematically different from King James language; (2) the earliest text is often defective in its implementation of archaic vocabulary and grammar. Many scholars believe Book of Mormon grammar is a flawed imitation of biblical usage. That conclusion, however, has been founded on insufficient grammatical and lexical study.

A number of LDS scholars believe that because Joseph Smith's mind was saturated with biblical language, he could have produced the text of the Book of Mormon from a mixture of biblical language and his own dialect.[8] Other commentators, whose affiliation is not always known,

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8. Philip L. Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible: The Place of the Latter-day Saints in American Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 27, 220. On page 220 we read the following: "The Prophet's mind was demonstrably saturated in biblical language, images, and themes." Brant Gardner, *The Gift and Power: Translating the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2011), 302, quotes and agrees with Lavina Fielding Anderson: "the Smith family's oral culture was so thoroughly imbued with biblical language . . . that its use was fluent, easy, and familiar." (Lavina Fielding Anderson, "Mother Tongue: KJV Language in Smith Family Discourse," [Paper, Mormon History Association, 22 May 2009]. Copy in Gardner's possession.) Gardner goes on to say that "King James version style appears in the Book of Mormon because Joseph could not escape it. I doubt that it was a conscious decision to imitate that style." See also Richard Lyman Bushman, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling* (New York: Knopf, 2005), 274: "While saturated with Bible language, the *Book of Mormon* was an entirely new history . . . ."

have drawn similar conclusions. Here is one observation made in 2013 by a blogger — who goes by the initials RT — on the influence that one pseudo-biblical writing might have had on the formulation of the Book of Mormon text:

> In sum, linguistic and narrative elements of the [Book of Mormon] are probably descended, at least in part, from Gilbert Hunt's pseudo-biblical account of the War of 1812. The relationship between these two literary works is relatively strong, suggesting that the book had quite a memorable impact on Joseph Smith. But Smith did not borrow directly from [*The Late War*] (at least for the majority of the narrative content) during the process of composing the [Book of Mormon].[9]

For purposes of determining possible influence on authorship, RT has focused on linguistic and narrative evidence. However, the linguistic evidence he has considered is not syntactic in character, and there is no discussion of possibly obsolete lexis. Instead, this commentator has concentrated on archaic phrasal and lexical evidence that is rather obviously biblical or that is contextual to a larger degree than syntactic structures are, which can be employed in a wide array of diverse contexts. Phrases and lexical items routinely identifiable as biblical are of course more susceptible to imitation. Moreover, they are also less likely to have been produced subconsciously than syntax, so they are of secondary importance in determining authorship influence, compared to more complex linguistic studies. Also, the narrative evidence RT has considered is, by its nature, weaker than substantive linguistic evidence from the domains of semantics, morphology, and syntax.

Here is another summarizing comment about the Book of Mormon which one can currently find online: "Joseph most likely grew up reading a school book called *The Late War* by Gilbert J. Hunt and it heavily influenced his writing of *The Book of Mormon*."[10] Again, a comparison of phrases and lexical usage shared between the Book of Mormon and *The Late War* led to this comment. Specifically, the two researchers

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9. RT, "The Book of Mormon and the Late War: Direct Literary Dependence?," *Faith Promoting Rumor* (blog), *Patheos*, October 30, 2013, http://www.patheos.com/blogs/faithpromotingrumor/2013/10/the-book-of-mormon-and-the-late-war-direct-literary-dependence/. See my comment posted on 16 November 2016, to be found after RT's write-up.

10. "A Comparison of The Book of Mormon and The Late War Between the United States and Great Britain," WordTree Foundation, last edited March 9, 2014, http://wordtreefoundation.github.io/thelatewar/.

responsible for this comment carried out n-gram comparisons between the Book of Mormon and more than 100,000 pre-1830 texts. A significant flaw in the comparisons they made was failing to incorporate many Early Modern English texts — regularized for spelling and morphology — in their large corpus.[11] Nor is it clear that they used the critical text, the text closest to Joseph Smith's 1829 dictation.[12] In addition, as Benjamin McGuire pointed out in 2013 (using different language), n-gram analyses provide only a brute-force approach to the question of authorship, since they ignore constituent structure.[13]

To these points I would add that issues of lemmatization have been ignored as well. Lemmatization involves regularizing words with inflectional differences as equivalent variants of the same lexeme. And even many lemmatization efforts cannot remedy the inherent deficiencies of most n-gram analyses. For example, Nicholas Lesse's translation language "do not cause hym, that he shuld performe . . ." (1550, EEBO A22686) is a syntactic match with "causing them that they should . . ." (3 Nephi 2:3). These are both ditransitive causative constructions with repeated pronominals. But such a correspondence isn't caught by standard n-gram comparisons, nor by narrowly drawn lemmatized comparisons, so that competent linguistic analysis is ultimately needed to determine relevant syntactic matching.

The website that contains the above comment comparing *The Late War* to the Book of Mormon has a large quantity of material to digest, and the linguistic analysis is confined to phrasal and lexical elements, which have their interest but are contextual in many cases. If there were

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11. Chris Johnson, "Hidden in Plain Sight," *Ask Reality* (blog), *Wordpress*, October 21, 2013, http://web.archive.org/web/20131203090645/http://askreality.com:80/hidden-in-plain-sight/. This webpage did not clearly indicate which texts the two Johnson brothers used in their comparisons. In late 2013, EEBO Phase 1 texts were not publicly available, so we may safely assume that they didn't use those in their analyses. This is supported by their mention of OCR difficulties with the long *s*, since EEBO is mostly a manually transcribed database. They probably used the Google Books database, which doesn't have many pre-1701 texts, relatively speaking. That would mean that they mainly examined texts of the late 1700s and early 1800s, and secondarily of the early 1700s, and comparatively few Early Modern English texts.

12. Royal Skousen, ed., *The Book of Mormon: The Earliest Text* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009). The archived webpage didn't indicate which edition of the Book of Mormon the n-gram researchers used in their analysis.

13. See "Flaw 5: Textual Context" in Benjamin L. McGuire, "The Late War Against the Book of Mormon," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 7 (2013): 348–49, http://www.mormoninterpreter.com/the-late-war-against-the-book-of-mormon/.

no syntax, morphosyntax, or obsolete lexis to study, then we would have to content ourselves with studying mostly contextual linguistic evidence, such as we find on this website. But there are other things that can be studied that are either more complex and less contextual or can be studied in a way that brings out relevant complexity. Hence, the choice of data and methodologies are quite important.

As McGuire mentions in his 2013 article, quoting Harold Love, the explosion of available textual data has made "intelligent selectivity" extremely important.[14] Syntactic studies rank very high in terms of intelligent selectivity. (To this may be added studies of potentially obsolete lexis not undertaken here but soon to be available in Royal Skousen, *The Nature of the Original Language*. A substantially different version of this paper will be available in that two-part book as section 12.) Syntactic studies constitute a richer source of linguistic information and a more reliable data set on which to base conclusions about Book of Mormon authorship. One specific example is the study of relative-pronoun selection after human antecedents in earlier English, addressed below.

The aforementioned website liberally employs the ellipsis symbol (…), at times in lengthy or discontinuous passages. The way this symbol is used goes against customary practice in quite a few cases and can mislead the unaware. The casual reader is led to believe there is much more compact correspondence between the Book of Mormon and *The Late War* (and other texts) than there actually is. This analysis has been referred to by the CES letter, whose latest iteration links to the site rather than incorporating it in the body of the letter.[15] A recent imitation of the CES letter provides the reader with a reprint of some of the color-coded comparisons that are heavy in ellipsis.[16]

Another short blog entry to consider is one titled "American Pseudobibles (and the Book of Mormon)." The author, John Turner, quotes Eran Shalev as suggesting that "the unique combination of the biblical form and style that the Book of Mormon shares with the pseudobiblical texts, as well as their distinctly American content, provide a case for seeing Smith's book as meaningfully affiliated to that

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14. McGuire, "The Late War," 325.

15. See page 23 of Jeremy T. Runnells, "CES Letter: My Search for Answers to My Mormon Doubts," CES Letter Foundation, updated October 2017, https://cesletter.org/CES-Letter.pdf.

16. See pages 93 and 94 of Anonymous, "Letter for My Wife," *Letter for my Wife* (blog), *WordPress*, 2017, http://www.letterformywife.com/wp-content/letter/Letter_For_My_Wife.pdf.

American mode of writing."[17] This view of things — that pseudo-biblical style and Book of Mormon style are not substantively distinguishable — is only based on superficial linguistic considerations. We must dig deeper before we can be confident that such a view is accurate.

Eran Shalev wrote the following at the end of his article on pseudo-biblicism:[18]

> The tradition of writing in biblical style paved the way for the Book of Mormon by conditioning Americans to reading American texts, and texts about America, in biblical language. Yet the Book of Mormon, an American narrative **told in the English of the King James Bible**, has thrived long after Americans abandoned the practice of recounting their affairs in biblical language. It has thus been able to survive and flourish for almost two centuries, not because, but in spite of the literary ecology of the mid-nineteenth century and after. The Book of Mormon became a testament to a widespread cultural practice of writing in **biblical English** that could not accommodate to the monumental transformations America endured in the first half of nineteenth century. [emphasis added]

The character of the Book of Mormon's English is a matter that demands special study, not unstudied assumptions. Before Skousen, no one had acknowledged and accepted this reality.

Just before final submission of this piece, I was alerted to a recent Purdue University dissertation by Gregory A. Bowen.[19] Bowen's thesis examines usage in 10 texts and two small corpora, with the focus on the King James Bible and the Book of Mormon. Because the net is cast wide and touches on several linguistic areas, this study is a preliminary one in relation to the Book of Mormon. Hunt's *The Late War* is one of the 19th-century texts examined.

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17.   Eran Shalev, *American Zion: The Old Testament as a Political Text from the Revolution to the Civil War*, quoted in John Turner, "American Pseudobibles (and the Book of Mormon)," *Anxious Beach* (blog), *Patheos*, March 6, 2014, www.patheos.com/blogs/anxiousbench/2014/03/american-pseudobibles-and-the-book-of-mormon.

18.   Shalev, "Pseudo-Biblicism," 826.

19.   George A. Bowen, "Sounding Sacred: The Adoption of Biblical Archaisms in the Book of Mormon and Other 19th Century Texts," (2016) *Open Access Dissertations*, https://docs.lib.purdue.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?referer=https://www.google.com/&httpsredir=1&article=2123&context=open_access_dissertations.

Bowen either begins with or comes to an expected academic conclusion.[20] He doesn't explore the possibility that a significant amount of Book of Mormon usage could be genuinely archaic, despite the existence of extra-biblical archaic markers occurring throughout the text. Although he mentions a few, he never pursues lines of inquiry that might have revealed true archaism. In short, there is good material in this thesis, but it doesn't approach lexical and grammatical issues that might be dispositive of the authorship question.

Bowen concludes that some heavy usage of archaisms found in the Book of Mormon were biblical hypercorrections by Joseph Smith. In the case at hand, a hypercorrection is a presumed overuse by Joseph of a prestigious biblical form.[21] The issue of biblical hypercorrection will be addressed at various points in this study.

One item of archaic vocabulary that Bowen tracked was the adjective *wroth*. This word is a strong marker of archaism because the EEBO database clearly shows that usage rates dropped off significantly during the first half of the early modern era. He classifies the Book of Mormon's high-frequency *wroth* usage as a biblical hypercorrection, since its textual rate exceeds that of the King James Bible: 90 words per million (wpm) versus 64 wpm.[22] In this case, however, the close synonym *angry* could have been considered as well.

If we include *angry* in calculations and determine a relative rate of archaism, we find that the King James Bible is 53 percent *wroth* (49 of 93) and that the Book of Mormon is only 26 percent *wroth* (24 of 93). As a result, even though the absolute rate of *wroth* in the Book of Mormon is greater than it is in the King James Bible, the Book of Mormon's archaic *wroth*–*angry* rate is half that of the King James Bible. This extra bit of analysis — which recognizes the importance of also considering the close synonym *angry* — reveals that the Book of Mormon's high rate of *wroth* is partly due to archaism and partly due to a higher textual frequency of the notion 'angry.'

In summary, after duly considering a variety of evidence, a number of critics and researchers have concluded that the Book of Mormon isn't

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20. Of course, the constraints of academia virtually force the conclusion, while the constraints of LDS scholarship do not force one to declare that Joseph was or was not the English-language translator. Consequently, I consider Bowen's conclusion on page 61 to be *de rigueur* and uninteresting.

21. The entry for *hypercorrect*, *adj.* in the Oxford English Dictionary has the following: "*Linguistics*. Of a spelling, pronunciation, or construction: falsely modelled on an apparently analogous prestigeful form."

22. See Bowen, *Sounding Sacred*, 86.

genuinely archaic, and that its language is close to that of Gilbert J. Hunt's *The Late War* and similarly styled texts. Some see direct influence from *The Late War,* others see indirect influence. Yet no one has drilled down to the foundational elements of style beyond shared lexical and phrasal usage in context and simple morphological studies; all have ignored independent archaic semantic usage, syntactic structure, and in-depth morphosyntactic research. Those are the things that can tell us most reliably and convincingly whether the Book of Mormon is similar to pseudo-biblical texts in terms of style and archaism. My primary concern in this study is with syntactic structure and morphosyntax. To my knowledge, a substantive syntactic comparison of the Book of Mormon with pseudo-biblical writings has never been performed. There is much to compare; I only touch on a few things here.

Summary of Analyses

Topics covered include agentive *of* and *by*, *lest* syntax, relative-pronoun usage with personal antecedents, periphrastic *did*, *more-part* usage, *had (been) spake*, the {-th} plural, and verbal complementation after five common verbs as well as the adjective *desirous*.

Agentive *of* and *by*

In most syntactic domains, Book of Mormon archaism turns out to be different from that of the King James Bible, while exceeding that of the four pseudo-biblical writings. The following is one example. Agentive *of* is biblical syntax, but it is the kind that was apparently more difficult for pseudo-biblical authors to imitate. Its use is less obvious than that of lexical items like *thou*, *saith*, *unto*, or past-tense *spake* (to this we may also add the prominent lexical phrase *it came to pass).*

In late Middle English, just before the early modern period, the chief preposition used in passive constructions to indicate the agent was *of*, later giving way to *by*.[23] (Late Middle English ended around the time William Caxton began to print books in English in the final quarter of the 15th century, and Early Modern English continued to the end of the 17th century.) An example is the following sentence from a book found in the EEBO database: "God requireth the law to be kepte **of** all men" (1528, EEBO A14136). By the late modern period this expression would have

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23. See the heading for definition 14 of the preposition *of* in the online, third edition of the Oxford English Dictionary (definition 15 in the second edition). We are not concerned with Old English or even early Middle English, when the prepositions *from* and *through* were used to indicate the agent as well.

almost always been worded "God requires the law to be kept **by** all men." A Book of Mormon example is "Moses was commanded **of** the Lord" (1 Nephi 17:26), equivalent to "Moses was commanded **by** the Lord."

Royal Skousen has carried out systematic but incomplete sampling of past participles followed by either agentive *of* or *by* in the two scriptural texts (mostly from an inspection of the syntax of regular verbs ending in {-ed} that are immediately followed by *of* or *by* and an animate agent). I have done the same for the four pseudo-biblical writings. This research has yielded the following estimates:

Estimated agentive *of* rates

- King James Bible   72%
- Book of Mormon   46%
- Scottish pseudo-biblical text   < 20%
- American pseudo-biblical texts   < 10%

In this domain we find that the King James Bible has the greatest archaism, followed by the Book of Mormon, and followed more distantly by the four pseudo-biblical writings. The one by the Scottish author Matthew Linning comes closest to the scriptural texts in its level of archaism at less than 20 percent agentive *of*. The Book of Mormon exhibits considerable biblical influence, while the pseudo-biblical texts exhibit slight biblical influence.

The King James Bible favors the use of agentive *of* (estimated at 72 percent), but there are still significant levels of use of agentive *by*. The Book of Mormon slightly favors the use of agentive *by* (estimated at 54 percent), but there is almost as much agentive *of* usage. In contrast, the four pseudo-biblical writings do not use much agentive *of*, strongly preferring the modern alternative.

The kind of verb and agent involved in the syntax influence the selection of the agentive preposition (*of* or *by*), complicating matters. Yet the large differences in agentive *of* rates permit one to reliably observe that while the Book of Mormon is quite archaic in agentive *of* usage, pseudo-biblical writings are not — especially the American ones.

Agentive *of* is used with a wide variety of verbs in the scriptural texts, and the usage in many cases is not overlapping. In other words, the King James Bible employs agentive *of* with some verbs quite frequently whereas the Book of Mormon does not; the Book of Mormon also employs agentive *of* with some verbs quite frequently while the King James Bible does not. An example of this is the passive construction "commanded of/ by." The King James Bible has four examples of "commanded **by**" but no

examples of "commanded **of**"; the Book of Mormon has nine examples of "commanded **of**" and three examples of "commanded **by**." This means it is not inaccurate to state that the Book of Mormon's agentive *of* usage approaches but is independent of biblical usage. This is statistically verifiable.[24]

Pseudo-biblical texts are not that archaic in this regard, especially the three American ones. Of the four pseudo-biblical writings considered in this study, the Scottish one contains the highest rate of agentive *of* usage — estimated to be 15 percent. This is about one-third the rate found in the Book of Mormon. The three American pseudo-biblical writings have been estimated to be below 10 percent in their agentive *of* usage. Some details follow:

- Leacock's text (1774–1775) has no examples of agentive *of* out of about 10 possibilities. The agentive *of* rate in this text is 0%.

- Snowden's text (1793) has three instances of "beloved **of** the people" (5:14, 19:13, 26:2). The estimated agentive *of* rate in this text is 7% (3 of 43 regular verbs). (There are also three instances of "beloved **by**," with various noun phrases [3:13, 45:7, 52:3].)

- Linning's text (1809) has four instances of agentive *of*: "despised **of** men" (twice: 12:7; 14:2), "favoured **of** Heaven" (14:5) and "approved **of** men" (21:19). The estimated agentive *of* rate in this text is 15% (4 of 27 regular verbs).

- Hunt's text (1816) has only one example of agentive *of*: "the king was possessed **of** an evil spirit" (1:14). The estimated agentive *of* rate in this text is 2.5% (1 of 40 regular verbs).

Lest **syntax**

Next, we consider the syntax of sentences that occur after the conjunction *lest*. The 1611 King James Bible consistently employs the subjunctive mood in sentences following this conjunction. About 80 percent of the

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24. Royal Skousen created a table with 82 verbs which will appear in his forthcoming book *The Nature of the Original Language*. I performed a standard correlation calculation for this agentive *of* / *by* table, finding it was only 0.102 (specifically, the Pearson Product-Moment Correlation Coefficient calculated by the Microsoft Excel correl formula). I also performed another correlation by excluding those cases where either text doesn't have examples. This reduced the 82 verbs to only 38, and the correlation was even lower: 0.065. By either test, and even more so by the reduced test, which is arguably more rigorous, the agentive *of* / *by* usage of the King James Bible and of the Book of Mormon are uncorrelated.

time no modal auxiliary verb is used. This of course means that about 20 percent of the time a modal auxiliary verb is used with an infinitive after *lest*, most frequently *should*.

A fairly comprehensive search of the 1611 King James Bible (including the Apocrypha) yielded 63 *lest–should* constructions. This tally is probably close to the actual figure and is equivalent to a textual rate of 68 wpm. But because *lest–should* usage continued into the late modern period robustly (after the year 1700), use of *lest–should* syntax in pseudo-biblical texts isn't actually a good candidate for possible biblical hypercorrection. Some of it could represent late modern usage.

A few details of *lest* constructions in the other texts are the following:

- The Book of Mormon employs a modal auxiliary verb in sentences after *lest* about 80 percent of the time, usually *should*. It has much higher levels of modal auxiliary usage after *lest* than the biblical text does. Its 44 *lest–should* constructions translate to a rate of 175 wpm — 2.6 times the biblical rate.

- Leacock's *American Chronicles* (1774–1775) and Linning's *Book of Napoleon* (1809) have six and five instances of *lest*, respectively, without any following modal auxiliary usage. These pseudo-biblical texts are more closely aligned with biblical patterns than the other two pseudo-biblical texts.

- Richard Snowden's *The American Revolution* (1793) has 14 *lest–should* constructions, a rate of 284 wpm. Snowden's *lest–should* rate is more than four times that of the King James Bible, and higher than the Book of Mormon's.

- Gilbert J. Hunt's *The Late War* (1816) has six instances of *lest*, and five times the sentences that follow employ a modal auxiliary: three with *should* and two with *might*. Its *lest–should* rate of 70 wpm is very close to the biblical rate.

Continuing our investigation, we find that there is only one short passage in the entire King James Bible (including the Apocrypha) where the modal auxiliary verb *shall* occurs in sentences following *lest:*

2 Corinthians 12:20–21
> For I fear **lest** when I come, I **shall** not find you such as I would,
> and that I **shall** be found unto you such as ye would not, …
> And **lest** when I come again, my God **will** humble me among
> you, and that I **shall** bewail many which have sinned already,

>> The phrase *when I come* may have triggered the *shall* usage. This passage also has a simple case of *lest there be* (not shown), as well as one instance of the auxiliary verb *will* ("my God will humble me").

In descending order of frequency, the auxiliaries most commonly found in the Early Modern English textual record after the conjunction *lest* are *should*, *might*, *may*, *would*, *will*, and *shall* (based on extensive searches of the EEBO Phase 1 database).[25] Consequently, we wouldn't have expected there to be many *lest* constructions with *shall* in the King James Bible, and this expectation is borne out by the text. Taking into account the close to one million words found in the 1611 Bible (including the Apocrypha), these three instances mean that the *lest–shall* rate of the biblical text is 3.2 wpm. Because *lest–shall* usage did **not** continue into the late modern period robustly, heavier usage in other texts could qualify as a biblical hypercorrection.

Yet the four pseudo-biblical writings do not have any examples of *lest–shall* syntax. As noted, Snowden's *The American Revolution* and Hunt's *The Late War* do have *lest–should* constructions — 14 and 3 instances, respectively — but the other two pseudo-biblical texts do not. So, *lest–should* syntax, which is both biblical and persistent usage, is fairly well represented in the pseudo-biblical set, while the *lest–shall* usage of 2 Corinthians 12:20–21 is not represented at all.

Specifically, Snowden's text had five contexts in which he might have employed *lest–shall* syntax and Hunt's text had one;[26] all 11 of Leacock's and Linning's *lest* sentences could have employed *shall*. Because *lest–shall* syntax is missing in 17 possible cases, it is possible that the

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25. In terms of the historical record, the *lest–shall* construction was used at its highest rate in the 16th century. This observation is based on isolating 90 EEBO Phase 1 examples of *lest* occurring within three words of some form of *shall* (including spelling variants). The highest usage rates are found in the 1530s and 1540s, and there are three instances in a 1549 translation of an Erasmus New Testament paraphrase. This book has the largest number of examples of *lest–shall* syntax that I have encountered in the EEBO Phase 1 database. Hence it is possible that the Book of Mormon has more *lest–shall* constructions than any other book. The EEBO Phase 1 database also shows that *lest–shall* syntax occurred in the 17th century at one-quarter the 16th-century rate, dropping off noticeably in the 1680s and 1690s. Continuing robust *should* usage after the conjunction *lest* is found in the modern period, but what is not found is much *shall* usage. The Google Books *Ngram Viewer* currently indicates that on average *shall* was used after *lest* less than one-tenth of one percent of the time in the early 1800s. A recent Google Books search of "lest he/they shall," limited to before 1830, yielded five examples, found in publications dated between 1720 and 1828. Therefore, the *lest–shall* construction was most heavily represented in the 16th century, and can be said to be characteristic of that century. Several syntactic features of the Book of Mormon are a good fit with the 16th century; this appears to be one of them.

26. *The American Revolution* 15:17 (twice), 35:23, 37:7, 55:5; *The Late War* 19:35.

pseudo-biblical authors were unaware of the rare biblical usage (only three times after 240 instances of *lest)*, and this was also possible for Joseph Smith.

Nonetheless, the Book of Mormon has 14 cases of the conjunction *lest* followed immediately by sentences with the modal auxiliary verb *shall*, as in the following example:

> Mosiah 2:32
>
> > But O my people, beware **lest** there **shall** arise contentions among you, and ye list to obey the evil spirit which was spoken of by my father Mosiah.
> >
> > > Present-tense *ye list*, conjoined to *there shall arise*, suggests the *shall* may primarily be a subjunctive mood marker. The Book of Mormon variation — "lest there shall arise . . . and ye [ø] list" — has been found in the textual record after *lest* and *should*.

These 14 cases represent an extraordinary amount of *lest–shall* usage. It is equivalent to a rate of approximately 55 wpm, which is slightly more than 17 times the rate of the King James Bible. An analyst such as Bowen would call this outsized use of *lest–shall* in the Book of Mormon a biblical hypercorrection. As noted, however, there is no supporting pseudo-biblical usage; in this domain Joseph Smith rather obviously exceeded the four pseudo-biblical texts in reproducing hardly noticeable, archaic biblical syntax. This same set of circumstances is encountered in the Book of Mormon in many different linguistic domains and raises the possibility that Book of Mormon authorship might have involved Early Modern English competence (implicit knowledge).

The argument for the Book of Mormon's *lest–shall* usage not being a biblical hypercorrection, but rather representing Early Modern English competence, gains a measure of support from a passage in the olive tree allegory, which displays triple variation in auxiliary selection after *lest:*

> Jacob 5:65
>
> > [A]nd ye shall not clear away the bad thereof all at once,
> > **lest** the roots thereof **should** be too strong for the graft,
> > and the graft thereof **shall** perish,
> > and I [ø] lose the trees of my vineyard.

Here we read three clauses after the conjunction *lest:* the first one has the auxiliary *should*, the second one *shall*, and the third one has no auxiliary (shown by [ø]). Initially, without any knowledge of past grammatical possibilities, we might assign the auxiliary mixture in Jacob 5:65 to Joseph making a mistake. Yet there are rare textual precedents found in the early modern period to consider, as in this example:

1662, Abraham Wright, *A Practical Commentary*
[*on*] *the Pentateuch* [EEBO A67153]

> **Lest** either Abraham **should** not do that for which he came, or **shall** want means of speedy thanksgiving for so gracious a disappointment;
>
> > Here and below the spelling of EEBO examples has been regularized. In this case, only a hyphen has been deleted from *thanks-giving*.

The auxiliary variation of this 1662 example and Jacob 5:65 provide us with a clear syntactic match. Neither the King James Bible nor pseudo-biblical texts contain this variation. It slightly strengthens the position against biblical hypercorrection and for Early Modern English competence. Without further support, however, this should be regarded as a coincidence. As it turns out, however, there are dozens of coincidences in the earliest text — of one kind or another — some of them edited out. These things taken together materially strengthen the position against biblical hypercorrection in this specific case and for the entire Book of Mormon text.

Personal *that*, *which*, **and** *who(m)*

The cataloguing of relative-pronoun usage after human antecedents in the Book of Mormon has much to tell us about the issue of authorship. That is because the majority of such usage is generated subconsciously. This contrasts with the mostly conscious use of content-rich phrases and words, some of which are obviously biblical.

Just as speakers and writers today rarely pay attention to whether they use *that* or *who(m)* to refer back to human antecedents (in phrases like "those **who** were there" or "the people **that** heard those things"), 400 years ago speakers and writers would have paid little attention to whether they employed *that*, *which*, or *who(m)* — the three options available in the early modern period — to refer back to human antecedents. They would have followed personal and dialectal preferences, almost always subconsciously.

Personal *that* was the most common option coming out of late Middle English and throughout most of the 1500s and 1600s, and it has persisted to this day, at close to a 10 percent usage rate.[27] Over time, personal *which* (e.g. "Our Father **which** art in heaven") became less and less common and personal *who* took over from personal *that* as the dominant form. Personal *which* is the option that has become very rare except in narrowly confined contexts.

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27. According to the Google Books *Ngram Viewer*, *he that* has persisted most robustly, currently occurring in texts nearly 20 percent of the time (as opposed to *he who*).

Syntax and the antecedent affect relative pronoun selection. Also, the antecedent cannot always be determined. Yet enough clear data exists to lead to the conclusion that the Book of Mormon usage is different from modern *who–that* usage and from the usage patterns of the four pseudo-biblical writings considered in this study. Book of Mormon usage is also significantly different from the dominant form of Early Modern English represented in the King James Bible. Book of Mormon usage is not derivable from any of these sources, but it is similar to less-common Early Modern English usage.

Details for the Book of Mormon and the King James Bible are as follows:

- The Book of Mormon's personal *which* usage rate probably exceeds 50%; one sampling involving four different types of high-frequency antecedents — *those/they/them*, *he/him*, *man/men*, and *people* — shows an interesting diversity in usage patterns and an overall personal *which* usage rate of 52%; personal *that* (30.5%) and *who(m)* (17.5%), taken together, are used slightly less than half the time after these antecedents in the earliest text.[28]

- The King James Bible employs personal *which* only 12.5% of the time after these same antecedents; personal *that* is dominant (83.5%), with *who(m)* occurring only 4% of the time; only when the relative pronoun's antecedent is *he/him* are these two scriptural texts correlated; otherwise their usage is uncorrelated or negatively correlated.[29]

Personal *which* was extensively but incompletely edited out of the Book of Mormon by Joseph Smith for the 1837 second edition.[30] It is more likely this was a case of Joseph's attempting to grammatically

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28. Significant Early Modern English writings that employ personal *which* more than personal *that* after the antecedent *people* include Richard Hakluyt's *The Principal Navigations … of the English Nation* (1589–1600, EEBO A02495, 57% "people which") and Edward Grimeston's translation titled *The Estates, Empires, and Principalities of the World* (1615, EEBO A23464, 54% "people which"). From these we find that dominant usage of *people which* is not unattested in the earlier textual record. The EEBO database also shows that the same is true of *those which*.

29. One can see rather quickly that the King James Bible employs personal *that* more than personal *which*, and personal *which* more than personal *who*, by counting instances of "people that/which/who," "men that/which/who," and "a man that/which/who" in WordCruncher.

30. See Royal Skousen, *History of the Text of the Book of Mormon: The Grammatical Variation* (Provo, UT: FARMS and BYU Studies, 2016), 1188–1247.

change and partially modernize the text rather than attempting to achieve original authorship aims.[31]

On the topic of personal *which*, Bowen recently wrote the following in his dissertation: "Smith modernized this feature aggressively in the 2nd edition and only a few instances of the older form remain."[32] However, in the process of performing thorough text-critical work, Skousen has noted that 952 of 1,032 instances were changed in 1837 and only several more later.[33] Consequently, calling the remaining instances of personal *which* "a few" gives the wrong picture; there aren't fewer than 10 remaining (the typical upper-bound meaning of "a few") but actually almost 80. If we take "a few" to mean less than 10 percent, then it works. As we might expect, in changing so many instances of *which* to *who*, Joseph occasionally over-edited *which* to *who*, making mistakes.[34]

Three of the pseudo-biblical writings have examples of personal *which* but are dominant in *who* or *that:* Leacock's text (six instances of personal *which)*, Linning's text (two instances: "multitudes/captives which"), and Hunt's text (one instance: "false prophets which come"). No examples of personal *which* in Snowden's text were found in a recent search. All pseudo-biblical writings but the earliest one, Leacock's, are strictly modern in their profile. Thus, three pseudo-biblical authors didn't break from the preferences they learned as native speakers and writers of late modern English.

Recent counts yielded the following details (here I exclude prepositional contexts):

- Leacock's text has 45 instances of personal *that* (58%), 6 instances of personal *which* (8%), and 26 instances of *who(m)* (34%). The relative order of use of these relative pronouns (in descending frequency) — *that, who(m), which* — makes this text a biblical–modern hybrid.

- Snowden's text has about 20 instances of personal *that* (10%), no instances of personal *which* (0%), and about 180 instances

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31. Skousen, *Grammatical Variation*, 37: "Overall, Joseph's inconsistency in his editing argues that he had no systematic method in mind when he edited the text. Sometimes he neglected to make a change that he usually made; other times his decision to make a particular change was carried out only intermittently."

32. Bowen, *Sounding Sacred*, 145.

33. Skousen, *Grammatical Variation*, 41, 1224–25.

34. For example, on page 1217 of *Grammatical Variation*, Skousen points out an overcorrection of *which* to *who* that Joseph made at Alma 51:7. This error persists in the LDS text.

of *who(m)* (90%); this text exhibits a strong preference for *who(m)* over *that*.

- Linning's text has 8 instances of personal *that* (20%), 2 instances of personal *which* (5%), and 31 instances of *who(m)* (75%); this text exhibits a strong preference for *who(m)* over *that*.

- Hunt's text has 44 instances of personal *that* (47%), 1 instance of personal *which* (1%), and 49 instances of *who(m)* (52%); this text exhibits a slight preference for *who(m)* over *that*.

As a side note, Joseph Smith's 1832 History is strictly modern in its profile since it contains 10 instances of the relative pronoun *who(m)*, two instances of personal *that*, but none of personal *which*. This agrees generally with the contemporary textual record and independent linguistic research.[35] Moreover, Bowen's 2016 dissertation provides supporting evidence from Joseph Smith's letters (see pages 167 and 171). This means, of course, that Book of Mormon usage is different from Joseph's own linguistic preferences.

It is relevant and important to note that the short 1832 History has quite a few archaizing, biblical features in it. Thus, if a desire for archaism on the part of Joseph Smith had been the driver of the heavy usage of personal *which* in the earliest text of the Book of Mormon,[36] we would expect some personal *which* to have been employed in the History. The lack of it there weakens the position that heavy doses of personal *which* in the Book of Mormon emanated from Joseph's attempts to be archaic and biblical.

To recap, here is the breakdown of usage in the texts considered in this study:

Table 1. Percentage usage of relative pronouns with personal referents.

Text	that	which	who(m)
King James Bible (est.)	83.5	12.6	3.9
Book of Mormon (est.)	30.5	52.0	17.5

35. For an overview, see Matti Rissanen, "Syntax" in Roger Lass, editor, *The Cambridge History of the English Language*, vol. 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 293–95 (§4.6.2.2.1).

36. This is what Bowen indicates on page 155 of his thesis, consistent with his general view of Joseph Smith attempting to project a prophetic identity through archaism (see page xii).

Text	that	which	who(m)
American Chronicles	58.4	7.8	33.8
The American Revolution (est.)	10.0	0.0	90.0
Book of Napoleon	19.5	4.9	75.6
The Late War	46.8	1.1	52.1

As mentioned, the Book of Mormon is uncorrelated with the King James Bible in this domain. The Book of Mormon is negatively correlated with all four pseudo-biblical writings, usually strongly negatively correlated, and especially with Gilbert J. Hunt's *The Late War*, the text compared most often to the Book of Mormon. Based on the above figures, *The Late War* correlates with the King James Bible at 0.32 and with the Book of Mormon at –0.96. Two of the pseudo-biblical writings are positively correlated with the King James Bible — the oldest one, Leacock's text, correlates most strongly at 0.8.

Again, an analyst might claim the Book of Mormon overuses personal *which* as a biblical hypercorrection.[37] I will briefly note two things here. First, heavy use of personal *that* is the most likely biblical hypercorrection. Second, it is unlikely Joseph Smith could have successfully dictated against subconscious relative-pronoun tendencies approximately 1,000 times. The four pseudo-biblical texts support this view. The more likely divergence from Joseph's own linguistic tendencies would have been something like Leacock's distribution, which is heavy in personal *that*. Familiarity with biblical usage and internalizing it to a degree might have led to such a result.

Periphrastic *did*

In this section, periphrastic *did* means the use of the auxiliary *did* or *didst* in declarative contexts with an infinitive and without *not*, as in

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37. Bowen, *Sounding Sacred*, 155: "The BoM text initially followed the KJB lead in primarily using *which* for relative clauses with human antecedents". Table 27 on page 145 of his dissertation gives us figures of five percent personal *which* in the 1840 Book of Mormon and 70 percent in the King James Bible. But the King James Bible's primary personal relative pronoun is *that*. For example, in Genesis and Matthew, the books Bowen examined, there are four instances of "those which," three of "those that," and none of "those who(m);" there are also 49 instances of "he that," three of "he which," and one of "he who(m)." I have looked for a discussion and analysis of personal *that* in Bowen's thesis but haven't encountered any. If I am not mistaken, he may have neglected this important feature of the biblical personal relative-pronoun system. The exclusion of personal *that* clouds the true picture of usage.

"they did go forth," without full or contrastive emphasis on the auxiliary. To be clear, I have counted phraseology such as "neither did they go," headed by a negative conjunction, as an instance of periphrastic *did*, since "neither went they" was possible in earlier English, and the simple, non-periphrastic option was available to pseudo-biblical authors. Phraseology such as "neither did they go" could be considered a type of negative usage along with *did not*, but I have chosen to follow Ellegård 1953 in the matter.[38]

The two main syntactic types of non-emphatic periphrastic *did* are differentiated by whether *did* and the infinitive are adjacent. It is important to note that non-emphatic non-adjacency has persisted in English, in limited fashion, while non-emphatic adjacency has not. Thus, the two syntactic types followed distinct paths, diachronically speaking. Texts with very high levels of adjacency are uncommon and mainly confined to the first half of the early modern period (specifically, from the 1530s to the 1560s).[39]

Other than a recent dissertation by Bowen referred to above, I have not read any studies by linguists of the Book of Mormon's periphrastic *did*. (Bowen's treatment is only preliminary, and besides some brief comments [see page 156], he doesn't treat present-tense and past-tense usage separately.) My own analysis of periphrastic *did* in the Book of Mormon, following Alvar Ellegård's approach in his wide-ranging work on the subject, has shown that the Book of Mormon's past-tense syntax matches some 16th-century texts in their rate and syntactic distribution. There also appears to be some correlation with individual verb tendencies of the early modern era, as I discovered by performing many nearly comprehensive searches of the EEBO Phase 1 database.[40] Thus, the Book of Mormon contains an early and robust form of periphrastic *did*, something chiefly found in the middle of the 16th century. A book written by the Cambridge theologian and mathematician Isaac Barrow, *A Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy* [1683, EEBO 31089], first published posthumously in 1680, may be the latest one whose past-tense rate exceeds that of the Book of Mormon.[41]

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38. Alvar Ellegård, *The Auxiliary Do: The Establishment and Regulation of Its Use in English* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1953).

39. This observation is based on the detailed observations of Ellegård, *The Auxiliary Do*, 161 (Table 7), 162 (diagram), 182 (Table 9 and the accompanying diagram).

40. Stanford Carmack, "The Implications of Past-Tense Syntax in the Book of Mormon," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 14 (2015): 158–59, 169–72.

41. Isaac Barrow, *A Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy* (London: M. Flesher and J. Heptinstall, 1683). The periphrastic *did* usage of the book was anomalous

Ellegård estimated that the King James Bible's overall periphrastic *do* rate (both present-tense and past-tense) was 1.3 percent.[42] In 2014 I estimated that its past-tense periphrastic *did* and *didst* rate was 1.7 percent.[43] This rate, however, is conspicuously skewed by more than 95 percent usage of *did eat* instead of *ate* and an outsized rate of periphrastic *didst* (more than 10 times the overall periphrastic *did* rate, and about 20 times the periphrastic *did* rate when *did eat* is excluded). Notably, there is no significant skewing present in the Book of Mormon with either *did eat* or any other verb, and not even with periphrastic *didst*, since neither type of periphrastic *did* makes up a significant percentage of examples.

Joseph Smith's own language, as determined from an analysis of his 1832 manuscript history, lacked periphrastic *did*.[44] Bowen's dissertation provides supporting evidence from Joseph's letters (see Table 37 on page 167). This agrees with independent linguistic assessments.

None of the four pseudo-biblical writers produced anything like what the Book of Mormon has in this regard. One text barely employed periphrastic *did*. The two pseudo-biblical texts with the most examples — Snowden's and Hunt's — are almost completely modern in their implementation of the periphrasis, especially in their wholly modern syntactic distribution of *did* and the infinitive (non-adjacent). Specifically, Snowden and Hunt almost always inverted the order of the grammatical subject and the auxiliary. Their syntactic distribution is negatively correlated with that of the Book of Mormon: about −0.4 and −0.6, respectively.

The Book of Mormon is much closer to the King James Bible in syntactic distribution of the *did* auxiliary and the infinitive. The Book of Mormon has more than 90 percent *did*–infinitive adjacency, while current estimates indicate that the King James Bible has close to

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for the 1670s. One later edition I consulted, published in the 18th century, had silently eliminated a lot of the original *did*-periphrasis. But an even later 1818 edition maintained it. Philemon Stewart's *A Holy, Sacred and Divine Roll and Book* (Canterbury, NH: United Society), written in early 1842 and published in 1843, has a fairly high periphrastic *did* rate (currently estimated to be between six and seven percent). But that rate is about three-and-a-half times lower than the Book of Mormon's rate, and periphrastic *did* non-adjacency occurs in the *Sacred Roll* close to 45 percent of the time, well above that of the Book of Mormon, and at a rate that is between the biblical and the modern.

42. Ellegård, *The Auxiliary Do*, 169.

43. Carmack, "Past-Tense Syntax," 123 (Table 1), 143.

44. See Stanford Carmack, "How Joseph Smith's Grammar Differed from Book of Mormon Grammar: Evidence from the 1832 History," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 25 (2017): 240–41.

72.5 percent *did*–infinitive adjacency. The inescapable difference between the two scriptural texts is that they are very far apart in overall textual rates of periphrastic *did*. And their individual verb use with *did* is also substantially different, correlating at only 0.3.[45]

Three of the four pseudo-biblical texts have very little *did*–infinitive adjacency. The oldest one, Leacock's text, has 10 cases of adjacency, but eight of these occur in one stretch of about 500 words in the context of proving, feeling, and concluding; all but one of these eight instances appear to be emphatic. The first two adjacency examples are *did eat* (biblical). Another candidate of *did*–infinitive adjacency is exceptional since it is a case of *did* resumption, at the end of a complex intervening adverbial used in a proclamation (the lengthy adverbial phrase is bracketed below):

> 1774–1775, John Leacock, *American Chronicles*, 4:28d
>
> the Usurper . . . **did** [most daringly, wantonly, abominably, wickedly, atrociously and devilishly, and without my knowledge, allowance, approbation, instruction or consent first had and obtained, and without my name, and the imperial signet of the Commonwealth affixed thereunto,] **did** presume, and *ipso facto* issue forth and publish a most diabolical and treasonable proclamation,

I have counted this as an intervening adverbial example. Ultimately, Leacock's text doesn't have much interesting periphrastic *did* usage in it. It is infrequent and sporadically concentrated.[46]

There are 11 examples of periphrastic *did* found in Snowden's book. The only time he used the periphrasis with adjacency was when he wrote "thou didst take," thereby avoiding simple past-tense *tookest*, a verb form that is found five times in the 1611 King James Bible.[47] The syntactic

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45. Carmack, "Past-Tense Syntax," 185–86.

46. A count of the three non-emphatic *did*–infinitive adjacency cases in Leacock's text gives a rate of about 210 words per million. This is well below the biblical *did*–infinitive adjacency rate of approximately 700 wpm that I found for Genesis and Matthew, the two books Bowen used in his dissertation as a proxy for the King James Bible. If we break down usage of *did* and the infinitive according to adjacency and non-adjacency, we see that Leacock's non-adjacency rate is 57 percent, well above the 24 percent rate of Genesis and Matthew. By way of comparison, the Book of Mormon's *did*–infinitive adjacency textual rate is close to 6500 wpm, and its non-adjacency rate is less than 10 percent.

47. The biblical text frequently avoided simple past-tense forms ending in {-e(d st}, and the Book of Mormon did so as well, but its periphrastic *didst* instances don't make up a significant part of the overall periphrastic *did* usage as they do in the biblical text.

distribution of periphrastic *did* in Snowden's text is 9% adjacency, 91% inversion, and 0% intervening adverbial.

Linning's text has only one example of periphrastic *did*, with inversion of *did* and the subject: "nor **did they** seek further to molest the Albions" (63). As far as archaic periphrastic *did* is concerned, there is nothing of note in this pseudo-biblical text.

The sole use of *did*–infinitive adjacency in Hunt's text is "the king did put … and give.": The syntactic distribution of periphrastic *did* in Hunt's text is 4.8% adjacency, 95.2% inversion, and 14.3% intervening adverbial (in three cases there is both inversion and an intervening adverbial phrase).

The following table summarizes these periphrastic *did* findings:

Table 2. Estimates of periphrastic *did* adjacency rates
and shares of non-adjacency.[48]

	Past-tense rate of *did*–infinitive adjacency	Share of *did*–infinitive non-adjacency
King James Bible	1.2	> 25 percent
Book of Mormon	24.0	< 10 percent
American Chronicles	0.8	> 50 percent
Book of Napoleon	0.0	ONE EXAMPLE
Snowden's and Hunt's texts	0.1	> 90 percent

In summary, the text of the Book of Mormon does not follow scriptural-style authors, the King James Bible, or Joseph's own language in its past-tense usage. Book of Mormon periphrastic *did* usage is well distributed in past-tense passages throughout the text, although usage rates do ebb and flow, as is the case in some high-rate, 16th-century EEBO texts. No single verb dominates periphrastic *did* in the Book of Mormon, and periphrastic *didst* makes up a small part of the overall usage.

In contrast, both *did eat* and periphrastic *didst* in the King James Bible are noticeably out of line with the rest of its periphrastic *did* usage. If these two types are eliminated from rate calculations, then the biblical rate of *did*–infinitive adjacency drops significantly, to less than one percent. On the other hand, neither eliminating *did go* from Book of Mormon rate calculations (the most frequently occurring

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48. Bowen also examined an 1843 Shaker text by Philemon Stewart (see note 37) with high *did*–infinitive adjacency. (My preliminary estimate is that its rate falls between six and seven percent; further work is required to verify this or obtain a more accurate estimate). The **non**-adjacency share of *did* and the infinitive, however, is more than 40 percent, which is a biblical–modern pattern.

periphrasis) nor eliminating periphrastic *didst* causes its *did*–infinitive adjacency rate to change appreciably.

More-part **usage**

In the Book of Mormon, the phrase *the more part* (and close variants) is used at nearly 40 times the rate of the King James Bible. It is accurate to state that the Book of Mormon follows the most common Early Modern English formulation of this phrase (Coverdale's usage in Acts 27:12: *the more part **of them***), and not King James style (*the more part*), since a prepositional phrase always follows *part* (or *parts)*, 26 times. In addition, *the more part of X* in the Book of Mormon cannot be said to stem from pseudo-biblical writings, since they have no examples of the obsolete phrase. And it matches several historical works from the late 15th century and the 16th century, both in usage frequency and in the various forms of the era (some rare). One text that stands out is a 1550 translation of Thucydides by Thomas Nicolls [EEBO A13758]. It employs *more-part* phraseology at nearly double the rate of the Book of Mormon.

	n	Comment
• King James Bible	2	Never post-modified by a prepositional phrase
• Book of Mormon	26 (3 rare)	Always post-modified by a prepositional phrase
• Pseudo-biblical texts	0	NO EXAMPLES

The two exceptional forms of this phrase type — with an indefinite article (*a more part of it*, Helaman 6:32) and with plural *parts* (*the more part**s** of his gospel*, Helaman 6:21; *the more part**s** of the Nephites*, 4 Nephi 1:27) — provide support for the view that *more-part* phraseology in the Book of Mormon is Early Modern English usage and not a conscious revival by Joseph Smith of earlier language, which is what we find in some of Robert Louis Stevenson's novels and elsewhere.

Those who used the archaic phraseology *the more part* in the second half of the 19th century (and later) were literate authors who had read widely from older writings. Joseph certainly did not fit their educational or experiential profile in the 1820s. Based on what is currently known, linguistic revivalists of the usage, such as the Oxford historian Edward Freeman, the medievalist William Morris, and the novelist Stevenson, did not employ *a more part* or *the more parts* with this particular meaning. Because the phrase *the more part* was in obsolescence and not productively used in

the late 19th century, they naturally did not employ rare, alternate forms (which they may not have encountered), but merely reproduced the most frequent and more easily known form.

The Book of Mormon's *more-part* usage is quite unexpected from a perspective of Joseph generating it from his own biblically-styled language. One must go back in time 250 years to Holinshed's *Chronicles* (1577) to encounter a text with the level of usage found in the Book of Mormon.[49] As a result, its *more-part* profile fits the occasional use found in the first half of the early modern period and no other time. Intimate knowledge of neither the King James Bible nor pseudo-biblical texts would have led to the distinctive and relatively heavy use of *the more part* found in the Book of Mormon.

Had (been) spake

There are 12 instances of pluperfect *had spake* in the Book of Mormon, but none in the King James Bible or in pseudo-biblical writings. There are also 48 instances of *had spoken* found in the earliest text (for both these counts I exclude passive constructions involving *had been).* The more common form of the past participle occurs 80 percent of the time in the pluperfect tense in the Book of Mormon; the less common form, *had spake,* occurs 20 percent of the time.[50]

I have found, by carefully searching EEBO and Google Books and rejecting many false positives, that the only time *had spake* wasn't rare in the textual record was the latter half of the early modern era.[51] Even then, however, this particular leveled past participial usage was quite uncommon. The other minority variant of the past participle used in the pluperfect — *had spoke* — is found much more often than *had spake* in earlier English. *(Had spoke* is typical Shakespearean usage, but it is not found in either the Book of Mormon or the King James Bible.) After the year 1700 we hardly encounter original instances of *had spake* in the textual record. Because of an explosion of publishing there are cases of it, but very few. One example is found in an 1812 book published in Troy,

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49. Legal books containing old statutory language with the wording do not have as many instances as the Book of Mormon has.

50. The leveling does not occur in the present perfect.

51. It does occur earlier, as shown by an early Oxford English Dictionary example and at least two late 16th-century instances, one from EEBO and one from Google Books. The second edition of the OED has the following example under **speak**, *verb*, at the end of section A4(ε), which contains forms of the past participle: "*c[irca]* **1500** *Three Kings' Sons* 61 That he had spake to hym".

New York. As a result, we must accept that there is a slight possibility the Book of Mormon's *had spake* could have come from Joseph Smith's dialect. As a result, we must rely on ancillary evidence to determine whether the Book of Mormon's 12 occurrences of *had spake* are best viewed as examples of Early Modern English or modern dialectal usage.

Two items of related past participle evidence lend support for viewing the 12 instances of *had spake* in the Book of Mormon as an archaism rather than examples of rare modern usage. First, we note that *had been spake* occurs once at Alma 6:8. As of now, the two-word passive phrase *been spake* has been found only three times in the textual record: "this had not **been spake** of at all" [1646, EEBO A26759]; "the spiritual afflictions have **been spake** of much" [1659, EEBO A30566]; and "one had **been spake** to about it" [1699, EEBO A48010]. The bigram *been spake* has not yet been found after the year 1699, suggesting that any late modern example that might turn up in the future will be quite rare. Second, we note that the distinctive five-word phrase "of which hath been spoken" — meaning 'previously mentioned' or 'aforementioned' — occurs twice in the earliest text of the Book of Mormon. (Variants with the expletive subject *it* are known — that is, of the form "of which **it** hath been spoken," so the syntax is probably singular.) Currently there are approximately 30 known instances of this phraseology in the EEBO database of approximately 60,000 texts, but none attested after the year 1685. These two related items support the Book of Mormon's use of *had spake* as an archaism.

In summary, it is unlikely that we would read "had (been) spake" and "of which hath been spoken" a total of 15 times in the canonical Book of Mormon text if Joseph Smith had been responsible for its wording, from either his own language or an attempt to follow King James style. We encounter this same set of circumstances repeatedly in the Book of Mormon: lexis and syntax that Joseph probably would not have produced by following 1820s American dialect, pseudo-biblical writings, or King James language.

The {-th} plural

Lengthy biblical passages in the earliest text contain instances of what may accurately be called Early Modern English modifications that are **not** biblical in nature. These include cases of {-th} inflection used with persons other than the third-person singular,[52] such as "them that

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52. This inflection usually occurred with the third-person plural, but not always. It could occur with *we* and *ye* or *you* as well. There is also attested usage of {-th} inflection with first-person and second-person **singular** subjects.

contend**eth**" (2Nephi 6:17), "they die**th**" (2 Nephi7:2), and "I have put … and ha**th** covered" (2Nephi 8:16).

Even though {-th} inflection could occur historically in all person-number contexts, linguists have come to call the inflection — when used with subjects that aren't third-person singular — the {-th} plural, since that was the primary usage in the past. It was a less-common option of the early modern period, emanating from southern varieties of Middle English. The {-th} plural can be found throughout the early modern era, but it was used at a diminishing rate over time. By the 18th century, only vestigial use of the {-th} plural remained, usually with the auxiliary verbs *doth* and *hath*.[53]

The two earliest pseudo-biblical writings examined in this study have examples of the {-th} plural, with the earliest one containing five of them:

> 1774–1775, John Leacock, *American Chronicles*, 1:5, 1:10, 2:33, 4:15, 6:47
>
> their ships, *that* **goeth** upon the waters
>
> these letters in mine hand **witnesseth** sore against them
>
> these are the extortioners … *that* **causeth** the kingdom to pass away
>
> the pious ashes of them *that* **sleepeth**
>
> for blessed are all they *that* **shaketh** hands with them in peace

Leacock employed a somewhat limited variety of the {-th} plural, four times after the relative pronoun *that*, and once in a possible case of proximity agreement with singular *hand*.

Snowden's text has two examples:

> 1793, Richard Snowden, *The American Revolution*, 18:14, 34:17
>
> Nevertheless there were some who maintained their integrity, and were as the strong oaks in the forests of Columbia, *that* **feareth** not the windy storm and tempest.
>
> for vice and luxury weaken the people, and the rulers **causeth** them to err.

In verse 18:14 the agreement controller is *oaks*. In this case there is also the possibility of proximity agreement with the nearest singular

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53. For some discussion of this linguistic phenomenon, see Charles Barber, *Early Modern English* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), 169; Roger Lass, "Phonology and Morphology" quoted in Roger Lass, ed., *The Cambridge History of the English Language*, vol. 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 165–66.

nominal *Columbia*. In verse 34:17 the {-th} plural occurs after a plural noun-phrase subject, something that was very rare by the end of the 18th century. Notice that there is also nearby variation, since *weakeneth* wasn't used after the complex subject "vice and luxury."

Linning's text has two possible examples, but the subjects are probably singular:

> 1809, Matthew Linning, *Book of Napoleon*, 6:11, 12:7
>
> by means of your wisdom and counsel,
> *which* **reacheth** from the earth beneath unto the heaven above,
>
> so in like manner **doth** the prince and his people.

The first example has two conjoined abstract nouns; multiple nouns of this kind often resolve to a singular noun phrase in English, even up to the present day. This example is similar to the language of 1 Kings 10:7 — "thy wisdom and prosperity **exceedeth** the fame which I heard"[54] — where the verb translated as *exceedeth* precedes the abstract nouns in the Hebrew and is singular in form (although many later translations into English do use a plural verb). In the second case, the conjoined agreement controllers follow the verb, and the closest one to the verb is singular. It may be helpful to consider that for many English speakers — if not most — similar phraseology would be unobjectionable (e.g. "so **does** the queen and her people").

At first blush, Leacock's and Snowden's {-th} plural usage suggests that Joseph Smith might have been able to produce the archaic {-th} plural of the earliest text of the Book of Mormon. I will mention here a few things to consider on this point.

First and foremost, there is no {-th} plural usage immediately following pronouns in these pseudo-biblical texts, such as "they dieth" or "we layeth" or "ye doth." The Book of Mormon has 13 of these, setting it apart from what we find in the King James Bible and in the four pseudo-biblical texts.

Second, there are close to 150 instances of the {-th} plural in the Book of Mormon. Despite its relatively late date of composition, the earliest text of the Book of Mormon employs the {-th} plural at nearly twice the rate of Leacock's text and at about 20 times the rate of Snowden's text.

Third, overall usage patterns in the earliest text match Early Modern English tendencies non-superficially.[55] The {-th} plural is employed with

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54. See Stanford Carmack, "The Case of the {-th} Plural in the Earliest Text," *Interpreter* 18 (2016): 88; also see the more general discussion on pages 86–89.

55. See Royal Skousen, *Grammatical Variation* (Provo, UT: FARMS and BYU Studies, 2016), 465–74.

all the variety of earlier English: after noun phrases and pronouns; after relative pronouns and in conjoined predicates, with different kinds of nearby variation; and with first-person and second-person subjects. Also, there is little of its usage after pronouns and heavier rates of use after relative pronouns, as in EEBO Phase 1 texts.[56] None of the pseudo-biblical texts have enough data to be sure of this; they have no usage after pronouns or first- and second-person subjects, and none in conjoined predicates. The fact that there is no usage of the type "they dieth," or "we layeth," or "ye doth," or "I have … and hath," as we encounter in the Book of Mormon, means that these texts are somewhat limited in their usage of the {-th} plural.

Fourth, taking the two Linning examples shown above to be singular means that the 19th-century pseudo-biblical writings do not have examples of the {-th} plural. These pseudo-biblical authors were further removed from the end of the 17th century, when the {-th} plural was becoming rare. Consequently, they were less likely to be aware of the historical usage of this particular verb morphology. Therefore, it isn't surprising that they didn't employ the {-th} plural, and it also makes the robust usage of the Book of Mormon exceptional.

The following Book of Mormon passage contains two examples of the {-th} plural as well as nearby variation:

Mosiah 3:18

> but MEN **drinketh** damnation to their own souls
> except THEY **humble** themselves *and* **become** as little children,
> *and* **believeth** that salvation was, and is, and is to come, in and
> through the atoning blood of Christ, the Lord Omnipotent.

>> In this verse {-th} inflection is employed after the noun *men* (similar to Snowden's "rulers causeth") and also in a conjoined predicate. "**They** humble themselves and become … and believe**th**" is an example of an optional Early Modern English THEY-constraint, where the {-th} inflection is used only in a predicate linked to *they* but not immediately after *they*.[57] It should be noted, however, that in both Early Modern English and in the Book of Mormon counterexamples are found — that is, where the {-th} inflection is found immediately after *they*, but not in the conjoined predicate. The reason linguists write of a THEY-constraint is that in Early Modern English and later the pronoun *they* used next to a verb in {-th} was much less common than verbs in {-th} used in conjoined predicates (and in relative clauses).

56. See Carmack, "The Case of the {-th} Plural," 103–4.

57. Laura Wright, "Third Person Plural Present Tense Markers In London Prisoners' Depositions, 1562–1623," *American Speech* 77, no. 3 (2002): 242–45.

Thorough analysis of the earliest text's {-th} plural patterns demonstrates that the Book of Mormon's systematic usage in this domain is attested, archaic, and well-formed from the point of view of Early Modern English. This is one way the present-tense verbal system of the Book of Mormon is archaic and extra-biblical. This also points to the occasional third-person singular usage of {-s} forms in the earliest text being typical Early Modern English variation rather than occasional slip-ups by Joseph Smith.

Verbal complementation patterns after five verbs

This next section mainly focuses on whether the verbal complement following five high-frequency verbs — *cause*, *command*, *desire*, *make*, and *suffer* — is infinitival or finite. Also of concern is whether finite cases are simple or complex, and whether a modal auxiliary verb occurs in the complement. As an example, consider the following Book of Mormon excerpt:

> 3 Nephi 2:3
> causing [them]$_{object\ 1}$
> [**that** they **should** do great wickedness in the land]$_{object\ 2}$

This is ditransitive or dual-object syntax: the verb *cause* takes two objects. The first object in the above example is a pronoun and the second object is a clause: a sentence follows the conjunction (or complementizer) *that*. In this case the following sentence is "they should do great wickedness in the land," and it contains the modal auxiliary verb *should*. Modal auxiliary usage is a sign of archaism, especially *shall*, and the Book of Mormon has plenty of it. The above syntax can also be called a **complex** finite construction, since an extra constituent occurs before the *that*-clause. Complex finite syntax is a strong marker of archaism.

The one-object equivalent of the above 3 Nephi 2:3 language would have no *them:* "causing [ø] that they should do great wickedness in the land." Such simple finite syntax is by far the most common type of finite complementation found in the textual record of English.

The infinitival equivalent of this 3 Nephi 2:3 language would have *to* instead of *that they should:* "causing them **to** do great wickedness in the land." Infinitival complementation is the most common type in English after many verbs, including the five studied here. The Book of Mormon has more than 100 examples of all three types: the infinitival, the simple finite, and the complex finite.

There are different ways to count complementation, each with their own advantages and disadvantages. For the following analyses I have adopted a conservative approach and have not counted any conjoined cases unless there is a switch in complementation type. There are arguably errors in the counts I have made, and perhaps a few examples that have been overlooked, but none that should affect the results materially.[58]

In general, the Book of Mormon has much more finite complementation than the King James Bible and pseudo-biblical texts. The differences are quite large with four of the five verbs, none more so than in the case of *cause*.

Complementation patterns following the verb *cause*

Finite complementation rates
(finite clauses governed by the verb *cause*)

- King James Bible   1.0%   (out of 303 instances)
- Book of Mormon   57.6%   (out of 236 instances)
- Pseudo-biblical texts   0.0%   (out of 37 instances total)

Instances of archaic, ditransitive syntax

- King James Bible   0
- Book of Mormon   12
- Pseudo-biblical texts   0

These two shorts lists show that verbal complementation following the verb *cause* in the Book of Mormon is utterly different from that of the King James Bible and the pseudo-biblical texts. As indicated, the above figures are based on an examination of hundreds of examples in both the Book of Mormon and the King James Bible, and 37 examples total in the four pseudo-biblical texts. Chi-square tests run on simple finite, complex finite, and infinitival counts — comparing the Book of Mormon with the King James Bible or with the four pseudo-biblical texts — are statistically significant to a very high degree. This is true for the verbal complementation patterns after four of the verbs.[59] This means that the

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58. Royal Skousen has independently counted examples of verbal complementation, and I have incorporated some of his work here.

59. In the case of the *desire*, which is the verb with the weakest chi-square test of Book of Mormon and King James verbal complementation, the probability is

syntactic differences are almost certainly not accidental. In the case at hand, it means either that Joseph deliberately produced these syntactic structures (since the patterns were vastly different from his own modern patterns), or that they were part of the English-language translation transmitted to him.

As indicated, pseudo-biblical texts only employ infinitival complementation after the verb *cause*. The chi-square test indicates consistency with biblical influence, in this case. For Leacock's text, I have counted 14 infinitival instances of extended *cause* syntax, for Snowden's text 11, for Linning's text 4, and for Hunt's text I have counted 8. This consistent pattern matches modern tendencies and is similar to what we see in authors contemporary with the initial publication of the Book of Mormon, such as Walter Scott and James Fenimore Cooper. I made two small corpora of about five million words each from dozens of texts written by these prolific authors. After isolating hundreds of examples in past-tense contexts, I found that these two authors employed only infinitival *cause* syntax.

The King James Bible is 99 percent infinitival in its *cause* complementation: it has only three instances of finite *cause* syntax. In contrast, the Book of Mormon has 136 cases of finite *cause* syntax. One might assert that Book of Mormon usage was a vast expansion based on these three biblical examples. But what about the other extra-biblical, archaic *cause* syntax present in the earliest text? Most obviously, how does one account for the 12 dual-object causative constructions, exemplified by 3 Nephi 2:3 above? How are they biblical hypercorrections when there is no such syntax in the King James Bible? These are the kinds of questions a thorough analyst must confront.

The level of finite *cause* syntax in the Book of Mormon is very high — much higher than Early Modern English averages, which probably varied between three and one percent, in a roughly descending trend over time. Of course, outliers do exist in the print record. For example, one mid-16th-century text I inspected employed finite *cause* syntax about 13 percent of the time (6 out of 45 instances).[60] Thus, a textual rate

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still quite low, just not vanishingly small: p < 0.001. There isn't enough data in the pseudo-biblical texts to make a valid comparison for this verb.

60.   Giovanni Battista Gelli, *Circes of Iohn Baptista Gello, Florentine*, trans. Henry Iden (London: 1558) (EEBO A68089). Royal Skousen independently counted 6 finite instances out of 44 possible cases. These two separate counts provide confidence that the actual number of cases of *cause* syntax with verbal complementation in this 1558 text is either 44 or 45 or very close to it.

significantly higher than the currently estimated upper-bound average of three percent is attested.

Overall, *cause* syntax with verbal complements was implemented in the Book of Mormon in a variety of contexts in a principled manner, pointing to tacit knowledge of various tendencies of Early Modern English.

First, the Book of Mormon has 12 instances of dual-object complementation, as in the above example from 3 Nephi 2:3. This uncommon archaic construction can be found a few dozen times in EEBO, but it may have been obsolete by the late modern period. The high number of archaic ditransitive structures decisively marks Book of Mormon *cause* syntax as Early Modern English in character.

Second, the Book of Mormon exhibits extra-biblical auxiliary usage in the embedded clause with *shall* (13 times) and *may* (3 times). Although such usage can still be found in the late modern period, its rate of use by then was low compared to the rate of the earlier period.

Third, the earliest text contains one case of mixed complementation, also characteristic of the earlier period:

> Mormon 8:40
>> why do ye … **cause that** widows **should** mourn before the Lord, and
>> also orphans **to** mourn before the Lord,
>> and also the blood of their fathers and their husbands **to** cry unto
>> theLord from the ground, for vengeance upon your heads?

> 1643, William Prynne, *The Popish Royal Favorite* [EEBO A56192]
>> He **caused** the image of the cross **to** be redressed,
>> and **that** men **should** not foul it under their feet.

>> The following nominal example has the same order of complementation as Mormon 8:40:

>>> 1651, Jeremiah Burroughs (died 1646), *An Exposition
>>> [on] the Prophecy of Hosea* [EEBO 30575]
>>>> for the act was so foul, that it could not but make
>>>> all the people (as Jacob thought) to abhor him,
>>>> and would be a **cause that** they **should** all rise against him,
>>>> and utterly **to** cut him off,

Fourth, the earliest text optionally leaves out *that* in finite complementation with the verb *cause*, but only in conjoined syntax, as in the following example (where [ø] indicates a missing *that):*

> 3 Nephi 3:14
>> he **caused that**$_i$ fortifications **should** be built round about them,
>> **and** [ø]$_i$ the strength thereof **should** be exceeding great

These constructions can be explained by possible analogous usage after many other verbs, but the *that*-ellipsis is constrained in Book of Mormon causatives — that is, restricted to this particular syntactic context. The *that*-ellipsis is similar to the syntax of the following Early Modern English examples, which have mixed complementation:

> 1566, William Adlington (translator),
>   Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* [EEBO A20800]
>
>> When the people was desirous to see me play qualities,
>> they **caused** the gates **to** be shut, **and** [ø] such
>> as entered in **should** pay money,

> 1629, Nathanael Brent (translator),
>   Paolo Sarpi's *The History of the Council of Trent* [EEBO A11516]
>
>> He **caused** a bull **to** be made, **and** in case he should
>> die before his return, [ø] the election **should** be
>> made in Rome by the College of Cardinals.

The following nominal example has more obvious *that*-ellipsis:

> 1678, Thomas Long, *Mr. Hales's Treatise of Schism
>   Examined and Censured* [EEBO A49123]
>
>> It was none of the old **cause**, **that**$_i$ the People **should** have liberty,
>> **and** [ø]$_i$ the Magistrate **should** have no power,

To finish this subsection on extended *cause* syntax, we consider the following rare language, which was removed after the 1830 edition (page 513, line 10):

> 3 Nephi 29:4
>
>> if ye shall spurn at his doings
>> he will **cause it that it shall** soon overtake you
>
>> The first *it* was removed for the 1837 edition, although not marked in the printer's manuscript for deletion by Joseph Smith. The reader may consult Skousen, *Analysis of Textual Variants of the Book of Mormon* for a good discussion, as well as Skousen, *Grammatical Variation*, 308, 1050.

The above excerpt is a poor candidate for biblical hypercorrection for the following three reasons (arranged according to currently perceived significance):

- the pronominal *it* redundancy isn't implemented in other similar, dependent complementation in the biblical text where an infinitival *to* could have replaced the *that it shall* part (generally, "that it [<auxiliary>]");[61]

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61. Specifically, the 3 Nephi 29:4 example could have been phrased as "he will cause it **to** soon overtake you." In infinitival complementation the adverb *soon*

- the verb *cause* never governs a dual-object complement in the biblical text (the above construction was rare in the early modern period, and is currently unattested in the late modern period, suggesting 18th-century obsolescence);

- the auxiliary *shall* is not used in the complement after the verb *cause* in the biblical text.[62]

Here are the four examples of the "cause it that it" phraseology of 3 Nephi 29:4 that I have found thus far:

1616, translation of *La maison rustique* [EEBO A00419]

To prevent the decay of beer,
and to **cause it that it may** continue and stand good a long time,

1626, Henry Burton, *A plea to an appeal
traversed dialogue wise* [EEBO A17306]

For how is it mere mercy, if any good in us foreseen,
first **caused it, that it should** offer a Savior to us?

The larger context does not clearly point to the comma indicating a purposive or resultative reading.

1634, Thomas Johnson (translator), Ambroise Paré *Works* [EEBO A08911]

which **causeth it that it cannot** be discussed and resolved
by reason of the weakness of the part and defect of heat

1697 [commonly misattributed to John Locke] *A common-place book
to the Holy Bible* [EEBO A48873]

When this Epistle is read among you,
cause it that it be read also in the Church of Laodicea,

Earlier and later editions don't have the ditransitive syntax.
This is a paraphrase of Colossians 4:16, which reads as follows:

And when this Epistle is read among**st** you,
cause [ø] that it be read also in the church of **the** Laodicea**ns**;

From all the causative structures I've been able to study and compare — in EEBO, Google Books, the scriptural texts, and elsewhere — neither the King James Bible nor the four pseudo-biblical writings appear to

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would split *to* from the infinitive. In Early Modern English an adverbial constituent increased the likelihood of finite complementation after the verb *command*. This phenomenon would have had general applicability to other high-frequency complementation verbs like *cause*.

62. However, the related auxiliary *should* is used twice after the verb *cause*, at John 11:37 and Revelation 13:15, and *shall* is used once after the closely related verb *make* at 2 Peter 1:8.

have been adequate models for the archaic implementation of *cause* syntax found in the earliest text of the Book of Mormon.

Complementation patterns following the verb *command*

In the case of the verb *command*, both the King James Bible and the four pseudo-biblical texts have appreciable levels of finite complementation, but nothing that approaches Book of Mormon levels:

Finite complementation rates
(finite clauses governed by the verb *command*)

- King James Bible   25.5%   (out of 167 instances)
- Book of Mormon   77.2%   (out of 165 instances)
- Pseudo-biblical texts   25.7%   (out of 35 instances total)

Instances of archaic, ditransitive syntax

- King James Bible   19
- Book of Mormon   99
- Pseudo-biblical texts   1   (Snowden)

The Book of Mormon is again markedly different from both the King James Bible and the four pseudo-biblical texts in terms of extended *command* syntax, in the two ways shown above and in other ways. The four pseudo-biblical writings analyzed for this study do not employ dual-object syntax except in one complex case involving mixed complementation.[63] Their finite complementation rates are similar to the King James Bible's.

We must go back almost 350 years to find a text that has close to the number of instances of dual-object *command* syntax that the Book of Mormon has. William Caxton's translation of *The Golden Legend* [1483, EEBO A14559] has about 65 instances of dual-object *command* syntax in fully active constructions; the Book of Mormon has about 75 instances

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63. Snowden's case of mixed complementation could be analyzed either way, but a ditransitive reading for "that they should make all speed" is likely if we take the following complex infinitival "to sail … and help" to be governed by the verb *command*: "he **commanded** his sea-captains, **to make** ready a navy of ships; and **take** large store of the destroying engines, and other implements for war; and **that they should make** all speed, **to sail** for the land of Columbia, and **help** the people of the Provinces, against their mighty adversaries, the men of Britain." (*The American Revolution*, 38:2).

of dual-object *command* syntax in fully active constructions. (These texts have many additional examples in passive structures.)

The biblical hypercorrection view takes the Book of Mormon's heavy finite usage — both simple and complex — to be an overexpansion of the King James Bible's finite syntax. Yet there are other considerations that a thorough analyst must take into account.

First, the Book of Mormon employs the auxiliary *shall* in the complement clause seven times. This is absent from the King James Bible and from pseudo-biblical writings and is either early modern usage or uncommon late modern literary usage.

Second, the tendency of Holinshed's *Chronicles* (1577) to not use a modal auxiliary verb after second-person embedded subjects is present in the Book of Mormon, as is an infinitival tendency when the verb *command* is in the passive voice.[64]

Third, the Book of Mormon is almost completely consistent in employing finite complementation in several specific contexts with complex embedded syntax: with embedded negation, reflexives, passives, and multiple verb phrases. In other words, "heavy" verbal complements are usually finite.

Fourth, *should* (not *shall)* is used after non-past passive *command* verbs (e.g. "we **are** commanded that we **should** … "), in line with Early Modern English tendencies (this conclusion is based on extensive searches of the EEBO Phase 1 database).

Fifth, there is an unlikely match with the nearby *shall/should* variation employed by the following prolific translator:

1608, Edward Grimeston (translator), Jean François le Petit's
 A general history of the Netherlands [EEBO A02239]

> The said magistrates therefore **command**
> that every man **shall** govern himself …,
> and that every one **should** behave himself peaceably,
> without upbraiding or crossing one another,

Textual analysis reveals that the presence of the reflexive pronouns in this example made the choice of finite complementation more likely for the translator Grimeston. For example, the King James Bible employs finite complementation at a significantly higher rate with embedded reflexives.

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64. These observations are based on an analysis of more than 600 instances of *command* syntax that take verbal complements in Holinshed's *Chronicles* (1577). The embedded second-person subject pattern is probably more significant than the passive pattern, which may be derivable by analogous usage in many other cases.

Alma 61:13

> But behold he doth not **command** us that we **shall**
> subject ourselves to our enemies, but that we **should**
> put our trust in him, and he will deliver us.

Alma 61:13 combines several Early Modern English possibilities: finite complementation with a reflexive verb, a dual-object construction, and a switch in modal auxiliary marking (from *shall* to *should)*. It seems unlikely that Joseph would have produced such a mix of archaic syntax.

In conclusion, had Joseph followed the usage of pseudo-biblical writings or the King James Bible to formulate the Book of Mormon's extended *command* syntax, either consciously or subconsciously, we would expect few instances of the archaic, ditransitive construction, not 99 of them. In addition, complementation would have been mostly infinitival, similar to what is found in the pseudo-biblical texts. All this reduces the likelihood that Joseph was responsible for formulating the wording of the text in this case.

Complementation patterns following the verb *desire*

For this subsection I have examined contexts in which the subject of the verb *desire* and the subject of its complement are **distinct**. This keeps the analysis in line with the syntactic structures involving the verbs *cause* and *command* (in the active voice).[65]

Finite complementation rates
(finite clauses governed by the verb *desire*)

- King James Bible   66.7%   (out of 18 instances)
- Book of Mormon   93.1%   (out of 58 instances)
- Pseudo-biblical texts   50.0%   (out of 2 instances total)

Instances of archaic, ditransitive syntax

- King James Bible   9
- Book of Mormon   16
- Pseudo-biblical texts   0

Finite complementation in the Book of Mormon in this domain exceeds what is found in the King James Bible, both in numbers and in rate: 58 instances versus 18 instances; 93 percent finite versus 67 percent

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65. There are no passive instances of the verb *desire* with verbal complements.

finite. But against what we see in extended *cause* and *command* syntax, an object occurs before a *that*-clause at a lower rate in the Book of Mormon than it does in the King James Bible: 30 percent of the time versus 75 percent of the time. In other words, ditransitive *desire* syntax is the most common type in the King James Bible but not in the Book of Mormon, which often employs a **simple** finite structure. Furthermore, while the biblical text strongly prefers the auxiliary *would*, the Book of Mormon prefers the auxiliary *should*, the least common of the three principal modal auxiliaries used after the verb *desire* in the earlier print record of English (shown by extensive searches of the EEBO Phase 1 database).

In the four pseudo-biblical texts examined for this study, there are only two instances of *desire* used with verbal complementation — one is finite, the other infinitival:

> 1809, Matthew Linning, *Book of Napoleon*, 18:9
> And the angel yet again **desired** me **to** turn
> mine eyes the way toward the north,

> 1793, Richard Snowden, *The American Revolution*, 33:14
> Now he had **desired that** the usual ceremonies
> of the dead **should** be omitted,[66]

The Book of Mormon employs a wider range of auxiliaries than the King James Bible does, including *may* and *might* as well as non-past *shall* (EEBO shows that *shall* auxiliary usage after the verb *desire* was uncommon in Early Modern English). In addition, the Book of Mormon also matches earlier English by employing several objects in *of*-constructions and two instances of *that*-ellipsis in contextually favored environments: in a conjoined clause and after a *wh*-phrase.

The wide array of archaic, finite syntax after the verb *desire* found in the Book of Mormon clearly could not have been derived from pseudo-biblical writings, since they only have two examples total. Rather, the Book of Mormon is the consummate example of archaic possibilities in this domain.

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66. This Snowden excerpt ends as follows: "and that he might be privately buried by his own servants." The Book of Mormon also has two examples of this same, co-referential *desire* syntax with "that <subject> might." In Snowden's text it occurs after a case of finite complementation with a *that*-clause and a distinct subject. Snowden could have employed infinitival *to* instead of "that he might," but he probably chose "that he might," perhaps subconsciously, in order to parallel prior finite "that <subject> should." In other words, Snowden probably chose to avoid mixed complementation in 33:14.

The closest match between the scriptural texts occurs in the case of infinitival complementation; in both texts the infinitival option is employed with verbs whose argument structure is simple (usually intransitive), but the Book of Mormon is stricter in this regard.

Complementation patterns following the verb *make*

Finite complementation rates
(finite clauses governed by the verb *make*)

- King James Bible   0.3%   (out of 291 instances)
- Book of Mormon   55.6%   (out of 9 instances)
- Pseudo-biblical texts   0.0%   (out of 11 instances total)

Instances of archaic, ditransitive syntax

- King James Bible   1
- Book of Mormon   4
- Pseudo-biblical texts   0

One apparent difference between the scriptural texts resides in the frequency of verbal complementation after the verb *make*. The Book of Mormon has far fewer examples of this syntax than the King James Bible. The rate of usage of this syntactic structure in the biblical text is about 10 times higher. The Book of Mormon prefers to express the notion with the verb *cause*.

The Book of Mormon is close to 56 percent finite in its verbal complementation after the verb *make*. In contrast, the King James Bible is nearly 100 percent infinitival, and pseudo-biblical writings are 100 percent infinitival. Specifically, Leacock employed seven infinitival instances, Snowden three,[67] Linning one, and Hunt zero.

Clearly, syntactic patterns involving the verb *make* and verbal complements in the Book of Mormon are distinct from both King James and pseudo-biblical patterns. The one biblical example of finite complementation was apparently too obscure for pseudo-biblical writers to notice or to prompt them to adopt language mirroring this characteristically archaic usage. This particular case stems from Tyndale's earlier phraseology:

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67. Snowden's three examples occur in an appended poem, *The Columbiad*, which has not been included in other analyses, and is not currently in the WordCruncher version. It can be found online at https://archive.org/stream/americanrevoluti00snow#page/n367.

2 Peter 1:8

> they **make you that ye shall** neither be barren nor unfruitful
> in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ.

1534, William Tyndale, *The New Testament* [EEBO A68940]

> they will **make you that ye** neither **shall** be idle nor unfruitful
> in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ.
>
> > they wyll make you that ye nether shalbe ydle nor vnfrutefull
> > in the knowledge of oure lorde Iesus Christ

If one wished to sound archaic, this would be an ideal structure to emulate. Yet the pseudo-biblical texts do not have anything that comes close to it. In contrast, the Book of Mormon employed this type of syntax several times (with different auxiliaries, both with and without a noun-phrase object after the verb *make)*. In this way, it once again surpassed pseudo-biblical writings in archaic usage. And in the case of the verb *make*, the Book of Mormon also exceeded the King James Bible in archaic usage, implementing the less common finite construction at 15 times the rate of the biblical text and employing three specific structures not found in the biblical text.

Embedded auxiliary usage in the Book of Mormon is varied after the verb *make* — *may*, *could*, *shall*, and no auxiliary — and the match in this regard with broader Early Modern English is solid. As one example, the simple finite syntax of 1 Nephi 17:12 ("will make that they food shall become sweet;" structurally "MAKE that <subject> shall <infinitive>") matches earlier English usage, including one translation of an Ezekiel passage by Tyndale.

Finally, there is a striking match between the curious language of Ether 12:24 and that found in a 1675 example with the verb *cause:*

Ether 12:24

> for thou madest **him**$_i$ that **the things which he**$_i$ **wrote** were mighty
> even as thou art, unto the overpowering of man to read them

1675, John Rowe, *The Saints' Temptations* [EEBO A57737]

> it was Christ's prayer for Peter,
> that caused **him**$_i$ that **his**$_i$ **faith** did not fail.

In both cases — ditransitive causative constructions — the first object of the causative verb *(him)* and the subject of the complement clause are distinct, but the embedded subject contains a pronoun *(he* or *his)* that refers to the preceding object (shown by the index *i).*

Complementation patterns following the verb *suffer*

Finite complementation rates
(finite clauses governed by the verb *suffer*)

- King James Bible 4.6% (out of 65 instances)
- Book of Mormon 62.6% (out of 99 instances)
- Pseudo-biblical texts 6.9% (out of 29 instances)

Instances of archaic, ditransitive syntax

- King James Bible 2
- Book of Mormon 15
- Pseudo-biblical texts 2 (Leacock and Snowden)

The Book of Mormon is the text that exhibits a comprehensive match with much of Early Modern English usage after the verb *suffer*. It easily surpasses the four pseudo-biblical texts in the use of a variety of syntactic structures found in earlier English with the archaic verb *suffer*. Though King James translators knew of this usage, they employed very little of it.

The Book of Mormon employs finite complementation after the verb *suffer* nearly 63 percent of the time. Dual-object constructions occur 15 times in the text after the verb *suffer*: five times with *should*, four times with *shall*, twice with *may*, and four times with no auxiliary. This is an exceptional level of archaic usage. In contrast, the four pseudo-biblical texts contain 29 instances total of the archaic verb *suffer* used with verbal complements; their combined **infinitival** rate is 93 percent. The King James Bible's infinitival rate is close to this at 95.4 percent. The Book of Mormon's infinitival rate of 37.4 percent is clearly very much lower than either of these.

Early Modern English employed infinitival complementation exclusively (or nearly so) with reflexive objects (e.g. "Christ suffered **himself to** be taken").[68] The Book of Mormon is sensitive to this tendency, employing infinitival complementation in such contexts 12 out of 14 times, strongly against its typical usage. This makes it difficult to argue that finite complementation in the Book of Mormon was employed in an

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68. It is, of course, possible that a finite reflexive example of extended *suffer* syntax is somewhere in EEBO or elsewhere.

unprincipled fashion, without regard for tendencies of earlier English. Instead we find that finite *suffer* syntax wasn't employed indiscriminately in the Book of Mormon text.

The best fit between the Book of Mormon and the textual record of English in this domain is the 16th century. My current conclusion is that neither the King James Bible nor pseudo-biblical writings could have served as adequate templates for the wide variety of syntactic forms found in the Book of Mormon after the archaic verb *suffer*.

A comparison of verbal complementation after five verbs

Now that we have considered the verbal complementation of five high-frequency verbs — *cause*, *command*, *desire*, *make*, and *suffer* — we can make a side-by-side comparison of the patterns found in the Book of Mormon, the King James Bible, and the four pseudo-biblical writings:

Table 3. Finite complementation rates
(object clauses governed by the verb).

Verb	King James Bible	Book of Mormon	Pseudo-biblical texts
desire	66.7	93.1	50.0
command	25.5	77.2	25.7
suffer	4.6	62.6	6.9
cause	1.0	57.6	0.0
make	0.3	55.6	0.0

The large differences in finite complementation rates are apparent. Simple statistical tests of standard deviation indicate that Book of Mormon verbal complementation after these five verbs is more consistent than that of the King James Bible and more consistent than that of the pseudo-biblical set of texts, taken as a whole. The five-term correlations are all strong, but the closest is between the King James Bible and the pseudo-biblical set at 0.998. What is more noteworthy, statistically speaking, is that the pseudo-biblical set does not approach the Book of Mormon's rate of finite complementation in every case but the verb *desire*, which isn't sufficiently represented in the four pseudo-biblical texts.

The Book of Mormon adopts higher finite complementation rates across the board, independent of biblical usage, and similar to the high *command* syntax rates found in at least two of William Caxton's

late 15th-century translations.[69] By employing high doses of finite complementation after verbs, the Book of Mormon contains language that is, from a syntactic standpoint, plainer and more versatile.

Such high finite rates are neither biblical, pseudo-biblical, or modern. Averages of the early modern period are also lower than Book of Mormon rates, though closer than the very low averages of the late modern period. Auxiliary usage of the earlier period is a very good match with Book of Mormon usage, as well as dual-object tendencies and other less noticeable features mentioned previously. This means that if Joseph Smith was the author or English-language translator of the Book of Mormon, then he must have deliberately produced all this divergent finite syntax that was a best fit with early modern usage, including ditransitive syntax:

Table 4. Archaic, ditransitive rates (instances per million words).

Verb	King James Bible (~ 790,000 words)	Book of Mormon (~ 250,000 words)	Pseudo-biblical texts (~125,000 words total)
command	24	396	8
desire	11	64	0
suffer	2	60	16
cause	0	48	0
make	1	16	0

Moreover, Joseph must have dramatically increased biblical levels of finite complementation while not doing so indiscriminately — that is, he must have occasionally departed from heavy finite usage in a principled manner. It seems quite unlikely that he would have been successful at such a task. No pseudo-biblical author came close to what is found in the Book of Mormon. There are a number of archaic features of complementation missing from the four pseudo-biblical writings in this domain. This argues against Joseph having been the author or English-language translator of the Book of Mormon.

If we approach this from the angle of the pseudo-biblical authors, we realize that they give us an indication of the archaism that Joseph Smith was likely to have produced in this domain, if his effort was a conscious attempt to imitate biblical archaism. He went beyond them in almost every

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69. *Recueil of the histories of Troy* [1473 or 1474, EEBO A05232] and *Legenda aurea sanctorum [The Golden Legend]* [1483, EEBO A14559].

way possible. We reasonably assume that he lacked native-speaker Early Modern English competence, as the pseudo-biblical authors did. They could only go as far as persistent use and biblical knowledge could take them, along with making a reasonable number of analogical connections. Joseph exceeded biblical archaism in a number of ways, matching broader Early Modern English usage as he did so. The pseudo-biblical set informs us that the verbal complementation he dictated was unlikely for him, on multiple levels: rates of finite complementation and ditransitive syntax, as well as modal auxiliary usage. On top of that, the Book of Mormon text contains archaic variational patterns that are not present or discoverable in the pseudo-biblical texts.

To finish this discussion of verbal complementation after these five high-frequency verbs, I present here a case of a passive *command* verb whose embedded verb is *suffer*, which itself takes an infinitival complement:

> 1523, John Bourchier (translator),
>   Froissart's *Chronicles* (Books 1 and 2) [EEBO A71318]
>
> > but they **were** straitly [strictly] **commanded**
> > **that** they should in no wise **suffer** him **to** pass out of the castle

The Book of Mormon example that matches this language is particularly interesting because of the ungraceful switch from a *that*-clause (after the verb *suffer)* to an infinitival complement:

> Mormon 6:6
>
> > And knowing it to be the last struggle of my people,
> > and having **been commanded** of the Lord
> > **that** I should not **suffer that** the records
> > which had been handed down by our fathers, which were sacred,
> > **to** fall into the hands of the Lamanites[70]

Yet there are occasional cases in the textual record of this same mid-stream complementation switch. Here is one with the same verb *suffer:*

> 1598, A.M. (translator),
>   Jacques Guillemeau's *The French Chirurgery* [EEBO A02364]
>
> > which was also an occasion of his resanation [cure],
> > because he **suffered that** the truncheon of the lance,
> > which stuck clean through his head,
> > **to** be with force and violence drawn thereout.

And here is another example of this same syntax, after the verb *command:*

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70. See Skousen, *Grammatical Variation*, 450.

1485, Thomas Malory, *Le Morte d'Arthur* (written about 1469) [EEBO 21703]

> And anon the king **commanded that** none of them upon pain of death **to** mis-say them [revile them] ne [nor] do them any harm
>
>> And anone the kynge commaunded that none of them vpon payne of dethe to myssaye them ne doo them ony harme

Various idiosyncrasies of earlier English, such as the above finite-to-infinitival complementation switch, are often found in the earliest text of the Book of Mormon. Many of these textual oddities are not clear candidates for being examples of the "bad grammar" that Joseph Smith might have employed.

Verbal complementation after the adjective *desirous*

Closely related to verbal complementation after the verb *desire* is complementation after the adjective *desirous*. This subsection briefly discusses the usage, since once again Book of Mormon syntax is utterly different from the corresponding biblical and pseudo-biblical syntax.

Finite complementation rates
(finite clauses governed by the adjective *desirous*)

- King James Bible   0.0%   (out of 3 instances)
- Book of Mormon   43.1%   (out of 58 instances)
- Pseudo-biblical texts   0.0%   (out of 3 instances)

The sheer number of instances of the adjective *desirous* taking verbal complements in the Book of Mormon differs from the usage found in the King James Bible and in the four pseudo-biblical writings considered here. An examination of the EEBO database suggests that this Book of Mormon syntax corresponds best with language from the middle of the early modern period.

Pseudo-biblical texts have very few examples of this language (Leacock's and Hunt's texts do not have any instances of the adjective *desirous)*. The few instances they do contain are either infinitival or participial (modern) in construction:

1793, Richard Snowden, *The American Revolution*, 9:4

> yet he was **desirous to** do something to please the king his master, and gain a little honor to himself;

1809, Matthew Linning, *Book of Napoleon*, 13:12, 36

> and that thou art **desirous to** foretaste the dreary night of death?

> If, O people of Albion, ye are truly **desirous of** preserv**ing**
> and enjoy**ing** the many and invaluable blessings which
> the goodness of Providence has vouchsafed to you,

Linning's second example employs *of* with two present participles rather than *to* with infinitives. According to the Google Books Ngram Viewer, *desirous of* became the favored form only after the middle of the 18th century. By the year 1800, *desirous of* was more than twice as common as *desirous to*. The Book of Mormon doesn't have *of* usage after the adjective *desirous*. In this way, syntactically speaking, it is not a modern text in its verbal complementation following the adjective *desirous*, dozens of times.

Excluding the Apocrypha, the adjective *desirous* takes verbal complements in the King James Bible only three times, despite having nearly three times as many words as the Book of Mormon. This means that the biblical usage rate of *desirous* in this regard is less than two percent the rate of the Book of Mormon. In each of the three biblical cases the complements are infinitival:

Luke 23:8	for he was **desirous to** see him of a long season,
John 16:19	Now Jesus knew that they were **desirous to** ask him,
2 Corinthians 11:32	In Damascus the governor under Aretas the king kept the city of the Damascenes with a garrison, **desirous to** apprehend me:

> *The governor* is the understood subject of the
> *desirous*-clause, and the verb *be* is elipted.

Based on little data, the finite complementation rate of the King James Bible following this adjective is zero percent. In contrast, the Book of Mormon's finite complementation rate is close to 43 percent (25 of 58 instances).

Because the King James Bible and two of the pseudo-biblical texts are strictly non-finite in their scarce usage of the adjective *desirous* with verbal complements, they have no examples of the following finite syntactic structures, which are fairly common in the Book of Mormon:

<subject>$_i$ <*be* verb> desirous
       that <subject>$_j$ **should** <infinitive>   (19 instances)

<subject>$_i$ <*be* verb> desirous
       that <subject>$_i$ **might** <infinitive>   (6 instances)

The Book of Mormon has six examples of the second type listed above — where the subjects are the same (shown by the index *i):* 1 Nephi 10:17, 1 Nephi 17:18, Mosiah 25:17 (two instances), Alma 14:2, Alma 23:16. Two of these are shown below. That the Book of Mormon has six of these is noteworthy, since this figure is close to the number that I have currently been able to isolate in approximately 25,000 EEBO Phase 1 texts. As a result, had Joseph Smith been responsible for the wording found in the six examples of this grammatical construction, it is very likely that the phraseology would have been infinitival or participial.

In the two examples that follow, I have recast the language into what I have determined to be the more likely wording for Joseph to have used if he had been responsible for rendering the words into English. In the following recasting of these excerpts, the same substantives are used along with the adjective *desirous:*

> 1 Nephi 17:18
>
> > And thus my brethren **did complain** against me
> > and were desirous **that they might not** labor,
> >
> > > Recast: And thus my brethren **complained** against me
> > > and were desirous **not to** labor.
>
> Alma 14:2
>
> > But **the more part** of them were desirous
> > **that they might** destroy Alma and Amulek;
> >
> > > Recast: But **most** of them were desirous **to** destroy Alma and Amulek.

This same reality is present throughout the text of the Book of Mormon, making it highly improbable that the wording flows from what Joseph's own biblically influenced language might have been.

Summary of Findings

Areas addressed in this study have included the following items of linguistic usage: agentive *of* and *by*, *lest* syntax, personal *that*, *which*, and *who(m)*, periphrastic *did*, obsolete *more-part* phraseology, pluperfect *had spake*, the {-th} plural, and patterns of verbal complementation governed by the verbs *cause*, *command*, *desire*, *make*, and *suffer* (also the adjective *desirous).* Here is a summary of the comparative grammatical findings:

- **Agentive** *of* **and** *by:* The Book of Mormon is broadly archaic in this regard, approaching King James levels; pseudo-biblical writings have little agentive *of* usage.

- *Lest* **syntax:** The overall Book of Mormon pattern is not biblical, pseudo-biblical, or modern; *shall* is used as a modal auxiliary more than a dozen times and there is rare, mixed *should/shall* use; the entire King James Bible has only one passage with *shall* (three instances) and no mixed *should/shall* use; pseudo-biblical writings do not have any examples with *shall*.

- **Relative-pronoun usage with personal antecedents:** The Book of Mormon's overall personal relative-pronoun usage pattern is not biblical, pseudo-biblical, or modern; this solid authorship marker argues strongly against Joseph Smith wording the earliest text.

- **Periphrastic** *did:* Joseph Smith was unlikely to have produced the ubiquitous past-tense syntax of the Book of Mormon; its high rate and syntactic distribution are 16th-century in character, not pseudo-biblical or biblical.

- *More-part* **phraseology:** Book of Mormon usage is similar to what we see in several writings of the first half of the early modern era; we don't find this obsolete phrase in pseudo-biblical writings; scant King James usage left no impression on them in this regard.

- *Had (been) spake:* This leveled past-participial form is absent from the King James Bible and pseudo-biblical writings; the Book of Mormon's use of "had been spake" and "of which hath been spoken" — rare and very uncommon usage of the 17th century, respectively — strongly suggest that the 12 instances of *had spake* in the earliest text are best classified as Early Modern English morphosyntax.

- **The {-th} plural:** The Book of Mormon provides a nearly complete view of the diverse possibilities of {-th} inflection in earlier English; neither the King James Bible nor pseudo-biblical writings do.

- **Verbal complementation:** One cannot generate the Book of Mormon's heavy finite complementation rates from biblical, pseudo-biblical, or modern syntactic patterns; only deep knowledge of Early Modern English possibilities generates its archaic auxiliary usage, heavy doses of ditransitive syntax, and principled variation.

The above comparative linguistic evidence indicates that the Book of Mormon was not fashioned in the image of pseudo-biblical writings, or in the image of the King James Bible, or in the image of Joseph Smith's own language. Nevertheless, Book of Mormon language contains a wealth of archaic forms and structures. This runs counter to the received view of many commentators who have imagined it to be a flawed imitation of biblical language. A variety of substantive linguistic evidence argues that Book of Mormon grammar is deeply and broadly archaic and very different, in one case after another, from both pseudo-biblical grammar and King James style. Many more types of syntax could be given, but the above is sufficient to dismiss the view that pseudo-biblical writings approach the Book of Mormon in archaic form and structure. Those who espouse such a view have ignored crucial syntactic and morphosyntactic evidence.

Biblical Hypercorrection

It is often possible to come up with creative links between Book of Mormon and King James usage. It would be no problem for me to do so in many instances. However, if biblical hypercorrection is properly constrained to cases of actual biblical usage, then it ultimately lacks explanatory value vis-à-vis Book of Mormon grammar, as it fails to explain many individual cases and plenty of systematic usage. In the following list, I mention a few of the issues beyond a lack of pseudo-biblical support (which is generally the case):

- **Agentive** *of* **and** *by:* This is a potential case of considerable biblical influence rather than hypercorrection. Joseph Smith outperformed the four pseudo-biblical authors in this domain.

- *Lest* **syntax:** The Book of Mormon's heavy *lest–shall* usage is a candidate for biblical hypercorrection, but there is mixed *should/shall* use to account for. If this is a hypercorrection, then Joseph was successful in noticing and expanding on rare biblical usage and matching rare Early Modern English variation.

- **Relative-pronoun usage with personal antecedents:** If one views the Book of Mormon's heavy personal *which* usage as a biblical hypercorrection, then one must (1) ignore the more likely hypercorrection of personal *that*, (2) accept Joseph being able to dictate about 1,000 times against subconscious preferences, (3) disregard correspondence with some less-

common Early Modern English usage, and (4) dismiss counterevidence from Joseph's 1832 History, which has archaizing elements in it.

- **Periphrastic** *did:* Bowen views this as a biblical hypercorrection. Things to be explained are the Book of Mormon's possibly unmatched rate of *did*-infinitive adjacency (in the 19th century) and the good correlation with individual verb tendencies of the early modern period, as discoverable in the EEBO database.

- *More-part* **phraseology:** The case for biblical hypercorrection must be weighed against Book of Mormon usage of "the more part**s** of his gospel," "the more part**s** of the Nephites," and "**a** more part of it." Joseph was successful in consistently modifying the phraseology against rare biblical usage as well as matching rare Early Modern English variants.

- *Had (been) spake:* There is no direct biblical support for this morphosyntax: the King James Bible doesn't employ leveled past participles (although the American pseudo-biblical authors do occasionally, with other verbs). As a result, it's a stretch to say that the use of past-tense *spake* as a past participle is a biblical hypercorrection.

- **The {-th} plural:** There is partial pseudo-biblical support but virtually no biblical support (a handful of potential cases that are less than clear). The case for biblical hypercorrection is weakened by, among other things, the Book of Mormon's high usage rate compared with that of the 18th-century pseudo-biblical texts and its non-biblical use of {-th} forms with plural pronouns, as occurred in earlier English.

- **Verbal complementation:** Biblical hypercorrection cannot explain several features of the Book of Mormon's extended *cause* syntax without recourse to analogy, and there is no biblical precedent for the ditransitive causative with a repeated *it*. In addition, there are quite a few grammatical features and patterns associated with the other four verbs that lack a direct biblical connection. Finally, the Book of Mormon's finite complementation rates with four of these verbs are drastically different from biblical and pseudo-biblical rates.

If one decides to view Book of Mormon grammar as a case of biblical hypercorrection, then one must have a liberal interpretation of hypercorrection in order to place so much extra-biblical Early Modern English usage under this umbrella. An analyst must be quite creative to argue that Joseph could have produced all the archaic grammar.

The pseudo-biblical texts indicate that each of the following Book of Mormon features was unlikely to have been produced by Joseph Smith: robust agentive *of*, *lest–shall* syntax, heavy personal *which*, high rates of *did*–infinitive adjacency, indefinite and plural *more-part* phraseology, "had been spake" and "of which hath been spoken," diverse {-th} plural usage, and syntactically rich verbal complementation. The multiplication of unlikely features is a textual scenario that was extremely unlikely for Joseph to produce. In every case listed above, and in many others not discussed here, he outperformed the pseudo-biblical authors in generating archaisms of earlier English, both biblical and non-biblical.

Alternative LDS Views

Some LDS commentators have assumed that a transmitted-words view of Book of Mormon translation involved a one-time translation of the text by a single English speaker who lived during the early modern period. This tends to make the position of revealed words or tight control appear untenable and naïve. If it was a one-time translation, then it could have been close in time to 1828 and 1829, but with multiple inputs that reflected varied English competence. It also could have been a series of translation events. We have no way of being sure of these things without further revelation. There are quite a few possibilities from our limited perspective, which might prevent us from coming close to a knowledge of how the translation of the Book of Mormon into English transpired.

As mentioned toward the outset of this study, a number of LDS scholars believe that Joseph Smith's mind was saturated with biblical language and that on that basis he could have produced the text of the Book of Mormon from a mixture of biblical language and his own dialect (see note 7). Opposed to this position is a growing body of descriptive linguistic evidence that there is a substantial amount of archaic vocabulary and syntax in the Book of Mormon that does not match King James idiom. The text is archaic and non-biblical in many structural ways. If we accept that Joseph's mind was saturated with biblical language, then the earliest text's overall form and structure argue that he did not produce it. Ultimately, the descriptive linguistic

facts overturn views of Book of Mormon language that depend on his mind being imbued with biblical ways of expression.

That being the case, Gardner 2011 and Barlow 2013 have effectively ended up arguing (unintentionally) **against** Joseph's being the English-language translator or author of the Book of Mormon text. Had he produced the text from his own biblically saturated language, the form and structure of the Book of Mormon would be quite different and much more pseudo-biblical in its structure. Theoretically speaking, the profile of the person required for crafting much of the English language of the Book of Mormon was a first-rate, independent philologist — someone extremely knowledgeable in the linguistics and literature of earlier English, but not beholden to following King James patterns.

Conclusion

This data-driven study has provided substantial linguistic evidence against the view that at least one pseudo-biblical writing — usually thought to be Gilbert J. Hunt's *The Late War* — had a noticeable influence on the composition of the Book of Mormon. Ultimately, I find this position to be indefensible because of a large amount of contradictory descriptive linguistic data of the kind that has high probative value. Relevant (morpho)syntactic analysis tells us that the form and structure of the Book of Mormon could not have been produced from a knowledge of pseudo-biblical writings, or for that matter from a knowledge of only late modern English and biblical English. As a result, even if Joseph had grown up reading and re-reading *The Late War*, it would not have given him the ability to produce Book of Mormon grammar. That required extensive knowledge of a wide range of extra-biblical earlier English, mostly 16th- and 17th-century in character, but also including usage from before and after the early modern period.

In a nutshell, the Book of Mormon text exhibits high levels of archaic (morpho)syntax; the pseudo-biblical texts exhibit much lower levels of archaic (morpho)syntax.

A sufficient and accurate knowledge of the form and structure of the earliest text of the Book of Mormon reveals that *The Late War* pales in comparison with the Book of Mormon in terms of archaic usage. In fact, the other three pseudo-biblical texts are more archaic than Hunt's text in many different linguistic domains. In view of these linguistic facts, had Joseph created literature like *The Late War*, or had this pseudo-biblical writing or another comparable text taught Joseph how to fashion older, biblical language (or influenced his dictation to scribes, etc.), the form of

the earliest text of the Book of Mormon would be very different. It would be both more biblical and more modern in character, as we find is the case with the four pseudo-biblical writings considered in this study.

Because the Book of Mormon has so much extra-biblical vocabulary and syntax, its usage cannot be classified as a biblical–dialectal mixture either. Furthermore, there is plenty of "bad grammar" not attributable to Joseph Smith. In addition, as shown in a recent paper, Joseph's 1832 History is different syntactically from the earliest text in three important ways.[71] Moreover, the suspect verb agreement and forms that have led LDS scholars to attribute the language to Joseph for so many years have turned out to be a good fit with some language of the early modern period. Newly available digital databases make this clear. Because we now have a critical text and searchable databases of earlier English, the Book of Mormon can be shown to be genuinely archaic. Although these facts may clash with favored ideologies, the view that the Book of Mormon is, in its form and structure, a "clumsy parody of the King James Bible" no longer holds up to scrutiny.[72]

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71. See Carmack, "Joseph Smith's Grammar," 240–46.

72. Walter A. McDougall, *Throes of Democracy: The American Civil War Era 1829–1877* (New York: Harper, 2008), 182.

Bad Grammar in the Book of Mormon Found in Early English Bibles

Stanford Carmack

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Bad Grammar in the Book of Mormon Found in Early English Bibles

Stanford Carmack

Abstract: *This study describes ten types of grammatical usage found in early modern Bibles with correlates in the original text of the Book of Mormon. In some cases Joseph Smith's own language could have produced the matching grammar, but in other cases his own linguistic preferences were unlikely to have produced the patterns or usage found in the original text. Comparative linguistic research indicates that this grammatical correspondence shouldn't be a surprise, since plenty of Book of Mormon syntax matches structures and patterns found in Early Modern English.*

It can be difficult to know what to call the Book of Mormon's grammatical usage that was considered substandard by prescriptive norms of the early 19th century. I've decided to refer to its questionable usage using the short phrase at the beginning of the title: BAD GRAMMAR. This comports with the understanding of many nonspecialists and most Book of Mormon scholars, as exemplified in these excerpts from a recent essay:

> The language of *The Book of Mormon* does not evince an appreciation for the aesthetic qualities of the King James Bible — the grammar and diction are quite awkward in comparison — yet the narratology is surprisingly sophisticated, ✳ ✳ ✳ the book's language was so obviously imperfect — it was difficult to find the miracle in poor grammar and monotonous phrasing. ✳ ✳ ✳ the work has more literary interest than is often assumed, despite its sometimes awkward grammar and diction.[1]

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1. Grant Hardy, "*The Book of Mormon* and the Bible," in *Americanist Approaches to* The Book of Mormon, edited by Elizabeth Fenton and Jared Hickman (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019), 110, 113, 125. These remarks are close to those made by B. H. Roberts in the early 1900s, who mentioned "errors in grammar and diction" and "awkwardness" — see Roberts, "The Translation of the Book of

This paper looks at ten different kinds of grammatical usage that occur in both the Book of Mormon and early English biblical texts. Most of the time the usage isn't found in the 1611 King James Bible. When it was part of the original King James text, it was edited out over the following decades, either completely or mostly. The ten topics addressed in this study cover usage often thought of as poor grammar — either from an early 19th-century perspective or from a biblical imitation perspective. The topics are these: "things that/which is," plural *was*, object *they*, plural *hath*, subject *you*, third person singular verb forms in {-s}, irregular past participles, double negation, subjunctive ~ indicative variation after *if*, and object *who*.

The purpose of this paper isn't to give the views of specialists on grammatical usage, nor is it to determine whether a particular Book of Mormon archaism is a close or perfect match with popularity rates and diachronic shifts during the early modern era. Rather, its primary purpose is to show that early biblical grammatical usage thought to be bad grammar by Joseph Smith's time is well represented in the Book of Mormon. Text-critical studies strongly suggest that the matching is present in the original text because it has so many linguistic features of the 16th and 17th centuries (along with features of other centuries, but far fewer of them). The original text's lexis and syntax indicate that implicit knowledge of a wide variety of earlier modes of expression informed the English-language translation of the Book of Mormon. Almost all the bad grammar is part of its mostly early modern syntax.

Extensive comparative study shows that the Book of Mormon contains archaic, nonbiblical usage to such a degree as to reasonably rule out Joseph Smith as its author. In the case of lexis, Royal Skousen laid out in 2018 about 80 potential cases of nonbiblical, obsolete lexical usage in the Book of Mormon (see NOL §§1, 3, 4, 7).[2] Even though many of these don't hold

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Mormon," *Improvement Era* 9, no. 6 (1906): 428; and Roberts, *Defense of the Faith and the Saints* 1 (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1907), 295.

Reading Hardy's remarks on Book of Mormon grammar, which noticeably lack important context, we might think we were still back in 1907, in the dark ages of Book of Mormon grammatical study — in an era without large digital corpora and without the benefit of any text-critical work. Readers in 2020 are entitled to a qualifying remark related to the complex topic of grammatical usage in the original Book of Mormon text, something as simple as "(although text-critical studies show that a lot of the bad grammar defies easy explanations)."

2. NOL stands for the critical text volume *The Nature of the Original Language* (see the appendix). For the reference to 80 potential cases of lexical archaism, see Royal Skousen, "The Language of the Original Text of the Book of Mormon," *BYU Studies* 57, no. 3 (2018): 92.

up as instances of standalone archaism, the cases that remain represent a level of nonbiblical archaism that far exceeds any known pseudobiblical baseline. In the case of syntax, the Book of Mormon contains various large-scale archaic patterns and many individual archaic structures that are nonbiblical and nonpseudobiblical.

The primary sources consulted include Early English Books Online (EEBO), early English Bibles (from EEBO), the earliest text of the Book of Mormon (edited by Skousen), parts 3.1 to 3.4 of the critical text, Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Google Books, 25 pseudobiblical texts, and Joseph Smith's early writings (see the appendix for further information on these sources).

The nine early English biblical texts examined for this study are the following:

> Tyndale's 1530 translation of the Pentateuch
> Tyndale's 1534 translation of the New Testament
>   (a revision of his 1526 translation)
> 1535 Coverdale Bible
> 1539 Great Bible (1540 edition)
> 1560 Geneva Bible (1561 edition)
> 1568 Bishops' Bible
> 1582 Rheims New Testament
> 1609–1610 Douay Old Testament (including the Apocrypha)[3]
> 1611 King James Bible

Though the language of these scriptural texts is old, it's useful to bear in mind that it came from literate translators, many of whom knew more than one of the classical source languages: Greek, Hebrew, Aramaic, and Latin.

Writing for the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, David Daniell had this to say of the man responsible for much of the language of these early Bibles:

> Tyndale's gift to the English language is unmeasurable. He translated into a register just above common speech, allied in its clarity to proverbs. It is a language which still speaks directly to the heart. His aims were always accuracy and clarity. King James's revisers adopted his style, and his words, for much of the Authorized Version. At a time when European scholars and professionals communicated in Latin, Tyndale insisted on being understood by ordinary people. He preferred a simple Saxon syntax of subject–verb–object. His vocabulary is predominantly Saxon, and often monosyllabic. An Oxford scholar, he was always rhetorically alert. He gave the Bible-reading nation an English plain style. It is a basis

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3. The Douay–Rheims Bible was a Catholic translation, based on the Latin Vulgate.

for the great Elizabethan writers, and there is truth in the remark 'without Tyndale, no Shakespeare'. It is not fanciful to see a chief agent of the energizing of the language in the sixteenth century in the constant reading of the Bible in English, of which Tyndale was the great maker.[4]

Before addressing the grammatical topics individually, I present here a summary of what is currently known about these in relation to pseudobiblical usage and early Joseph Smith usage (plural *hath* has been expanded to the more general case of the {-th} plural):

GRAMMATICAL TOPIC	PSEUDOBIBLICAL USAGE	JOSEPH'S EARLY WRITINGS
"Things that/which is"	none	none
Plural *was*	none	yes
Object *they*	none	limited
Plural {-th}	limited	limited
Subject *you*	yes	yes
3sg verb forms in {-s}	yes	yes
Irregular past participles	yes	none
Double negation	limited	none
Mood variation after *if*	limited	none
Object *who*	none	yes

These observations are subject to change, and details of the comparative studies may appear in later publications. None of them, however, are crucial for determining Book of Mormon authorship.

That said, the most relevant ones in relation to Joseph's potential authorship appear to be "things which is," object *they*, plural {-th}, and double negation. There is little evidence for this kind of usage in pseudobiblical texts or in his early writings or from the greater textual record that might lead one to conclude that he would have been responsible for producing so many varied examples of these in his 1829 dictation. In the case of object *they* and double negation, additional details strengthen this determination: *they which* predominates in object *they* contexts, and "<personal pronoun> which" was not Joseph's native relative pronoun usage; "nor no manner of X" occurs four times, which was very rare double negation by the 1820s. In addition, sometimes Joseph was unlikely to generate a subset of usage, as in the case of irregular past participles. In this domain, he certainly could have generated some of it,

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4. David Daniell. "Tyndale, William," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Article published May 19, 2011, https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-27947.

but he was unlikely to produce *arriven* five or six times and "had (been) spake" 13 times.

"Things that is" and "things which is"

During the early modern period, it wasn't rare for authors to employ the singular verb form *is* when the noun influencing the agreement was plural *things*. This peculiarity of present-tense verb agreement occurred almost all the time in contexts involving relative clauses. Consequently, it isn't surprising that this grammatical usage is found in early English Bibles. (In the case of the syntax "things <relative pronoun> is," the grammatical subject is the relative pronoun, but the agreement controller is the antecedent *things*.)[5]

For this study, 196 examples of "things that is" and "things which is" were noted in the EEBO Phase 1 database (25,368 texts; EEBO$_1$).[6] These 196 instances were found in 166 texts. Just under three-fourths of these 196 examples employ *that* as the relative pronoun (145 of them), reflecting the general preference of the early modern period for the relative pronoun *that* over *which* (yet some writers clearly preferred *which*). Tallying the number of texts with instances, we find that their

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5. The simpler syntax "things is," where *things* is the agreement controller, is rarely found in the textual record. For example, in looking at about 150 instances of the string "these things is" in the EEBO$_1$ database, I found only two cases where *things* was actually the grammatical subject. In both cases there was an immediately following singular complement: "these things is a mystery" (1665, EEBO A35520); "these things is sin and evil" (1676, EEBO A44786; in this example the closest conjunct is singular). Such a syntactic arrangement slightly encouraged, but did not compel, the use of *is*. We can see this reflected in the textual record, since there are close to 25 instances of "these things are <singular noun phrase>" in EEBO$_1$, such as "these things are a vexation" (1619, A11067) and "these things are a mystery" (1691, A41425). This 1691 example and the 1665 example constitute what linguists call a minimal pair; they plainly show the grammatical option to employ either *is* or *are* in this construction.

6. This number is subject to revision based on any errors or misinterpretations I might have made, including EEBO transcription errors that I didn't catch. For instance, an EEBO transcription error in one of John Donne's sermons currently gives an incorrect reading of "the things that is gone out of my lips," with plural *things*. This is a mistranscription of Donne's accurate quote of Psalm 89:34, which has singular *thing*. I didn't verify most of the 196 instances of "things <relative pronoun> is" by consulting page images. Nonetheless, I did exclude many potential instances that were not clear examples of the syntax, including the construction "one of the things <relative pronoun> is," since singular *one* could be the agreement controller, as in this instance: "this is one of the many things which is not likely to be bettered by legislative interference" (1797). Such expressions are not clear cases of the plural-singular syntax.

normalized frequency is nearly five times higher in the 16th century, suggesting that this syntax was more popular in the first half of the early modern period than in the second half.[7]

Here is one example showing immediate agreement variation (in the quotations below the spelling has almost always been adjusted, and less often the punctuation):

> 1661, Francis Howgill, *The glory of the true church* [EEBO A44790]
>
> all that come to the beginning again, to union with God, must die
> to all these THINGS which **is** got and entered into the hearts of men
> since the transgression, and while these THINGS **are** loved,
> they alienate the mind from the living God,   [page 146]

The difference in the syntax almost certainly led to the agreement difference: "all these THINGS *which* **is** got" versus "these THINGS **are** loved," the latter without any relative pronoun. (There is also a plural personal expression "all that come" at the beginning of this excerpt.)

The syntax "things <relative pronoun> is" wasn't found in any 17th-century Bibles, but three distinct examples were found in 16th-century Bibles:

> 1539, Great Bible (1540 edition) [A10405]
>
> The robberies of the ungodly shall be their own destruction,
> for they will not do the THINGS that **is**
> right.   [Proverbs 21:7; page image 483]
>
> > The 1568 Bishops' Bible has singular *thing* in this verse.

> 1560, Geneva Bible (1561 edition) [A10675]
>
> Let our strength be the law of unrighteousness:
> for the THINGS that **is** feeble is reproved as unprofitable.
> [Wisdom of Solomon 2:11; page image 801]
>
> > The 1568 Bishops' Bible has singular *thing* in this verse.

> 1568, Bishops' Bible [A10708]
>
> and if thou wilt take out the THINGS that **is** precious from the vial,
> thou shalt be even as mine own mouth: [1 Esdras 6:23; page cxi]
>
> > The 1539 Great Bible also has "things that is" in this verse.

The original Book of Mormon text has 18 instances of this syntactic construction (counting both contiguous and noncontiguous examples),

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7. Among the 196 instances, 67 sixteenth-century documents have examples and 99 seventeenth-century documents have examples. The WordCruncher EEBO$_1$ database I used has 3,037 sixteenth-century documents and 22,189 seventeenth-century documents (counting from 1501 to 1600 and 1601 to 1700). A simple calculation of 67 ÷ 99 × 22189 ÷ 3037 gives a figure of 4.94, representing how much greater the 16th-century popularity of "things <relative pronoun> is" might have been compared to 17th-century popularity.

which may be a record for a single book. All but one of these involve the relative pronoun *which*. There are also 42 instances of "things . . which are" (none of "things . . that are"). These numbers mean that the Book of Mormon employs *is* in this construction 30 percent of the time. Here is the one case of "things that is":

> Alma 30:44
>
>> Yea, and all things denote there is a God;
>> yea, even the earth and all THINGS that **is** upon the face of it,
>>
>>> This passage provides a close syntactic contrast of "all things denote" and "all things that is," similar to the 1661 Howgill example shown above.

Here are three more examples of this grammar from the 16th and 17th centuries:

> 1530, Hugh Latimer, quoted in Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* (1583) [A67927]
>
>> For the world loveth all that are of the world,
>> and hateth all THINGS that **is** contrary to it.
>>
>>> This excerpt has contrastive personal "all that are" and nonpersonal "all things that is."
>
> about 1540, Alexander Seton, quoted in Knox's *History of the Reformation in Scotland* (1644 edition) [A47584]
>
>> For all THINGS that **is** contrary to the verity (which is Christ and his law) is of necessity a lie.
>>
>>> This might be a 17th-century modification of Seton's original language, which reads variously in other editions: "all thing that is" and "all things which are."
>
> 1682, William Penn [1644–1718] *Some sober and weighty reasons against prosecuting Protestant dissenters for difference of opinion in matters of religion* [A54221]
>
>> for it is to do the same THINGS that **is** condemned in others:

Rarely do we encounter relatively heavy use of this syntax in a single text. The EEBO₁ text found to have the most examples was the encyclopedic work, *De proprietatibus rerum* ("On the properties of things": 1582, A05237; about 615,000 words). It has eight instances of "things that is" (none of "things which is"), along with 17 instances of "things <relative pronoun> are" and 82 instances of "things <relative pronoun> be." (In these searches, I excluded cases with intervening punctuation.) An example of this is "he apprehendeth all things that **is** without himself." If we count the *be* usage as plural, then this text's singular to plural ratio is far from that of the Book of Mormon: 8:99 versus 18:42. If we don't count the *be* usage, then the ratios are close. Also of note is that in the 17th century the Quaker Edward Burrough (1633–1663) employed at least eight examples of "things

<relative pronoun> is" in his writings (in several texts). An example of this is "to suffer all things that **is** put upon us" (1660, A30561).[8]

Plural *was*

A closely related construction is the so-called plural *was*, with or without a relative pronoun subject. Tense was a factor in influencing usage rates of singular forms of the verb *be* with plural noun phrases. For example, "things is" usage (without a relative pronoun) was rare in Early Modern English, but "things was" usage was much more common. Plural *was* usage was more frequent than plural *is* precisely because of tense.[9] This tendency persisted into the late modern period.

As an example of this, Tyndale employed plural *was* with *things* twice in his 1534 Nephi Testament translation (besides seven examples of "things were"), and the Bishops' Bible provides another instance from the Apocrypha (besides 21 examples of "things were"):

> 1534, William Tyndale (translator) [about 1494–1536]
> *The New Testament* [A68940]
>
>> and was also very God and that all THINGS **was** created and made by it   [prologue to the four evangelists; page image 22]
>>
>> And they told what THINGS **was** done in the way, and how they knew him in breaking of bread.   [Luke 24:35; page image 275]
>>
>>> Other translations have *were* in Luke 24:35, or language without a form of the verb *be*.
>
> 1568, Bishops' Bible [A10708]
>
>> and so at Ecbatana, a tower in the region of Media, there was found a place where these THINGS **was** laid up for memory. [1 Esdras 6:23; page image 1073]

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8. As mentioned, this characteristic verb agreement of the early modern period became less frequent toward the end of the period (the late 17th century). It would be a time-consuming task to thoroughly verify its demise in the Eighteenth Century Collections Online database, since it isn't amenable to precise syntactic searches. But if we limit our search to strings like "any things which is," "many things which is," and "some things which is," then we can obtain some manageable results. Excluding language with intervening punctuation and other false positives, in the first case we encounter one actual instance dated 1701; in the second case we encounter a single early Scottish example dated 1705; and in the third case we encounter a single early Scottish example dated 1706. These results suggest that "things which is," where *things* acted as the agreement controller, fell out of mainstream use in the early 1700s.

9. See, for example, the mention of local asymmetries in present-tense and past-tense verb agreement in Terttu Nevalainen, "Vernacular universals? The case of plural *was* in Early Modern English," in *Types of Variation: Diachronic, dialectal and typological interfaces*, edited by Terttu Nevalainen, Juhani Klemola, and Mikko Laitinen (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2006), 358.

> The Coverdale Bible and the Great Bible have "there was found such a writing"; the Geneva Bible has "a place where such things were laid up for memory"; the King James text reads "there was found a roll wherein these things were recorded."

The Book of Mormon also has one instance of "things was" (along with 15 examples of "things were"):

> Mosiah 28:14
> Now these THINGS **was** prepared from the beginning

The Coverdale Bible has the following instance of plural *was*, which is probably due to the Greek text having a clause-initial singular verb:

> 1535, Coverdale Bible [A10349]
> Jesus also and his disciples **was** called unto the marriage.
> [John 2:2; page xli]
>> Tyndale 1534 has "And Jesus was called also and his disciples unto the marriage." The Greek verb is ἐκλήθη = 'was called,' the aorist passive indicative of *kaleō*.

These are not the only cases of plural *was* immediately following noun phrases in the early Bibles. For instance, the Bishops' Bible has "the waters **was** risen" at Ezekiel 47:5 (cf. KJB "the waters **were** risen"; ESV "the water **had** risen") and "the heavens **was** open" at Matthew 3:16 (cf. KJB "the heavens **were** opened").

The Great Bible and the Geneva Bible also have examples of plural *was* that occur right after the relative pronoun *that*:[10]

> 1539, Great Bible (1540 edition) [A10405]
> because they had understand the WORDS that **was** declared unto them.
> [2 Esdras 8:12 (Nehemiah 8:12 in later Bibles); page cxcvij]
>> The Bishops' Bible has "because they had understand the words that were declared unto them." The Geneva Bible has "the words that they had taught them."

---

10. I was surprised to find no examples of "things <relative pronoun> was" in the 16th-century Bibles (these texts have 171 examples of "things <relative pronoun> were," without intervening punctuation). From what is known of early modern tendencies, it seemed reasonable to hypothesize that the 16th-century Bibles would have more examples of "things <relative pronoun> was" than of "things was." Indeed, EEBO$_1$ has more than 100 examples of "things <relative pronoun> was." As in the case of "things <relative pronoun> is," the 16th-century occurrence rate of this past-tense verb agreement was markedly higher than the 17th-century rate. The original Book of Mormon text has three examples of "things which was," along with 12 instances of "things which were" (none with the relative pronoun *that*).

1560, Geneva Bible (1561 edition) [A10675]

> Then the city was broken up, and all the men of war fled by
> night, by the way of the gate, which is between two WALLS
> that **was** by the king's garden: [2 Kings 25:4; page 153]

>> The syntax and punctuation make *gate* the agreement controller of *is*, and
>> *walls* the agreement controller of *was*. In the King James Bible, the syntax
>> and punctuation make *gate* the only agreement controller: "by the way of
>> the GATE, between two walls, which **is** by the king's garden."

The Book of Mormon has many instances of this kind of language; there are no fewer than 53 cases of plural *was* after the relative pronoun *which* (there are also three cases of plural "that was"). Seven times the agreement controller is *words*, as in the Great Bible's "the words that was declared." Here is one example of this:

> Helaman 8:13
>> and also the WORDS which **was** spoken by this man Moses,

Object *they*

Besides employing an apparent instance of plural *was* (John 2:2, shown above), the translator and clergyman Miles Coverdale (1488–1569) also employed *they* in object position after the preposition *for*. Here is how he expressed this phraseology in his translation of Acts:

1535, Coverdale Bible [A10349]

> As **for** all **they** *of* Athens and strangers and guests,
> they gave themselves to nothing else, but either to tell
> or to hear some news.   [Acts 17:21; page lx]

>> This object *they* syntax is not found in Tyndale 1534, and the King James
>> Bible has a parenthetical here with different phraseology: "(For all the
>> Athenians and strangers which were there, spent their time in nothing else,
>> but either to tell or to hear some new thing.)"

The usual way to express such language was "as for (all) **those** of" followed by "as for (all) **them** of." In this case, *those* is favored over *them* a little more than three to one in EEBO₁.

A similar example is the following:

before 1553, Nicholas Udall [1505–1556] *What creature is in health,
either young or old* [*Ralph Roister Doister*] (1566) [A14193]

> And as **for** all **they** *that* would do you wrong,

The structural difference is that this example has a following relative clause, while the Coverdale example has a following prepositional phrase. (The relative pronoun and the preposition are in italics above.)

These were the syntactic structures — both involving post-modification — that made the use of object *they* more likely for these authors.[11]

The Book of Mormon has three examples of object *they* after the preposition *for*, each with a following relative clause. Thus these are structurally the same as the Udall case. Here is one such instance:

> 3 Nephi 19:23
>
> And now Father, I pray unto thee for them,
> and also **for** all **they** *which* shall believe on their words,
>
> > The other two instances read "for they which are at Jerusalem"
> > (1 Nephi 19:13, 20).

The Book of Mormon has a total of 36 instances of object *they* usage, which might be a record-setting amount for a single text. Twenty-three of these involve the two-word phrase *they which*, usage which was far down on a list of Joseph Smith's native syntactic preference.

Plural *hath*

William Tyndale's translation contains a conjoined case of plural *hath*:

> 1534, William Tyndale (translator), The New Testament [A68940]
>
> When his branches **are** yet tender and **hath** brought forth leaves
> [Mark 13:28]
>
> > The plural noun phrase his branches is the most likely subject of *hath*, while clearly it is the subject of *are*. If the grammatical subject of *hath* were the fig tree, then we would expect an *it* after the conjunction — that is, *"and it hath brought forth leaves." The King James Bible reads consistently in the singular: "When her branch is yet tender, and putteth forth leaves."

Instead of employing *have* after the conjunction *and*, Tyndale used a less-common option of the early modern period. A conjoined predicate made the use of the {-th} plural more likely during that time. That is what we see in this next Book of Mormon example:

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11. In general, a preposition governing an object *they* in EEBO$_1$ is uncommon. Hundreds of instances of "for (all) they" with post-modification occur in EEBO$_1$, but in almost all of these *for* is a conjunction, not a preposition. Many potential cases have not been individually examined. Though the number of instances of object *they* that occur after *for* is unknown, it seems to have decreased in popularity through the early modern period. At this point, at least seven have been noted — the two mentioned in the body of this paper, two very early ones, and these three: "as *for they of* Lincolnshire" (1572, A03482); "And *for all they that* assist a man in murthering his wife" (1574, A02895); "the time is near *for all they that* trust in him" (1661, A28238). Five of the seven are from the 16th century. Besides examples involving the preposition *for*, a few additional examples have been noted with other prepositions.

Alma 26:36

> Yea, blessed is the name of my God,
> who hath been mindful of this PEOPLE,
> *which* **are** a branch of the tree of Israel
> and **hath** been lost from its body in a strange land.

>> The grammatical subject is *which* (in italics above) and the agreement controller is *people* (in small caps above). Even though the relative pronoun *which* doesn't tell us by its form whether it is plural or singular, we know it's plural because of the immediately following verb *are*. The subject of *hath* is understood to be the same plural *which*.

By way of comparison, here is what we read in Tyndale's Mark 13:28 translation and Joseph Smith's 1829 dictation of the Book of Mormon:

- branches **are** . . . and **hath** . . .
- people which **are** . . . and **hath** . . .

The earliest text of the Book of Mormon has at least 180 verb forms that take {-th} inflection when the grammatical subjects are not third person singular. Among these are close to 70 instances of plural *hath*, in various syntactic contexts.

These next examples of plural *hath* are not conjoined cases. In these, *hath* immediately follows the plural noun phrase. The first is from a margin note in Revelation 15 and the second is from a biblical preface:

1560, Geneva Bible (1561 edition) [A10675]

> For in all kings' courts, the POPES **hath** had his ambassadors
> to hinder the kingdom of Christ.   [Revelation 15:14, note o; page 109]

>> The *his* of "his ambassadors" appears to refer to the devil.

1568, Bishops' Bible [A10708]

> It is not unknown, but that many THINGS **hath** been more diligently
> discussed, and more clearly understood by the wits of these
> latter days, as well concerning the Gospels as other scriptures,
> than in old time THEY **were**.   [preface; page image 44]

>> Here we read "things hath," but also "they were," referring back to *things*.

Other verbs with plural agreement controllers carry {-th} inflection in early Bibles, as in the following examples with the plural relative pronoun *that:*

1539, Great Bible (1540 edition) [A10405]

> O how beautiful are the FEET of the AMBASSADORS that **bringeth**
> the message from the mountain and **proclaimeth** peace:
> [Isaiah 52:7; page image 523]

> Then I looked, and behold, in process of time the FEATHERS that
> **followeth** were set up upon the right side, that they might rule also:
> [4 Esdras 11:20; *in later Bibles*, 2 Esdras 11:20; page lvij]

1560, Geneva Bible (1561 edition) [A10675]

And every beast that parteth the hoof, and cleaveth the cleft into two claws, and is of the BEASTS that **cheweth** the cud, that shall ye eat. [Deuteronomy 14:16; page 85]

Under him was the foundation of the double height laid, and the high WALLS that **compasseth** the temple. [Ecclesiasticus 50:2; page 403]

1568, Bishops' Bible [A10708]

All the GRIEFS that **lieth** hid in your hearts. [Psalm 62:8, note a; page image 693]

even so shall the MULTITUDE of all NATIONS that **fighteth** against mount Sion. [Isaiah 29:8; page lxxxiij]

> The Geneva Bible and the King James Bible have the base form of the verb in Isaiah 29:8, *fight*. Even if the agreement controller is *multitude* instead of *nations*, *fighteth* might still be plural, since *multitude* was sometimes construed as plural, as in Matthew 9:25 in the Geneva Bible and 1 Samuel 14:16 in the Bishops' Bible.

Or shall the cold flowing WATERS that **cometh** from another place be forsaken? [Jeremiah 18:14; page image 875]

> The King James Bible has the base form of the verb here, *come*.

Subject *you*

Subject *you* is included as an example of bad grammar, since almost all the usage was edited out of the King James Bible and many think that instances of subject *you* in the Book of Mormon are errors, cases of Joseph failing to measure up to a biblical standard.

In the textual record, *you* overtook *ye* in subject position during the decade of the 1560s. The earlier pronominal variation mostly proceeded in the absence of judgments about correctness; it happened before attempts to codify English usage became prevalent.

Chart 1 gives an idea of the change in usage over time. It was generated from hundreds of thousands of instances of subject *you* and subject *ye* taken from the EEBO$_1$ database. The search strings "if you," "then you," "that you"; "if ye," "then ye," "that ye" were used as a simple way to reliably isolate nominative forms.[12]

Shakespeare, writing at the turn of the century, employed *ye* only one percent of the time in these same contexts (11 out of 1,055 instances in the Riverside Edition available in WordCruncher). The low-level

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12. Several spelling variants were included in searches: *if* ~ *yf, then* ~ *thenne, that* ~ *yt*; and *you* ~ *youe, ye* ~ *yee*.

maintenance of subject *ye* seen at the right of Chart 1 can be ascribed in large part to biblical quoting and influence.

Charles Barber wrote that "the first examples of nominative *you* go back to the fourteenth century, but in the standard literary language its encroachment was not rapid until the 1540s."[13] Chart 1 shows that the last part of this statement is quite accurate.

The variation that was an integral part of the process of replacing subject *ye* with subject *you* in English is why we can find instances of these forms used very close together in 16th-century Bibles. Here are three examples of this:

> 1560, Geneva Bible (1561 edition) [A10675]
>
>> And I will bring a morsel of bread, that **you** may comfort your hearts, afterward **ye** shall go your ways: [Genesis 18:5; page image 21]
>
> 1568, Bishops' Bible [A10708]
>
>> on this manner, see that **you** speak unto Esau when **ye** meet him. [Genesis 32:18; page xxij]
>
> 1582, Rheims New Testament [A16049]
>
>> And do **ye** all things without murmurings and staggerings: that **you** may be without blame, [Philippians 2:14; page 528]

The Book of Mormon has at least 15 instances of subject *you*, and most of the time these occur near instances of subject *ye*, as in these two cases:

> Mosiah 5:15
>
>> that Christ the Lord God Omnipotent may seal *you* his, that **you** may be brought to heaven, that **ye** may have everlasting salvation and eternal life
>
>> > The first *you* (in italics) is an object and the second *you* (in bold) is a subject.
>
> Alma 7:6
>
>> Yea, I trust that **ye** have not set your hearts upon riches and the vain things of the world. Yea, I trust that **you** do not worship idols, but that **ye** do worship the true and the living God and that **ye** look forward for the remission of your sins
>
>> > Here we see a nearby minimal pair: "I trust that ye/you." The EEBO$_1$ database has 34 instances of "trust that ye" and 54 instances of "trust that you" (using several spelling variants).

The late 16th-century Bibles have the majority of the scriptural examples of nearby subject *you* ~ subject *ye* variation. But the earlier Bibles do have

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13. Charles Barber, *Early Modern English*, 2nd edition (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), 149.
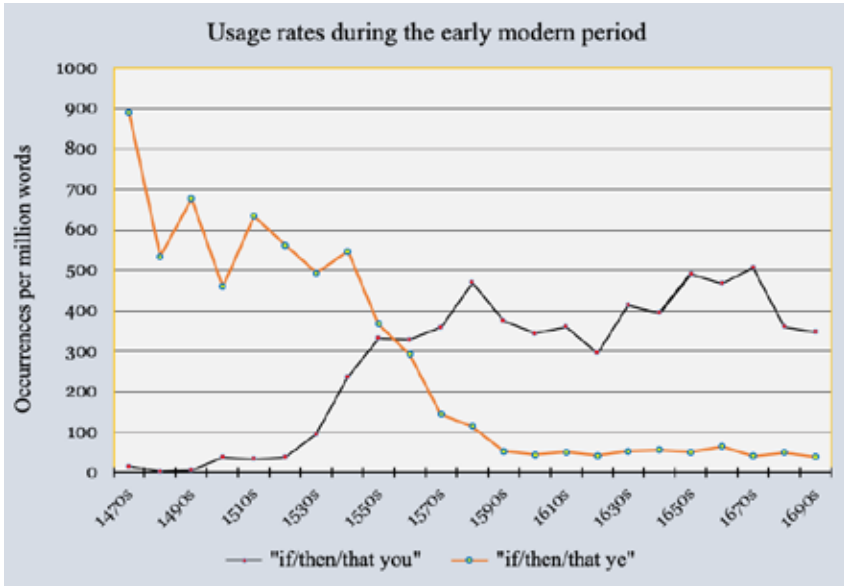
Chart 1. Comparison of nominative *you* and *ye*.

instances of subject *you*. Here are two examples of subject *you* from two biblical texts of the 1530s, the first with nearby object *you* and subject *you:*

1534, William Tyndale (translator), The New Testament [A68940]

that is to say, whosoever receiveth *you*, there abide
as long as **you** are in the city or town,   [addendum; page image 860]

> The first *you* is an object (in italics) and the second *you* is a subject (in bold). This excerpt is found in an addendum at the end of the book.

1539, Great Bible (1540 edition) [A10405]

how happeneth it then, that **you** come unto me now in
time of your tribulation?   [Judges 11:7; page ciij]

> The Geneva Bible also has *you*, but the King James Bible has *ye*. (The EEBO₁ copy of the Bishops' Bible is missing a page for this passage.)

It cannot be that **you** and we together should build the house unto
our God: [1 Esdras 4:3; *in later Bibles*, Ezra 4:3; page image 385]

> The Geneva Bible has different syntax here, but the Bishops' Bible has subject *you*, and the King James Bible has subject *you* with quite different wording.

The King James Bible originally had hundreds of examples of subject *you* (about 300, according to one source).[14] Consequently, there are quite

---

14. "I find in the whole Bible about 3830 nominative *ye's* and 300 nominative *you's*, or over 7 per cent. of *you's*. The ratio of *you's* to *ye's* is in the Old Testament

a few examples of nearby variation between subject *you* and subject *ye* in the 1611 text, such as the following:

> 1611, King James Bible
>
>> Why are **ye** so fearful? How is it that **you** have no faith?   [Mark 4:40]

Third person singular verb forms in {-s}

The use of third person singular {-s} forms is included as an example of bad grammar, since this variation has been edited out of the King James Bible and people tend to think that the scriptural {-s} forms of the Book of Mormon are errors, cases of Joseph failing to measure up to a biblical standard.

Third person singular (3sg) verb forms ending in {-s} (the northern form, historically) eventually took over from 3sg {-th} forms (the southern form, historically).[15] Nearby variation in the written record began to be prevalent in the late 16th century. The 1568 Bishops' Bible has an example with the verb *make* (shown immediately below), and even the King James Bible originally had a few examples, such as the one below with the verb *take:*

> 1568, Bishops' Bible [A10708]
>
>> What imagine ye against the Lord? he **makes** an utter destruction: ye shall not be troubled twice.   [Nahum 1:9; page image 1037]
>>
>>> Two verses earlier, the 3sg verb form *knoweth* is used, so there is nearby variation. The King James Bible has a future tense here: "he will make an utter end."

> 1611, King James Bible
>
>> every man that **takes** it up, will shake his hand.   [Ecclesiasticus 22:2]
>>
>>> Instead of 3sg *takes*, the Bishops' Bible employs 3sg *toucheth*.

Here is an example of nearby {-s} ~ {-th} variation, which was eventually edited to be {-th} consistently:

> 1611, King James Bible
>
>> He **sticks** not to spend his life with his wife,
>> and **remembereth** neither father nor mother nor country.
>> [1 Esdras 4:21]

The Book of Mormon has more than a dozen examples of nearby 3sg inflectional variation with main verbs, as in these two examples:

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about 6 per cent., Apocrypha 35 per cent., and New Testament 5 per cent." John S. Kenyon, "Ye and You in the King James Version," *PMLA* 29, no. 3 (1914): 454, http://www.jstor.org/stable/456929.

15. See Barber, *Early Modern English*, 166.

1 Nephi preface

> The Lord **warns** Lehi to depart out of the land of Jerusalem
> because he **prophesieth** unto the people concerning their iniquity
>
> Nephi **taketh** his brethren and **returns** to the land of Jerusalem
> after the record of the Jews.

This same nearby variation is attested in the 17th-century textual record. EEBO₁ has one instance of *warns* and *prophesieth* occurring in the same paragraph (1677, A42781), and there are 11 distinct cases of the verbs *taketh* and *returns* occurring within 20 words of each other (dating between 1579 and 1700), as in these two examples:

> 1652, Alexander Ross [1591–1654] *The history of the world* [A57652]
>
> he **taketh** divers towns and **returns** to Spain;   [page image 762]
>
> 1679, Robert Barclay [1648–1690] *Apology for the true Christian divinity* [A30896]
>
> To all this he **returns** no answer, which **taketh** up
> six pages in my apology,   [page 17]

A corpus linguist might be interested in quantifying this inflectional variation during the early modern period. For the purposes of this study, I am merely interested in showing that sometimes we find specific matching between early modern variation and Book of Mormon usage, many times with very little or no pseudobiblical support.

Irregular past participles

Three-form verbs such as *drive ~ drove ~ driven* or *sink ~ sank ~ sunk* are much less common than two-form verbs in English, and so the force of analogy toward the more common, simpler two-form type drives the leveling of past participles toward past-tense verb forms. Tyndale provides an example of the leveled past participle *smote* (instead of King James–style *smitten*). The syntax is a match with a Book of Mormon example (shown further below):

> 1530, William Tyndale (translator), [The Pentateuch] [A13203]
>
> And it continued a week *after that* the Lord **had smote** the river
> [Exodus 7:25; page xii]
>
>> This 1530 translation has another case of "had smote" and one of "had smoten" (there are 15 instances of *smoten* in EEBO₁). The 1611 King James text reads "And seven days were fulfilled, after that the Lord had smitten the river." The Coverdale Bible, Great Bible, Geneva Bible, and Bishops' Bible each have 10 or 11 examples of invariant "had smitten."

Even though the use of *smote* as a past participle instead of *smitten* in this past perfect context was the exception during the early modern period, it wasn't rare. In EEBO₁ it occurs about nine percent of the time

(29 out of 328 possible cases), despite strong biblical influence favoring "had smitten." Though it was on balance always the less-common usage, past participle leveling became particularly prevalent in the textual record in the 1600s, with a wide variety of verbs.

The earliest text of the Book of Mormon has dozens of instances of past participle leveling, with many different verbs (see GV 599–627). Here is the one that is just like the above example:

> 1 Nephi 4:19
>
>> And *after that* I **had smote** off his head with his own sword,
>>
>>> The syntactic match with Tyndale's rendering of Exodus 7:25 includes archaic "after that" (in italics) as well as "had smote."

The Book of Mormon clearly favors the past-participial verb form *smitten* over *smote*, 42 to 6, but it has three instances of "had smote" and none of "had smitten."

Tyndale provides an example of another kind of past participle leveling, involving the verb *eat:*

> 1530, William Tyndale (translator), [The Pentateuch] [A13203]
>
>> And when they **had eat** up that corn which they brought out
>> of the land of Egypt   [Genesis 43:2; page image 145]

The past participle of *eat* has adopted a few different forms through the centuries. In the above example, the pronunciation of the past participle was probably /ɛt/, with a short *e*, to judge from the Oxford English Dictionary entry. Here is another instance of this leveled past participle from Tyndale's writings, along with a Book of Mormon example:

> 1536, William Tyndale, *An exposition upon . . Matthew* [A14133]
>
>> and the rest they and their households did eat before God,
>> as though they **had eat** and drunk with God,

> Alma 8:23
>
>> after he **had eat** and was filled, he saith unto Amulek:

The original Book of Mormon text has four instances of "had . . . eat" (all edited out) and two of "had . . . eaten."

For a long time, past participle leveling was relatively favored after *had*, in the pluperfect, which is the tense of the above examples. This tendency even persists to this day with some verbs, such as *speak*. For example, "had spoke" is still more commonly used than "have/has spoke."[16] Here is an example of "had spoke" from a Douay–Rheims annotation:

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16. More than 80 percent of "he/they has/have/had spoke" leveling currently occurs in the pluperfect, according to this Google Ngram Viewer chart: https://books.google.com/ngrams/graph?content=(he+had+spoke%2Bthey+had+spoke)%

1609, Douay Old Testament [A11777]

> and therefore *spoke*, as if God himself **had spoke** in divine person, [Exodus 3:1, annotation; page 162]

>> Past-tense *spoke* (in italics) occurs just before the past participle *spoke* (in bold).

The Book of Mormon has 12 examples of the leveled form "had spake," as in the following case:

3 Nephi 28:4

> And when he **had spake** unto them,

The poet John Donne provides a similar example of "had spake" (also in a subordinate clause headed by *when*) in a sermon that he gave as a Church of England clergyman:

1619, John Donne [1572–1631] *Fifty sermons* (1649) [A36296]

> when he **had spake** of light, and a firmament, and earth, and sea, [page 93]

>> Sermon No. 11, preached at Lincoln's Inn, most likely before 18 April 1619.

Past participle leveling was less common in passive contexts (and it still is), but it did occur, and so we can find examples of passive "been smote" and "been spake" in the textual record, with matches found in the Book of Mormon:

1683, John Bulteel (translator) [fl. 1683] | François Eudes de Mézeray [1610–1683] *A general chronological history of France* [A70580]

> They say he immediately fell into a fit of madness,
> as if he had **been smote** from heaven,   [page 60]

Alma 17:39

> bearing the arms which had **been smote** off by the sword of Ammon

■ ■ ■

1646, John Bastwick [1593–1654] *The utter routing of the whole army of all the independents and sectaries* [A26759]

> This had not **been spake** of at all *(saith the Author)* if some
> idle men to gull the world had not given the honor of the day
> to those who had but little or no share in it.   [page 634]

Alma 6:8

> according to the revelation of the truth of the word
> which had **been spake** by his fathers

2F(he+has+spoke%2Bthey+have+spoke%2Bhe+had+spoke%2Bthey+had+spoke)&year_start=1950&year_end=2008&corpus=15&smoothing=3.

This latter match is rare; currently only three instances of "been spake" are known outside of the Book of Mormon: the above 17th-century example and two others from the same century.

■ · ■ · ■

Another kind of past participle leveling is when a past participle immediately follows a conjunction. The distance from the auxiliary verb *have* increases the likelihood of leveling. Here is a possible example of this:

> 1610, Douay Old Testament [A11777]
>> All these things I **have** considered and **gave** my heart on all the works that are done under the sun.   [Ecclesiastes 8:9; page 327]

The interpretation that *gave* in this verse might actually be a past participle — that is, "have . . . gave" — finds support in an earlier Bible, which has "have given" in this verse:

> 1560, Geneva Bible (1561 edition) [A10675]
>> All this have I seen and **have given** mine heart to every work which is wrought under the sun,   [Ecclesiastes 8:9; page 249]

The original Book of Mormon text has an example of this kind of leveling with the same verb:

> 1 Nephi 5:8
>> the Lord **hath** protected my sons and delivered them out of the hands of Laban and **gave** them power

Here is one of three similar examples I've been able to verify in EEBO₁:

> 1560, John Daus (translator), Sleidane's *Commentaries* [A09567]
>> He **hath** chosen Octavius to his son in law, and **gave** to his father Aloise the city of Novaria forever,   [page image 749]
>>> Two other examples of this syntax are found in A57385 (1657) and A51846 (1684).

Double negation

Double negation wasn't uncommon in Early Modern English, and so it's possible to find it in early English Bibles. Here are two examples of one type of double negation that is also found in the Book of Mormon:

> 1560, Geneva Bible (1561 edition) [A10675]
>> When the jaws shall scarce open and **not** be able to chew **no** more.
>> [Ecclesiastes 12:4, note g; page 250]
>>
>> therefore he feared him, and would **not** see his face **no** more.
>> [1 Maccabees 7:30; page 415]

Other Bibles, including the King James text, have single negation in 1 Maccabees 7:30: "would [ø] see his face no more."

> Alma 23:7
>> they did lay down the weapons of their rebellion,
>> that they did **not** fight against God **no** more,

Another kind of double negation which was quite common during the early modern period is "nor no," occurring with various noun phrases.[17] For instance, the original reading of 4 Nephi 1:17 was "nor no murderers." Similar examples of this double negation with agentive noun phrases can be found in the textual record, such as "nor no preachers" (1648, A64135) and "nor no troublers of Israel" (1656, A27047).

While the 1611 King James Bible doesn't have any examples of "nor no," the EEBO₁ database has nearly 4,500 instances in just over 2,300 texts. In the 16th century, "nor no" (as opposed to "nor any") occurred about 20 percent of the time. In the 17th century, the usage rate of "nor no" dropped to 12.5 percent, and in the last decade of the century it was approaching nine percent. Chart 2 compares the usage rates of "nor no" and "nor any" during the early modern era. This chart shows that the decade of the 1550s was the last one where "nor no" was used as frequently as "nor any."

The Ngram Viewer indicates that the usage rate of "nor no" (as opposed to "nor any") was about 3.5 percent in the 1820s, but the actual rate was lower than that (probably much lower), since there are many instances of old, reprinted language in that decade of the Google Books database.[18]

Here is an example of "nor no" in a 16th-century Bible, along with a Book of Mormon example:

> 1560, Geneva Bible (1561 edition) [A10675]
>> That our oxen may be strong to labor: that there be none invasion
>> nor going out **nor no** crying in our streets:
>> [Psalm 144:14; page image 509]
>>> The King James text reads "that there be no complaining in our streets."

> Mosiah 3:17
>> And moreover I say unto you
>> that there shall be no other name given **nor no** other way nor means
>> whereby salvation can come unto the children of men,

---

17. For a specific mention of "nor no," as well as a general discussion of double negation in Early Modern English, see Barber, *Early Modern English*, 198–99.

18. The reality is that the later in time we go, the more contamination of reprinted language there is in many textual corpora, such as the Google Books database, which underlies the Ngram Viewer.
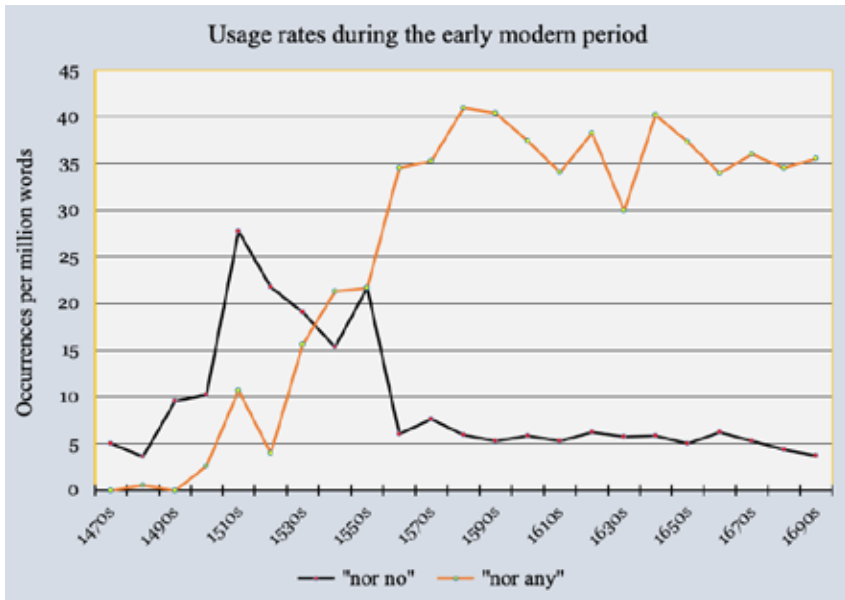
Chart 2. Comparison of "nor no" and "nor any."

Tyndale has an example of "nor no" in a prologue:

> 1530, William Tyndale (translator) [The Pentateuch] [A13203]
>
>   For the Holy Ghost is no doom God ['God of judgment']
>   **nor no** God that goeth a mumming ['who disguises himself']
>   [Leviticus, prologue; page image 359]

In addition, the Bishops' Bible has an example of "nor no" in a margin note at Romans 10:2; the Rheims New Testament has five instances: one in the preface and four in annotations; and the later Douay Old Testament has one as well:

> 1609, Douay Old Testament [A11777]
>
>   we attribute no more **nor no** less to Christ, nor to our lady,
>   by the one reading than by the other:
>   [Genesis 3:15, annotation; page 12]

Subjunctive ~ indicative variation after *if*

There are quite a few cases of variation in grammatical mood after the hypothetical *if* in early English Bibles. This variational syntax involves a subjunctive verb form followed by a conjoined indicative verb form. Here are nine examples of this:

1534, William Tyndale (translator) The New Testament [A68940]

> If any man **long** after life and **loveth** to see good days
> [1 Peter 3:10; page cccxviii]

1535, Coverdale Bible [A10349]

> But if his offering **be** a goat and **bringeth** it before the Lord,
> [Leviticus 3:12; page image 105]

> But if he **be** poor and **getteth** not so much with his hand,
> [Leviticus 14:21; page xlviij]

> If any man **teach** otherwise and **agreeth** not unto the wholesome
> words of our Lord Jesus Christ,   [1 Timothy 6:3; page image 1139]

1539, Great Bible (1540 edition) [A10405]

> Either if a soul **swear** and **pronounceth** with his lips to do
> evil or to do good   [Leviticus 5:4; page image 87]

> For if any man **hear** the word and **declareth** not the same
> by his works,   [James 1:23; page image 1014]

>> The Bishops' Bible has the same verb forms as the first excerpt.

1560, Geneva Bible (1561 edition) [A10675]

> If any man **teach** otherwise and **consenteth** not to the wholesome
> words of our Lord Jesus Christ,   [1 Timothy 6:3; page 90]

>> The Bishops' Bible has the same verb forms.

1582, Rheims New Testament [A16049]

> If any man **come** to me and **hateth** not his father and mother,
> [Luke 14:26; page 181]

>> The Bishops' Bible and the King James Bible have subjunctive *hate*.

1611, King James Bible

> If a man **say**, I love God, and **hateth** his brother, he is a liar.
> [1 John 4:20]

As shown immediately above, even the 1611 King James Bible has an example of this syntactic variation, and surprisingly, *hateth* has never been changed to *hate*.

The Book of Mormon has four examples of this nearby variation:

Mosiah 26:29

> And if he **confess** his sins before thee and me
> and **repenteth** in the sincerity of his heart,

Helaman 13:26

> if a prophet **come** among you
> and **declareth** unto you the word of the Lord,

3 Nephi 27:11

> But if it **be** not built upon my gospel
> and **is** built upon the works of men or upon the works of the devil,

Moroni 7:44

> And if a man **be** meek and lowly in heart
> and **confesses** by the power of the Holy Ghost

Searches indicate that the mixture of subjunctive and indicative verb forms in 3 Nephi 27:11 — "if <subject> be … and is" — rarely occurred after the hypothetical in the textual record. Here is one early 16th-century example:

1525, translation, Jerome Brunschwig [about 1450–about 1512]
The noble experience of the virtuous handiwork of surgery [A03315]

> > If it **be** in a fleshly place and **is** not possible to be holpen
> > after this manner aforesaid   [page image 66]

In contrast with this 1525 usage, in 3 Nephi 27:11 the subjunctive is used for what is not the case, and the indicative is used for what is the case.

Object *who*

Although *whom* is used in object position the vast majority of the time, the late 16th-century Bibles have at least two instances of object *who*. In both cases below, the relative pronoun *who* precedes the verb that normally triggers object marking on *who*:

1568, Bishops' Bible [A10708]

> Meaning that he was not like in strength to the king of the Assyrians,
> **who** the Babylonians overcame.
> [Ezekiel 31:2, note b; page image 963]

> > The relative pronoun *who* is the object of the verb *overcome*.

1582, Rheims New Testament [A16049]

> the obdurate obstinacy that is in such **who** I have, for so great
> sins, forsaken.   [Romans 9:17, annotation; page 407]

> > The relative pronoun *who* is the object of the verb *forsake*.

When a pronoun precedes a verb that normally triggers object marking on the pronoun, then the pronoun adopts the object form at a slightly lower rate.

The following Book of Mormon example of object *who* occurs in the same syntactic context:

Mosiah 2:19

> And behold also, if I, **who** ye call your king,
> *who* has spent his days in your service

> > The second instance of *who* (in italics) is in subject position.

The same syntactic phenomenon is seen in the case of object *they* here:

Jacob 1:14

they(object) which are friendly to Nephi I shall **call**(governing verb) Nephites

Examples of this kind of object *they* syntax — including a close paraphrase of Luke 11:52 — are found in the early modern textual record:

before 1534, John Bourchier (translator), Antonio de Guevara's *The golden book of Marcus Aurelius* (1537) [A02303]

He hated delicate and gay nurses, and **they** that were laborous, homely, and wholesome he **loved**,   [page image 51]

before 1687, Thomas Watson, *A body of practical divinity* (1692) [A65285]

ye entered not in yourselves, and **they** that were entering in ye **hindered**.   [page 9]

King James Bible, Luke 11:52
ye entered not in yourselves,
and **them** that were entering in, ye **hindered**.

Conclusion

This study has presented a number of matches involving the grammatical usage of early Bibles and the original Book of Mormon text. In the case of the latter, most of these instances have been and are considered to be instances of poor grammar produced by Joseph Smith. However, a broad early modern view of most of its English usage accounts nicely for this bad grammar, while a modern dialectal view fails in several respects. This reality supports not viewing any of the above items as emanating from Joseph's own language, except rarely as inadvertent misreadings of words that were given to him. The same reasoning applies to virtually all of the bad grammar found in the earliest text, whether or not it appears in earlier Bibles.

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Appendix

Early English Books Online: https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebogroup.

Early English Bibles: EEBO A13203 (1530), A68940 (1534),
A10349 (1535), A10405 (1540), A10675 (1561),
A10708 (1568), A16049 (1582), A11777 (1609–1610).

Critical text: Royal Skousen, ed., *The Book of Mormon: The Earliest Text*
(New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2009).

GV: *Grammatical Variation* (Provo, Utah:
FARMS and BYU Studies, 2016)

NOL: *The Nature of the Original Language* (Provo, Utah:
FARMS and BYU Studies, 2018)

Eighteenth Century Collections Online: https://www.gale.com/
primary-sources/eighteenth-century-collections-online.

Google Books: https://books.google.com/advanced_book_search.

■ ■ ■

Twenty-five pseudobiblical texts consulted for this study
(about 580,000 words total):

LONGER PSEUDOBIBLICAL TEXTS (12)

    A. Robert Dodsley, *Chronicle of the Kings of England* (1740)
[London] [about 16,500 words]

    B. Jacob Ilive, *The Book of Jasher* (1751) [London]
[about 22,800 words]

    C. John Leacock, *American Chronicles* (1775) [Philadelphia]
[about 14,500 words]

    D. Richard Snowden, *The American Revolution* (1793)
[Philadelphia] [about 49,300 words]

    E. Matthew Linning, *The First Book of Napoleon* (1809) [Edinburgh]
[about 19,000 words]

    F. Elias Smith, *History of Anti-Christ* (1811) [Portland ME]
[about 15,000 words]

    G. Gilbert Hunt, *The Late War* (1816) [New York]
[about 42,500 words]

    H. Roger O'Connor, *Chronicles of Eri* (1822) [London]
[about 131,000 words]

    I. W. K. Clementson, *The Epistles of Ignatius and Polycarp* (1827)
[Brighton UK] [about 18,000 words]

    J. Philemon Stewart, *Sacred Roll* (1843) [Canterbury NH]
[about 62,000 words]

    K. Charles Linton, *The Healing of the Nations* (1855) [New York]
[about 111,000 words]

    L. Richard Grant White, *The New Gospel of Peace* (1863)
[New York] [about 59,000 words]

shorter pseudobiblical texts (13)

    M. Horace Walpole, *Book of Preferment* (1742) [London]
       [about 2,700 words]

    N. *The French Gasconade Defeated* (1743) [Boston]
       [about 900 words]

    O. Benjamin Franklin, *Parable Against Persecution* (1755)
       [Philadelphia] [about 400 words]

    P. *Chronicles of Nathan Ben Saddi* (1758) [Philadelphia]
       [about 3,000 words]

    Q. Samuel Hopkins, *Samuel the Squomicutite* (1763) [Newport RI]
       [about 600 words]

    R. *The Book of America* (1766) [Boston] [about 2,500 words]

    S. *Chapter 37th* (1782) [*Boston Evening Post*] [about 600 words]

    T. *Chronicles of John* (1812) [Charleston SC?] [about 800 words]

    U. *The First Book of Chronicles, Chapter the Fifth* (1812)
       [*The Investigator*, SC] [about 1,800 words]

    V. Jesse Denson, *Chronicles of Andrew* (1815) [Lexington KY]
       [about 4,800 words]

    W. White Griswold, *A Chronicle of the Chiefs of Muttonville* (1830)
       [Harwinton CT] [about 900 words]

    X. *Reformer Chronicles* (1832) [Buffalo NY] [about 700 words]

    Y. *Chronicles of the Land of Gotham* (1888) [New York]
       [about 1,300 words]

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Eleven early writings of Joseph Smith consulted for this study (up to January 1833; texts available at https://www.josephsmithpapers.org):

	INDEXED WORDS
Letter to Oliver Cowdery, 22 October 1829	334
Letter to the Church in Colesville, 2 December 1830	908
Letter to Martin Harris, 22 February 1831	245
Letter to Hyrum Smith, 3–4 March 1831	579
Letter to Emma Smith, 6 June 1832	632
Letter to William W. Phelps, 31 July 1832	2,731
Letter to Emma Smith, 13 October 1832	836
Letter to William W. Phelps, 27 November 1832	1,088
Letter to Noah C. Saxton, 4 January 1833	1,771
Letter to William W. Phelps, 11 January 1833	766
History, circa Summer 1832	2,037

Pitfalls of the Ngram Viewer

Stanford Carmack

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Pitfalls of the Ngram Viewer

Stanford Carmack

Abstract: *Google's Ngram Viewer often gives a distorted view of the popularity of cultural/religious phrases during the early 19th century and before. Other larger textual sources can provide a truer picture of relevant usage patterns of various content-rich phrases that occur in the Book of Mormon. Such an approach suggests that almost all of its phraseology fits comfortably within its syntactic framework, which is mostly early modern in character.*

During the past decade, with the advent of Google's Ngram Viewer (books.google.com/ngrams), many have become interested in noting the historical (textual) popularity rates of various cultural, content-rich Book of Mormon phrases such as "demands of justice." Some have concluded by what they have seen in Ngram Viewer charts that the evidence suggests the Book of Mormon is 19th-century in character and that Joseph Smith was the author or the partial author of the text (from revealed ideas).[1] My purpose here is to show that this recently developed interpretive tool is quite often misleading in relation to the Book of Mormon and that it's important to reserve judgment on historical usage patterns until multiple textual sources have been consulted. It's also important to recognize the type of language can tell us something definitive about Book of Mormon authorship and the fundamental nature of its language.

A database such as Google Books, which contains a large number of religious writings, is potentially an appropriate corpus to use in comparing Book of Mormon English. That is because, though dictated, the Book of Mormon text presents itself as a written translation of authors and editors who also wrote out their compositions (though

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1. An example of this is found at "19th Century Protestant Phrases in Book of Mormon," *LDS Church is True* (blog), March 7, 2017, www.churchistrue.com/blog/19th-century-protestant-phrases-in-book-of-mormon/.

some chapters are said to be transcripts of oral discourse). The narrative complexity, matching internal references, exact phrasal repetition (sometimes at a distance), intricate structuring (both large- and small-scale), and even instances of syntactic complexity suggest a primarily written work rather than a primarily oral production.

Because the text is full of biblical blending and religious language set in a framework of mostly early modern syntax, the Early English Books Online database[2] provides the largest amount of matching language — religious, lexical, and syntactic. EEBO contains many religious writings, including sermons as well as the early biblical texts [1530–1610]. After EEBO, the next most relevant database for comparison is Eighteenth Century Collections Online.[3] After EEBO and ECCO, the most relevant corpora are probably Google Books[4] and the early American databases, Evans and Shaw-Shoemaker (these also contain many British writings republished in America, overlapping with content found in ECCO and even EEBO).[5]

On Content-Rich and Content-Poor Language

Before considering the data, some general comments are in order about the implications of two types of textual evidence: cultural, religious phrases (content-rich) and syntax (content-poor). It's helpful to bear in mind that cultural, religious language occurs within a syntactic framework. These are separable objects of study: it is a straightforward matter to abstract away from either one in order to carry out linguistic and literary analysis.

Content-rich phrases like "demands of justice" involve a high degree of conscious thought in their production, while content-poor phraseology like "the more part" is chiefly the result of nonconscious production. Because authors do not consciously control what they nonconsciously

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2. Early English Books Online, accessed March 9, 2020, https://quod.lib. umich.edu/e/eebogroup/.

3. Eighteenth Century Collections Online, accessed March 9, 2020, www.gale. com/primary-sources/eighteenth-century-collections-online.

4. "Advanced Book Search," Google Books, accessed March 9, 2020, https:// books.google.com/advanced_book_search.

5. "Early American Imprints, Series I: Evans, 1639–1800," Readex: A Division of Newsbank, accessed March 9, 2020, www.readex.com/content/early-american-imprints-series-i-evans-1639-1800, "Early American Imprints, Series II: Shaw-Shoemaker, 1801–1819," Readex: A Division of Newsbank, accessed March 9, 2020, www.readex. com/content/early-american-imprints-series-ii-shaw-shoemaker-1801-1819, and Evans Early American Imprint Collection, accessed March 9, 2020, https://quod.lib.umich. edu/e/evans/, (5,000 Evans texts, freely available in WordCruncher [wordcruncher. com]).

produce, they reveal their native-speaker preferences in their (content-poor) syntax. Consciously produced content varies greatly in frequency according to context and subject matter and genre. In contrast, the frequency of syntactic usage is less influenced by these things (although some aspects of syntactic usage are affected by context, subject matter, and genre, such as which tenses are predominantly used). There are many generalizable usage patterns that can be analyzed and compared. Because a large amount of syntax is visible in the verbal system, studying the verbal system is of paramount importance.

A late-modern view of the Book of Mormon's cultural, religious phrases tends to be popular in the literature. Such phrases, however, are unable to establish either the fundamental character of the language or that Joseph Smith was the author of the Book of Mormon. The suggestion that content-rich phrases are dispositive evidence for determining these things stems from inadequate reflection on details and implications of natural language production. It is the syntactic building blocks of language that indicate the fundamental character of textual language. When it comes to determining Book of Mormon authorship, content-rich phrases are overruled by the syntax. The latter indicates that most of its language is early modern in character and that Joseph wasn't the author or partial author.[6]

A phrase examined below, "demands of justice," is a cultural and religious phrase that has been used in a relatively limited set of writings and contexts. It provides a substantial amount of meaning independently. Another phrase considered below, "the more part," is a content-poor phrase that had the potential to be used in a relatively large number of writings and contexts. There is a significant difference between these two types of language in terms of their diagnostic value in relation to determining Book of Mormon authorship. Specifically, the phrase "demands of justice" is a persistent phrase that arose in the early

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6. The descriptive reality that the original Book of Mormon text is full of extrabiblical Early Modern English doesn't mean it's an early modern text, in a narrow sense. While it's accurate to characterize the vast majority of the Book of Mormon's verbal system (the syntactic core of the language) as early modern in character — namely, verb complementation, verb agreement, various aspects of tense, inflections, auxiliary usage, grammatical mood, negation and inversion patterns, etc. — this reality doesn't mean that all content-rich phrases that appear within the mostly archaic framework must be or are early modern phrases. However, rather than characterizing persistent phrases (early modern through late modern) as 19th-century phrases, since they're enveloped in mostly early modern syntax, it's sensible to view them as early modern.

modern era, while *more part* phraseology (the non-adverbial type) did not persist robustly past the late 1600s, although we do see some related, vestigial use in the late modern era (some of this is discussed toward the end of this article).

Consider also the phrase "plan of destruction" (3 Nephi 1:16). This is a late-appearing phrase, textually speaking — it is currently first attested in 1768.[7] But "plan of destruction" was conceptually part of English a century earlier, since the structurally and semantically similar phrases "plan of peace," "plan of religion," "plan of doctrine," and "plan of (our) redemption" did occur in the late 1600s. As a content-rich phrase, "plan of destruction" cannot overrule the diagnostic value of content-poor phraseology such as "the more part of X" (where X is a noun phrase) or "of which hath been spoken". These are less contextually dependent and were in obsolescence at the beginning of the late modern period. This makes the presence in the Book of Mormon of the comparative phraseology "the more part of X" and the referential phraseology "of which/whom «be»[8] spoken" diagnostically important. (Ten of eleven instances of the referential phraseology are archaic in formation; all instances of *more part* phraseology are nonbiblical in formation.) It also means that the presence of language like "plan of destruction" is mostly diagnostically unremarkable.

- Cultural, religious phrases:
  high degree of contextual dependence
  low usage rates (on balance)
  provide little information about nonconscious
    native-speaker tendencies
- Content-poor syntax:
  low degree of contextual dependence
  potential for much higher usage rates
  reveals nonconscious native-speaker tendencies

The Google Books Database

The very creators of the Ngram Viewer have pointed out the risk for their charts to mislead analysts vis-à-vis earlier cultural trends. According

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7. "Plan of destruction" can currently be found in the Evans database under the text ID N08651, and in the Google Books database under the book ID 8Y0BAAAAQAAJ (the phrase occurs in several books; this one may be the earliest one with the language).

8. By «be» is meant various forms of the verb *be*, including the perfect forms "hath been," "has been," and "have been."

to them, the popularity trends of 18th-century cultural phrases are particularly susceptible to being misstated in the charts.[9] Others have mentioned that this is the case even for early 19th-century trends,[10] once again citing the published papers of the Ngram Viewer creators. This is because of the limitations of the underlying Google Books database.

It's important to note that the Viewer can be less misleading in relation to syntactic studies involving content-poor phrases. Such phrases have the potential to be more heavily represented in the underlying data. As a specific example, we are more likely to get an accurate picture of popularity in comparing usage rates of the infinitive construction "caused <object pronoun> to" with the finite construction "caused that <subject pronoun>" than in looking at the trajectory of "demands of justice" (shown below).

As mentioned, the Viewer is based on the Google Books database. This has only a fraction of the 18th-century coverage of the largest database, ECCO. The 18th-century Google Books portion is currently about 12 percent of the size of ECCO, and the first half of the 18th century is underrepresented compared to the second half of the 18th century. The underrepresentation of English usage in Google Books is even greater as we go back further in time to the early modern period (details shown below). This means that the Viewer is highly unreliable for the 16th and 17th centuries.

Unfortunately, the inevitable result of this underrepresentation is that charts are often generated by the data underlying the Ngram Viewer that do not accurately represent prior usage patterns. This is shown here by a comparison of Viewer charts with the charts provided by the ECCO database and with charts generated from a 740-million-word corpus that

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9. Roger Finke and Jennifer M. McClure, "Reviewing Millions of Books: Charting Cultural and Religious Trends with Google's Ngram Viewer," in *Faithful Measures: New Methods in the Measurement of Religion*, eds. Roger Finke and Christopher D. Bader (New York: NYU Press, 2017), 290, https://books.google.com/books?id=bF0vDwAAQBAJ&pg=PA290#v=onepage&q&f=false. Jean-Baptiste Michel et al., "Quantitative Analysis of Culture Using Millions of Digitized Books," *Science* 331 (2011): 176–82, DOI: 10.1126/science.1199644, https://science.sciencemag.org/content/331/6014/176. Jean-Baptiste Michel et al., "Supporting Online Material for 'Quantitative Analysis of Culture Using Millions of Digitized Books'," (2011):16–17, https://science.sciencemag.org/content/sci/suppl/2010/12/16/science.1199644.DC1/Michel.SOM.revision.2.pdf.

10. See, for example, Finke and McClure "Reviewing Millions of Books," 290.

covers the years 1473 to 1700 (made from Phase 1 texts of the EEBO database).

Language Examined for this Study

I will briefly discuss the following six phrases and phrase types:

- "demands of justice" [first EEBO example is 1647]
- "first parents" [first EEBO example is 1483]
- "infinite goodness" [first EEBO example is 1479]
- "forbidden fruit" [first EEBO example is 1550]
- "plan of X" [first EEBO example is 1689; X = *divinity*]
- "the more part of X" [first OED example is 1398; X = *the heritage*]

Corpora Used in this Study

Here are the three corpora that generated the charts shown in this study, along with some relevant details:

- Google Books (sparse coverage up to the 18th century):
    4.4 million 16th-century words
    63.9 million 17th-century words
    1.8 billion 18th-century words[11]
    49.5 billion 19th-century words
    299.5 billion 20th-century words

- ECCO: 180,000 18th-century titles (as currently noted on the initial search page). From this number of titles and the number of 18th-century words in Google Books, we find that ECCO could have approximately 15 billion 18th-century words, with a large amount of duplication.

- EEBO (Phase 1 texts): approximately 740 million words in 25,367 texts, from the late 15th century through the 17th century. $EEBO_1$ has almost 11 times the coverage of Google Books for the same time period, with high-quality transcriptions that are much more reliable.

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11. According to the Google Books total_counts file (version 20120701: Google Books Ngram Viewer, accessed March 9, 2020, https://storage.googleapis.com/books/ngrams/books/datasetsv2.html), the database has 21,495 18th-century titles (1701 to 1800). Just over three-quarters of the words are from the second half of the century (1751 to 1800).

Popularity Profiles of Six Nonbiblical Book of Mormon Phrases

"Demands of justice" [1647 (earliest attestation)]

We begin our investigation of Book of Mormon phrases with the cultural, religious phrase "demands of justice," a phrase that arose, textually speaking, in the middle of the 17th century. Because the Ngram Viewer is based on relatively sparse coverage of the first half of the 18th century, a misleading chart (Figure 1) is currently generated by the underlying data (the vertical axis gives word-occurrence rates; the values [very small] are irrelevant in the context of this paper).

Figure 1 leads us to believe that there was hardly any usage of the phrase "demands of justice" in the early 18th century. (In this study, I have mostly restricted Viewer charts to the 18th century and beyond, since the data coverage of the 16th and 17th centuries is relatively minimal, frequently generating charts with discontinuous spikes.)[12] Because ECCO is based on more than eight times the number of titles, its term frequency chart is more reliable than the Viewer, though not entirely, since the later one goes in the 18th century, the more books are encountered with repeated language (which is also a problem with the Viewer). ECCO's popularity chart helps in this regard, to some degree, since it can give users the percentage of documents per year that have a given word or phrase.

Figure 1. Ngram Viewer chart of "demands of justice."

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12. Another current problem with the Viewer is that some links at the foot of charts don't yield any book results, even though the chart and the link suggest that there are textual results to be verified. Links that yield no results indicate an algorithmic limitation of some kind. In many cases, however, when there is no data, the Viewer indicates this explicitly by stating that there are no valid ngrams to plot.

Figure 2 is an ECCO popularity chart of "demands of justice."[13] It clearly shows usage of the phrase in the first half of the 18th century and that there was only a slight upward trend during the entire century. Against what the Viewer indicates, there was no sharp upward trend from zero that began near the middle of the century. Moreover, if we look at an earlier corpus, EEBO, we find that in the publicly available Phase 1 portion of the database (EEBO$_1$), 0.23 percent of the documents in the 1670s have the phrase "demands of justice" (6 of 2,608 documents) and that 0.33 percent of the documents from the 1690s have the phrase (10 of 3,006 documents). Figure 3 is a composite chart of the earlier usage rates, combining EEBO$_1$ and ECCO data (from 1473 to 1800). It shows no clear increase in the popularity of the phrase "demands of justice" from the 1670s to the 1790s.
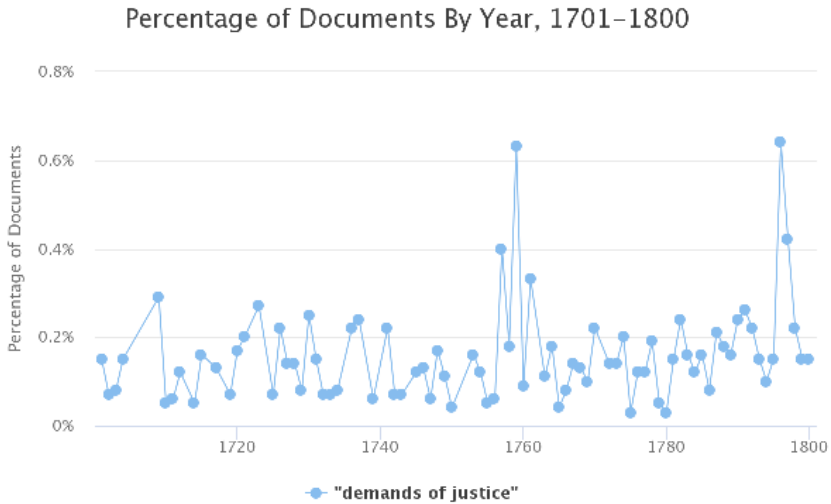
Figure 2. ECCO chart of "demands of justice."

Consider too that popularity rates of uncommon content-rich phrases like "demands of justice" can vary greatly depending on the composition of the corpus — that is, the weighting of the genres in the corpus. In this case, if the corpus has a large percentage of religious texts or legal texts, then the popularity rate of "demands of justice" has the potential to be higher. If not, popularity rates will be lower. In contrast, content-poor syntactic phrases have a greater potential to give a truer

13. Charts were made from the general English (2012) corpus, case-sensitive, with 5-year smoothing.
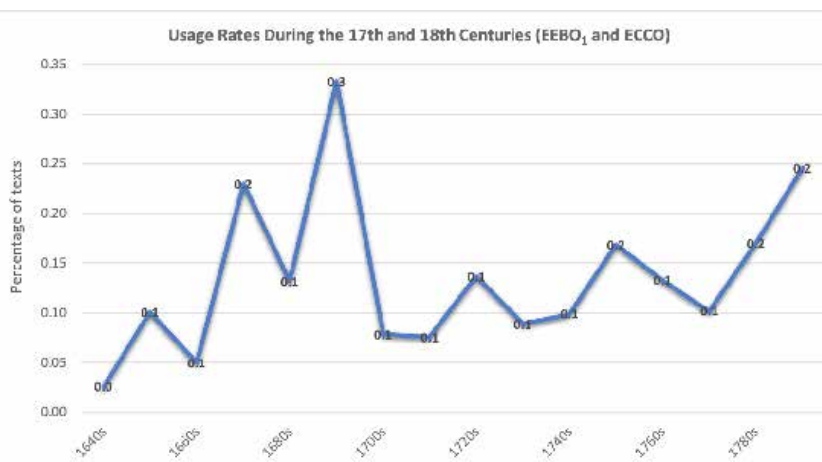
Figure 3. Combined EEBO$_1$ and ECCO chart of "demands of justice."

picture of past usage rates and popularity. The genres represented in the corpus are less important in the case of such phrases, though not always of no consequence.

The first appearance of the phrase "demands of justice" in EEBO occurs in 1647 (A57963, page 66). The earliest occurrences of phrases are among the most interesting to consider. Beyond showing authorial creativity, in the case of potentially inspired religious language, they are more likely to be the result of divine influence than later instances, which are more likely to be influenced by earlier usage. In this case, the 1647 author of "demands of justice," Samuel Rutherford, a delegate to the Westminster Assembly (a multi-year Church of England reform council), provides not only this content-rich coincidence with Book of Mormon usage, but also examples of extrabiblical syntactic usage and variation found in the earliest text, such as archaic "because that S$_1$ and that S$_2$," usage (1648, EEBO A57980; 1 Nephi 2:11, Jacob 5:60) and nearby *ye was ~ ye are* variation (1664, A57970; Alma 7:18–19; also *we was ~ we are:* 1652, A57982).

Of the four instances of "demands of justice" found in the Book of Mormon, the last one occurs closely with two instances of the phrase "plan of mercy" (Alma 42:15). This language is currently first attested in 1746, but it would not have clashed with late 1600s language, since a few different "plan of X" phrases are attested beginning in the late 1680s. The adjective phrase "perfect just" occurs right after "demands of justice,"

meaning 'perfectly just'; it provides a good example of characteristically early modern syntactic usage in which the adverb lacked the {-ly} suffix. In EEBO$_1$, "perfect just" (without intervening punctuation) occurs 16 times, at a higher rate in the 16th century than in the 17th century (five times the rate; see Figure 4). Another syntactic item in this verse involves a subordinate clause headed by *except* with the conditional auxiliary verb *should*, usage that was also more characteristic of the 16th century than the 17th century (peaking textually in the 1550s; see Figure 5[14]). Overall, the language in this passage doesn't clash, and there are stronger reasons to classify it as early modern in character than late modern.[15]

"First parents" [1483]

The next phrase we'll consider is another nonbiblical one, "first parents." The phrase occurs 13 times in the Book of Mormon, first at 1 Nephi 5:11. It is used there with some archaic syntax: "Adam and Eve, *which* **was** our first parents." This syntax corresponds precisely with the usage of Thomas Becon in 1566: "Adam and Eve, *which* **was** made of the ground." Becon also used "first parents" in 1542 (A06719). We encounter many such coincidences in the Book of Mormon, as in this case and the case of the writings of Samuel Rutherford. EEBO$_1$ has thousands of examples of the phrase "first parents," including four from the 1480s alone.

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14. The WordCruncher search string used was "((excepte + except) #.2,0 ?$_S$) /subj /should", with one additional complication not shown. (The phrase list terms */subj* and */should* represent many different subject pronouns and forms of the auxiliary verb *should*, including spelling variants.) This search permitted only pronominal subjects, excluded intervening punctuation, excluded biblical language (Matthew 24:22, Luke 9:13, Acts 8:31), and included variants of the auxiliary verb *should*. For EEBO$_1$, the search returned results from 245 texts [1517–1700].

15. Some promote the idea that the original language of the Book of Mormon is a hybrid of (1) clashing archaic language, (2) early modern usage clashing with late modern usage, (3) ungrammatical variation, and/or (4) content-rich language clashing with archaic syntax. Some of these are subjective views. Proper investigation of these matters requires a large amount of research and analysis. Because there were no large digital corpora to check these unstudied claims, scholars felt free to make them. However, now that the syntax can be seriously studied, we find that there is very little clashing language — much less than previously thought. As two specific examples, there isn't a blatant misuse of second person pronouns in the original Book of Mormon text; it matches some earlier usage. There isn't improper mixing of {-th} and {-s} inflection; it matches some earlier usage. More generally, a host of variational usage matches verifiable early modern tendencies, and cultural, religious, content-rich phrases don't clash with the framing language.
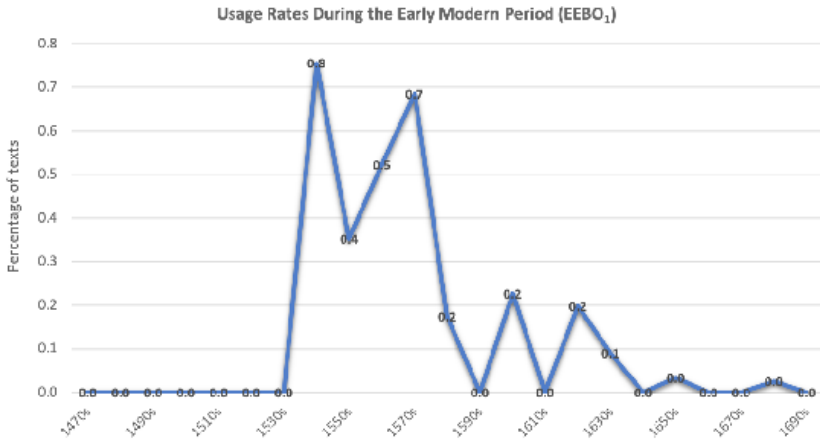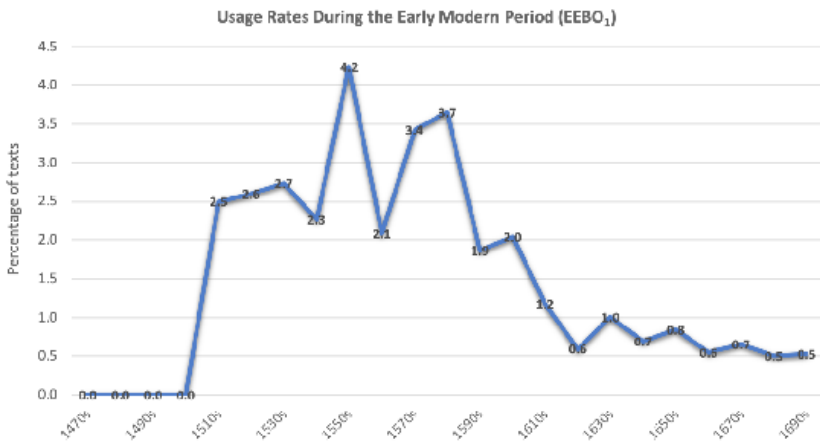
Figure 4. EEBO₁ chart of "perfect just."

Figure 5. EEBO₁ chart of "except <subj. pron.> should <infinitive>" syntax.

According to an ECCO popularity chart, the usage rate of "first parents" didn't change that much over the course of the 18th century, ranging between three and six percent, as shown in Figure 6.

But according to the Viewer, the usage rate of "first parents" rose significantly during the 18th century, and at the beginning of the 19th century, the usage rate appears to have surged to its highest levels (see Figure 7). EEBO Phase 1 texts, however, indicate an absolute peak popularity in the 1610s (eleven percent of texts; see Figure 8). This is
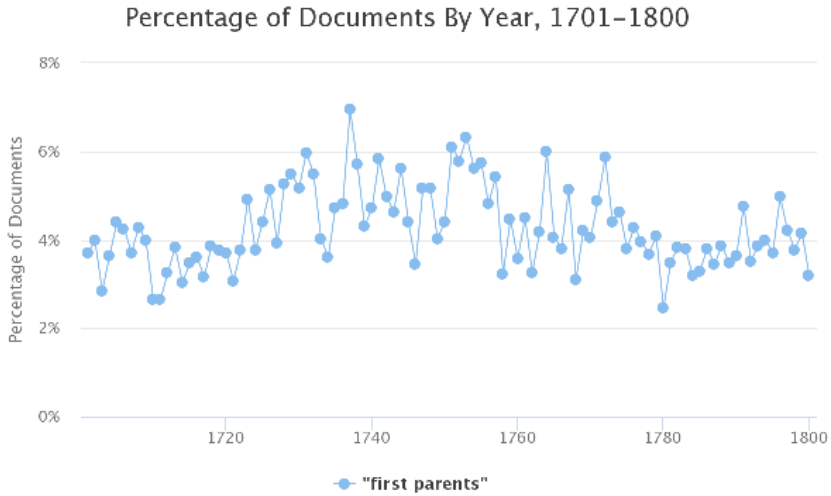
Figure 6. ECCO chart of "first parents."

Figure 7. Ngram Viewer chart of "first parents."

a figure significantly above the four percent of the 1790s that ECCO indicates.

Some of the rise we see between 1801 and 1830 in the Viewer is a skewing brought about by later editions and the republishing of earlier texts, as previously mentioned. In any event, a doubling in the usage rate of "first parents" during the first three decades of the 1800s could have raised its per document rate to a maximum level of seven or eight percent. Based on current information, the 1610s is a stronger candidate for peak popularity of "first parents" than the early 1800s.
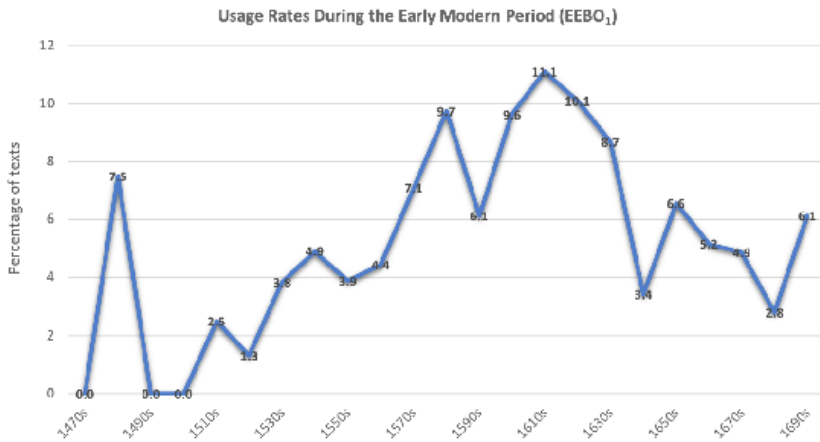
Figure 8. EEBO$_1$ chart of "first parents."

"Infinite goodness" [1479]

In a review of a text-critical publication on grammatical editing in the Book of Mormon, Grant Hardy lists 16 nonbiblical phrases that he says were commonly used in the 19th century, stating that "these do occur as early as the seventeenth century."[16] The phrase "as early as" most likely conveys 'no earlier than,' leaving readers with the sense that these phrases were most popular after the 17th century. One of the phrases in his list is "infinite goodness," occurring at 2 Nephi 1:10, Mosiah 5:3, Helaman 12:1, and Moroni 8:3.

Hardy might not have consulted EEBO and ECCO, something that is necessary to do in order to determine when these phrases arose and to have any chance at accurately determining when they might have been most popular. It's possible that he entered them into the Ngram Viewer and was misled by what he saw in the charts. Consider, for instance, a Viewer chart of "infinite goodness" between 1500 and 1830 (Figure 9). In this chart we see two early spikes based on seven results total. Then there is a continuous jagged rise, suggesting that the year 1830 was the height of popularity. This might have been as far as Hardy went in gauging the trajectory of this phrase's textual popularity.

An important issue when dealing with a phrase that might have arisen during the first half of the early modern period is spelling variation. In this case, there are six obvious variants of the word *goodness* to consider

16. Grant Hardy, "Approaching Completion: The Book of Mormon Critical Text Project," *BYU Studies* 57, no.1 (2018): 176n20.

Figure 9. Ngram Viewer chart of "infinite goodness."

and more than that for the word *infinite*. This means, of course, that there are at least 40 possible spelling variants of the phrase, although the large majority of the potential spelling variants of the phrase probably never co-occurred in the textual record.

There is no easy way to enter so many variants in the Viewer, and there are large gaps in Google Books' coverage for the earlier period, especially the 1500s (see above). So, we must go to EEBO, using spelling variants, in order to approach a sense of early modern popularity. This can only be easily done using a third-party EEBO corpus. It cannot be done using the EEBO website search page, since the search engine has difficulty with complicated wildcard searches. From a WordCruncher EEBO corpus[17] we obtain the chart in Figure 10, showing usage rate per document. To complete the comparison, we consult an ECCO popularity chart of "infinite goodness" (Figure 11). Taken together, these charts indicate that the height of popularity of "infinite goodness," textually speaking, was the 1530s or the 1570s.

The impression that Hardy gives his readers is that the 16 nonbiblical Book of Mormon phrases reached their height of popularity in the late modern period rather than the early modern period. We see that this is questionable for "infinite goodness" and "first parents" (another of his 16 phrases), and as it turns out, it's questionable for more than half of the phrases.

Hardy's statement that these phrases occur as early as the 17th century (taken to mean 'no earlier than the 17th century') might be inaccurate for 69 percent of the phrases. Here is his list, ordered according to date of first attestation in EEBO (mean date = 1565; median date = 1578):

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17. The WordCruncher program is freely available online at wordcruncher. com; the EEBO₁ corpus is available in the WordCruncher bookstore.

1473	God of nature
1479	infinite goodness
1479	fall of man
1483	first parents
1532	sacrifice for sin
1538	Great Mediator
1552	temporally and spiritually
	(as *temporally, spiritually & eternally*)
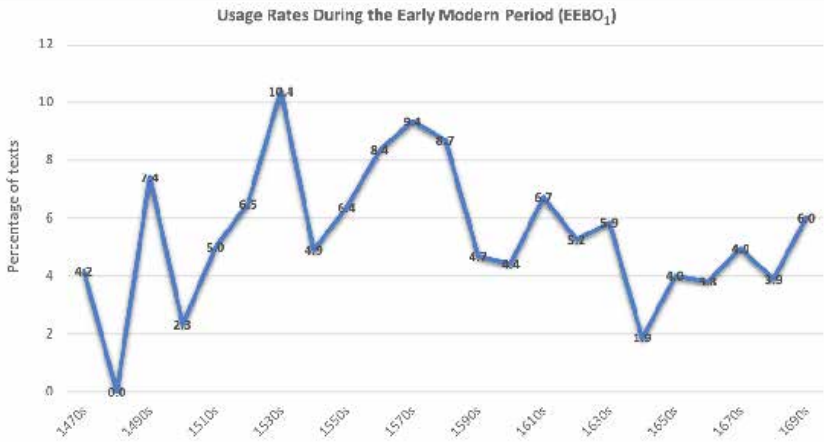
Figure 10. EEBO$_1$ chart of "infinite goodness."
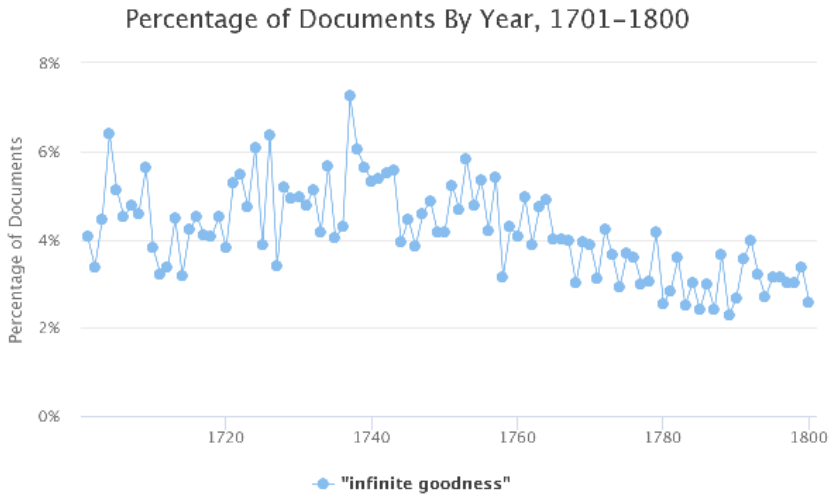
Figure 11. ECCO chart of "infinite goodness."

1563	land of liberty
1574	final state
1582	workings of the Spirit
1583	instrument(s) in the hands of God
1606	watery grave
1637	miserable forever (as *forever miserable*)
1641	condescension of God
1652	cold and silent grave (as *cold silent grave*)
	(*cold grave:* 1542; *silent grave:* 1590)
1660	day(s) of probation

Only five of the 16 are first attested as late as the 17th century, and both *cold grave* and *silent grave* are first attested in the 16th century. So, it is accurate to state that only one-quarter of the phrases are first attested as late as the 17th century; the rest are attested earlier.

I ran numbers on all 16 of these phrases in EEBO₁ and ECCO and obtained usage rate profiles and peaks. Here is a list of these same phrases with the decade of peak popularity shown (in the case of the two phrases with highest popularity in the late 1400s, I have also given the next highest decade). These phrases are ordered according to greatest early modern popularity when measured against their peak in late modern popularity:

Phrase	Peak popularity (textual)
temporally, spiritually	1580s
God of nature	1480s, 1630s
condescension(s) of God	1690s
sacrifice for sin	1580s
workings of the Spirit	1670s
first parents	1610s
infinite goodness	1530s
final state	1650s
fall of man	1470s, 1610s
Great Mediator	1750s
miserable forever / forever miserable	1760s
instrument(s) in the hands of God	1790s
cold grave & silent grave	1790s
watery grave	1790s
day(s) of probation	1760s
land of liberty	1790s

The immediate co-occurrence of *temporally* and *spiritually* was most characteristic of the earlier period. The phrase "land of liberty" was most characteristic of the later period and especially the end of the 1700s. Nine of the 16 phrases turned out to be more popular during at least one decade of the early modern era than they were during any decade of the 18th century. In addition, "Great Mediator" and "miserable forever" ~ "forever miserable" weren't strongly characteristic of the late modern period over the early modern period.

In summary, most of these phrases aren't obviously characteristic of the early 19th century, and all of them fit comfortably within a framework of mostly early modern syntax.

"Forbidden fruit" [1550]

The nonbiblical term "forbidden fruit" occurs six times in the Book of Mormon (three times in close succession in 2 Nephi 2 [verses 15, 18, 19]; also in Mosiah 3:26, Alma 12:22, and Helaman 6:26). Here is one of the earliest dated examples of this phrase found in $EEBO_1$:

> 1550, Thomas Becon, *The flower of godly prayers* [A06743]
> If through the subtle enticements of Satan, they had not
> transgressed thy commandment by eating the **forbidden fruit**, . . .

Figures 12 and 13 suggest that the height of popularity of the phrase "forbidden fruit" might have been during the first 40 years of the 17th century, not during the 18th century. The Viewer, however, when
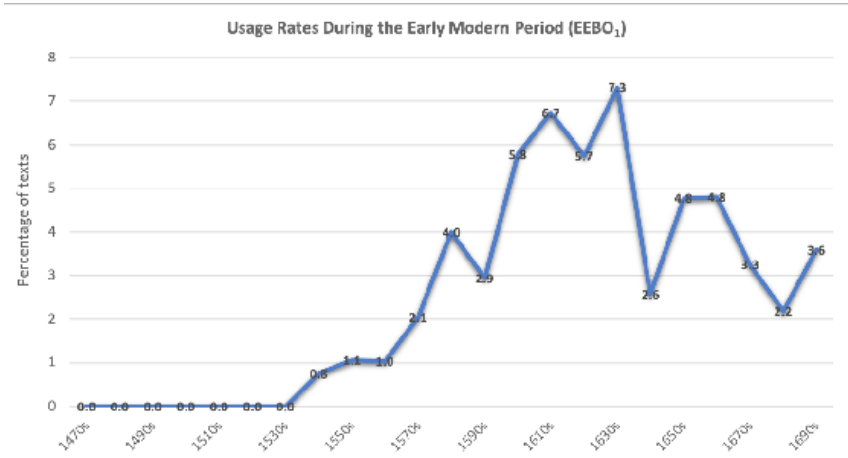

Figure 12. $EEBO_1$ chart of "forbidden fruit."

restricted to 1700 and later, leads us to believe that the popularity of the phrase "forbidden fruit" was greatest around the year 1810 (Figure 14).

"Plan of X" phrases [1689]

Textually speaking, some Book of Mormon phrases were more popular or appear to have been more popular in the 18th century than in the 17th century. One set of phrases that occurred more frequently in the 18th century than in the 17th century is "plan of X" phrases. Most of these, though conceptually in the language by the late 17th century, are
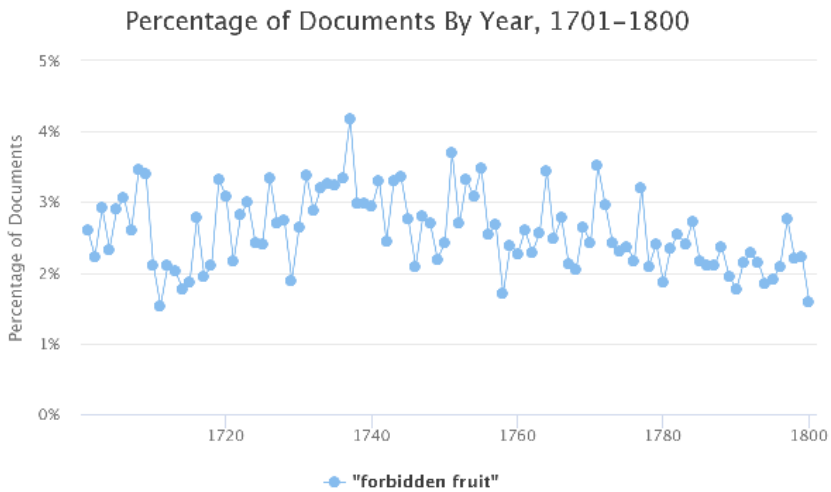

Figure 13. ECCO chart of "forbidden fruit."

Figure 14. Ngram Viewer chart of "forbidden fruit."

not attested until the early 18th century.[18] So the Book of Mormon's six types of "plan of X" phrases could not have been more frequent in the 17th century than in the 18th century, since there is hardly any textual usage in the 17th century.

The most common of the Book of Mormon's "plan of X" phrases, "plan of redemption," was the one that occurrred earliest. It appears first in the 1690s (as "plan of our redemption," in 1697). This phrase appears in nearly 500 ECCO documents (this database primarily covers the years 1701–1800). Figure 15 is an ECCO popularity chart of the simple phrase "plan of redemption." It shows a rise in the usage rate (per document) from zero percent to half a percent (on average). Nevertheless, because the few exclusively 18th-century phrases of the Book of Mormon are enveloped in early modern syntax, they do not change the conclusion that one could reasonably reach about the fundamental character of its language and whether Joseph Smith could have authored it.

"The more part of X" [1398]

The Book of Mormon has almost two dozen instances of the phraseology "the more part of X." It also has two instances of the adverbial constituent "for the more part" and two textually rare, exclusively
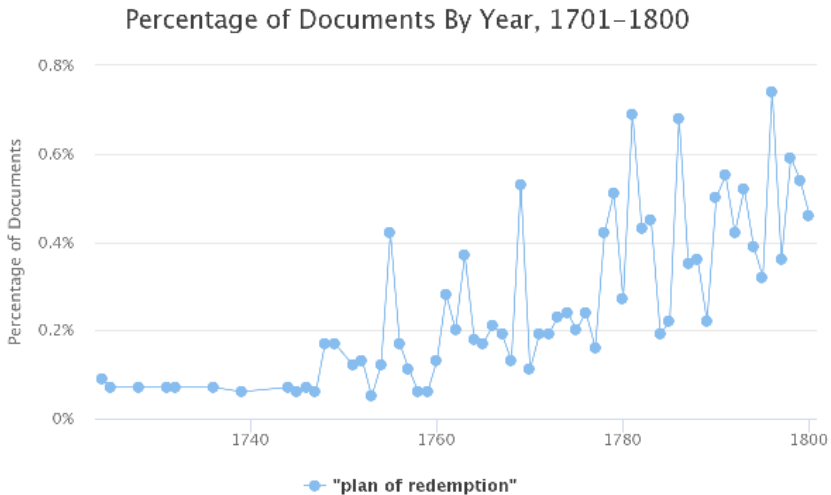

Figure 15. ECCO chart of "plan of redemption."

18. See Royal Skousen, *The Nature of the Original Language* (Provo, UT: FARMS, 2018), 202–4.

early modern variants: "a more part of X" and "the more parts of X" (three instances total). The King James Bible only uses the unmodified phrase "the more part" twice (Acts 19:32; 27:12). The Book of Mormon doesn't have this biblical usage.[19] Setting aside the three minor variants of the phraseology, the 21 instances of "the more part of X" in the Book of Mormon are quite possibly the most that had appeared in a single text in 253 years, since Holinshed's *Chronicles* (1577), which has 90 of the form "the more part of X" (in almost 2.5 million words).

"The more part of X" is a good example of content-poor phraseology that had the potential to be used in many different contexts at relatively high rates. When we abstract away from the content-rich noun phrase X, we are able to investigate a content-poor phrase type that could have been used in a large number of contexts. It thus provides valuable information for classifying the nature of Book of Mormon language.

When we consider usage rates of this phrase at the beginning of the late modern period, we find that the Ngram Viewer indicates that there was mostly persistent usage throughout the 18th century, with a slight upwards trend (Figure 16). ECCO's popularity chart also shows a low level of use throughout the 18th century, without any discernible trend (Figure 17).

The reality, however, is that almost every 18th-century document contains examples of "the more part of X" only in passages with earlier, reprinted legal language, often from the 16th century and earlier. For example, the 14 documents published in 1725 (out of 1,310) with examples of "the more part of X" (the highest data point in Figure 17) contain instances found in earlier legal language.

Nevertheless, there *is* some original use of "the more part of X" in the 1700s. But there is very little, and it is hard to know how much there actually is. We would have to wade through more than 600 instances, using the difficult ECCO interface, in order to find perhaps two or three originals. (ECCO currently gives 624 results, with many duplicates.) One noteworthy case — a 1768 poetic example found in the online, third edition of the OED — does not reveal itself in ECCO searches, since "the more part of mankind" was transcribed by the optical character recognition (OCR) software as "the tnore part of mankind." The entire poetic line is in italics, and as a result, the OCR software didn't get the

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19. Though the King James Bible has two instances of "the more part," the Book of Mormon's usage is demonstrably independent of the rare biblical usage. It is also not found in 25 pseudobiblical texts that were checked for this study. Thus, this phraseology is properly included in a section discussing some of the Book of Mormon's nonbiblical phrases.

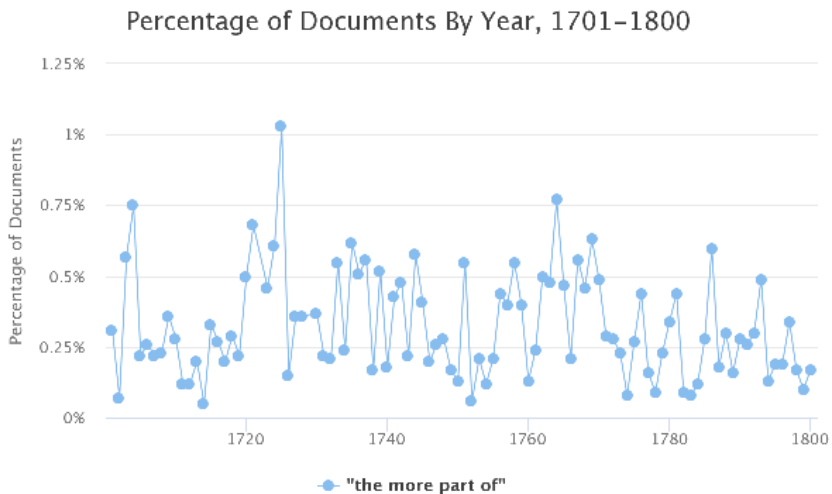**Figure 16.** Ngram Viewer chart of "the more part of X."

Figure 17. ECCO chart of "the more part of X."

correct letters in the case of the word *more*. This means, of course, that these databases currently have some fundamental limitations. In the future, better databases will yield more reliable and useful results. (The EEBO database has a very low rate of transcription error, significantly lower than either ECCO or Google Books. This is because most of EEBO was not transcribed using OCR software.)

An ECCO popularity chart comparing "the more part of them" with "most of them" makes it clear that the latter was the operative phrase in the 18th century, not "the more part of them" (Figure 18). (The usage rate of "the majority of them" was also quite low during this century.) What
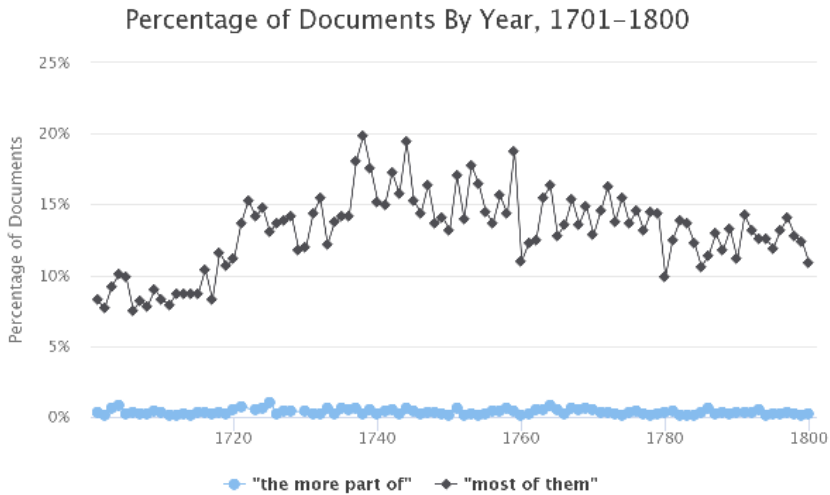
Percentage of Documents By Year, 1701–1800

Figure 18. ECCO chart of "most of them" and "the more part of them."

looks like low-level modern usage of the archaic phrase is, in very large part, just noise emanating from reprinted language.

Figure 19 shows the usage rates of "the more part of X" during the early modern era. This indicates that it was primarily a phrase of the first half of the early modern period. By the 1590s, popularity of the phrase had dipped to such a degree that less than three percent of texts employed it during that decade (1591–1600, aligning the years with the century). Even this $EEBO_1$ chart has some contamination in the late 1600s from reprinted language, but despite this it shows that usage of the phrase was close to zero in the 1690s. Only one $EEBO_1$ text in the 1690s (the last decade of the early modern period) has an original instance of "the more part," which is equivalent to a meager per document usage rate for that decade of just 0.03 percent.[20] By that decade, "more part" phraseology was moribund. (Seven other potential examples from the 1690s were quotations of Acts 19:32 [2×], of earlier statutes [4×], and of a 16th-century author [1×].)[21]

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20. One original instance of "the more part of them" is found in a sermon preached by Henry Wharton [1664–1695] on July 13, 1690 at Lambeth Chapel: "while the Members of it shall all, or the more part of them, perform their Duty." (1698, EEBO A65594, page 530.)

21. The phraseology "the more part of X" originated before the early modern era, in late Middle English. Currently, the OED's earliest example of "the more part of X" is dated 1398: "the more parte of therytage [the heritage]." There is also an example without *the*, dated *a*1425 [that is, *before* 1425], most likely 1384: "But more
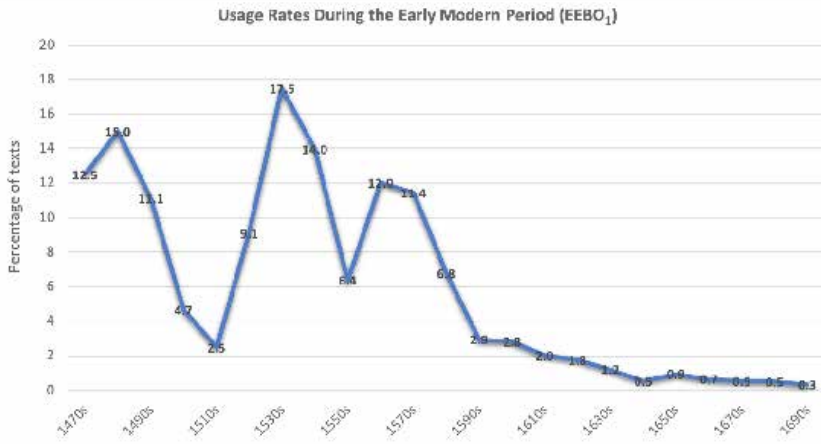
Figure 19. EEBO$_1$ chart of "the more part."

The high levels of "more part" phraseology found in the Book of Mormon, its two rare variants, and Figure 19 indicate that the Book of Mormon's usage of the phraseology is best characterized as early modern, not rare late modern.

Conclusion

Besides the importance of being aware of the potential pitfalls we can encounter in interpreting Ngram Viewer charts (and even sometimes ECCO's term frequency charts), the conclusion to be drawn vis-à-vis Book

part of þis world erreþ here." The earliest example in EEBO is dated 1473/1474: "the more part of his sons were dead" (from the first printed book in English). A manageable ECCO search is "the more part of all … " The Book of Mormon has three of these. If there had been any real increase in original use of "more part" syntax in the early 1700s, we would expect to see some examples of this specific phraseology with *all*. In ECCO, the nine results from a search performed in June 2018 turned out to yield only three actual hits; but the language dated from much earlier: 1426, 1491, and 1568. So, the 18th-century titles contained 15th- and 16th-century language. This is an important reminder that, in this endeavor, just looking at raw result totals and dates of publication can be completely misleading. This same wording — "the more part of all … " — turns up 33 times in the 16th century in EEBO$_1$, but not once in the 17th century. This search clearly indicates that "the more part of X" was a phrase characteristic of the 16th century (and earlier). In June 2018, I also performed a Google Books search of "the more part of X" limited to before the year 1830. A little more than 20 results were returned, but of those that I could read, all of them, besides two false positives, were examples of earlier language, many from legal documents.

of Mormon usage is that these charts, used in isolation, very often give us the wrong idea about earlier usage patterns and rates. As it turns out, the time depth of many content-rich phrases is often greater than first appears.

Here is the list of the phrases treated in this study, along with an indication of the relative popularity of these phrases (as currently indicated by raw, unfiltered textual data):

- "the more part of X" [popularity peaked in the 1530s]
- "infinite goodness" [popularity peaked in the 1530s or the 1570s]
- "first parents" [popularity peaked in the 1610s]
- "forbidden fruit" [popularity peaked in the 1630s]
- "demands of justice" [popularity peaked in the 1690s]
- "plan of X" [exclusively late modern, except for "plan of our redemption"]

Most content-rich phrases of the Book of Mormon fit well with its early modern syntax. There are some phrases that are properly classified, according to the general textual record, as characteristically late modern, but most phrases were found during the early modern period, and many of these might have seen peak popularity, or close to peak popularity, during that earlier time.

It's possible that the easily accessible but unreliable information provided by Ngram Viewer charts has influenced the views of some Book of Mormon scholars. This information, colored by only a superficial consideration of its syntax, has led many to conclude that the original text is a mix of biblical language and 19th-century vernacular. Some have written or implied that this is the case, leaving many readers with the wrong impression of its English. Of course, such statements shouldn't be made without undertaking a large amount of research in order to support them. Consequently, it would be wise to treat cautiously any comments made about the nature of Book of Mormon English until verifying that the maker of the comments has undertaken linguistic study of the original language, including its lexis and syntax.

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Personal Relative Pronoun Usage
in the Book of Mormon:
An Important Authorship Diagnostic

Stanford Carmack

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Personal Relative Pronoun Usage in the Book of Mormon: An Important Authorship Diagnostic

Stanford Carmack

Abstract: *This study compares personal relative pronoun usage in the earliest text of the Book of Mormon with 11 specimens of Joseph Smith's early writings, 25 pseudo-archaic texts, the King James Bible, and more than 200,000 early modern (1473–1700) and late modern (1701–1800+) texts. The linguistic pattern of the Book of Mormon in this domain — a pattern difficult to consciously manipulate in a sustained manner — uniquely points to a less-common early modern pattern. Because there is no matching of the Book of Mormon's pattern except with a small percentage of early modern texts, the indications are that Joseph Smith was neither the author nor the English-language translator of this pervasive element of the dictation language of the Book of Mormon. Cross-verification by means of large database comparisons and matching with one of the finest pseudo-archaic texts confirm these findings.*

"All they **which** fight against Zion shall be cut off" (1 Nephi 22:19)[1]

Syntactostylistics is the study of the stylistic implications of syntactic variation. One of the most important areas of syntactostylistics in relation to the Book of Mormon, with clear authorship implications, is the systematic use of relative pronouns in the original text, in particular when these pronouns refer to persons. This kind of syntax is one of the most important pieces of evidence that the Book of Mormon is formulated with nonbiblical, archaic syntax. At this point, I have completed quite a few other studies of a similar nature that indicate or suggest the same. It is my aim to publish some of these studies in the near future. Among them, the Book of Mormon's verb complementation pattern, though archaic, stands out clearly as nonbiblical and non-pseudo-archaic.

I currently know of no external textual evidence that might suggest that Joseph Smith would have formulated the Book of Mormon's clausal complementation patterns in the way we find them in the text (more than 500 instances: sustained, heavy finite usage).[2] The frequent use of the modal auxiliary *shall* as a subjunctive marker in certain contexts, such as in clauses governed by verbs of influence, is another archaic syntactic marker that makes the text stand out from pseudo-archaic texts.[3] The Book of Mormon's pervasive periphrastic *did* usage is another one.[4] The text's partly nonbiblical and often non-pseudo-archaic subordinate *that* usage is another one.[5] And so forth.

The Book of Mormon's personal relative pronoun usage has been less thoroughly covered in an earlier article and in the text-critical volume *The Nature of the Original Language* (NOL).[6] For that NOL study, large database comparisons had not been as fully carried out, nor had the view been expanded to 25 pseudo-archaic texts or to Joseph Smith's earlier epistolary writings (see the appendix for how these pseudo-archaic texts were chosen). Now I have finished making WordCruncher[7] databases — both large and small — of these texts and writings. In the case of the larger textual record of English, I am now able to closely compare Book of Mormon usage with about 10 billion words first published between the years 1473 and 1829 (the early modern corpus, EEBO,[8] has texts dated between 1473 [the first printed book in English] and 1700; the late modern corpus, ECCO,[9] has texts dated primarily between 1701 and 1800, with a relatively small number of texts first published after the year 1800).

Before considering the textual evidence, it is important to clarify the version of the Book of Mormon that must be analyzed. The dictation language must be our object of inquiry, and not the 1837 edition or the 1840 edition, so as to avoid biasing the outcome. If Joseph Smith was the author or English-language translator[10] of the Book of Mormon, then that will reveal itself in the dictation language. If he was not the author or English-language translator, then that might or might not reveal itself in a later lifetime edition, depending on what syntax and lexis is being studied, since the second and third editions contain readings that were greatly altered by conscious editing. In no other linguistic domain is that more applicable than in the text's personal relative pronoun usage, since so many of these were changed for the second edition.[11] Because of this, we must study the earliest text to avoid possibly predetermining the outcome of this linguistic study as well as others.

Another important point to bear in mind is that we look to pseudo-archaic texts to see what linguistic elements their authors were able to control and alter, elements that are usually a matter of nonconscious production, such as relative pronoun usage. In composing their texts, pseudo-archaic authors attempted to alter various formal and structural features of their native language. They were able to alter linguistic usage to an extent, and morphosyntactic features such as verb agreement and verb endings were more readily imitated than other kinds of syntax. Nevertheless, they were able to go beyond mere morphosyntactic alteration, modifying other syntactic and lexical features. We may grant to Joseph Smith, as a presumed author or translator from revealed ideas, the ability to be among the finest pseudo-archaic stylists, such as Richard Grant White, the Shakespearean scholar. The working assumption, then, is that Joseph Smith, though dictating a text with complex content, might have focused on meaning-neutral personal relative pronoun usage. But I do not assume that he was able to produce what no pseudo-archaic author produced in this domain. To go beyond that level is to enter a gray area of possible supernatural control of vocabulary, forms, and structures.

With that in mind, I compared what Joseph Smith produced in this domain with what pseudo-archaic authors produced. An examination of these texts indicates that as far as personal relative pronoun usage is concerned, Joseph Smith was unlikely to have sustained conscious manipulation of usage patterns that varied substantially from modern usage beyond some slight biblical influence. Most pseudo-archaic authors show a modern pattern, heavy in *who* or *whom*. A few produced more personal *that* than was normal for their time, showing that they were able to imitate biblical usage a little more closely, but no one came very close to being biblical in this regard. Most telling is that no pseudo-archaic author produced usage that was heavy in personal *which*, such as representing more than half the relative personal pronoun usage, as we find in the Book of Mormon. Thus, even if Joseph Smith had been able to closely imitate biblical patterns in this domain, he almost certainly would not have produced the heavy personal *which* of the Book of Mormon.

A reasonable conclusion is that the original dictation language does not present as a pseudo-archaic text in this syntactic domain. This is a pattern that is a pervasive, integral part of the language and not merely found in scattered portions of the text (there are more than 1,600 instances in mostly nonbiblical sections).

Personal Relative Pronouns and Variation

As an introduction to personal relative pronouns, consider these two pairs of simple English expressions:

- A friend **that** was at the party told me.
- A friend **who** was at the party told me.
- Someone **who** was here last night left those keys.
- Someone **that** was here last night left those keys.

The words highlighted above have to do with the variable syntax of relative pronoun selection. In the above examples, there is a choice to be made among *that* and *who* after the noun *friend* and the indefinite pronoun *someone*. As shown, there is variation in the relative pronoun used. Both *that* and *who* are acceptable to most native English speakers. When we say things like this, we do not think about which relative pronoun we use, and we probably do not even have a sense of how often we use one or the other, and after what words and in what contexts we use one more than the other. Personal relative pronoun (PRP) usage patterns are shaped by our linguistic environment — what sounds right to us depends heavily on what we have heard and read growing up.

In earlier English, there was yet another PRP option commonly available to speakers and writers: personal *which*. This is the option we see most often in the original Book of Mormon text. We can replace *that* or *who* above with *which* to get a sense of how this option sounds/reads:

- A friend **which** was at the party told me.
- Someone **which** was here last night left those keys.

Even today, we occasionally encounter the use of personal *which* in prepositional phrases — in phrases such as "many of which" or "some of which" — but besides that, we either do not encounter it or hardly ever encounter it.[12]

We can see in the textual record that English underwent broad pattern shifts over time. Usage of personal *which* (as a relative pronoun) had become rare for most English speakers well before the 19th century. By the early 1800s, the decades when Joseph Smith was absorbing information from his linguistic environment, a bare minimum of personal *which* usage was the norm for most English speakers and in most dialects, including in Joseph's own American English dialect. This can be seen in Google's Ngram Viewer,[13] where we can compare usage rates of "anyone/someone who/that/which."
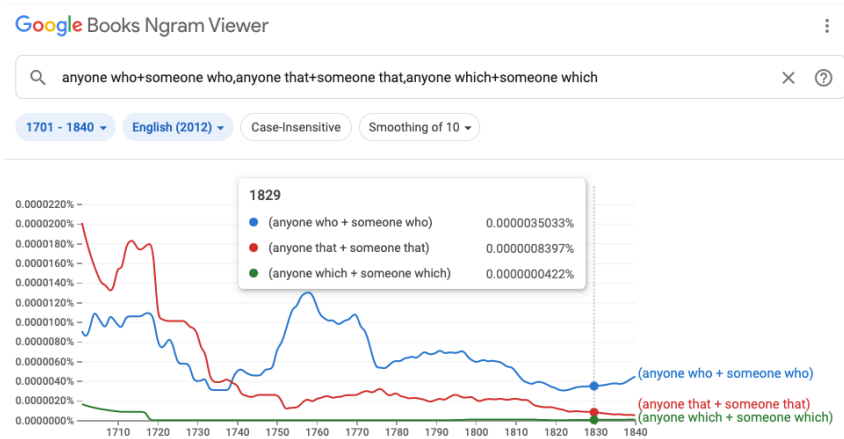
Figure 1. Late modern personal relative pronoun rates after indefinite pronouns.[14]

Figure 1 indicates that *anyone who* and *someone who* were dominant in the 1820s over *anyone that* and *someone that;* and *anyone which* and *someone which* are two orders of magnitude below the *who* variants. In the early 1700s, "anyone/someone that" was still dominant, but by the late 1700s "anyone/someone who" was dominant. Though it would not be unusual to find scattered instances of personal *which* in Joseph's day, including in his own early writings (there are two of them), the use of personal *which* was dwarfed by competing options.

It is important to keep in mind that PRP selection can vary considerably, even for a single author. It would be unusual for an earlier English author or translator, in a lengthy text, to use just one of the three PRP options all of the time. This can be seen in many writings of the past, including the King James Bible and the Book of Mormon. Here are four examples of PRP variation after the demonstrative personal pronoun *those:*

Ezra 8:35	Also the children of **those that** had been carried away **which** were come out of the captivity,
Mosiah 15:21	yea, even a resurrection of **those that** have been and **which** are and **which** shall be,
1574, EEBO A69056	So then what shall become of **those that** have nothing but infirmity, and **which** have scarcely received three drops of courageousness to sustain themselves withal in the mids[t] of their afflictions?
1690, EEBO A30434	we must likewise believe that he loves **those that** are truly good, and are conformable to

> his own nature, and that he has an aversion
> to **those who** are contrary to it, and **that** are
> defiled and impure:

In these excerpts, we see *those that* varying closely with "those ... which." The last excerpt has *those that*, then *those who*, followed by "those ... that." These are examples of nearby PRP variation, which was and still is part of natural language use.

This study compares the PRP usage found in the Book of Mormon and the following:

- Joseph Smith's early writings (10 letters and his 1832 personal history)[15]
- 25 pseudo-archaic writings (see the appendix)
- the King James Bible
- tens of thousands of early modern and (late) modern texts (EEBO [1473–1700] and ECCO [1701–1800+])

If Joseph was the author or translator of the text, then we reasonably expect a number of syntactic structures in the Book of Mormon to roughly match any of three things: King James–style, which he was presumably imitating; the usage of various pseudo-archaic authors, who were trying to mimic biblical and/or archaic usage; or his own way of expressing things. Examining how these sources employed PRPs reveals that Book of Mormon usage is unexpected and out of the ordinary.

The approach taken for this study was to compare complete datasets with each other and syntactically sampled sets with each other. In particular, all instances found in the Book of Mormon have been compared against all instances found in Joseph Smith's early writings. Also, syntactically and semantically sampled instances from the Book of Mormon have been compared to syntactically and semantically sampled instances taken from the first three items listed above. Finally, a more limited type of PRP usage was compared between all the texts and corpora, as discussed below.[16]

A Complete Comparison of PRP Patterns

In comparing the PRP usage of Joseph Smith's early writings and the Book of Mormon, all potential instances were noted, except those occurring in sections heavy in biblical quoting. Nonbiblical language was targeted, as it is hypothetically more likely to represent Joseph's own usage, without external linguistic influence or contamination. Both texts have easily identifiable biblical quotations as well as instances of biblical

blending. I did not include the PRP usage found in the most obvious biblical quotations, but it was included in borderline cases involving biblical blending.

With these exclusions, the distribution of PRP selection in the Book of Mormon and Joseph's early writings is shown in Table 1.

	that	*which*	*who(m)*	Total
Book of Mormon, *nonbiblical*	370	939	300	1,609
Early writings, *nonbiblical*	13	2	49	64
$X^2 \approx 132.6$, $p \approx 2\times10^{-29}$; $p \approx 6\times10^{-10}$ ($n = 50$).				
Book of Mormon, *nonbiblical*	23.0%	58.4%	18.6%	
Early writings, *nonbiblical*	20.3%	3.1%	76.6%	

Table 1. PRP instances and rates in the Book of Mormon and Joseph Smith's early writings (nonbiblical sections).[17]

Because chi-square tests can be very sensitive to large n's — as occur in the King James Bible and the Book of Mormon in this case — I ran chi-square tests for all the texts using not only the raw numbers, but also using $n = 50$ as a common baseline. In order to achieve $n = 50$, seven texts had their observed numbers reduced and eight texts had their observed numbers increased (see Table 4 for a complete listing of the raw numbers and the chi-square tests; Table 5 shows the tests run on reduced numbers).
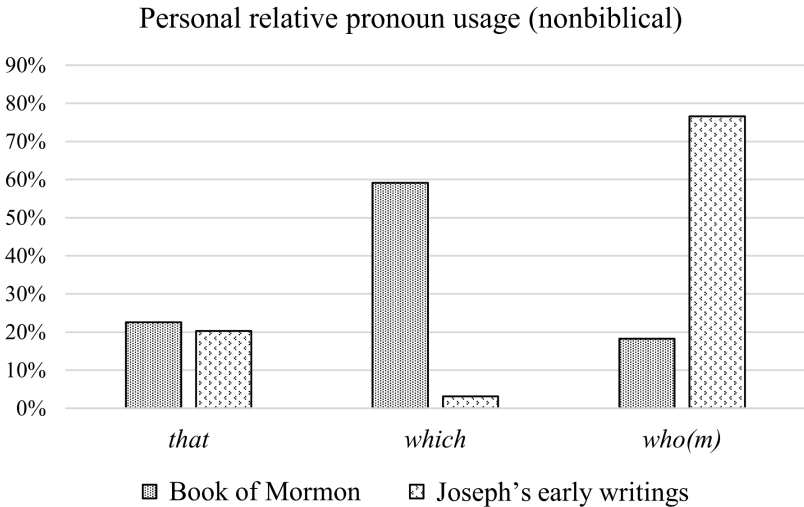

Figure 2. PRP rates in the Book of Mormon and Joseph's early writings (nonbiblical).

This comparison shows large differences in the case of *which* and *who(m)*. In the Book of Mormon, *which* is strongly preferred, with *that* slightly exceeding *who(m)*. In contrast, Joseph Smith had a strong personal preference for *who(m)* over *that*, with *which* a distant third. Figure 2 graphically shows that Joseph's native PRP usage pattern was markedly different from that of the Book of Mormon.

The big picture is that the Book of Mormon is more than half personal *which*, and Joseph Smith's native preference was more than two-thirds *who* or *whom*.

A Comparison of Large Subsets of PRP Instances

Next to check were authors who were trying to emulate biblical/archaic patterns, to find out whether they produced anything like the Book of Mormon's pattern. For the above comparison, I noted virtually all instances of PRP usage. But in comparing Book of Mormon usage with what is found in 25 pseudo-archaic texts and the King James Bible, I sampled a large portion of PRP usage systematically, noting usage in contexts with higher frequency antecedents[18] and without any intervening punctuation (thus reducing false positives as well as focusing on relative clauses mostly restrictive in function).[19] Thus the sampling was not randomly determined but was based on syntax and semantics, so the comparisons were more likely to have greater relevance.[20]

Among the 25 pseudo-archaic texts examined, there was no matching whatsoever with the Book of Mormon's PRP patterns, whether we consider the 12 longer pseudo-archaic texts or the 13 shorter ones. In the 12 longer texts, none of the authors preferred *which* over the other two possibilities. Eight of the 12 clearly preferred *who(m)* to *that*, with *which* a distant third. This preference is a modern profile and it matches what we see in Joseph Smith's personal writings, as shown above. As a result, the chi-square tests between these eight texts and his early writings are not statistically significant — that is, $p > 0.05$. The pattern of these eight longer pseudo-archaic texts, then, was the most likely one for Joseph to have produced in an effort to produce biblical archaism.

Three of the 12 longer texts reflected, to a slight degree, a biblical preference for personal *that*. This was the second most likely result for the Book of Mormon, had it been the result of a pseudo-archaic effort. Only one of the 12 split usage among personal *that* and *who(m)*. Ten of the 12 did not employ any personal *which* in the targeted contexts, and the two that did employ personal *which* employed it at far lower rates

than occurs in the Book of Mormon, especially Gilbert Hunt, whose personal *which* usage in *The Late War* stands at only three percent.[21]

The only pseudo-archaic author who employed personal *which* at a non-negligible rate was the Shakespearean scholar Richard Grant White, who wrote his text, *The New Gospel of Peace*,[22] three decades after the Book of Mormon. His greater familiarity with Early Modern English might explain his somewhat elevated personal *which* usage. Nevertheless, White's personal *which* usage rate of 18 percent is still far below the Book of Mormon's rate in the targeted context, 52 percent.[23]

White's pseudo-archaic text is one of the best in terms of producing earlier usage, in several different ways, not just in PRP usage. As an example from this domain, among all pseudo-archaic texts, White's text is the only one with instances of personal *them which* (14 of them), as in the following excerpt:

2:6:14 they fell upon **them which** were already free in Gotham

The King James Bible has more than 100 instances of the string "them which" and the Book of Mormon has 34 in nonbiblical contexts, as in these two examples:

Judges 14:19   and gave change of garments unto **them which** expounded the riddle

3 Nephi 3:14   — or of all **them which** were numbered among the Nephites —

The occurrence of personal "them which" in a text is either a small sign of true archaism, knowledge of earlier archaism, or a great ability to reproduce biblical archaism.

The rates of PRP selection in the King James Bible compared with the Book of Mormon (syntactically and semantically sampled) are as shown in Table 2.

	that	*which*	*who(m)*	Total
King James Bible	86%	10%	4%	3,194
Book of Mormon	31%	52%	17%	837

$X^2 \approx 1067$, $p \approx 2{\times}10^{-232}$; $p \approx 1{\times}10^{-7}$ ($n = 50$)

Table 2. PRP rates in the King James Bible and the Book of Mormon with high-frequency antecedents and in restrictive relative clauses (no intervening punctuation).

Figure 3 shows how different from each other these usage patterns are. In restrictive relative clauses, the King James Bible is dominant

in personal that (more than 75 percent) and the Book of Mormon is dominant in personal which (more than 50 percent). The biblical pattern was the dominant early modern profile, and the Book of Mormon's pattern was a much less common early modern profile.[24]

Personal relative pronoun usage (partial)
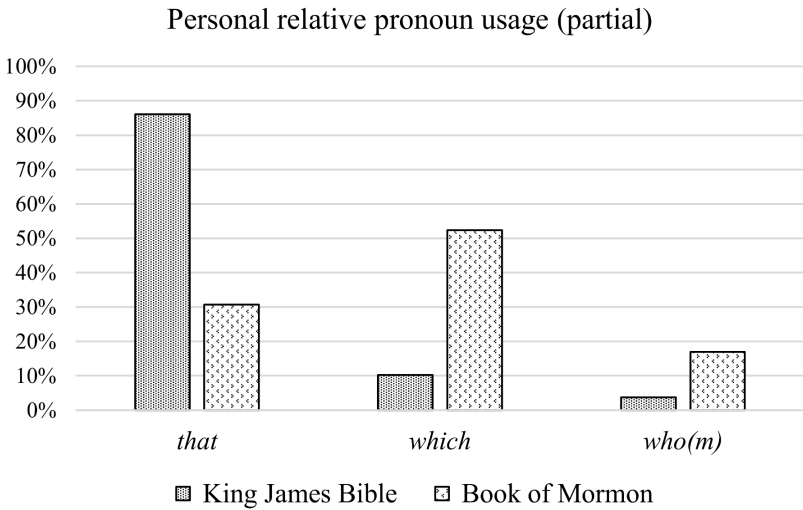
Figure 3. PRP rates in the Bible and Book of Mormon.

A Comparison of PRP Usage After *He* and *They*

In order to reliably tally PRP usage in tens of thousands of texts, without individual inspection, we can reduce the number of false positives by limiting the antecedents to subject pronouns, the most frequent being *he* and *they*. By limiting searches to the following strings —

he that • he which • he who(m)   they that • they which • they who(m)

— we obtain tallies of textual usage that allow us to determine closeness of fit with the Book of Mormon's pattern somewhat more easily. The databases I inspected — EEBO and ECCO — yielded 26,101 texts[25] with at least 20 instances of "he/they <rel.pron.>" (no intervening punctuation allowed).

Besides facilitating a reliable scan of tens of thousands of texts without generating very many false positives, this is also a way to focus on greater archaism, since a high usage rate of "he/they <rel.pron.>" is more characteristic of earlier modes of expression. In other words, texts with relatively large amounts of "he/they <rel.pron.>" tend to be more

archaic.[26] Alternatives such as "(any/some) one <rel.pron.>" and "those <rel.pron.>" began to be used more heavily as time went on.

The Book of Mormon has a striking pattern divergence that hinges on whether the antecedent is *he* or *they* (n = 228, nonbiblical sections). Personal *which* is dominant after *they;* personal *that* is dominant after *he*, as shown in Figure 4.

Book of Mormon PRP usage after *he* and *they*

☒ "he that", etc.   ☐ "they that", etc.
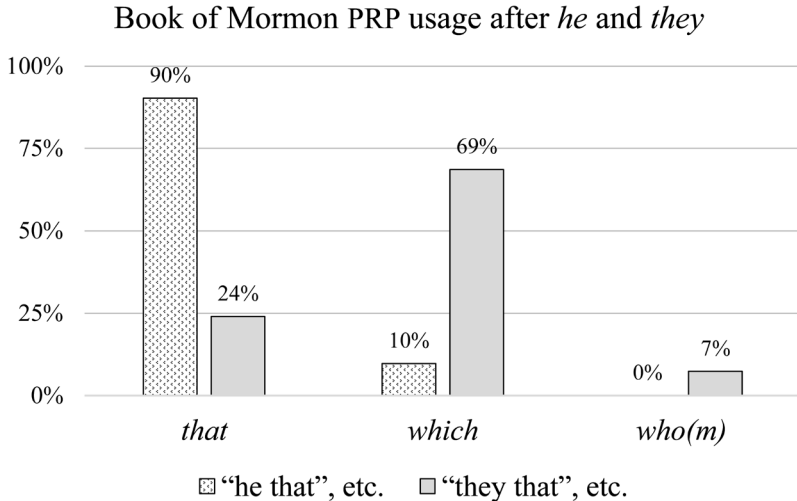
Figure 4. Divergence in PRP rates after *he* and *they* in the Book of Mormon [$X^2 \approx 91.5$, $p \approx 1\times10^{-20}$; $p \approx 1\times10^{-10}$ ($n = 50$)]

The Book of Mormon's *he* and *they* patterns are noticeably different. As Figure 4 indicates, there was originally no "he who(m)" in the nonbiblical sections of the Book of Mormon (there is one biblical instance at 2 Nephi 24:6: "He who smote the people in wrath"). The text has been edited so that the 1981/2013 edition has eight instances of "he who" in nonbiblical sections.

Figure 5 compares "he/they <rel.pron.>" usage in the King James Bible and the Book of Mormon. This chart shows the closeness of the scriptural patterns when the antecedent is *he* (on the left) and the strong divergence in the case of *they* (on the right). The chi-square test yields an extremely small p-value (though again, statistical calculations are not needed to demonstrate the obvious differences).

The entire EEBO database was found to have 82 texts ($n \geq 20$; a handful of these near duplicates) in which the raw tallies were a close fit with this particular Book of Mormon usage pattern.[27] In some of these texts, all instances of "they that/which" are personal; in other texts, some

instances are nonpersonal. For example, in the closest matching text — Thomas Cartwright [1535–1603] (attributed name), *A second admonition to the parliament* (1572), A18079 — all instances of "they that/which" are personal. But in Thomas Elyot's *The Castle of Health* (1536), some instances of "they that/which" are nonpersonal, and the closeness of fit with the Book of Mormon is slightly less than the raw result.[28]

Comparison of personal relative pronoun usage after *he* and *they*
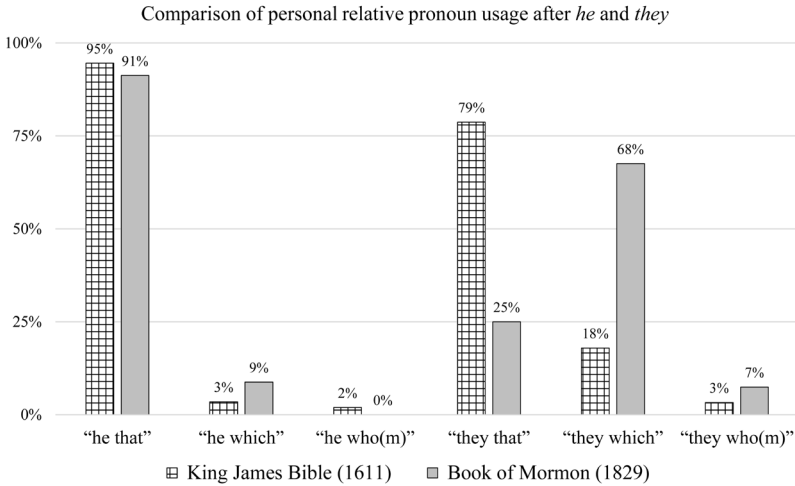
Figure 5. Comparison of "he/they <rel.pron.>" in the Bible and Book of Mormon. [$N_{(King James Bible)}$ = 1,134; $N_{(Book of Mormon)}$ = 228, nonbiblical sections; $X^2 \approx 1067$, p $\approx 2{\times}10^{-232}$; p ≈ 0.0003 ($n = 50$)]

In the Book of Mormon, the divergence is limited to pronominal antecedents and not necessarily related to number — that is, it is not a general singular/plural divergence, since singular noun phrases do not show a preference for personal *that* over personal *which*. Both singular and plural noun phrases, when divided into two groups, show a preference for personal *which*. However, plural noun phrases do take *which* to a higher degree than singular noun phrases (approximately 80 percent versus 60 percent).

These closely matching EEBO texts provide evidence that this pattern divergence occurred in earlier English. The average matching date is 1604, and the weighted average date, taking into account publication rates increasing over time, is close to 1580. Shown in Figure 6 is the EEBO text whose PRP usage after *he* and *they* matches Book of Mormon usage most closely.

Comparison of personal relative pronoun usage after *he* and *they*
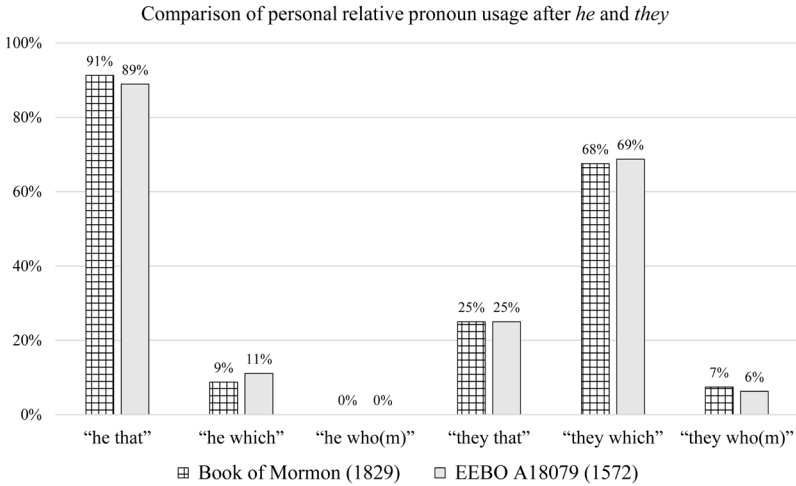
Figure 6. Comparison of "he/they <rel.pron.>" in the Book of Mormon and a text published in 1572, attributed to Thomas Cartwright.
[$N_{(Book\ of\ Mormon)}$ = 228, nonbiblical sections; $N_{(EEBO\ A18079)}$ = 25;
$X^2 \approx 0.095$, p $\approx$ 0.9999; p $\approx$ 0.9998 (*n* = 50)]

∎ ∎ ∎

Out of just over 195,000 mostly 18th-century ECCO volumes (many thousands of these near duplicates, and some of these early 19th-century texts), only five distinct texts were found to match the Book of Mormon closely (a sixth text was a near duplicate). All five turned out to be early modern texts. One was by an author born in 1589, Timothy Rogers (1618, CW0122204280 [1784]: *A Righteous Man's Evidence(s) for Heaven*).[29] Two texts contained extracts from John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, first published in the 1560s (CW0117792407, 1751; CW0117389458, 1761). A fourth ECCO text contained memorials from the time of Queen Elizabeth and King James I (CW0106210422, 1725). A fifth text was a 1575 translation of a Galatians commentary by Martin Luther (CW0119359562, 1774).

Only the longer pseudo-archaic texts turned out to have instances of "he/they <rel.pron.>" (10 of the 12 longer texts). Of these 10, five had at least 19 instances. Among these five pseudo-archaic texts, there was no close fit with the Book of Mormon's pattern. The Book of Mormon has 73 instances of "he that" and 100 instances of "they which." The five pseudo-archaic texts have between 6 and 19 instances of "he that," but only one text had instances of "they which" (five of them): Richard Grant White's

New Gospel of Peace (1863). Figure 7 compares the Book of Mormon with the sum of the 10 longer pseudo-archaic texts in this domain.

Comparison of personal relative pronoun usage after *he* and *they*
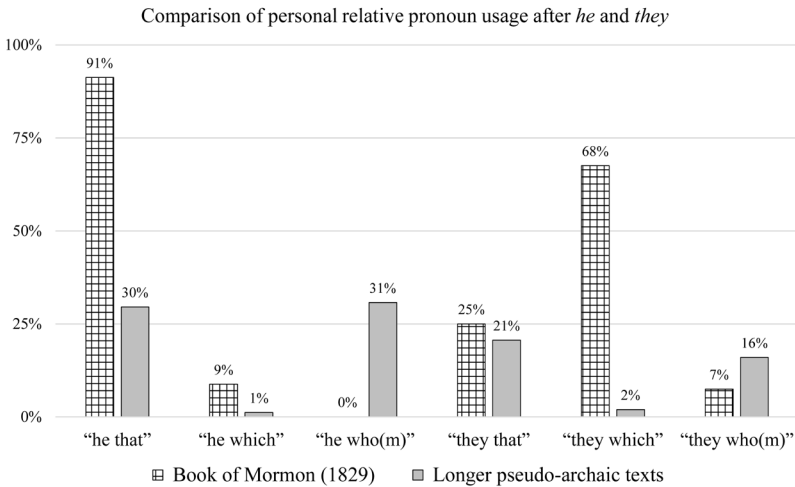
Figure 7. Comparison of "he/they <PRP>"
in the Book of Mormon and 10 longer pseudo-archaic texts.
[$N_{(Book\ of\ Mormon)}$ = 228; $N_{(pseudo\text{-}archaic)}$ = 257; $X^2 \approx 189.8$,
$p \approx 4 \times 10^{-39}$; $p \approx 3 \times 10^{-7}$ ($n = 50$)]

The distribution profiles are noticeably different, with the most noticeable differences between "he/they who(m)" and "they which" usage.

It is also instructive to make "he/they <rel.pron.>" comparisons of White's 1863 pseudo-archaic text ($n = 63$) with texts from the EEBO and the ECCO databases that have at least 20 instances. The Shakespearean scholar White knew much more Early Modern English in his time than Joseph Smith did in the 1820s. While the Book of Mormon closely matches 82 EEBO texts, White's *New Gospel of Peace* closely matches only 40 EEBO texts, about half the number. The average year of these closely matching texts is 1665 (the weighted average year is about 1650; publication dates range between 1600 and 1700). The weighted average years of texts that closely match the "he/they <rel.pron.>" patterns of the Book of Mormon and White's pseudo-archaic text are 70 years apart. Furthermore, if publishing rates of titles had been steady across the decades of the early modern period, then the Book of Mormon would have probably closely matched between five and ten times as many EEBO texts as White's pseudo-archaic text.

In comparisons of more than 18,000 eighteenth-century texts (ECCO database, $n \geq 20$), White's text closely matches 93 texts, many of these actually 18th-century texts (an unknown number of these are duplicates or from the early modern era).[30] As mentioned, the Book of Mormon closely matches only five distinct texts (six total), all early modern. Thus, the Book of Mormon presents as an older and even a genuinely archaic text in this domain, while White's text, though linguistically speaking a fine pseudo-archaic effort, is a borderline early/late modern case, and much less archaic than Joseph's dictation language. Table 3 summarizes these results.

	EEBO Texts	ECCO Texts
Book of Mormon	82 (avg. yr: 1580)	6 (all early modern)
New Gospel of Peace	40 (avg. yr: 1650)	93 (late & early modern mix)

Table 3. Close matching with the "he/they <rel.pron.>" profiles of the Book of Mormon and Richard Grant White's 1863 pseudo-archaic text.[31]

Conclusion

The statistical argument for each scenario outlined above is compelling — whether we look at all PRP usage, a subset involving high-frequency antecedents, or just contexts involving the subject pronouns *he* and *they*. We can tell with exceptionally high confidence that the Book of Mormon's PRP patterns were not derived from Joseph Smith's own patterns, from the King James Bible, or from attempting to imitate biblical and/or archaic style. We can also tell that the patterns do match a less-common pattern that prevailed during the middle portion of the early modern period, but not in the 18th century — a pattern with an overall preference of personal *which* over *that* or *who(m)*.

In the case involving more antecedents than just *he* and *they*, a simple examination of the dramatic differences shown here or an application of standard chi-square tests of the raw numbers (see the appendix) indicate that the Book of Mormon's PRP pattern would not have been achieved by closely following the patterns of the King James Bible, pseudo-archaic works, or Joseph's own dialectal profile, which at times was biblically influenced. The large differences in PRP usage between the Book of Mormon and the King James Bible and pseudo-archaic works indicate a different authorial preference for these sets of texts — a preference that is mostly nonconscious, as shown by an inability of pseudo-archaic authors to sustain archaic/biblical usage over long stretches. The Book of Mormon is not a match with the usage in Joseph's

personal writings, as his own patterns fit comfortably in the late modern period, as do most contemporary pseudo-archaic works.

This point has been made in other contexts, including various iterations of stylometric analysis, but the force of the data is difficult to deny, even though it is based on only a single linguistic feature. (These PRP comparisons are in effect a kind of focused, precise stylometry.) Furthermore, the data lead us clearly away from Joseph as author or English-language translator and toward a specific time period — the only time when we find textual matching with the Book of Mormon's archaic PRP distribution rates: the early modern era, and primarily the second half of the 1500s and the first decade of the 1600s. The textual evidence establishes the early modern period as the best and only fit for these Book of Mormon patterns. Indeed, the early modern sensibility of this aspect of the syntax is undeniable. These distinctive PRP patterns as well as the text's striking preference for finite clausal complementation and the archaic nature of the verbal system, in all its complexity, go a long way toward establishing the vast majority of its syntax as early modern. This means that Book of Mormon content occurs within a framework of mostly early modern syntax.

A reviewer noted that this evidence favors Book of Mormon authenticity over the idea that the text was a flight of Joseph Smith's fancy, but was interested in finding a reason for the divergent "he that" ~ "they which" usage. This syntactic pattern is not a calque of Hebrew usage, nor is the broader pattern, as classical/biblical Hebrew did not have three synonymous PRPs. What we encounter in the original Book of Mormon text is a less-common pattern of Early Modern English. Furthermore, it has been noted that positing a simple singular–plural *that* ~ *which* distinction fails to explain the data as well.

Obviously, this is a data-driven effort to catalog and accurately characterize the original English usage of the Book of Mormon text in this domain. The comparative project as a whole reveals the clear presence of many nonbiblical, early modern elements and patterns. I prefer to avoid speculation here and will simply note that one of the important side effects of the nonbiblical, archaic syntax and lexis is to rule out Joseph Smith as the author. While we may not know why the Book of Mormon is the way it is, we can assess what it is and what it is not, based on data. And the data consistently show unexpected archaic elements that undermine theories that Joseph Smith was the one who worded the translation.

Unless we accept that Joseph consciously and dramatically altered his native PRP pattern during the 1829 dictation in a sustained fashion, as no known pseudo-archaic author did, then we can conclude that he did not select these relative pronouns for the Book of Mormon in more than 1,600 instances. By extension, unless we want to assume that Joseph's control of the text continually shifted during the dictation, we should conclude that he was not directly responsible for wording the text, in almost every instance. A considerable amount of additional syntactic and lexical evidence supports this view.

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Appendix:
The Pseudo-Archaic Corpus

A pseudo-archaic text is one in which an author attempted to emulate earlier English usage or King James style — including syntax and lexical usage — in writing a history or related work. Scriptural-style texts of widely varying lengths were popular from about the mid-1700s into the 1800s, in both the British Isles and America.

In order to make the corpus of 25 pseudo-archaic writings, I first consulted Eran Shalev's article on pseudo-biblicism[32] and the following website: https://github.com/wordtreefoundation/books (contributors: Duane Johnson, Matt White, and Chris Johnson). Then I communicated with Shalev and Duane Johnson by email, asking them whether they knew of other pseudo-archaic texts. In the process, I added a few other texts that I found on my own or that I saw mentioned online. My current corpus has longer texts up to 1863, 34 years after the Book of Mormon was set down in writing. It is more likely to be deficient in shorter pseudo-archaic texts, as there are probably many very short pseudo-archaic writings in early newspapers. Yet these are much less important for purposes of comparison with the Book of Mormon, since for the most part we are interested in sustained usage and patterns, which the shorter texts cannot provide.

Here is a list of the pseudo-archaic texts examined for purposes of comparing subordinate *that* usage; these 25 texts contain approximately 585,000 words total:

Longer pseudo-archaic texts (12)

A. Robert Dodsley, *Chronicle of the Kings of England* (1740) [London] [about 16,500 words]

B. Jacob Ilive, *The Book of Jasher* (1751) [London] [about 22,800 words]

C. John Leacock, *American Chronicles* (1775) [Philadelphia] [about 14,500 words]

D. Richard Snowden, *The American Revolution* (1793) [Philadelphia] [about 49,300 words]

E. Matthew Linning, *The First Book of Napoleon* (1809) [Edinburgh] [about 19,000 words]

F. Elias Smith, *History of Anti-Christ* (1811) [Portland ME] [about 15,000 words]

G. Gilbert Hunt, *The Late War* (1816) [New York] [about 42,500 words]

H. Roger O'Connor, *Chronicles of Eri* (1822) [London] [about 131,700 words]

I. W. K. Clementson, *The Epistles of Ignatius and Polycarp* (1827) [Brighton UK] [about 18,000 words]

J. Philemon Stewart, *Sacred Roll* (1843) [Canterbury NH] [about 62,000 words]

K. Charles Linton, *The Healing of the Nations* (1855) [New York] [about 111,000 words]

L. Richard Grant White, *The New Gospel of Peace* (1863) [New York] [about 59,000 words]

Shorter pseudo-archaic texts (13)

M. Horace Walpole, *Book of Preferment* (1742) [London] [about 2,700 words]

N. *The French Gasconade Defeated* (1743) [Boston] [about 900 words]

O. Benjamin Franklin, *Parable Against Persecution* (1755) [Philadelphia] [about 400 words]

P. *Chronicles of Nathan Ben Saddi* (1758) [Philadelphia] [about 3,000 words]

Q. Samuel Hopkins, *Samuel the Squomicutite* (1763) [Newport RI] [about 600 words]

R. *The Book of America* (1766) [Boston] [about 2,500 words]

S. Chapter 37th (1782) [*Boston Evening Post*] [about 600 words]

T. *Chronicles of John* (1812) [Charleston SC?] [about 800 words]

U. The First Book of Chronicles, Chapter the Fifth (1812) [*The Investigator*, SC] [about 1,800 words]

V. Jesse Denson, *Chronicles of Andrew* (1815) [Lexington KY] [about 4,800 words]

W. White Griswold, *A Chronicle of the Chiefs of Muttonville* (1830) [Harwinton CT] [about 900 words]

X. *Reformer Chronicles* (1832) [Buffalo NY] [about 700 words]

Y. *Chronicles of the Land of Gotham* (1888) [New York] [about 1,300 words]

Methodology

Personal relative pronoun usage can be broken down in many different ways. For instance, it can be broken down according to the antecedent involved and whether the relative pronoun is restrictive or nonrestrictive[33] and whether the relative functions as a subject pronoun or an object pronoun. I did not differentiate on the basis of subject/object function for this study, but I did focus on restrictive contexts.

For a number of the PRP comparisons, I targeted the following high-frequency antecedents: *those, they, them, he, him, man, men, people, you, ye, many, some, one, brother, brethren,* and *prophet(s).* Contexts were targeted where the PRPs were immediately adjacent to these antecedents, without intervening punctuation, as a way to screen out many false positives. Consequently, the vast majority of the PRPs ended up being restrictive. With these constraints on searches, occurrences of personal *that, which,* and *who(m)* were separately tallied.

In the case of the King James Bible,[34] the 25 pseudo-archaic texts, and Joseph's early writings, false positives were deleted by inspection. In the case of the Book of Mormon, no false positives had to be deleted by inspection, since a text tagged for part of speech was used, with all the PRPs specifically tagged. Thus, the only potential false positives were where a PRP tagging error might have affected a targeted context.

Two sets of PRP rates were calculated for the Book of Mormon and the early writings: the complete rates given first in this paper, and rates derived from a subset of their usage, as described immediately above. This was done for purposes of making the remaining comparisons align

with each other. The subset turned out to be a little more than half their total PRP usage.

Data

Table 4 shows the PRP profiles, rates, and chi-square tests for the King James Bible, the Book of Mormon, and 12 longer pseudo-archaic texts. In this case, contexts involving a limited number of high-frequency antecedents were counted. However, the two rows at the bottom marked "complete" include all known PRPs, except those that occur in longer biblical quotations. Those two data sets have only been compared against each other, showing the distinctness between Joseph Smith's and the Book of Mormon's usage distribution.

	that	*which*	*who*	TOTAL	KJB X²	BofM X²	JS-EW X²
King James Bible (1611)	2750	325	119	**3194**			
Book of Mormon (1829)	259	437	141	**837**	2E-232		
Early Writings (1829–1833)	6	1	28	**35**	2E-101	1E-19	
Chronicle of the Kings (1740)	10	0	5	**15**	1E-08	0.0003	0.003
Book of Jasher (1751)	12	0	21	**33**	3E-62	1E-12	0.14
American Chronicles (1775)	19	0	4	**23**	0.001	2E-07	5E-06
American Revolution (1793)	16	0	112	**128**	1E-290	5E-64	0.12
Napoleon the Tyrant (1809)	4	0	19	**23**	7E-76	6E-15	0.72
History of Anti-Christ (1811)	5	0	45	**50**	2E-166	5E-34	0.29
Late War (1816)	11	1	34	**46**	2E-108	3E-21	0.75
Chronicles of Eri (1822)	44	0	77	**121**	2E-164	1E-36	0.02
Ignatius and Polycarp (1827)	29	0	22	**51**	7E-42	1E-12	0.0008
Sacred Roll (1843)	54	0	116	**170**	1E-225	9E-52	0.02
Healing of the Nations (1855)	18	0	159	**177**	<1E-290	6E-83	0.04
New Gospel of Peace (1863)	85	38	87	**210**	2E-114	3E-21	0.0001
Book of Mormon, complete	370	939	300	**1609**		2E-29	
Early Writings, complete	13	2	49	**64**			

Table 4. PRP usage compared — chi-square tests based on raw numbers.

According to chi-square tests, no pseudo-archaic text came close to either the King James Bible or the Book of Mormon. As shown in Table 5, the closest texts have p-values of 0.008 and 0.0009, respectively. In contrast, most pseudo-archaic texts, when compared to Joseph Smith's earlier writings, have p-values greater than 0.05.

	that	which	who	TOTAL	KJB X²	BofM X²	JS-EW X²	that	which	who
King James Bible (1611)	2750	325	119	**3194**				86.1%	10.2%	3.7%
Book of Mormon (1829)	259	437	141	**837**	2E-07			30.9%	52.2%	16.8%
Early Writings (1829–1833)	6	1	28	**35**	1E-13	2E-10		17.1%	2.9%	80.0%
Chronicle of the Kings (1740)	10	0	5	**15**	1E-04	2E-08	3E-06	66.7%	0.0%	33.3%
Book of Jasher (1751)	12	0	21	**33**	8E-10	2E-09	0.055	36.4%	0.0%	63.6%
American Chronicles (1775)	19	0	4	**23**	**0.008**	6E-09	5E-10	82.6%	0.0%	17.4%
American Revolution (1793)	16	0	112	**128**	4E-16	2E-12	0.38	12.5%	0.0%	87.5%
Napoleon the Tyrant (1809)	4	0	19	**23**	1E-14	2E-11	0.48	17.4%	0.0%	82.6%
History of Anti-Christ (1811)	5	0	45	**50**	5E-17	5E-13	0.26	10.0%	0.0%	90.0%
Late War (1816)	11	1	34	**46**	5E-12	1E-09	**0.70**	23.9%	2.2%	73.9%
Chronicles of Eri (1822)	44	0	77	**121**	8E-10	2E-09	0.055	36.4%	0.0%	63.6%
Ignatius and Polycarp (1827)	29	0	22	**51**	4E-06	2E-08	2E-04	56.9%	0.0%	43.1%
Sacred Roll (1843)	54	0	116	**170**	8E-11	9E-10	0.13	31.8%	0.0%	68.2%
Healing of the Nations (1855)	18	0	159	**177**	6E-17	6E-13	0.27	10.2%	0.0%	89.8%
New Gospel of Peace (1863)	85	38	87	**210**	4E-06	**0.0009**	3E-04	40.5%	18.1%	41.4%
Book of Mormon, complete	370	939	300	**1609**				23.0%	58.4%	18.6%
Early Writings, complete	13	2	49	**64**		6E-10		20.3%	3.1%	76.6%

Table 5. PRP usage compared —
chi-square tests based on modified totals (*n* = 50).

Doctrine and Covenants Comparisons

A reviewer asked for additional comparisons to be done between the PRP usage of the Book of Mormon and Joseph Smith's early writings and early Doctrine and Covenants revelations. The assumption of most Latter-day Saint scholars is that Joseph Smith worded Doctrine and Covenants revelations.[35] The way to determine whether this assumption is accurate is by thorough lexical and syntactic analysis, which to my knowledge has never been done, besides some initial work I began to do in this area a few years ago. Preliminary work suggests that it was unlikely that Joseph Smith worded many or most Doctrine and Covenants revelations.[36] For example, section 9, which has no PRPs, has a few linguistic features that Joseph Smith was unlikely to produce in a pseudo-biblical effort. Because most Latter-day Saint scholars are convinced that Joseph Smith worded Doctrine and Covenants revelations, they think that the English usage of these revelations reflects his pseudo-archaic style. However, because that view has not been established and could very well be wrong, it is certainly wrong to proceed on that basis.

Doctrine and Covenants revelations present the analyst with various difficulties. I will mention two here. First, in many instances we do not have the original manuscripts, and so we cannot be sure of the original readings, especially when all we have in some cases are copies of copies. Some of what is extant shows that editing for style and grammar occurred in the copying process. Second, the individual revelations are short and

their textual histories are unique and their PRP profiles are very limited and often dissimilar. All this makes statistical comparisons less reliable and less consequential.

In any event, I compared the complete PRP profiles of the Book of Mormon and Joseph Smith's early writings with the complete PRP profile of the earliest full versions of early Doctrine and Covenants revelations, from section 3 to section 19 ($n = 50$).[37] I also compared these profiles with the complete PRP profile of the King James version of Genesis. The p-values of chi-square tesfts show that the pattern found in the earliest full versions of early Doctrine and Covenants revelations is statistically indistinguishable from that of the Book of Genesis ($n = 148$; $X^2 \approx 0.88$, $p \approx 0.64$). In contrast, the early D&C PRP pattern is not statistically similar to that of the Book of Mormon ($n = 1,609$; $X^2 \approx 22.9$, $p \approx 1\times10^{-5}$) and even more different from the PRP pattern of Joseph Smith's early writings ($n = 64$; $X^2 \approx 35.7$, $p \approx 2\times10^{-8}$). These results, though their reliability is low, tend to reinforce the views expressed in this paper. In addition, Joseph Smith's PRP pattern compared to that of the Book of Genesis is $X^2 \approx 66.5$, $p \approx 4\times10^{-15}$, and the comparison of the Book of Mormon to the Book of Genesis is $X^2 \approx 41.6$, $p \approx 9\times10^{-10}$.

"Those <PRP>"

It is possible, of course, to focus on various subsets of the Book of Mormon's PRP usage; one of these involves the antecedent *those*. The Book of Mormon has more than 200 instances of "those <PRP>," as does the King James Bible, but their PRP profiles are clearly quite different, as shown in Figure 8.

In the case of the Book of Mormon, personal *which* is still dominant after *those*, but *those who(m)* exceeds *those that*, usage that is unlike its overall PRP profile.

A search was made among EEBO Phase 1 texts to see if there were any that closely matched the Book of Mormon in this regard. It was found that most texts did not. Among the few potential candidates that did come up, George Downham wrote a book in 1611 (EEBO A20733) whose usage profile of "those <PRP>" turned out, after individual inspection, to closely match the profile of the Book of Mormon, a text produced 218 years later. The "those <PRP>" profile of Downham's work is {*that* = 26, *which* = 62, *who(m)* = 49; $n = 137$}; the Book of Mormon's profile is {*that* = 37, *which* = 100, *who(m)* = 79; $n = 213$}. These PRP profiles are quite similar, as shown in Figure 9.

Personal relative pronoun usage with *those*
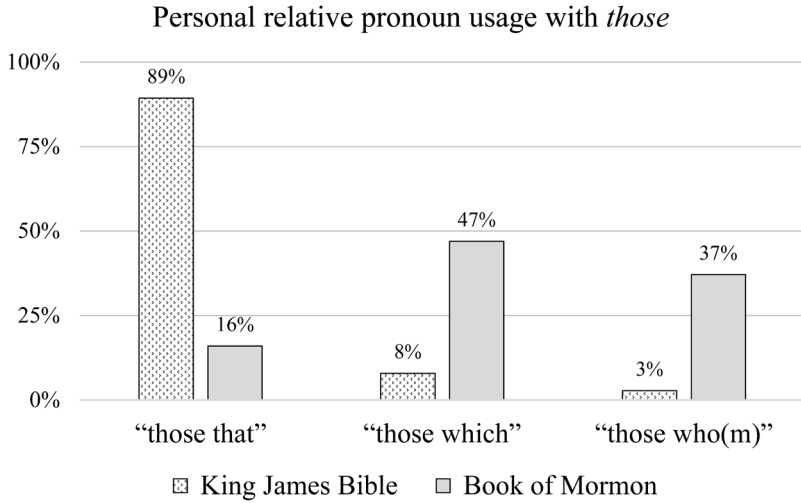
Figure 8. Comparison of "those <PRP>" in the Bible and Book of Mormon. [$X^2 \approx 268.4$, $p \approx 5 \times 10^{-59}$; $p \approx 2 \times 10^{-12}$ ($n = 50$)]

Personal relative pronoun usage with *those*
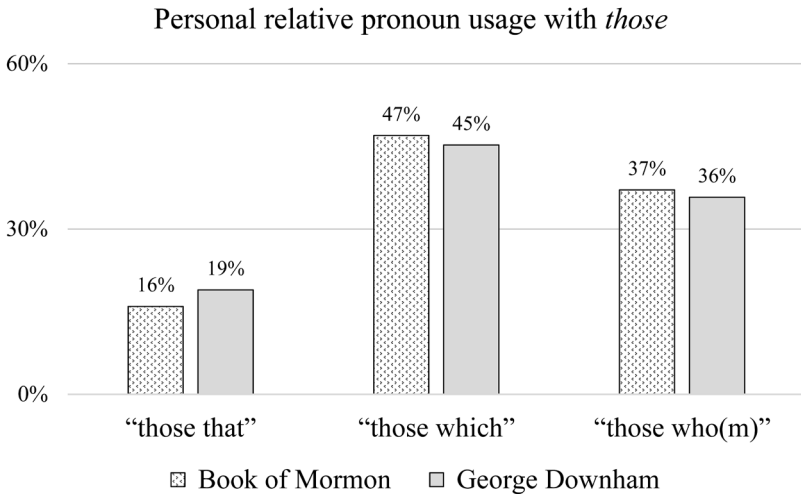
Figure 9. Comparison of "those <PRP>" in the Book of Mormon and EEBO A20733 (1611). [$X^2 \approx 0.20$, $p \approx 0.91$; $p \approx 0.90$ ($n = 50$)]

Here is an excerpt of Downham's early 17th-century language, where we can read two instances of "those which," usage that occurred in the dictation language of the Book of Mormon 100 times:

1611, A20733

> to prescribe orders for amendment of life, to excommunicate **those which** willfully and obstinately resist, to receive into grace **those which** be penitent,
>> George Downham (sometimes spelled Downame) was originally from Chester and became bishop of Derry in 1616.

Comparing biblical and nonbiblical PRP rates in the Book of Mormon

Examining the Book of Mormon's biblical quotations, we find that the King James text clearly influenced PRP selection in those sections. This is the case even though a few instances of biblical personal *that* occurred as personal *which* in the dictation. As shown in Table 6, the influence is unmistakable because of the large difference in PRP distribution. This comparison supports the strong view that what we have in the Book of Mormon is biblical quoting, not biblical paraphrasing. In addition, because there is no support from the manuscripts or from dictation eyewitnesses that Joseph Smith used a King James Bible during the dictation, this is further indication that biblical material was transmitted to him in a pre-edited state.

	that	*which*	*who(m)*	Total
Biblical section	70.9%	23.6%	5.5%	199
Nonbiblical sections	23.0%	58.4%	18.6%	1,609

$X^2 \approx 200$, $p \approx 3\times10^{-44}$; $p \approx 0.0003$ ($n = 50$).

Table 6. Comparison of biblical and nonbiblical PRP rates in the Book of Mormon.

Note: Most instances of personal *which* in the biblical quotations were edited for the 1837 edition to read *who(m)*, even when personal *which* was the King James reading. See Royal Skousen, *Grammatical Variation* 1189*ff* for a complete listing of the edits.

Endnotes

1 Excerpt taken from the Book of Mormon with a personal relative pronoun shown in bold. This is the reading of the original text; see Royal Skousen, ed., *The Book of Mormon: The Earliest Text* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), 71; https://bookofmormoncentral.org/content/book-mormon-earliest-text; see also Joseph Smith, *The Book of Mormon* (Palmyra, NY:

E. B. Grandin, 1830), 58, "Book of Mormon, 1830," p. 58, *The Joseph Smith Papers*, https://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/book-of-mormon-1830/64. This short excerpt now reads with a *who* instead of a *which*.

2   See Royal Skousen, *The Nature of the Original Language* (Provo, UT: FARMS and BYU Studies, 2018), 574–611; see also Stanford Carmack, "Is the Book of Mormon a Pseudo-Archaic Text?" *Interpreter: A Journal of Latter-day Saint Faith and Scholarship* 28 (2018): 208–24, https://journal.interpreterfoundation.org/is-the-book-of-mormon-a-pseudo-archaic-text/.

When a verb is complemented by a clause in finite form, that object clause has a finite main verb or auxiliary verb. An example of finite verbal complementation in the Book of Mormon is "he can cause the earth **that** it shall pass away" (1 Nephi 17:46). In this excerpt, the verb *cause* takes an object, "the earth," and an object clause, "that it shall pass away." This is a complex finite construction since there is an extra constituent before the *that*-clause. This structure is quite different from how we normally express this concept, which is with infinitival complementation: "he can cause the earth **to** pass away."

See also examples of complex finite complementation in Royal Skousen, "The Language of the Original Text of the Book of Mormon," *BYU Studies Quarterly* 57, no. 3 (2018): 103–104, https://byustudies.byu.edu/article/the-language-of-the-original-text-of-the-book-of-mormon/.

3   There are examples with *shall* functioning as a subjunctive marker in a discussion of verbs of influence in Carmack, "Is the Book of Mormon a Pseudo-Archaic Text?" 208–24; there are additional examples in a discussion of *lest* at pages 189–93.

4   Stanford Carmack, "The Implications of Past-Tense Syntax in the Book of Mormon," *Interpreter: A Journal of Latter-day Saint Faith and Scholarship* 14 (2015): 119–86, https://journal.interpreterfoundation.org/the-implications-of-past-tense-syntax-in-the-book-of-mormon/.

5   Stanford Carmack, "A Comparison of the Book of Mormon's Subordinate *That* Usage," *Interpreter: A Journal of Latter-day Saint Faith and Scholarship* (forthcoming).

6 See Carmack, "Is the Book of Mormon a Pseudo-Archaic Text?" 208–24; and Skousen, *The Nature of the Original Language*, 614–18.

7 WordCruncher is a software product for searching texts developed at Brigham Young University and currently supported by Digital Humanities at that university. It is freely available for download at https://wordcruncher.com/.

8 Early English Books Online, https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebogroup.

9 Eighteenth Century Collections Online, https://www.gale.com/primary-sources/eighteenth-century-collections-online.

10 The term *translator* is used in the abstract and in the body of the paper with a default sense. The findings do not exclude Joseph Smith being a translator in another primary sense of the word. And in neither case — whether we take the revelation to be one of words or ideas — was he a translator in the usual sense of the word, since he did not know any of the source languages in 1829. This point has been misunderstood through the years, with some still assuming that Joseph was a translator in the default sense under a revelation of ideas but not under a revelation of words.

   Definition 1a for the verb *translate* in the second edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (CD-ROM, v4, Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2009) covers the Book of Mormon case; in the online third edition (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2021, https://www.oed.com/), it is found under definition 3a. Definition 4 of the third edition would also be applicable to a revealed-ideas approach. (Many OED definitions and numbering have been substantially changed in the online third edition.)

11 See Royal Skousen, *Grammatical Variation* [GV] (Provo, UT: FARMS and *BYU Studies*, 2016), 1189–209.

12 In "many of which," etc., *which* is an object of a preposition rather than a relative pronoun.

13 "Google Books Ngram Viewer," https://books.google.com/ngrams.

14 "Google Books Ngram Viewer," https://books.google.com/ngrams/graph?content=anyone+who%2Bsomeone+who%2Canyone+that%2Bsomeone+that%2Canyone+which%2Bsomeone+which&year_start=1701&year_end=1840&corpus=15&smoothing=10#. The actual personal *that* and *which* values are even lower

than the curves shown in the chart, since these words do not function as PRPs after *anyone* and *someone* to as great a degree as they do after the relative pronoun *who*. Also, the *who* curve would be slightly higher if *whom* were included.

15 The early writings of Joseph Smith that were analyzed for this study, up to January 1833, are as follows: "Letter to Oliver Cowdery, 22 October 1829," p. 9, The Joseph Smith Papers, https://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/letter-to-oliver-cowdery-22-october-1829/1; "Letter to the Church in Colesville, 2 December 1830," p. 196, The Joseph Smith Papers, https://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/letter-to-the-church-in-colesville-2-december-1830/1; "Letter to Martin Harris, 22 February 1831," p. [1], The Joseph Smith Papers, https://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/letter-to-martin-harris-22-february-1831/1; "Letter to Hyrum Smith, 3–4 March 1831," p. [1], The Joseph Smith Papers, https://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/letter-to-hyrum-smith-3-4-march-1831/1; "Letter to Emma Smith, 6 June 1832," p. [1], The Joseph Smith Papers, https://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/letter-to-emma-smith-6-june-1832/1; "Letter to William W. Phelps, 31 July 1832," p. 1, The Joseph Smith Papers, https://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/letter-to-william-w-phelps-31-july-1832/1; "Letter to Emma Smith, 13 October 1832," p. [1], The Joseph Smith Papers, https://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/letter-to-emma-smith-13-october-1832/1; "Letter to William W. Phelps, 27 November 1832," p. 1, The Joseph Smith Papers, https://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/letter-to-william-w-phelps-27-november-1832/1; "Letter to Noah C. Saxton, 4 January 1833," p. 14, The Joseph Smith Papers, https://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/letter-to-noah-c-saxton-4-january-1833/1; "Letter to William W. Phelps, 11 January 1833," p. 18, The Joseph Smith Papers, https://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/letter-to-william-w-phelps-11-january-1833/1; "History, circa Summer 1832," p. 1, The Joseph Smith Papers, https://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/history-circa-summer-1832/1.

16 To repeat, with a little more detail, I compared all PRP instances in the Book of Mormon with all PRP instances in Joseph Smith's early writings, and I also compared samples of PRP usage, selected semantically and syntactically (by antecedent and by

focusing on restrictive relatives, not nonrestrictive relatives), so that the comparisons were between very similar usage, not dissimilar usage. In this way, I sampled the usage occurring in the Book of Mormon, the King James Bible, pseudo-archaic texts, and Joseph Smith's early writings; and then I compared their individual sampled usage with that of all these texts or corpora. And I also compared restrictive relative pronoun usage after *he* and *they* between texts or corpora that had material amounts of these.

17 Statistical analysis is actually not needed to illustrate the significance of the dramatic differences in usage, since a simple examination of the data or the charts in Figures 2 and 3 is sufficient, but chi-square results are provided for those interested. A chi-square test is a statistical hypothesis test used to determine whether there is a statistically significant difference between observed and expected frequencies in a contingency table, such as the above. Low p-values lead one to reject the null hypothesis. In this case, the null hypothesis might be that there is no statistically meaningful difference between the observed and the expected PRP patterns of the Book of Mormon and Joseph Smith's early writings.

18 See the appendix for details.

19 Restrictive relative pronouns restrict or clarify the meaning of the nouns they refer to. For example, in the expression "he loves those that are truly good," the scope of *those* is restricted by the relative clause to mean only those who are truly good.

20 This can be shown to be a more accurate sampling technique than mere random sampling, since the latter will inevitably include more false positives with nonpersonal antecedents. Some methodological details are found in the appendix.

21 Out of the 12 longer pseudo-archaic texts tested, Gilbert Hunt's pseudo-archaic text has the highest p-value ($p \approx 0.70$), indicating that his profile was the most like Joseph Smith's profile.

22 Richard Grant White, *The New Gospel of Peace* (New York: Sinclair Tousey, 1863), https://archive.org/details/newgospelofpeace02whit/page/n7/mode/2up.

23 A detailed view of the patterns within the longer pseudo-archaic texts is given in Table 5 in the appendix.

24 The EEBO Phase 1 database (EEBO$_1$) has been examined systematically for PRP usage trends. It shows that personal *that* was dominant in Early Modern English until the 1690s, when majority usage switched to *who(m)*. The late 1500s was a time of peak personal *which* usage, with a small percentage of writers preferring *which* over *that*, as in the Book of Mormon. EEBO$_1$ has 3,801 texts with at least 20 instances of "he/they <rel.pron.>" (no intervening punctuation). In most of these, "he/they that" is more frequent than "he/they which" or "he/they who(m)." Only 149 texts (3.92%) employ *which* more than *that* or *who(m)*. In addition, 17 texts (0.45%) split primary usage between *that* and *which*, and one text (0.03%) splits primary usage between *which* and *who(m):* EEBO A01095 (1612). Breaking down year ranges into decades that align with centuries (beginning with year one), we find in EEBO$_1$ that the high point of personal *which* usage after *he* and *they* occurred during six decades, between 1551 and 1610. In the 1550s, 11.8% of texts (with at least 20 instances of "he/they <rel.pron.>") show a preference for *which* over the other two alternatives. In the 1560s, the percentage is 8.1%; in the 1570s, 13.2%; in the 1580s, 9.5%; in the 1590s, 14.6%; and in the first decade of the 1600s, 12.9%. Therefore, even during the high point of personal *which*, heavy usage never occurred in more than 15 percent of the texts in any given decade.

25 The EEBO corpus has a small amount of text duplication; the ECCO corpus has a large amount of text duplication.

26 See Randolph Quirk et al., *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* (London: Longman, 1985), 352, §6.20: "*He* or *she* followed by a relative clause belongs to a literary and somewhat archaic style. Present-day English prefers the use of the plural demonstrative in such contexts (*cf* 12.19). *They* cannot be used."

27 As a convenient measure of fit, the standard Pearson's correlation was used, and 0.9 was used as a cut-off. For continuous variables (not this case), a correlation would be a useful statistical measurement. (The p-value of a 0.9 correlation, n=6, two-tailed, is approximately 0.015.)

Here are the 82 texts that resulted from searching the EEBO corpus (r ≥ 0.9), listed in order of descending correlation (four are from the same author, Andrew Willet [1562–1621]): A18079 (1572), A19422 (1583), A15434 (1604), A19076 (1561), A15525 (1614), A37290 (1654), A21293 (1539), A33309 (1640), A21308 (1595),

A08964 (1570), A93680 (1646), A43676 (1652), A92321 (1661), A06346 (1581), A06347 (1582), A01615 (1602), B23327 (1671), A69278 (1539), A03792 (1546), A15396 (1602), A17696 (1592), A10649 (1571), A14460 (1584), A00440 (1577), A19309 (1580), A14468 (1548), A12099 (1635), A07407 (1548), A15418 (1604), A10958 (1607), A17654 (1581), A20031 (1618), A05583 (1594), A61107 (1663), A12592 (1588), A19723 (1553), B00941 (1550), A19026 (1588), A18017 (1606), A05186 (1572), A05331 (1600), A15082 (1624), A10966 (1639), A06112 (1548), A13966 (1589), A37291 (1666), A15395 (1603), A16838 (1565), A09175 (1629), A04215 (1599), A17018 (1632), A15385 (1614), A19306 (1581), A03769 (1567), A14350 (1583), A67908 (1695), A47555 (1687), A13065 (1591), A14408 (1602), A00294 (1617), A89219 (1655), B12431 (1609), A08201 (1602), A15398 (1603), A19798 (1575), A18601 (1624), A10976 (1624), A06492 (1575), A17590 (1577), A17140 (1636), A58343 (1661), A07612 (1580), A14114 (1605), A57460 (1641), A43131 (1675), B09229 (1676), A17014 (1625), A67835 (1674), A14354 (1555), A13877 (1583), A09824 (1578), A04911 (1603). The earliest composition date is 1536 and the latest composition date is 1676 (publication dates range between 1539 and 1695).

28   There are three EEBO versions of this Thomas Elyot text, and the "he/they <rel.pron.>" correlations — both unadjusted and adjusted — vary slightly among the EEBO texts. The adjusted correlations with the Book of Mormon in this subset of PRP usage are close to 0.85. If this were a valid statistical test for this dataset, then p would still be less than 0.05 (for df ≈ 4 [n = 6], p ≈ 0.05 when r ≈ 0.81).

29   This text is also in the EEBO Phase 2 database.

30   There is little point in averaging the publication dates of strongly correlating ECCO texts without individual inspection, since so many of the dates do not accurately reflect the time when the excerpted language was composed.

31   The weighted average years are approximate.

32   Eran Shalev, "'Written in the Style of Antiquity': Pseudo-Biblicism and the Early American Republic, 1770–1830," *Church History: Studies in Christianity and Culture* 79, no. 4 (2010): 800–26.

33   See note 16.

34 In the case of the King James Bible, false positives were deleted in randomly sampled sets, and the numbers of deleted false positives were multiplied and subtracted from the raw tallies.

35 See, for example, Grant Hardy, ed., *The Book of Mormon: Another Testament of Jesus Christ* (Maxwell Institute Study Edition) (Provo, UT: Neal A. Maxwell Institute for Religious Scholarship and the Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 2018), 623.

36 Stanford Carmack, "On Doctrine and Covenants Language and the 1833 Plot of Zion," *Interpreter: A Journal of Latter-day Saint Faith and Scholarship* 26 (2017): 297–380, https://journal.interpreterfoundation.org/on-doctrine-and-covenants-language-and-the-1833-plot-of-zion/.

37 Sections 9, 13, 15, 16, 17 did not have any PRP instances; section 13 would have been excluded anyway, since it is an extract from Joseph Smith's personal history. Thus the PRP usage of 12 sections was noted.

The Book of Mormon's
Complex Finite Cause Syntax

Stanford Carmack

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THE BOOK OF MORMON'S
COMPLEX FINITE *CAUSE* SYNTAX

Stanford Carmack

Abstract: *This paper describes and compares the Book of Mormon's 12 instances of complex finite* cause *syntax, the structure exemplified by the language of Ether 9:33: "the Lord did cause the serpents that they should pursue them no more." This is not King James language or currently known to be pseudo-archaic language (language used by modern authors seeking to imitate biblical or related archaic language), but it does occur in earlier English, almost entirely before the year 1700. In the Book of Mormon, the syntax is always expressed with the modal auxiliary verbs* should *and* shall. *Twenty-five original examples of this specific usage have been identified so far outside of the Book of Mormon (not counting two cases of creative biblical editing — see the appendix). The text's larger pattern of clausal verb complementation after the verb* cause, *58 percent finite in 236 instances, is utterly different from what we encounter in the King James Bible and pseudo-archaic texts, which are 99 to 100 percent infinitival in their clausal complementation. The totality of the evidence indicates that Joseph Smith would not have produced this causative syntax of the Book of Mormon in a pseudo-archaic effort. Therefore, this dataset provides additional strong evidence for a revealed-words view of the 1829 dictation.*

> **Example:** "… the Lord did cause the serpents
> that they should pursue them no more" (Ether 9:33)[1]

In grammar, a *complement* is one or more words added to another to complete the meaning. *Complementation* is completion of the meaning by the addition of a complement. In this paper, we are interested in clausal complementation — specifically, where the complement that completes the meaning of the verb *cause* is another verb phrase. Finite complementation means that there is a tensed verb in the complement

clause. In the Book of Mormon, these tensed verbs are very often auxiliary verbs, most often *shall* and *should*. *Infinitival complementation* means there is no tensed verb in the complement, only an infinitive. This will all become clear as we consider quite a few examples.

In carrying out these syntactic studies, the issue I am primarily interested in is whether the Book of Mormon was the result of a revelation of ideas or a revelation of words. Much of the hard linguistic evidence I have analyzed indicates to me that it was a revelation of words. The unique clausal verb complementation of the Book of Mormon is strong evidence of that.[2] I have not encountered any text that has the sustained heavily finite verb complementation of the Book of Mormon: hundreds of instances with quite a few different verbs.

Within the syntactic domain of verb complementation, we can break down usage by verb. Each verb has its own idiosyncrasies. For this paper, the verb of interest is *cause*, a verb of influence. Within these causative constructions, one syntactic subtype is the focus of this paper.

In the Book of Mormon, clausal complementation after the verb *cause* occurs 236 times (see page 577 of the critical-text volume *The Nature of the Original Language* [NOL]).[3] Table 1 shows the three types of clausal complementation and the number of instances, in descending order, that occur in the Book of Mormon. The last type, complex finite complementation, is the focus of this paper.

Complementation	Instances	Example (see Helaman 16:20)
Simple finite	124	to cause **that** *we* shall/should believe
Infinitival	100	to cause *us* **to** believe
Complex finite	12	to cause *us* **that** *we* shall/should believe

Table 1. Types and instances of clausal complementation after the verb *cause* in the Book of Mormon.

Following the terminology used in NOL, this paper refers to the two types of finite verb complementation as *simple finite* and *complex finite*. The terminology is less important than being generally aware of the syntactic structures, which readers can grasp intuitively.

It is also important to make clear that though the form of the expression is different in these three types, the meaning that is conveyed is essentially the same. In other words, the differences in the syntactic structures are meaning-neutral.

As shown in Table 1, the simple finite is the most common type of complementation occurring after the verb *cause* in the Book of Mormon, followed by the infinitive type, and then the complex finite type.

The Book of Mormon is 58 percent finite and 42 percent infinitival, in 236 instances. This is an extraordinarily high finite rate for this verb and a very large number of finite instances. In view of this, the Book of Mormon presents us with a pattern quite unlike virtually any text we might consult. It is possible that no other text with at least 20 instances of this causative language has this heavily finite pattern. So far, database searches have not revealed any text that has 24 simple finite constructions after the verb *cause*, let alone 124.[4]

In Joseph Smith's time, infinitival complementation after the verb *cause* was almost always used, and complex finite complementation was obsolete. We can see in two early letters that Joseph Smith used infinitival complementation: "cause to be brought" (1831); "has caused me to overlook" (1833). The simple finite construction was still in use, but it was only rarely used. Even before the year 1700, during the early modern period,[5] infinitival complementation was dominant, with the simple finite uncommon, and the complex finite very uncommon. The last structural type shown in Table 1 — the complex finite construction with the related modal auxiliary verbs *shall* and *should* — was very rare language after the year 1700.

That there are 12 instances in the text shows that it was not an aberration, that it was either intentional on the part of Joseph Smith or that it reflected the apparent early modern sensibilities of the Book of Mormon's English-language translation. The latter is by far the more likely reason for the usage, as well as for the text's heavy finite complementation after this verb and other similar verbs of influence.[6] In other words, the English-language translation seems to have involved implicit, wide-ranging knowledge of Early Modern English, beyond biblical knowledge, as well as knowledge of some earlier and later English.

At this point, only 25 complex finite instances similar to what we read in the Book of Mormon have been identified outside of the text, 23 of them before the modern period of English began after 1700.[7] The original Book of Mormon text thus contains nearly one-third of currently identified instances of this specific syntax.

The rest of this paper will provide a brief comparative treatment of this syntactic structure, one presumably formed from imitating biblical language. Yet it is a syntactic type that no known biblical imitators actually used. It is certainly language that is out of place in a book first written down in 1829 and published in 1830.

Complex Finite Example

Consider the following excerpt, as it was originally dictated by Joseph Smith in 1829:

> 1 Nephi 17:46   he can cause the earth that it shall pass away

The Book of Mormon has 12 instances of this complex finite syntax.[8] (For a discussion of Doctrine and Covenants usage, see pages 310–12 of my 2017 article.[9])

All 12 of these syntactic structures consistently occur with either *shall* or *should* as the auxiliary verb, so I will confine the discussion to this consistent Book of Mormon type, even though the textual record has more examples of "«cause» NP that S" language without any auxiliary or with other auxiliaries besides *shall* and *should*. After a verb like *cause*, *shall* and *should* are MANDATIVE in function, a term that means "pertaining to command."[10]

The Book of Mormon's overall modal auxiliary usage is, generally speaking, early modern in orientation and sometimes sophisticated and nonbiblical. Nonbiblical aspects indicate that the overall usage was not something that Joseph Smith came up with based on a knowledge of King James idiom.

Textual databases currently indicate that the above complex finite syntactic structure involving the verb *cause* was effectively obsolete a long time before Joseph Smith's birth. It appears to have been in the process of becoming obsolete during the early part of the 1700s. If it had been biblical, then its obsolescence would have been delayed.

Simple Finite Examples

A modified, simple finite version of 1 Nephi 17:46 would read as follows:

> 1 Nephi 17:46   * he can cause that the earth shall pass away

This general simple finite structure occurs 124 times after the verb *cause* in the Book of Mormon, and hundreds of times after other verbs of influence, so readers of the text in English are quite familiar with this syntax. The way the King James Bible would have worded this is with an infinitival complement. Had 1 Nephi 17:46 been phrased like a rare biblical simple finite construction, it would have been without a future subjunctive *shall*, either with no auxiliary or with the modal auxiliary *may*:

     1 Nephi 17:46   * he can cause that the earth (may) pass away

The biblical text does not use a subjunctive *shall* after most verbs of influence, including the high-frequency verbs *cause*, *command*, *desire*, and *suffer*.[11]

    Simple finite constructions were still used in the early 19th century, but they were very uncommon by then. A contemporaneous example of this simple finite syntax is the following, taken from the Google Books database:

    1828, sj4AAAAAYAAJ[12]
       and to cause that the proprietor thereof shall not be able to live,

Infinitival Example

The construction that we almost always hear and use today is the one with an infinitive:

     1 Nephi 17:46   * he can cause the earth **to** pass away

This was the heavily dominant causative syntax of Joseph Smith's day, and it was also the most likely pseudo-archaic form, since the 25 pseudo-archaic texts consulted for this study are all infinitival after the verb *cause*.[13]

    In some contexts, such as with pronouns, the difference in textual usage rates between the finite and the infinitival was very large. In the late 1700s, for example, the simple finite occurred only about 0.1 percent of the time with pronominal arguments (one out of a thousand, on average).[14]

On the Complex Finite

Book of Mormon language like "king Mosiah did cause his people that they should till the earth" (Mosiah 6:7) is biblical-sounding, yet the specific syntax is not biblical. We can encounter a limited number of analogs in the King James text with other verbs. The above complex finite construction with this verb does not appear in the King James Bible or in the 25 pseudo-archaic texts consulted for this study. So it was not biblically imitative by analogy with other verbs, such as the verbs *command* and *desire*.[15]

    The King James Bible has only three instances of simple finite syntax ("«cause» that S"), out of 303 constructions with the verb *cause;* the rest are infinitival ("«cause» NP to <infin. phrase>"). To repeat, the King James text is 99 percent infinitival after the verb *cause*, and one percent simple finite. In a direct comparison with the Book of Mormon, these

dramatic differences yield a large chi-square statistic and an extremely low p-value ($X^2 = 222.4$; $p < 10^{-48}$).[16]

Furthermore, the 25 pseudo-archaic texts examined for this study have only infinitival complementation in this domain. They do not even have simple finite syntax after the verb *cause*, in 115 instances. To repeat, these pseudo-archaic writings have infinitival complementation after the verb *cause* 100 percent of the time.[17]

Summary of Findings

By way of summary, complex finite *cause* syntax has **not** been found to occur in

- the King James Bible (including the Apocrypha: about 932,000 words)
- 25 pseudo-archaic texts (first published between 1740 and 1888)
- Joseph Smith's early writings (10 letters and his 1832 personal history)[18]
- any original writings first published after 1713,[19] outside of the Book of Mormon

As just mentioned, 25 close matches with the Book of Mormon's complex finite *cause* syntax have been identified so far (in 24 texts), and their dates of composition range between the late 15th century and the early 18th century. This specific causative structure occurred mainly before the 18th century, and at markedly higher rates during the first half of the early modern period. One-half of the 24 texts with this language are older than the King James Bible, which was first printed in 1611. Because far fewer texts were published in the 16th century than in following centuries, this indicates that the popularity of this syntactic structure was much greater in earlier years.

Complex Finite Examples with Mandative *Shall*

Of the 12 instances of the Book of Mormon's complex finite *cause* syntax, two have mandative *shall* and 10 have mandative *should*. Here are the two with mandative *shall*, with the linked arguments (objects and subjects) in bold and the auxiliary verb in italics:

1 Nephi 17:46   he can cause **the earth** that **it** *shall* pass away

3 Nephi 29:4   he will cause **it** that **it** *shall* soon overtake you[20]

At this point, 14 syntactic matches with this specific Book of Mormon construction have been identified in the earlier textual record, ranging in

time between 1469 and 1713. Here are two examples that closely match the above language (see the beginning of the appendix for all 14 of them):

c1469, EEBO A21703 (1485)[21]	that shall cause **me** that **I** *shall* not be known
1701, ECCO CW0106164956[22]	for this will cause **it**, that **it** *shall* not easily come off

The 1701 example is a nearly perfect syntactic match with 3 Nephi 29:4. Not only is there complex finite complementation with a repeat of the pronoun *it*, but in each case, there is an adverb following mandative *shall*.[23]

Complex Finite Examples with Mandative *Should*

Here are the Book of Mormon's 10 complex finite examples with mandative *should*, the most common variety of this specific syntactic structure in the text:

+ 2 Nephi 5:17	I Nephi did cause **my people** that **they** *should* be industrious and that **they** *should* labor with their hands
Mosiah 6:7	king Mosiah did cause **his people** that **they** *should* till the earth
* Alma 21:3	they did cause **the Lamanites** that **they** *should* harden their hearts that **they** *should* wax stronger in wickedness
Alma 55:25	he did cause **the Lamanites** … that **they** *should* commence a labor
Alma 58:11	and did cause **us** that **we** *should* hope for our deliverance in him
Alma 60:17	causing **them** that **they** *should* suffer all manner of afflictions
Helaman 16:20	to cause **us** that **we** *should* believe
3 Nephi 2:3	causing **them** that **they** *should* do great wickedness
Mormon 3:5	I did cause **my people** … that **they** *should* gather themselves together
+ Ether 9:33	the Lord did cause **the serpents** that **they** *should* pursue them no more but that **they** *should* hedge up the way

Note: The two marked with a plus sign (+) have two verb-dependent object clauses. The one marked with an asterisk (*) might have a second object clause, if it is asyndetically conjoined. If not, then it is a resultative clause.

At this point, 11 syntactic matches with this Book of Mormon construction have been identified in the earlier textual record, ranging in time between 1494 and 1700. Here are the earliest and latest examples that closely match the above language (see the appendix for all 11 of them):

1494, A00525 (1533)	he by his secret means caused **the Germans** that **they** *should* take no party with Brunhilda
1700, A92940	to cause **them** that **they** *should* not go up to Jerusalem,

Complex Finite Usage by Century

Here is the breakdown by century of currently known textual instances of complex finite complementation after the verb *cause*, where the auxiliary is mandative:

	Late 15c & 16c	17c	18c
Instances	10	13	2
Number of titles (ESTC)[24]	10,603	70,815	302,074
Rate (per 100,000 ESTC titles)	94	18	0.7

Table 2. Instances and textual rates of "«cause» NP that S" syntax with mandative *shall* or *should* — as found in the greater textual record and arranged by century.

Table 2 shows that thirteen 17th-century instances is a rate effectively equivalent to more than 20 times the 18th-century rate. Similarly, ten late 15th-century and 16th-century instances is effectively equivalent to more than 100 times the 18th-century rate. Though uncommon, complex finite complementation after the verb *cause* was primarily an early modern construction (as mentioned, there are even more instances in databases without a mandative auxiliary). It was very rare or obsolete by the middle of the 18th century.[25]

Complex Finite Usage by Auxiliary

Table 3 shows the usage broken down according to whether the auxiliary verb is *shall* or *should*. The Book of Mormon has nearly one-half of currently known instances of this specific syntactic construction with *should*. Only one text has two instances (see immediately below), and 10 texts have one instance each. This means that the Book of Mormon is unique in this respect, and it is an additional indication that Joseph Smith was not responsible for choosing this specific syntax.

Text / Corpora	Shall	Should
Book of Mormon	2	10
EEBO • ECCO	14 (*c*1649–1713)	11 (1494–1700)

Table 3. Instances of mandative auxiliary verb usage in complex finite complementation after the verb *cause*.

Repeated Complex Finite Usage

One EEBO text has two consecutive instances of "«cause» NP that S" syntax with *should:*

1603, B11962   cannot he that caused **the fire** that **it** *should* not touch the three children make it burn thee quickly, cannot he that caused **the lions** that **they** *should* not touch Daniel, cause them to crush thee softly;

In addition, another early 17th-century text (1616, A00419) has four instances of complex finite *cause* syntax, but without mandative *shall* or *should*. Four instances of complex finite *cause* syntax are possibly the most that occur in a single text, besides the Book of Mormon, which has three times as many.

Conjoined Complementation

Two or three of the Book of Mormon's complex causative constructions have additional conjoined *that*-clauses: 2 Nephi 5:17, Alma 21:3 (possibly — see the above note), and Ether 9:33 (all of these are shown above). This extended, conjoined syntax is a rare configuration; in the greater textual record it has also been found in EEBO A69038. Here are two examples laid out so that the matching can be easily seen:

1620, A69038   and I   WILL CAUSE **you**   *that* **you** SHALL walk in my precepts,

2 Nephi 5:17   I Nephi DID CAUSE   **my people** *that* **they** SHOULD be industrious

1620, A69038   *and that* **you**   SHALL observe and keep my commandments.

2 Nephi 5:17   *and that* **they**   SHOULD labor with their hands.

This 1620 textual example is thus a rare, exclusively early modern match with Book of Mormon usage, and it provides an additional small point in favor of the Book of Mormon exhibiting real archaism rather than pseudo-archaism. For many, the thought has been that Joseph Smith dictated a text whose grammar was pseudo-archaic. Yet the text has

so much Early Modern English usage beyond known pseudo-archaic production that it appears that Joseph dictated a text that had already been elaborated with early modern expertise. By this, I don't mean to say that the text is entirely early modern. What I mean is that it's not fake early modern — that is, it's not pseudo-archaic.

Such conjoined syntax is more often found in simple finite constructions during the early modern period, but it hardly ever occurred even in that simpler syntax. Here are two rare examples (spelling modernized):

1550, A13758	And to the surplusage, promised that they would perforce themself to CAUSE **that** the Beotians and Corinthians *should* enter into the treaty **and that** Panacte *should* be rendered to the said Athenians.
1623, A11802	which they refusing, he CAUSED **that** his engines *should* play, **and that** a general assault *should* be given.

Complex Finite Usage Co-occurring
with Early Modern (Non-emphatic) "Did Cause"

The Book of Mormon also exhibits combined archaism in this domain, since seven of the instances with mandative *should* co-occur with non-emphatic "did cause" (see Book of Mormon examples above). Here are four simple finite examples with non-emphatic "did cause," taken from EEBO (in the original spelling):

1576, A09316	And also it is written, that God by hys death vppon the crosse **dyd cause** that his sonne *should* haue emperiall, rule, and be the onely Lord, ouer all his enimyes
1607, A13820	for sometimes the peculiar or vulgar speech, or the eloquency of wordes **did cause** that I *should* do so
1643, A89026	that that very image of the Beast, which the false prophet did give life unto, **did cause** that whosoever shall not worship the image of the Beast *should* be slaine
1659, A76798	Not that the Holy Ghost was the father of Christ, but that the Holy Ghost **did cause** that a Virgin *should* conceive without a man

When the same EEBO search was repeated, no examples of "did cause" with simple finite complementation came up in the largest 18th-century database, ECCO, which has more than nine billion words.

Conclusion

Because of the strong growth in the publishing of new titles, we would need to find nearly 300 original examples of this complex finite *cause* syntax in ECCO (as this database is currently constituted) in order to come close to matching the observed popularity of the first half of the early modern era. At this point, this appears to be an impossibility, since EEBO indicates that the usage diminished in popularity in the 1600s and because ECCO currently indicates that it died out in the early 1700s. (The ECCO database does stand in need of significant improvement, but what is currently available has been carefully searched.)

As databases improve and expand, known instances of this syntax occurring outside the Book of Mormon will likely increase over time. Yet it will be difficult to alter the position that Joseph Smith was unlikely to produce this kind of language on the basis of revealed ideas. First, the heavily finite verb complementation sustained throughout the Book of Mormon, after quite a few different verbs, argues against a revealed-ideas approach. From what I have seen so far in my detailed searches of the EEBO and ECCO databases, only some of William Caxton's late 15th-century translations out of Latin and French have anything like the Book of Mormon's patterns in this regard.[26] Second, a lack of contemporary, early 19th-century textual support for this specific construction argues against a revealed-ideas approach. A finding of several contemporary authors who use multiple, original instances of this specific syntactic structure should be necessary in order to overturn this position. Third, the combined archaism and the redundant pronominal usage and even perhaps the extended, multiple complementation argue against a revealed-ideas approach.

This distinctive construction, then, is a prime example of how the language of Joseph Smith's 1829 dictation differed from what biblical imitators produced, with the Book of Mormon using esoteric forms of expression missing from the King James Bible. It is this kind of comparative study — which in the case of the Book of Mormon is not a one-off proposition — that leads one to consider rejecting a biblical imitation hypothesis for its English, and to consider accepting that the text might actually contain genuine nonbiblical archaism.

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Appendix

Complex Finite Complementation with *Shall*

So far, 14 instances of syntax of the form "«cause» NP that NP **shall** <infinitive>" have been noted in the textual record before the time of the Book of Mormon (see further below for two biblically reworked examples):

*c*1469, A21703 (1485)	that shall cause **me** that **I** *shall* not be known
1548, A06510	for that shall cause **us** that **we** *shall* not be so secure and so sluggish in ourselves,
1579, A14461	and that he will cause **them** that **they** *shall* not swell over as a flood doth his waters,
1590, A16509	to cause **a ship** that **she** *shall* not sink
1592, A19165	but also causeth **other stones** near adjoining that **they** *shall* not burn
1618, A04062	to cause **him** that **he** *shall* not have time to hold his wind,
+ 1620, A69038	and I will cause **you** that **you** *shall* walk in my precepts, and that **you** *shall* observe and keep my commandments.
1634, A09763	the great … teeth … of a wolf, being hanged about an horse neck, cause **him** that **he** *shall* never tire and be weary,
1654, A85510	God … will cause **those that are his**, that **they** *shall* perform the duty,
*a*1665, CW0117833677 (1718)	and cause **thee** that **thou** *shalt* not be able to open thy mouth to praise the Lord.

1668, A30582	he gives such grace as *shall* cause **the soul** that **it** *shall* have admiring thoughts of it;
1672, A54660	to cause **us** that **we** *shall* not be slothful
1701, CW0106164956	for this will cause **it**, that **it** *shall* not easily come off
1713, CW0117299501	to put his fear into them, and cause **them** that **they** *shall* not depart from his ways:

Twelve of these date from the early modern period, when far fewer texts were published. In the above set of examples, this complex finite syntax occurs 10 times with two linked pronouns.

Complex Finite Complementation with *Should*

So far, 11 instances of ""«cause» NP that NP **should** <infinitive>" syntax have been noted in the textual record before the time of the Book of Mormon:

1494, A00525 (1533)	he by his secret means caused **the Germans** that **they** *should* take no party with Brunhilda
1550, A00327	what reasons adduced and caused **me** that **I** *should* wish and desire such a matter to be brought to pass
1550, A22686	their works and deeds do not cause **him** that **he** *should* perform that which he hath promised
1577, A03448	the brute … caused **Malcolm** for very fear that **he** *should* not be able in any part to match him
1580, A08447	Therefore God being willing to cause **man** that **he** *should* come unto him,
1602, A13971	mercy caused **thee** that **thou** *shouldest* take upon thee all my evils
(2×) 1603, B11962	cannot he that caused **the fire** that **it** *should* not touch the three children make it burn thee quickly, cannot he that caused **the lions** that **they** *should* not touch Daniel, cause them to crush thee softly;
1613, A19420	for to doubt and stand in a mammering, would cause **you** that **you** *should* never truly love God,

| 1626, A17306 | For how is it mere mercy, if any good in us foreseen, first caused **it** that **it** *should* offer a Savior to us? |
| 1700, A92940 | to cause **them** that **they** *should* not go up to Jerusalem, |

All of these are from the early modern period, when far fewer texts were published compared to the following 18th century. In the above set of examples, this complex finite syntax occurs six times with two linked pronouns. In total, two linked pronouns occur 16 out of 25 times. This same redundant pronominal expression occurs in the Book of Mormon after the verb *cause* five out of 12 times.

The above are the closest overall matches with Book of Mormon usage, although as noted above, similar examples with other auxiliary verbs do occur, such as "this shame caused him that he **would** not ask any help of the king" (1598, A16164) and "the veil of blindness … caused them that they **could** neither apprehend nor comprehend this light" (1659, A89447).

Complex Finite Complementation without *Shall* or *Should*

Many attempts have been made to find original late modern instances of complex finite complementation with the verb *cause* leading up to the time of the Book of Mormon, using the largest databases. It has been verified that most examples found in the large 18th-century ECCO database represent much earlier language from the early modern period and even before.

The following 11 examples found in ECCO have linked pronouns but no *shall* or *should* auxiliary. Of these 11, seven or eight are from the late middle and early modern periods, and just three originated in the late modern period:

*c*1430, CW0103915588 (1787)	which causeth **me** that **I** labour no farther therein,
*c*1460, CW0103916108 (1787)	and truly that caused **me** that **I** and my fellowship tarried,
1523, CW0103201134 (1767)	but that is great hurte to the ewes, and wyll cause **them**, that **they** wyll not take the ramme at the tyme of the yere for pouertye,

c1580, CW0103400026 (1761)	till the force of the flame and smoak caused **him** that **he** could see no more;
1662, CW0117799011 (1753)	It was a fever, which caused **him** that **he** could scarce sleep that night.
1682, CW0121068093 (1707)	and you shall cause **me** that **I** dwell securely with you,
1685, CB0131970053 (1801)	which causeth **us**, that **we** cannot obey them and God.
1716 (1679), CB0126722335 (1794)	When this epistle is read among you, cause **it** that **it** be read also in the church of the Laodiceans,
1727, CW0108152992	and which causes **them** that **they** are not stock'd with half that variety as they ought,
*a*1732, CW0119093951 (1773)	causing **them** that **they** may trust one another.
1744, CW0117084319	or cause **them** that **they** have to be new tinned, cleansed, etc.

The 1716 example is a paraphrase of Colossians 4:16, which occurs as a simple finite construction in the King James Bible. This 1716 paraphrase matches the language first appearing in a 1679 book, which could have been the later author's source (this 1716 book was reprinted in 1794). Setting this one aside leaves only three early 18th-century pronominal examples of the complex finite construction without *shall* or *should*. Of course, some later examples could be found as databases like ECCO and Google Books improve in quality, but for now the syntax appears to have been in a fairly complete state of obsolescence by the middle of the 18th century, an observation that is also supported by its apparent absence from the 5,012 texts consulted in the Evans database, a 17th- and 18th-century early American corpus.

Two Biblical Reworkings with Complex Finite Complementation

One even later example of the Book of Mormon's complex finite *cause* syntax that I found for this study is an artificially created instance that is different from even pseudo-archaic production. It was published 65 years before the Book of Mormon was set down in writing. It is from Anthony Purver's "Quaker Bible" and is a reworking or retranslation of Revelation 11:3. It reads as follows:

1764, CW0119450491

> And I will cause **my two witnesses**, that **they** *shall* prophesy a thousand two hundred sixty days, cloathed with sackcloth.

In the King James Bible, this passage does not have a causative verb, and it reads with the conjunction *and*, not *that:*

Revelation 11:3

> I will **give** *power* unto my two witnesses, **and** they shall prophesy a thousand two hundred *and* threescore days, clothed in sackcloth.

> Greek δώσω, δίδωμι "(will) give" and καί "and".

This 1764 outlier is the result of an author consciously tinkering with an established King James wording, and doing so by investigating the language of other English versions, as well as the Latin Vulgate and the original Greek. In contrast, every Book of Mormon instance of this complex finite structure is an original English expression that works within the surrounding extrabiblical narrative. And of course Joseph Smith did not know any other languages in 1829 when he dictated the Book of Mormon. He was a monolingual English speaker.

What Purver might have done first was change the verb from *give* to *cause*, even though the original Greek equivalent means "will give," as shown above. The object of *give* in this passage is *power*, and this word is italicized in the King James Bible, meaning that it does not occur in the original Greek. This might have prompted a revision in the first place. If Purver first replaced *give* with *cause*, and deleted "power unto," he would have then been faced with a choice as to what to do with the independent King James clause that begins with "and they shall prophesy." His initial rewrite probably gave him "I will cause my two witnesses." Unlike the King James clause with *give*, such a clause with *cause* is ungrammatical without a following complement. Because of that, he would have needed to create a complement. He could have replaced "and they shall" with *to*, making an infinitival complement, but instead he decided on a simpler replacement of *and* with *that*, creating the archaic, complex finite causative construction.

Writing for the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (ODNB), David Norton had this to say about Anthony Purver's Bible: "In its renderings and its language, his 'Quaker's *Bible*' sometimes anticipates later versions, but it was rarely appreciated. Not only was the language constantly unlike that of the King James *Bible* but it was often decidedly colloquial."[27] Charles Spurgeon said of Purver's work: "Often

ungrammatical and unintelligible. Not without its good points, but much more curious than useful."[28]

We can see in some of Purver's notes that he consulted Tyndale's original language and the Latin Vulgate and the views of various scriptural experts. Yet he avoided Tyndale's similar syntax in a slightly earlier passage — wording that found its way into the King James Bible:

2 Peter 1:8	they *make* **you** that **ye** *shall* neither be barren, nor unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ.
Purver's version	they will *make* **you** not idle, nor unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ.

The above King James language is the best model for the complex finite causative syntax of the Book of Mormon, yet despite its presence in the biblical text, it does not occur in the 25 pseudo-archaic writings, and the syntax was hardly ever produced, except in the early modern era. Besides this complex finite case, the King James Bible does not have any other finite examples with the verb *make*, whether simple or complex. The Book of Mormon has several finite examples after the verb *make*, including a simple finite instance with *shall* at 1 Nephi 17:12.

Suppose we were to argue, on the basis of Purver's work or even 2 Peter 1:8, that because Joseph Smith was likewise saturated with biblical language, this led to his producing 12 complex finite constructions with the verb *cause*. The argument fails at the outset, of course, since no known pseudo-archaic author produced original examples of the syntax, even though many of them were also saturated with King James idiom. Indeed, no pseudo-archaic author is known to have produced even simple finite syntax after the verb *make*. Among the 25 texts, clausal complementation following *make* is all infinitival. Yet there are several complex finite examples in the Book of Mormon, as well as the simple finite with *shall* at 1 Nephi 17:12. Structurally speaking, then, this means that in the case of the verb *make*, just as in the case of *cause*, the Book of Mormon's syntax does not present as any known pseudo-archaic production.

■　■　■

Joseph Bryant Rotherham's *Emphasised Bible* provides us with an odd late 19th-century example of complex finite complementation after the verb *cause:*

Revelation 3:9; EYt3pKfob2UC (1890)[29]

> I will cause **them** *that* **they** *shall* have come,
>
>> This is from the tenth edition of the *Emphasised Bible*, first
>> published in 1872.

The finite *that*-clause appears here because Rotherham literally translated the Greek conjunction ἵνα "that". In the King James Bible, the last part of this verse reads with infinitival complements:

Revelation 3:9

> behold, I will make them **to** come and worship before thy feet, and **to** know that I have loved thee

The co-occurrence of future tense "will cause" with a verb-dependent *perfect* tense "shall have come" (more specifically, a future subjunctive perfect) is a nonstandard tense sequence. The EEBO Phase 1 database does not have this language; it does not even have a simple finite example of "will cause that NP shall have <past.pple>." Rotherham's rewording also has conjoined "shall worship" and "shall get to know," which is more standard syntax.

Likely Alternatives to the Causative Construction in 3 Nephi 29:4

If Joseph Smith had been responsible for expressing the relevant portion of 3 Nephi 29:4 in 1829 (the first *it* was deleted for the 1837 edition), based on specific ideas that were revealed to him, he would have had a few choices available to him. Here are those choices, ordered according to what syntactic studies indicate would have been likely for him in the early 19th century:

Infinitival
JS 1st choice   he will cause it **to** overtake you soon

Simple finite
JS 2nd choice   he will cause **that** it overtake you soon
JS 3rd choice   he will cause **that** it *will/may* soon overtake you
JS 4th choice   he will cause **that** it *shall* soon overtake you

Complex finite
JS 5th choice   he will cause **it** that **it** overtake you soon
JS 6th choice   he will cause **it** that **it** *will/may* soon overtake you
JS 7th choice   he will cause **it** that **it** *shall* soon overtake you

Note: Biblical usage is not to use a future modal auxiliary verb in this context; such simpler usage might have also been generally preferred in the late modern period. In addition, Joseph's early writings show that he preferred the future auxiliary *will* over *shall*. (There is a similar example with *will*

rather than *shall* after the verb *suffer* at 1 Nephi 13:30, and an analogous 1598 example with *caused* and *would* given above.) The modal auxiliary *may* was also a possibility that might have been more likely than *shall* in 1829. Some fluidity in the position of the adverb *soon* was possible in this case, but these possibilities have not been counted as additional choices. For example, the adverb could have split the infinitive in choice 1: "to soon overtake you."

The actual language of the text at 3 Nephi 29:4 was likely to have been far from Joseph's preferred native expression. There are many other ways he probably would have preferred to have phrased it. It is evidence like this — something we frequently encounter in the Book of Mormon — which strongly suggests that he was not responsible for wording the text.

Endnotes

1 Excerpt taken from the Book of Mormon showing an example of complex finite complementation after the verb *cause*. Quotes are taken from Royal Skousen, ed., *The Book of Mormon: The Earliest Text* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), https://bookofmormoncentral.org/content/book-mormon-earliest-text. This short excerpt now reads with a *who* instead of a *which*.

2 See, for example, Stanford Carmack, "Is the Book of Mormon a Pseudo-Archaic Text?," *Interpreter: A Journal of Latter-day Saint Faith and Scholarship* 28 (2018): 177–232, https://journal.interpreterfoundation.org/is-the-book-of-mormon-a-pseudo-archaic-text/; and Carmack, "How Joseph Smith's Grammar Differed from Book of Mormon Grammar: Evidence from the 1832 History," *Interpreter: A Journal of Latter-day Saint Faith and Scholarship* 25 (2017): 239–59, https://journal.interpreterfoundation.org/how-joseph-smiths-grammar-differed-from-book-of-mormon-grammar-evidence-from-the-1832-history/.

3 Royal Skousen, *The Nature of the Original Language* [NOL] (Provo, UT: FARMS, 2018).

4 In searching a large early modern database for texts with at least 20 causative constructions with the verb *cause*, I found hardly any whose finite complementation rate exceeded 10 percent.

5 Early Modern English is often taken to span the years 1500 to 1700, but sometimes it is taken to begin a little earlier, reaching

back to the first printed book in English, which was published in either 1473 or 1474.

6 That the text contains a very large amount of early modern syntax and lexis — often nonbiblical and far beyond any known pseudo-archaic effort — points to early modern competence as the reason.

7 Two additional examples of the syntax, those currently known as first appearing closest in time to the Book of Mormon (in 1764 and 1872), are artificially constructed examples made by considering original biblical language, other translations, and other English versions. Because they are different from original pseudo-archaic production, they are not included as part of the general discussion in the body of this paper. See the section of the appendix on biblical reworking for these two examples and some discussion.

8 The syntactic structure, simply stated, is "«cause» NP that S" («cause» stands for various forms of the verb, NP stands for the *causee* (a noun phrase), and S stands for a verb-dependent sentence-like clause, in this case "it shall pass away." The technical term for "«cause» NP that S" language is *ditransitive clausal complementation* (see Randolph Quirk et al., *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* (London: Longman, 1985) [CGEL], 1170–71, 1212–13 [§16.20, §16.59]). The term *ditransitive* indicates that two objects follow the verb *cause*, with the second object being a *that*-clause.

This complex finite syntax can be less simply stated as:

$$\text{<subj.> «cause» NP}_{(obj.)} \text{ [that NP}_{(subj.)} \text{ <modal aux.> <infinitive>]}_{(obj. clause)}$$

The first NP, "the earth," is an object (historically, an indirect object) and a full noun phrase; the second NP, *it*, is a subject pronoun that refers back to "the earth" (a pronoun is also technically a [short] noun phrase).

9 Stanford Carmack, "On Doctrine and Covenants Language and the 1833 Plot of Zion," *Interpreter: A Journal of Latter-day Saint Faith and Scholarship* 26 (2017): 297–380, https://journal. interpreterfoundation.org/on-doctrine-and-covenants-language-and-the-1833-plot-of-zion/. Bear in mind that the assumption of most Latter-day Saint scholars is that Joseph Smith worded Doctrine and Covenants revelations. Yet this conclusion has been reached without carrying out thorough lexical and syntactic analysis. The preliminary work discussed in the above article

suggests that it was unlikely that Joseph Smith worded most Doctrine and Covenants revelations.

10 The term *mandative subjunctive* is a classification of some grammarians; see, for example, CGEL 156–57 (§3.59).

11 The King James Bible does have one instance of mandative *shall* after the main verb *make* — see the biblically reworked section of the appendix.

12 Rev. Abner Kneeland, *The Olive Branch and Christian Inquirer: Devoted to Science, Religion and Morality*, vol. 1 (New York: Charles Nichols, 1828), https://books.google.com/books?id=sj4AAAAYAAJ.

13 For information on the corpus, see Stanford Carmack, "Personal Relative Pronoun Usage in the Book of Mormon: An Important Authorship Diagnostic," *Interpreter: A Journal of Latter-day Saint Faith and Scholarship* (forthcoming, 2021).

14 For example, the largest 18th-century database of English texts, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (ECCO), https://www.gale.com/primary-sources/eighteenth-century-collections-online, currently has 18,845 instances of "caused <pers.obj.pron.> to" during the last 30 years of the century (1771–1800) (no intervening punctuation; 8,341 texts). In contrast, ECCO only has 17 instances of "caused that <pers.subj.pron.>" (no intervening punctuation; 16 texts). Over this span of time, then, ECCO has slightly more than 1,000 times as many infinitival instances with personal pronouns as finite instances.

15 Taking the issue of biblical analogy further, we find that the textual data oblige us to conclude that any thorough attempt to explain Book of Mormon English on that basis fails in many instances.

16 See NOL 577. The Bible also has hundreds of causative constructions with the verb *make* — all but one infinitival (see the appendix for the only finite example).

17 Pearl Curran's *Sorry Tale* (1917) is a much later, 20th-century pseudo-archaic text, and is therefore not part of my corpus of 25 pseudo-archaic writings, which is limited in scope to 18th- and 19th-century texts. See Patience Worth, *The Sorry Tale: A Story of the Time of Christ*, trans. Mrs. John H. Curran, ed. Casper S. Yost (New York: H. Holt, 1917), https://archive.org/details/sorrytaleastory01currgoog. Curran's dictation produced

nine simple finite instances with the verb *cause*, but none with *shall* or *should* as modal auxiliaries. In addition, most of her verb complementation after the verb *cause* is infinitival. Thus her usage in this syntactic domain, though containing a comparatively large number of finite examples, is noticeably different from that of the Book of Mormon.

18   The early writings of Joseph Smith that were analyzed for this study, up to January 1833, are as follows: "Letter to Oliver Cowdery, 22 October 1829," p. 9, The Joseph Smith Papers, https://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/letter-to-oliver-cowdery-22-october-1829/1; "Letter to the Church in Colesville, 2 December 1830," p. 196, The Joseph Smith Papers, https://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/letter-to-the-church-in-colesville-2-december-1830/1; "Letter to Martin Harris, 22 February 1831," p. [1], The Joseph Smith Papers, https://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/letter-to-martin-harris-22-february-1831/1; "Letter to Hyrum Smith, 3–4 March 1831," p. [1], The Joseph Smith Papers, https://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/letter-to-hyrum-smith-3-4-march-1831/1; "Letter to Emma Smith, 6 June 1832," p. [1], The Joseph Smith Papers, https://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/letter-to-emma-smith-6-june-1832/1; "Letter to William W. Phelps, 31 July 1832," p. 1, The Joseph Smith Papers, https://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/letter-to-william-w-phelps-31-july-1832/1; "Letter to Emma Smith, 13 October 1832," p. [1], The Joseph Smith Papers, https://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/letter-to-emma-smith-13-october-1832/1; "Letter to William W. Phelps, 27 November 1832," p. 1, The Joseph Smith Papers, https://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/letter-to-william-w-phelps-27-november-1832/1; "Letter to Noah C. Saxton, 4 January 1833," p. 14, The Joseph Smith Papers, https://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/letter-to-noah-c-saxton-4-january-1833/1; "Letter to William W. Phelps, 11 January 1833," p. 18, The Joseph Smith Papers, https://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/letter-to-william-w-phelps-11-january-1833/1; "History, circa Summer 1832," p. 1, The Joseph Smith Papers, https://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/history-circa-summer-1832/1.

19 Observation subject to change; excluding consciously modified biblical language; see the section of the appendix on biblical reworking.

20 This is the only instance of complex finite *cause* syntax that has been edited out of the text; see ATV under this verse for the textual history: Royal Skousen, *Analysis of Textual Variants of the Book of Mormon* (Provo, UT: FARMS, 2004–2009); *Analysis of Textual Variants of the Book of Mormon*, 2nd edition (Provo, UT: FARMS, 2018).

21 This an identifier in Early English Books Online (http://name. umdl.umich.edu/A21703.0001.001), the largest database of Early Modern English texts. EEBO A21703 is Thomas Malory's *Le Morte d'Arthur*, written about 1469, first published in 1485.

22 This an identifier in Eighteenth Century Collections Online (https://go.gale.com/ps/advancedSearch.do?inputFieldValues[0]= CW0106164956&inputFieldNames[0]=RN&method=doSearch& searchType=AdvancedSearchForm&prodId=ECCO), the largest 18th-century database of English texts. ECCO CW0106164956 is the 8th edition (with additions) of a 1673 text written by William Salmon.

23 The adverbs are *soon* and *not;* the pronoun *it* in 3 Nephi 29:4 seems to refer back to the sword of the Lord's justice, mentioned earlier in the verse.

24 ESTC stands for the English Short Title Catalogue (http://estc. bl.uk/), a listing of over 480,000 items published between 1473 and 1800. The EEBO and ECCO databases currently contain between 60 and 75 percent of ESTC titles; as a result, there are still many texts to be searched, although many of these are very short texts.

25 Complex finite complementation after the verb *cause* probably died out earlier than it did after the verb *command*, because infinitival complementation was much more strongly favored after the verb *cause* during the early modern period.

26 And even in those Caxton texts, verb complementation that is heavily finite is confined to the verb *command*.

27 David Norton, "Purver, Anthony (1702–1777), biblical translator and Quaker preacher," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Sept. 23, 2004, https://www-oxforddnb-com.erl.lib.byu.edu/view/10.1093/ ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-22906.

28   C. H. Spurgeon, *Commenting and Commentaries: Two Lectures Addressed to the Students of the Pastors' College, Metropolitan Tabernacle, Together with a Catalogue of Biblical Commentaries and Expositions* (London: Passmore & Alabaster, 1876), 42, https://archive.org/details/commentpastors00spuruoft/page/42/mode/2up.

29   Joseph B. Rotherham, *The New Testament: Newly Translated (from the Greek Text of Tregelles) and Critically Emphasised* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1890), https://books.google.com/books?id=EYt3pKfob2UC.

A Comparison of the Book of Mormon's Subordinate That Usage

Stanford Carmack

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A Comparison of the Book of Mormon's Subordinate *That* Usage

Stanford Carmack

Abstract: *This paper compares the Book of Mormon's subordinate* that *usage with what is found in the King James Bible, pseudo-archaic writings, and the greater textual record. In this linguistic domain, the Book of Mormon manifests as thoroughly archaic, and it surpasses all known pseudo-archaic writings in breadth and depth of archaism. The implications of this set of linguistic data indicate that the translation as originally dictated by Joseph Smith cannot plausibly be explained as the result of Joseph's own word choices, but it is consistent with the hypothesis that the wording was somehow provided to him.*

Book of Mormon excerpt with an archaic subordinate *that:*
"after **that** they had hid themselves, I Nephi crept into the city"
(1 Nephi 4:5)[1]

In 1 Nephi 4:5, archaic subordinate *that* usage (also called pleonastic *that* in the literature)[2] involves the time conjunction *after*. This "after that S" usage (where S stands for a sentence-like subordinate clause) is frequently found in the King James Bible (74 times by one count, if we include the Apocrypha, which was often present in earlier Bibles). Yet as we shall see, this particular archaic subordinate *that* usage, as well as

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1. All Book of Mormon quotes are taken from Royal Skousen, ed., *The Book of Mormon: The Earliest Text* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), https://bookofmormoncentral.org/content/book-mormon-earliest-text; https://www.google.com/books/edition/The_Book_of_Mormon/680cn0KpjVMC?gbpv=1&bsq=crept.

2. See, for example, Javier Calle Martín, "'When That Wounds Are Evil Healed': Revisiting Pleonastic *That* in Early English Medical Writing," *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia* 52, no. 1 (2017): 5–20. *Pleonastic* means 'redundant.'

subordinate *that* in general, occur to a limited extent in pseudo-archaic texts of the 18th and 19th centuries. The reason for this is twofold: some biblical subordinate *that* usage is only lightly represented in the King James text (≤ 5 times), and subordinate *that* usage "declin[ed] rapidly in the 17th century to such an extent that it became virtually obliterated towards the end of that same century."[3]

I will first review biblical types of archaic subordinate *that* usage, then pseudo-archaic usage, and then the types found in the original Book of Mormon text. Pseudo-archaic writings constitute a control group that is important to consider (see below and the final section of the appendix for how these texts were chosen). The approach taken here is not to assume that any biblical usage was automatically reproducible by Joseph Smith, as a biblical imitator, since such an assumption is not a principled, rigorous approach.[4] Rather, many pseudo-archaic texts have been consulted in order to determine which types were produced

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3. Ibid., 5.

4. An anonymous reviewer wrote the following:

> First, the construction tends more to the lexical than grammatical on the lexico-grammatical scale. The addition of "that" doesn't change the structure at all, and is in fact obtrusive, so I would expect that those who have read enough older texts, including the KJV, could have easily noticed the construction. That so many pseudobiblical texts include the construction may indicate that it is a noticeable pseudoarchaic feature. Second, it occurs in the KJV a fair amount, so it may be even more available because of that.

Against what this reviewer wrote, the pseudo-archaic evidence exemplified and summarized in this paper indicates limited, not universal, availability to those authors: first, even the most common biblical subordinate *that* type, "after that S," occurs in only one of the 25 pseudo-archaic texts; second, very uncommon biblical subordinate *that* usage — whether we call it lexical or syntactic — was not imitated by pseudo-archaic authors. As an additional example, *more part* phraseology, which rarely occurs in the King James Bible, was hardly imitated in the pseudo-archaic genre. At this point, I have not encountered any imitation until William Morris's late 19th-century writings. Before the 1870s, we find only rare, sporadic usage by various **non**-pseudo-archaic authors.

Furthermore, I see little reason to be interested in whether we call subordinate *that* lexical or syntactic. I tend to call subordinate *that* syntactic, and Javier Calle Martín does as well, if his keyword "historical syntax" is any indication (see note 2). Indeed, archaic repetition of subordinate *that*, instead of modern repetition of the subordinator, qualifies as more syntactic than lexical (see examples in the body of the paper).

by various biblical imitators, and to what extent, both before and after Joseph's 1829 dictation of the Book of Mormon.

Biblical Types of Archaic Subordinate *That* Usage

The King James Bible has seven types of archaic subordinate *that* usage (it also has a few other types that are not as clearly or obviously archaic):

- after that S
- because that S
- before that S
- for that S (meaning 'because')
- how that S
- lest that S
- until that S • till that S (morphological variants)

I recently counted — using a digital copy of a complete 1611 Bible — 211 instances of archaic subordinate *that* used with the above subordinating conjunctions. Here is the above list ordered according to how many of each type were found in the biblical text.

- after that S (74)
- how that S (45)
- because that S (41)
- for that S (39)
- before that S (5)
- until that S • till that S (4)
- lest that S (3)

The first four types occur much more frequently than the last three types. Here are a few examples of each of these seven types of archaic subordinate *that* usage, ordered alphabetically:

After that S [74 instances]

Leviticus 13:7	after **that** he hath been seen of the priest for his cleansing
Tobit 7:1	after **that** they had saluted one another, she brought them into the house
Mark 14:28	after **that** I am risen, I will go before you into Galilee

Because that S [41 instances]

Numbers 11:20	because **that** ye have despised the Lord which is among you
Tobit 3:8	because **that** she had been married to seven husbands
Mark 5:4	because **that** he had been often bound with fetters and chains

Before that S [5 instances]

Jeremiah 47:1	before **that** Pharaoh smote Gaza
John 1:48	before **that** Philip called thee
Galatians 2:12	before **that** certain [men] came from James, he did eat with the Gentiles

For that S [39 instances]

1 Chronicles 15:13	for **that** we sought him not after the due order
Proverbs 1:29	for **that** they hated knowledge, and did not choose the fear of the Lord
1 Maccabees 5:67	for **that** they went out to fight unadvisedly

How that S [45 instances]

1 Samuel 24:18	how **that** thou hast dealt well with me
2 Esdras 5:54	how **that** ye are less of stature than those that were before you
Matthew 16:12	how **that** he bade them not beware of the leaven of bread

Lest that S [3 instances]

Genesis 38:9	lest **that** he *should* give seed to his brother
2 Maccabees 6:15	lest **that** . . he *should* take vengeance of us
1 Corinthians 9:27	lest **that** . . I myself *should* be a castaway

Until that S • Till that S [4 instances]

Judges 5:7	they ceased in Israel until **that** I Deborah arose
Psalm 123:2	until **that** he have mercy upon us
Daniel 2:34	thou sawest till **that** a stone was cut out without hands

Acts 21:26   until **that** an offering should be offered for
                    every one of them

Pseudo-Archaic Instances of Archaic Subordinate *That*

After counting instances of subordinate *that* in a digital version of the
1611 King James Bible, I checked to see which of the above seven types
were found in a corpus of 25 pseudo-archaic texts. I included all the texts
mentioned in Eran Shalev's article on pseudo-biblicism,[5] consulting
other sources as well, and even adding some texts whose language is
frequently archaic but for which scriptural style was not necessarily a
guiding principle. The 12 longer pseudo-archaic writings in the corpus
have between 14,000 and 132,000 words. (See the end of the appendix
for a complete listing and for further information on how I made up the
corpus.)

I found that four of the seven biblical types of subordinate *that*
occurred in the 25 texts, the four most frequent types. The three
infrequent types were not imitated (≤ 5 instances). In addition, only one
shorter text (with fewer than 10,000 words) had an example of archaic
subordinate *that;* it had an instance of "for that S" (shown below). The most
commonly imitated type was "how that S"; five texts had examples of this.
The higher usage of "how that S" can be explained by the uniqueness of
how in this set. It functions adverbially rather than conjunctively, and in
modernizations, the *how* can be dropped without replacement, without
any loss of meaning. In contrast, the same conjunctions or synonymous
conjunctions are needed in modernizations of the other subordinators.

Here are the pseudo-archaic examples that I found, ordered
according to how many of such writings had them:

How that S [5 texts, 14 instances]

Book of Jasher (1751) [1 instance]
8:3   how **that** our fathers … dwelt in the land of Canaan and
             possessed the same

American Chronicles (1775) [3 instances]
1:27   how **that** he putteth the yoke of cannon upon the neck of
             the Bostonites

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5. Eran Shalev, "'Written in the Style of Antiquity': Pseudo-Biblicism and the
Early American Republic, 1770–1830," *Church History: Studies in Christianity and
Culture* 79, no. 4 (2010): 800–26.

| 2:17 | how **that** the heathen threatened their brethren the men of New England |
| 3:54 | how **that** he hath destroyed the sorcerers, the soothsayers, and the witches, out of the land |

American Revolution (1793) [7 instances]

2:12	how **that** the people of the provinces had refused to obey the decree that he had made, and had destroyed the Indian weed
20:21	how **that** the servants of the king were gone into captivity
32:1	how **that** the servants of the king were slain and taken captive at Bennington
32:10	how **that** the people of the Provinces pressed hard upon the host of the king in the Northern Province
37:1	how **that** the Northern army was made captive by the people of the Provinces
40:2	how **that** the men of Britain were gone forth to forage and to distress the husbandmen
42:15	how **that** the strong hold was taken

Chronicles of Eri (1822) [2 instances]

| 3:19:19 | how **that** he was going through Ullad, assembling the men of the land |
| 4:9:30 | how **that** she came over the waves of the sea from Dunmeanac |

New Gospel of Peace (1863) [1 instance]

| 4:1:26 | how **that** in the beginning he had said, Let the Phiretahs go |

For that S [3 texts, 34 instances]

American Chronicles (1775) [1 instance]

| 1:5 | for **that** they have rebelled against thee |

Chronicles of Eri (1822) [32 instances]

1:4:44	for **that** Calma was no more
2:1:72	for **that** Er is not of the age
2:1:88	the land mourneth, for **that** Iber is no more
2:9:16	for **that** not one of the race of Iolar was of the age
3:2:47	for **that** Eocaid did abide thereon
3:7:82	Eocaid doth mourn for **that** Tatla is no more

3:19:50	for **that** the mind of Cairbre desireth repose
3:20:67	it is for **that** the words are true I feel the pain
4:1:65	for **that** he did not perform the promises he did make unto them
4:9:79	Eri was in trouble for **that** Fionn was no more
4:10:15	for **that** they so quickly passed his lips
4:10:94	Siorna chode with his brother, for **that** his ways were evil
4:10:117	Siorna died for **that** the men did do more than they were bidden to
4:12:14	for **that** all present did know the thing was contrived between them
4:24:12	they did imagine for **that** his words were not loud, he was consenting unto their fancies
4:24:13	for **that** they let it fall by the way
4:28:9	for **that** he delighteth not in things wherein other men have joy
4:28:53	for **that** all my remaining time of life, it would pain my spirit if you did
4:28:58	for **that** he did shun the haunts of men
5:2:37	Eri seemeth not to feel oppressed for **that** Maca is thereon
5:2:42	the children of the land mourned for **that** Maca was no more
5:5:5	for **that** they were pleased because of his pursuit after Bacad
5:5:9	for **that** Noid is as one of the princes of Gaeleii
5:6:17	for **that** words had come to Fearmor's ears
5:8:23	for **that** he did come with many ships to Er
5:9:29	for **that** they entered into the land as the foe to take off a spoil
5:19:17	for **that** he felt no hope of a return of his love
5:24:16	for **that** a prince of the race of Er sat on the throne of Eri
5:24:22	they think for **that** Iolar ruled Erimionn, Eri should be theirs for ever
5:28:39	for **that** Geinter was within the portion of Er from the beginning
5:28:113	for **that** the mind of Scandt was filled with jealousy of the sons of Eri
5:29:41	for **that** Iolar first did take upon himself the name of Erimionn

Chronicles of Nathan (1758) [1 instance]

1:2:37   for **that** by the law of the Jews no man might suffer death for this thing

Because that S [2 texts, 11 instances]

History of Anti-Christ (1811) [1 instance]

2:8:11   because **that** no man was thought fit for a magistrate or church member

New Gospel of Peace (1863) [10 instances]

2:2:2   because **that** he could say more and mean less than any other man in that country

2:2:2   because **that** there was no man who could see more ways of making trouble for other folk and getting out of it himself

2:3:4   because **that** he had been driven out of the Wilderness of Pharjinnee and **that** they worked not with him to obtain the victory

2:4:34   for because **that** he was not a Kopur-hedd

2:4:48   for because **that** his case is desperate

3:1:4   because **that** in the days of James … he had joined himself unto the Schynnurs

3:5:29   because **that** the men of the Eunyun held themselves aloof

3:7:38   because **that** by your carelessness ye did so mislead and afflict the people

3:7:41   because **that** he would suffer no man to speak or to write evil of him

4:1:6   because **that** he cut his way into the country of the Phiretahs

After that S [1 text, 9 instances]

American Revolution (1793) [9 instances]

5:1   after **that** the army of the king of Britain had gotten safe to land

23:16   after **that** the host of Britain had gone into the ships

24:14   after **that** the host of the people of the provinces had fled from the army of Britain

25:11   after **that** William … had gotten into the city

28:1   now after **that** Donop the captain was slain

38:1	after **that** the king of Gaul had made a covenant with Benjamin
42:18	after **that** the people of the Provinces had gotten possession thereof
53:13	not many hours after **that** Nathaniel had assumed the command of the army
59:4	after **that** Cornwallis was taken captive

Four of the 12 longer pseudo-archaic texts had two types of archaic subordinate *that*:

- *American Chronicles* (1775)
- *American Revolution* (1793)
- *Chronicles of Eri* (1822)
- *New Gospel of Peace* (1863)

None of the pseudo-archaic texts had three or more types of archaic subordinate *that*.

The Book of Mormon's Usage of Archaic Subordinate *That*

Most Book of Mormon instances of subordinate *that* were deleted early in the editing process, primarily for the 1837 edition. These edits by Joseph Smith made the text less biblical. Royal Skousen, as part of his critical text work, documented all the editing that has occurred over time for this syntactic usage, providing counts of the various kinds of subordinate *that* usage.[6] What he found is that the vast majority of the time, but not always, there are biblical examples of the usage.

In contrast to pseudo-archaic writings, the Book of Mormon has six of the seven types of archaic subordinate *that* usage found in the King James Bible. Here are examples of these six types:

After that S [115 instances]

1 Nephi 19:4	after **that** I was gone
1 Nephi 15:13	after **that** the Messiah hath manifested himself in body unto the children of men
3 Nephi 28:3	after **that** ye are seventy and two years old

Because that S [34 instances]

1 Nephi 16:22	because **that** they had hardened their hearts again

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6. Royal Skousen, *Grammatical Variation* (Provo, UT: FARMS and *BYU Studies*, 2016), 1018–40.

2 Nephi 29:10   wherefore because **that** ye have a Bible

Mormon 9:20   because **that** they dwindle in unbelief

Before that S [8 instances]

1 Nephi 13:15   like unto my people before **that** they were slain

1 Nephi 19:2   the things which transpired before **that** I made these plates

Mormon 6:22   O that ye had repented before **that** this great destruction had come upon you!

For that S [1 instance]

Alma 21:21   for **that** his father had granted unto him that he might reign

How that S [8 instances]

Jacob 2:5   how **that** ye are beginning to labor in sin

Jacob 3:10   how **that** ye have grieved their hearts

Helaman 5:6   how **that** it is said . . that they were good

Lest that S [3 instances]

Alma 22:22   he … feared lest **that** a multitude should assemble

Alma 36:11   lest perhaps **that** I should be destroyed

Helaman 2:11   he feared lest **that** he should be destroyed

Additional Types of Subordinate *That* Occurring in the Book of Mormon

In terms of semantics, the original Book of Mormon text has another type of archaic subordinate that usage also found in the 1611 Bible:

To that S [like biblical "till that S" and "until that S"] [1 instance]

1 Nephi 18:9

insomuch that they began to dance and to sing and to speak with much rudeness yea even **to that** they did forget by what power they had been brought thither

In terms of morphology, this one is different from what is found in the King James Bible.

Since that S [1 instance]

The original Book of Mormon text has another type of archaic subordinate *that* usage not found in the 1611 Bible:

> 1 Nephi 22:5
>
> And since **that** they have been led away, these things have been prophesied concerning them,
>
>> The subordinate *that* was removed by Joseph Smith in 1837;[7]
>> the archaic *that* can be seen on page 56 of the 1830 first edition.

This same usage is found in the forerunner to the King James Bible, the 1568 Bishops' Bible, in the book of Acts. This biblical passage can be found in the Early English Books Online database (EEBO).[8] In the following excerpt, the spelling has been modernized:

> 1568, EEBO A10708 [Bishops' Bible, Acts 2:33]
>
> Then since **that** he by the right hand of God was exalted, and hath received of the Father the promise of the Holy Ghost,
>
>> *King James reading:*
>> Therefore being by the right hand of God exalted,
>> and having received of the Father the promise of the Holy Ghost,

Besides this type of subordinate *that*, the Book of Mormon also has two **sub**types of subordinate *that* (five instances) not found in the King James Bible; these are covered below.

The Book of Mormon stands out from pseudo-archaic texts in both types and number of instances of subordinate *that*. The longer pseudo-archaic texts, which together have more than twice as many words as the Book of Mormon, have fewer types of subordinate *that*, as well as fewer instances. Taken together, the 12 longer pseudo-archaic texts have half as many types and about one-fifth the rate of occurrence (1.2 instances per about 10,000 words versus 6.9 per 10,000 words in the Book of Mormon, which has approximately 250,000 words in mostly nonbiblical contexts).

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7. See under this verse in Royal Skousen, *Analysis of Textual Variants of the Book of Mormon* (Provo, UT: FARMS, 2004–2009); *Analysis of Textual Variants of the Book of Mormon*, 2nd ed. (Provo, UT: FARMS, 2018).

8. Early English Books Online (website), https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebogroup.

	King James Bible	Book of Mormon	Pseudo-Archaic Texts
after that S	✓	✓	✓
how that S	✓	✓	✓
because that S	✓	✓	✓
for that S	✓	✓	✓
before that S	✓	✓	
lest that S	✓	✓	
until/till/to that S	✓	✓	
Since that S		✓	

Table 1. Comparison of archaic subordinate *that* usage with eight subordinators in the King James Bible, the Book of Mormon, and 25 pseudo-archaic texts.

Note: Five other subordinating conjunctions discussed in *Grammatical Variation* (see note 6) — "except (that) S", "insomuch (that) S", "notwithstanding (that) S", "save (that) S", and "than (that) S" — were not included in this study, either because the degree of archaism of the *that*-construction isn't clear or the lack of *that* is often due to other grammatical factors. The correlation of the subordinate *that* usage of the King James Bible and the Book of Mormon is 0.78.

As shown in Table 2, none of the 12 longer pseudo-archaic texts has more than two types of subordinate *that*, yet the Book of Mormon has eight, one more than the King James Bible. In more than 580,000 pseudo-archaic words (more than 560,000 in the 12 longer texts), all that we find are four types. So from the assumption that, syntactically speaking, the Book of Mormon is a pseudo-archaic text worded by Joseph Smith — an assumption that many LDS scholars make (without necessarily saying so or using that terminology) — we do not expect eight types of this archaic syntax. The upper bound of what we expect is four.

Texts	Types	Instances
King James Bible, including the Apocrypha	7	211
Book of Mormon, nonbiblical sections	8	172
6 longer pseudo-archaic (P-A) texts	0	0
2 longer P-A texts, considered individually	1	1, 1
4 longer P-A texts, considered individually	2	4, 11, 16, 34
All types and instances found in 12 longer P-A texts	4	67

Table 2. Number of types and instances of archaic subordinate *that* occurring in scriptural texts and 12 longer pseudo-archaic texts.

Moreover, from the perspective that Joseph Smith was a pseudo-archaic author, each type beyond four occurring in the original Book of Mormon text was increasingly unlikely to occur. Specifically, the fifth and sixth biblical types occurring in the Book of Mormon, but

not found in pseudo-archaic texts, were somewhat unlikely to occur. And the more obscure "since that S" and "to that S" types were unlikely and highly unlikely, respectively.

Above is an early modern example of "since that S", from the 1568 Bishops' Bible. Here is an early modern example of "to that S":

1626, James Haig [letter][9]

> and **to that** I be into fashion, I am ashamed to presume in the sam[e]

Although there are other examples of this "to that S" language, they are rare, textually speaking, and from earlier in time.[10]

Biblical Subtypes of Archaic Subordinate *That* Usage

The King James Bible has three subtypes of archaic subordinate *that* usage involving an additional degree of complexity or archaism. Here is a case where the sentence has additional subordinate clauses headed by *that*:

How that S and that S [1 instance]

1 Corinthians 15:3–6 how **that** Christ died for our sins according to the scriptures and **that** he was buried and **that** he rose again the third day according to the scriptures and **that** he was seen of Cephas, then of the twelve

In this passage, the main clause (not shown here) precedes the complex "how that S" subordinate clause. In a conjoined case like this one, the archaic *that* is repeated rather than the subordinator *how*, and the same meaning is conveyed. (This is more noticeable after the subordinator *because*; see below.) Modern versions drop the *how* and just use *that* repeatedly.

Archaic *after that* used with future subjunctive *shall* [1 instance]

Similar to how subordinate *that* was primarily a phenomenon of the 16th century and before, the use of *shall* as a subjunctive marker was much more prevalent in earlier times. In subordinate clauses, it often

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9. A footnote in John Russell, ed., *The Haigs of Bemersyde* (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1881), 178, https://archive.org/stream/haigsofbemersyde00russuoft#page/178/mode/2up; gives the meaning 'till' for "to (that)."

10. For further examples, see Royal Skousen, *The Nature of the Original Language* (Provo, UT: FARMS, 2018), 264.

indicated future indefiniteness or contingency. In English subordinate clauses, the use was mostly taken over by the present indicative, with some initial present subjunctive use. In some languages, such as Spanish, present subjunctive forms have completely replaced future subjunctive forms, except in some relic formulaic uses, and have been maintained.

In English, future subjunctive *shall* usage diminished in the 17th and 18th centuries, becoming restricted in large part to legal registers. The combination of subordinate *that* and future subjunctive *shall* in the subordinate clause is thus a further indication of authentic or well-imitated archaism.

The following passage seems to have the only instance of future subjunctive "after that … shall/shalt" in the King James Bible:

> Daniel 4:26   thy kingdom shall be sure unto thee, *after that* thou **shalt** have known that the heavens do rule.
>
> Other potential instances have a pronominal *that* rather than a subordinate *that*, as well as a future indicative *shall*, such as in Genesis 18:5, Leviticus 14:8, and Acts 7:7.

In this verse, the verb *know* conveys an obsolete meaning of "come to know, acknowledge, realize," as modern versions indicate. The New King James Version does not have a subordinate *that*, and it has the present tense instead of future subjunctive *shalt*:

> Daniel 4:26   your kingdom shall be assured to you, *after* [ø] you [ø] come to know that Heaven rules.

Archaic *before that* used with future subjunctive *shall* [1 instance]

Similar to "after that … «shall»" syntax is "before that … «shall»" syntax. Here is the only instance found in the King James Bible:

> Luke 22:34   the cock shall not crow this day, *before that* thou **shalt** thrice deny that thou knowest me

In the following modern versions, *until* is used instead of *before*, and the subordinate *that* is missing, as well as future subjunctive *shalt*:

> ESV, HCSB   the rooster will not crow this day, **until** [ø] you [ø] deny three times that you know me.

Pseudo-Archaic Subtypes of Archaic Subordinate *That* Usage

In searching 25 pseudo-archaic texts for conjoined usage with *that*, I found only one example, after the subordinator *because*:

Because that S and that S

1863, Richard Grant White, *New Gospel of Peace*, 2:3:4
because **that** he had been driven out of the Wilderness of Pharjinnee and **that** they worked not with him to obtain the victory
> To clearly indicate the continuing scope of *because* in modern usage, the *because* must be repeated, not the subordinate *that*.

This example comes from the editor of the Riverside Shakespeare. Beyond this, there were no further pseudo-archaic examples of conjoined usage. Nor were any examples of subordinate *that* found with future subjunctive *shall*. That combination of archaism was missing from all such archaic subordinate clauses.

Book of Mormon Subtypes of Archaic Subordinate *That* Usage

The Book of Mormon has five subtypes related to the above biblical usage, including two specific subtypes that do not occur in the King James Bible. The Book of Mormon also has more instances of each of the three biblical subtypes:

Because that S and that S (2 instances)

1 Nephi 2:11	because **that** he was a visionary man and **that** he had led them out of the land of Jerusalem
Jacob 5:60	because **that** I have preserved the natural branches and the roots thereof and **that** I have grafted in the natural branches again into their mother tree

How that S and that S [2 instances]

2 Nephi 30:4	how **that** we came out from Jerusalem and **that** they are a descendant of the Jews
Helaman 2:8	how **that** it was his object to murder and also **that** it was the object of all those which belonged to his band to murder and to rob and to gain power

Archaic *after that* used with future subjunctive *shall* [8 instances]

1 Nephi 11:7	And *after that* ye **shall** have witnessed him, ye shall bear record that it is the Son of God.
1 Nephi 13:35	*after that* thy seed **shall** be destroyed and dwindle in unbelief

2 Nephi 26:1	*after that* Christ **shall** have risen from the dead
2 Nephi 26:3	*after that* the Messiah **shall** come
2 Nephi 26:15	*after that* the Lord God **shall** have camped against them … and **shall** have laid siege against them with a mount … *after that* they **shall** have been brought down low in the dust
2 Nephi 32:6	*after that* he **shall** manifest himself unto you in the flesh

Archaic *before that* used with future subjunctive *shall* [2 instances]

| Jacob 7:16 | I desire to speak unto the people *before that* I **shall** die |
| Enos 1:8 | and many years passeth away *before that* he **shall** manifest himself in the flesh |

Archaic *after that* used with past subjunctive *should* [3 instances]

This usage is the past-tense analog of "after that S" syntax with future subjunctive *shall:*

1 Nephi 10:14	Wherefore [Lehi] said … *after that* the house of Israel **should** be scattered, they should be gathered together again,
Ether 4:1	they were forbidden to come unto the children of men until *after that* [Christ] **should** be lifted up upon the cross
Ether 13:5	And [Ether prophesied] … *after that* [Jerusalem] **should** be destroyed it should be built up again an holy city unto the Lord

Modernized renderings of these three passages:

1 Nephi 10:14	Lehi said that … after the house of Israel **was** scattered they *would* be gathered *back* together
Ether 4:1	they were forbidden to come to the children of men until after Christ **was** lifted up on the cross
Ether 13:5	Ether prophesied that … after Jerusalem **was** destroyed it *would* be built up again as a holy city to the Lord

The three analytical subjunctive subtypes are unexpected in a pseudo-archaic effort, and the last subtype, with an analytical past subjunctive marker *should*, is somewhat more unexpected.

Texts	Subtypes	Instances
King James Bible, including the Apocrypha	3	3
Book of Mormon, nonbiblical sections	5	17
11 longer pseudo-archaic (P-A) texts	0	0
1 longer P-A text	1	1
All subtypes found in 12 longer P-A texts	1	1

Table 3. Number of subtypes of subordinate that occurring in scriptural texts and longer pseudo-archaic texts.

It is possible to add even more archaic subtypes to the list in Table 3 (see below), but for this table I have confined it to subtypes related to biblical examples.

Summary of Findings

To recap the comparative biblical and pseudo-archaic evidence just seen, the occurrence in the Book of Mormon of the following seven types and subtypes of archaic subordinate *that* usage ranges from possible to somewhat unlikely to unlikely to highly unlikely:

- before that S
- lest that S
- * since that S
- † to that S
- after that . . shall $_{\text{fut.subj.}}$ <infin.phrase>
- before that . . shall $_{\text{fut.subj.}}$ <infin.phrase>
- † after that . . should $_{\text{past.subj.}}$ <infin.phrase>

The cases marked with daggers ("to that S" and "after that … should $_{\text{past.subj.}}$") probably qualify as usage that was highly unlikely to appear in a pseudo-archaic Book of Mormon. The starred case ("since that S") was unlikely, as it also is not a King James or pseudo-archaic usage, though not as obscure as "to that S" or as complex as the analytical construction "after that . . should $_{\text{past.subj.}}$".

The degree of unlikelihood of each type and subtype is debatable, depending in part on how frequently they appear in the greater textual record close in time to 1830. Some of them are difficult to search for. "Since that S" is one of these, as the *that* following *since* is pronominal

the vast majority of the time. One prose example from the last 30 years of Eighteenth Century Collections Online[11] is this one:

> 1789, CW0117137214, 68
>
>> nor is this now wrinkled brow a stranger to the honours of the martial laurel, since **that** we have fought against the Barbarians, who did their utmost to deprive Greece of that liberty, which they themselves did not enjoy;

And here is a late 18th-century poetic instance:

> 1800, CW0124621154, 49
>
>> since **that** I have my first Love lost, And been in the same deeply crost,

So the usage was rare, but persistent. It is of course possible that original instances composed between 1801 and 1830 are found in Google Books or other databases.[12] This remains to be verified. The same thing could be the case for most of the others. But "to that S" is not yet attested as occurring in the late modern period, after 1700. Perhaps a later Scottish English instance occurs somewhere in the textual record, since this was primarily a northern usage.

In the case of "lest that S" usage, the ECCO database shows a fair amount of persistent usage. In the last 30 years of ECCO, there are about one dozen instances of "lest that <subj.pron.> should <infin. phrase>" (the "lest that S" syntax with *should* is the type found in every King James Bible and Book of Mormon instance). (Because of optical character recognition errors, many of these ECCO examples turn up only by searching for *left* instead of *lest*.) But Google Books, between 1801 and 1830, has hardly any actual instances of "lest that <subj. pron.> should <infin.phrase>" (several false positives). Producing three instances of "lest that S" with *should* was possible for Joseph Smith in 1829, if somewhat unlikely.

In the case of "after that <subj.> should $_{\text{past.subj}}$" syntax, EEBO shows that it was already very uncommon in the 1690s, at the end of the early modern era. (I currently know of two original instances in EEBO from that decade: 1692, A28933, 196; 1698, A52358, 119^2.) It is typically

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11. Eighteenth Century Collections Online (website), https://www.gale.com/primary-sources/eighteenth-century-collections-online, hereafter referred to as ECCO.

12. Google Books Advanced Book Search (website), https://books.google.com/advanced_book_search.

found after that time in older legal language. However, I did find one original example in the 1790s, part of a translation from Latin: *a*1797, CW0123112386 (1800), 459. (The author/translator Joseph Milner died in 1797.) A translator acquainted with a foreign language with analogous past-tense subjunctive usage is a likely profile for a person who might have produced this unfamiliar syntax.

As shown, a pseudo-archaic standard fails to explain the Book of Mormon data; and until we find "to that S" with a meaning of "until" in the early 1800s, the later textual record fails to completely explain the data as well.

One explanation of Book of Mormon archaism is to consider that any and all late modern usage was possible for Joseph Smith to have produced. It is reasonable to grant that individual cases of archaism were possible in many instances, but not that they were likely when persistent usage was textually rare and absent from pseudo-archaic writings. In any event, dozens of barely possible instances multiply into a highly unlikely combination of features.

Furthermore, if we say that the archaic syntax was accessible to Joseph because we can find it rarely in the contemporaneous textual record, then it was even more accessible to earlier pseudo-archaic authors. Yet as we have seen, the depth and breadth of archaic usage in this domain is absent from these biblically imitative writings. Thus the accessibility argument is a weak one. For it to reasonably explain the Book of Mormon's variety of archaic subordinate *that* usage, in approximately 250,000 nonbiblical words, then we must have found more types and subtypes of archaic subordinate *that* in the approximately 350,000 words of the earlier pseudo-archaic writings in the corpus I have consulted.

Additional Archaic Subtypes of Subordinate *That* Usage

The Book of Mormon has two other archaic subordinate *that* subtypes not found in either the King James Bible or pseudo-archaic texts. These involve "after that S" subordinate clauses used with another linguistic feature that was more archaic than modern.

Pluperfect "after that S" followed by a periphrastic past main clause [13 instances]

As mentioned at the outset, subordinate *that* usage occurred at a significantly higher rate in the 16th century — before the King James Bible was published — than in the 17th century. The 16th century was also the time of a decades-long surge in non-emphatic, affirmative

periphrastic *did* usage, which dropped off dramatically in the 17th century. Consistent with the fact that the Book of Mormon has so much syntax characteristic of the middle of the early modern period, the earliest text has 13 instances of "after that S" in the pluperfect, followed by a past-tense main clause with archaic periphrastic *did*. Here are three Book of Mormon examples of this wording along with five early modern instances taken from EEBO (part of the "after that S" clause is in italics, periphrastic *did* is in bold, and the infinitive is in small caps; spelling modernized):

1 Nephi 8:25	And *after that they had partook* of the fruit of the tree, they **did** CAST their eyes about as if they were ashamed.
1 Nephi 16:14	And *after that we had slain* food for our families, we **did** RETURN again to our families in the wilderness
Ether 10:10	And *after that he had established* himself king, he **did** EASE the burden of the people,
1550, A13758	*after that they had sojourned* there one day, they **did** TAKE the ships of the Chians, *After that the Athenians had heard* both parties, they **did** PUT the matter into deliberation two times.
1581, A68098	As the apostles, *after that they had preached* in Antioch, **did** plainly FORBID the filthiness of idols.
1583, A08548	and *after that I had given* it him, he **did** DEFY me in mortal battle:
1594, A12568	*after that they had begun* their rebellion, they **did** INVENT, FORGE, and MAKE many weapons of war,

The EEBO database, whose texts primarily span the years 1473–1700, gives evidence that this syntax was ten times more prevalent in the 16th century than in the 17th century (40 instances in 0.2 billion words versus 26 instances in 1.25 billion words). So once again we encounter a confluence of syntax in the Book of Mormon that was most characteristic of the time preceding the 17th century.

"Wherefore after that S" [4 instances]

The conjunctive adverb *wherefore* was at its most frequent use in the first half of the early modern era, during the 16th century and before, as was the subordinator *after that*. As a result, their co-occurrence in

the following excerpts marks the language as either quite archaic or well-imitative of archaism:

1 Nephi 1:17	*wherefore after that* I have abridged the record of my father
1 Nephi 13:34	*wherefore after that* I have visited them in judgment
2 Nephi 31:8	*wherefore after that* he was baptized with water
2 Nephi 32:4	*wherefore* now *after that* I have spoken these words

These begin identically, though one does have an intervening *now*. The phrase in italics is not found in the King James Bible — not even the shorter phrase "wherefore after."

A search of the EEBO Phase 1 and ECCO databases currently indicates that the phrase "wherefore after that" (with subordinate *that*) was more than 10 times as likely to be used during the 16th century compared to the 17th century, and about 40 times as likely to be used during the 17th century compared to the 18th century. "Wherefore after that S" was rare usage after 1750. (See the appendix for further details.)

Text	Types	Subtypes
King James Bible (1611)	7	3
Book of Mormon (1829)	8	7
New Gospel of Peace (1863)	2	1

Table 4. Summary of the number of types and subtypes of archaic subordinate *that* in the King James Bible, the Book of Mormon, and a leading pseudo-archaic text.

Discussion of Joseph Smith's 1837 Editing

Suppose we argue that Joseph Smith worded the text because he was later willing to edit so much of it, such as the more than 100 deletions of archaic subordinate *that*. For example, Brant Gardner proposes that Joseph usually worded the text himself, converting concepts from the plates into his own language.[13] And Gardner wrote the following about Joseph's editing:

> The most important lesson from looking at what Joseph produced is that he was willing to change words in the text

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13. See, for example, Brant A. Gardner, *The Gift and Power: Translating the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Kofford Books, 2011).

after they had been dictated. In all important cases, the changes were made under Joseph's supervision. Both as the original translator and as a prophet, he was in a position to understand whether or not the words of the text accurately portrayed the meaning intended for the text.[14]

Yet Gardner has given no evidence of having considered the massive amounts of English linguistic data — both lexical and syntactic — that arguably are key in evaluating whether the text dictated by Joseph Smith was largely shaped by him or by some other source.

To be sure, Gardner identifies some anachronisms in the translation, such as "they shall be driven before like a dumb ass" in Mosiah 12:5, which is obviously problematic in a Mesoamerican setting if presumed to represent an aspect of Mesoamerican culture.[15] The English translation here seems to require a "conceptual translation" to convert what may have been a concept of punitive servitude on the plates into a metaphor that modern readers, especially those familiar with the King James Bible, could readily understand, given that neither beasts of burden nor asses were used in ancient Mesoamerica, as far as we know.

Gardner makes the same point about goats and lions in Alma 14:29, when frightened people fled "as a goat fleeth with her young from two lions."[16] However, it is still possible that the concept of asses as a beast of burden or fearsome lions existed among the Nephites based on many references in the brass plates. By the same token, modern writers may frequently make intelligible allusions to mythical creatures such as dragons or unicorns, extinct creatures such as dinosaurs and dodos, or living animals such as lions or kangaroos, which are not part of daily life for the intended audience or even on the same continent. But for expressions that seem most likely to be conceptual translations, there is no need to require that the conceptual translation be crafted by Joseph Smith.

The implications of the English linguistic data very strongly indicate that the translation, as originally dictated by Joseph Smith, abounded in archaic early modern syntax and lexis outside the realm of Joseph's

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14. Brant A. Gardner, "Translating the Book of Mormon," in *A Reason for Faith: Navigating LDS Doctrine and Church History*, ed. Laura Harris Hales (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2016), 28.

15. Gardner, *The Gift and Power*, 188.

16. Ibid.

linguistic environment, and therefore was being provided to him.[17] Gardner's paradigm must, in my opinion, be reconsidered in light of the emerging linguistic data.

As for the idea that Joseph's willingness to edit points to him being the translator, it is not a compelling argument in the case of stylistic, meaning-neutral edits, which constitute the vast majority of Joseph's first edits in 1837 (when most edits were made). In 1837, for the second edition of the Book of Mormon, Joseph barely made any semantic edits. Relevant to this paper, more than 100 edits of archaic subordinate *that* were meaning-neutral edits. Those familiar with biblical language and English usage intuitively know that when a subordinate *that* is deleted, the meaning is unchanged. And there was nearby variation in this usage during the history of English. Indeed, there is immediate variation of "after that S" and "after S" in the King James Bible, even within the same verse, without any difference in meaning (see the biblical example given in the appendix).

Furthermore, if it were true that Joseph worded the text, then he probably would have understood its referent structure, syntax, and lexical usage better than he did. We can plainly see in some of his edits that he understood the original dictation language imperfectly, such as the eight times he incorrectly marked a nonpersonal *which* in the printer's manuscript to be changed to *who*, with the edit being rejected at the typesetting stage.[18] Furthermore, he misinterpreted the second *which* of Alma 51:7 as personal, and this one was not caught at the typesetting stage ("the *which* does not refer to people but instead heads a sentential relative clause"[19]). Because of this inopportune edit, to this day we read *who* there. (The *also* after the second *which* quite clearly indicates a nonpersonal reading.)

Moreover, in many of the edited aspects of the text, such as subordinate *that*, Joseph Smith was unlikely to have produced the original forms found in the dictation language. The assumption that he could have been responsible for producing, in a sustained manner, much more convincing archaism than the best pseudo-archaic authors is a dubious one. One

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17. See "Stanford Carmack," *Interpreter: A Journal of Latter-day Saint Faith and Scholarship*, https://journal.interpreterfoundation.org/author/stanfordc/?journal. See also Royal Skousen, "The Language of the Original Text of the Book of Mormon," *BYU Studies Quarterly* 57, no. 3 (2018): 81–110; https://byustudies.byu.edu/content/language-original-text-book-mormon.

18. See Skousen, *Grammatical Variation*, 1209.

19. See ibid., and Skousen, *Analysis of Textual Variants of the Book of Mormon*, 2743.

such author was the Shakespearean scholar Richard Grant White, who wrote his text in the early 1860s. Lexically and syntactically speaking, the Book of Mormon far exceeds his and other pseudo-archaic authors' archaic usage. This is the case, despite the fact that Joseph knew much less Early Modern English than White, and had little or no time to pause and introduce extra archaism through deliberation, as pseudo-archaic authors did when they penned their works.

Conclusion

Overall, when we consider the Book of Mormon's original subordinate *that* usage and compare it to pseudo-archaic data, we find that it is remarkable for its time and for its presumed genre. It even exceeds the King James Bible in archaism in this domain, and it does so in a way that shows sophistication in language use and early modern sensibility. Indeed, I have found that comparatively studying Book of Mormon English is like taking a master class in lesser-known early modern usage. In many ways, we can learn more about earlier forms and structures reading the Book of Mormon than the King James Bible.

A reviewer of this paper stated that in this domain "there [were] very few syntactic niceties that could bolster an argument that it would have taken a superb philologist to have matched the [early modern] record." I disagree with this assessment, and encourage readers to consider all the intriguing coincidences with early modern syntax described above, and summarized in the tables, as a way to determine which perspective is more likely to be valid.

Because no pseudo-archaic text comes close to having the Book of Mormon's array of subordinate *that* usage, the odds that Joseph Smith authored this one aspect of its language are low. Quite simply, in this domain, the dictation language is about five times as impressive in its archaism as any pseudo-archaic writing I have considered to date.

In the Book of Mormon, subordinate *that* usage is clearly early modern in character and not late modern in character, despite remnants of it beginning to be found in the later period (after the year 1700). It is inaccurate to call this linguistic feature 19th-century in character or even 18th-century in character. Probably more than 95 percent of original examples occur in early modern texts, despite far fewer titles being published then. That the Book of Mormon shows more depth and breadth of usage in this domain than the King James Bible means that the text has something special and unexpected in this regard. Not only

that, the Book of Mormon has many other syntactic markers which show similar early modern characteristics.

While this archaic subordinate *that* usage is certainly not the strongest syntactic evidence against Joseph Smith authoring the language, it is solid evidence of it, and one part of the bigger picture of how extremely improbable it was for him to have been responsible for producing Book of Mormon English.

Appendix

On the relative frequency of the word *that* in the Book of Mormon

The versatile word *that* is the fourth most common word in the Book of Mormon, after the ubiquitous words *the*, *and*, *of*. In virtually all lengthy texts, *that* is not the fourth most common word. The words *to*, *a*, and *in* almost always rank ahead of *that* in frequency. The relatively high frequency of *that* in the Book of Mormon is mostly due to three stand-out syntactic features: its heavy finite clausal complementation (which almost always features the complementizer *that* after various verbs); archaic personal relative pronoun patterns (where the text, though preferring personal *which*, uses personal *that* more than *who* or *whom*); and heavy subordinate *that* usage. The first two linguistic patterns indicate that Joseph was not the author of the Book of Mormon much more strongly than does its archaic subordinate *that* usage.

Nearby variation in subordinate *that* usage

Subordinate *that* usage was optional in the early modern period, and immediate variation occurs in the King James Bible:

> Leviticus 14:43
>> And if the plague come again, and break out in the house,
>> after **that** he hath taken away the stones,
>> and after [ø] he hath scraped the house,
>> and after [ø] it is plastered;

This same nearby variation is also found in the original Book of Mormon text, but not in the current 1981/2013 text:

> Ether 4:1–2
>> until after [ø] Christ should shew himself unto his people.
>> And after **that** Christ truly had shewed himself unto his people,

This next example is a case of variable subordinate *that* usage after two different subordinators:

> 3 Nephi 20:26–27
>> and this BECAUSE [ø] ye are the children of the covenant.
>> And AFTER **that** ye were blessed,

The variation is even found here:

> Doctrine and Covenants 42:32
>> And it shall come to pass,
>> that AFTER [ø] they are laid before the bishop of my church,
>> and AFTER **that** he has received these testimonies
>> concerning the consecration of the properties of my church,
>>> It could be that the first *after* did not have a subordinate *that* because of the immediately preceding conjunctive *that*.

In my experience, many Latter-day Saint scholars seem to think that Joseph Smith was responsible for wording Doctrine and Covenants revelations and that the issue is settled. For example, Grant Hardy accepts it as a given at the end of his recent Book of Mormon study edition.[20] However, in-depth comparative syntactic analysis must be done before coming to such a conclusion, and most researchers have done very little work in this regard. In Hardy's case, I know that he has not done the necessary comparative syntactic work that might enable him to know that Joseph Smith worded Doctrine and Covenants revelations.

To back up the claim that Joseph worded Doctrine and Covenants revelations, Latter-day Saint scholars sometimes point to grammatical usage found in various revelations, grammar which is ultimately best seen as early modern in character, and which Joseph Smith was probably not directly responsible for.[21] Latter-day Saint scholars typically hold

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20. Grant Hardy, ed., *The Book of Mormon: Another Testament of Jesus Christ (Maxwell Institute Study Edition)* (Provo, UT: Neal A. Maxwell Institute for Religious Scholarship and Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 2018), 623.

21. See, for example, Grant Underwood, "The D ictation, C ompilation, a nd Canonization of Joseph Smith's Revelations," in *Foundational Texts of Mormonism: Examining Major Early Sources*, ed. Mark Ashurst-McGee, Robin Scott Jensen, and Sharalyn D. Howcroft (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 101–23. On page 118, in a section that focuses on some early editing of what is now Doctrine and Covenants section 20, Underwood writes: "Oliver Cowdery revised the grammatically incorrect 'nor no' to 'neither.'"

Comparative study has led me to conclude that "nor no" grammar — originally found in both the Book of Mormon and the Doctrine and Covenants — is not

narrow views about grammaticality, a field in which they have little or no expertise. Some Doctrine and Covenants grammar includes natural language variation of the earlier period, such as we see immediately above. As shown, some of the variation is actually found in the 1611 King James Bible, or in earlier Bibles (sometimes corresponding biblical examples are not readily apparent).

Projecting prophetic authority by means of archaism

One academic hypothesis proposes that Joseph Smith used many archaic biblical forms in his 1829 dictation of the Book of Mormon in order to enhance his perceived ecclesiastical authority.[22] Its textual history, however, casts doubt on this hypothesis. Eight years after dictating the text, Joseph reversed many perfectly acceptable biblical archaisms, including scores of archaic subordinate *that* and nearly 1,000 instances of archaic personal *which*. So all the editions after the first edition did not have more than 1,000 markers of original archaism.

Strictly early modern nonbiblical archaism

The Book of Mormon's nonbiblical syntax and lexis are not all found in the modern period. In a few cases, even some "bad grammar" has not yet been found in the modern textual record, such as the phrase "there was many which …" (Alma 1:16; 1548, 1550, 1655), where *many which* refers to persons. Moreover, the Book of Mormon currently appears to have

reliable evidence that Joseph Smith worded these revelations. First, "nor no" was probably not something Joseph would have produced from spiritual impressions, which is a key question. His early writings do not provide evidence that he used this kind of mostly archaic double negative. Second, much of the surrounding language of Doctrine and Covenants revelations is early modern in character, and "nor no" usage is much more characteristic of the early modern period than the late modern period. Third, "nor no" was not grammatically incorrect in the early 19th century, even from the narrow view that grammaticality is properly determined by the well-educated (a view that Underwood apparently adopted). At this point, I have been able to verify that it was still occasionally used in the late 18th century by some well-educated persons. The latest examples I have seen are British; further study might reveal some American instances.

22. Gregory A. Bowen, *Sounding Sacred: The Adoption of Biblical Archaisms in the Book of Mormon and Other 19th Century Texts* (Dissertation, Purdue University, December 2016), xii: "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."

at least 10 lexical meanings that had died out before major American colonization, according to the current *Oxford English Dictionary*.[23]

In the domain of subordinate *that* usage, "to that S" is a potential case of strictly early modern usage (see above). And pluperfect "after that S" with non-emphatic periphrastic *did* was in effect obsolete before the end of the 18th century.[24]

Details related to "wherefore after that S" language

Here are some additional details related to archaic "wherefore after that S" language. In the EEBO Phase 1 database, twenty-eight 16th-century

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23.   See Skousen, *The Nature of the Original Language*, and the pre-print versions of updates to relevant chapters provided in "Pre-print of Revisions in the Analysis of Archaic Language in the Book of Mormon," *Interpreter Foundation Blog*, Oct. 22, 2020, https://interpreterfoundation.org/blog-pre-print-of-revisions-in-the-analysis-of-archaic-language-in-the-book-of-mormon/; "Pre-print of Revisions in the Analysis of Archaic Phrases in the Book of Mormon," *Interpreter Foundation Blog*, Nov. 9, 2020, https://interpreterfoundation.org/blog-pre-print-of-revisions-in-the-analysis-of-archaic-phrases-in-the-book-of-mormon/; "Pre-print of Revisions in the Analysis of Archaic Grammar in the Book of Mormon," *Interpreter Foundation Blog*, Nov. 19, 2020, https://interpreterfoundation.org/blog-pre-print-of-revisions-in-the-analysis-of-archaic-grammar-in-the-book-of-mormon/; and "Pre-print of Revisions in the Analysis of Archaic Expressions in the Book of Mormon," *Interpreter Foundation Blog*, Dec. 2, 2020, https://interpreterfoundation.org/blog-pre-print-of-revisions-in-the-analysis-of-archaic-expressions-in-the-book-of-mormon/. The updates to the original write-ups found in *The Nature of the Original Language* should be published in 2022 or 2023. This updated text-critical work on archaic vocabulary largely supersedes my prior publications in this journal on this subject, which include the following: Stanford Carmack, "Why the Oxford English Dictionary (and not Webster's 1828)," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 15 (2015): 65–77, https://journal.interpreterfoundation.org/why-the-oxford-english-dictionary-and-not-websters-1828/; Carmack, "A Look at Some 'Nonstandard' Book of Mormon Grammar," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 11 (2014): 209–62, https://journal.interpreterfoundation.org/a-look-at-some-nonstandard-book-of-mormon-grammar/; and Carmack, "Joseph Smith Read the Words," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 18 (2016): 41–64, https://journal.interpreterfoundation.org/joseph-smith-read-the-words/, with the full article provided as a PDF at https://s3.us-east-2.amazonaws.com/jnlpdf/carmack-v18-2016-pp41-64-PDF.pdf.

24.   In the last 30 years of ECCO, I found one original instance, in a poem, the refuge for relic uses: "After that Boswel thus had said, / Our pastor did proceed / To pray'r" (1790, CW0113123187, 42). The other example that presented itself was from the important 17th-century author John Bunyan: "after that he had finished all actual obedience on earth, did in the power and strength of his Godhead, yield up himself to the wrath of his Father" (1656, CW0119288740 [1771], 64).

instances of "wherefore after that S" were found, but only ten 17th-century instances. These centuries are represented by 135 million and 625 million words, respectively. In ECCO, only five 18th-century instances of "wherefore after that S" were found in about nine billion words. From these figures we get that, textually speaking, the phraseology "wherefore after that S" occurred at 13 times the rate during the 16th century compared to the 17th century, and at about 40 times the rate during the 17th century compared to the 18th century. This indicates that the 16th-century textual rate of "wherefore after that S" was between two and three orders of magnitude greater than the 18th-century rate.

Only two of the five original instances found in ECCO were from the last 50 years, even though it has many more titles and words than the first 50 years:

> 1760, CW0102878820, 712
> *Wherefore, after that* Aix and Caaut had fought for the space of half an hour at the entry of the street that led to the port-royal,
> 1761, CW0107197386, 208
> *Wherefore after that* a mature consideration of the disease . . had irresistibly determined me to prefer the operation,

Google Books cannot currently be searched easily. One must invent indirect strategies to determine persistent usage of many types of syntax. That database currently provides four readable quotes for the archaic wording "wherefore after that <definite/indefinite article>"; they are all from the early modern period, as in these two examples:

> 1600, lh8DytLfi6QC
> *Wherefore after that* the clods are well broken and all made plaine,
> 1663, qAhmAAAAcAAJ
> *Wherefore after that* a company of them had met at Antioch in Syria,

Though no attempt was made to be exhaustive, I did find one early 19th-century example in Google Books. It was written by the Church of England clergyman and Swedenborgian preacher John Clowes (1743–1831). It is unclear when he first penned this archaism. He might have initially written it down in the 18th century. It occurs, with some variability, in multiple books, such as these two:

> 1817, KbZjAAAAcAAJ
> *Wherefore, after that* He was scourged, and led forth carrying the crown of thorns,

1853, Et9NAQAAMAAJ

> *Wherefore after that* He was scourged and led out, bearing the crown of thorns,

The Pseudo-Archaic Corpus

A pseudo-archaic text is one in which an author attempted to emulate earlier English usage or King James style — including syntax and lexical usage — in writing a history or related work. Scriptural-style texts of widely varying lengths were popular from about the mid-1700s into the 1800s, in both the British Isles and America.

In order to make the corpus of 25 pseudo-archaic writings, I first consulted Eran Shalev's article on pseudobiblicism[25] and the following website: https://github.com/wordtreefoundation/books (contributors: Duane Johnson, Matt White, and Chris Johnson). Then I communicated with Shalev and Duane Johnson by email, asking them whether they knew of other pseudo-archaic texts. In the process, I added a few other texts that I found on my own or that I saw mentioned online. My current corpus has longer texts up to 1863, 34 years after the Book of Mormon was set down in writing. It is more likely to be deficient in shorter pseudo-archaic texts, as there are probably many very short pseudo-archaic writings in early newspapers. Yet these are much less important for purposes of comparison with the Book of Mormon, since for the most part we are interested in sustained usage and patterns, which the shorter texts cannot provide.

Here is a list of the pseudo-archaic texts examined for purposes of comparing subordinate that usage; these 25 texts contain approximately 585,000 words total:

Longer pseudo-archaic texts (12)
A. Robert Dodsley, *Chronicle of the Kings of England* (1740) [London] [about 16,500 words]
B. Jacob Ilive, *The Book of Jasher* (1751) [London] [about 22,800 words]
C. John Leacock, *American Chronicles* (1775) [Philadelphia] [about 14,500 words]
D. Richard Snowden, *The American Revolution* (1793) [Philadelphia] [about 49,300 words]
E. Matthew Linning, *The First Book of Napoleon* (1809) [Edinburgh] [about 19,000 words]

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25. See note 5.

F.   Elias Smith, *History of Anti-Christ* (1811) [Portland, ME] [about 15,000 words]

G.   Gilbert Hunt, *The Late War* (1816) [New York] [about 42,500 words]

H.   Roger O'Connor, *Chronicles of Eri* (1822) [London] [about 131,700 words]

I.   W. K. Clementson, *The Epistles of Ignatius and Polycarp* (1827) [Brighton, UK] [about 18,000 words]

J.   Philemon Stewart, *Sacred Roll* (1843) [Canterbury, NH] [about 62,000 words]

K.   Charles Linton, *The Healing of the Nations* (1855) [New York] [about 111,000 words]

L.   Richard Grant White, *The New Gospel of Peace* (1863) [New York] [about 59,000 words]

Shorter pseudo-archaic texts (13)

M.   Horace Walpole, *Book of Preferment* (1742) [London] [about 2,700 words]

N.   *The French Gasconade Defeated* (1743) [Boston] [about 900 words]

O.   Benjamin Franklin, *Parable Against Persecution* (1755) [Philadelphia] [about 400 words]

P.   *Chronicles of Nathan Ben Saddi* (1758) [Philadelphia] [about 3,000 words]

Q.   Samuel Hopkins, *Samuel the Squomicutite* (1763) [Newport, RI] [about 600 words]

R.   *The Book of America* (1766) [Boston] [about 2,500 words]

S.   Chapter 37th (1782) [Boston Evening Post] [about 600 words]

T.   *Chronicles of John* (1812) [Charleston SC?] [about 800 words]

U.   The First Book of Chronicles, Chapter the Fifth (1812) [The Investigator, SC] [about 1,800 words]

V.   Jesse Denson, *Chronicles of Andrew* (1815) [Lexington, KY] [about 4,800 words]

W.   White Griswold, *A Chronicle of the Chiefs of Muttonville* (1830) [Harwinton, CT] [about 900 words]

X.   *Reformer Chronicles* (1832) [Buffalo, NY] [about 700 words]

Y.   *Chronicles of the Land of Gotham* (1888) [New York] [about 1,300 words.

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