

JOHN LOCKE
Portrait by John Greenhill, c. 1672
Photograph by courtesy National Portrait Gallery

#### JOHN LOCKE

# AN ESSAY CONCERNING HUMAN UNDERSTANDING

EDITED WITH
AN INTRODUCTION, CRITICAL APPARATUS
AND GLOSSARY BY
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#### CHAPTER I

### Of Words or Language in General

5 of Society. Man therefore had by Nature his Organs so fashioned, ship with those of his own kind; but furnished him also with which yet, by no means, are capable of Language. § 1. GoD having designed Man for a sociable Creature, made him was not enough to produce Language; for Parrots, and several other as to be fit to frame articulate Sounds, which we call Words. But this Language, which was to be the great Instrument, and common Tye not only with an inclination, and under a necessity to have fellow-Birds, will be taught to make articulate Sounds distinct enough,

ੵ and to make them stand as marks for the Ideas within his own Mind, Men's Minds be conveyed from one to another. whereby they might be made known to others, and the Thoughts of that he should be able to use these Sounds, as Signs of internal Conceptions; § 2. Besides articulate Sounds therefore, it was farther necessary,

particular thing need of a distinct name to be signified by. To remedy this inconvenience, Language had yet a farther improvemade use of, as to comprehend several particular Things: For the multithat Sounds can be made signs of Ideas, unless those signs can be so they ought to be. It is not enough for the perfection of Language, plication of Words would have perplexed their Use, had every § 3. But neither was this sufficient to make Words so useful as

25 made signs of. Those names becoming general, which are made to of Sounds was obtain'd only by the difference of the Ideas they were stand for general likes, and those remaining particular, where the lileas they are used for are particular.

ment in the use of general Terms, whereby one word was made to

mark a multitude of particular existences: Which advantageous use

§ 1. Man fitted to form articulate Sounds. § 2. To make them signs of Ideas. §§ 3, 4. To

insignificant Sounds; but they relate to positive Ideas, and signify belong to, or signify no Ideas: for then they would be perfectly which negative or privative Words, cannot be said properly to as are Nibil in Latin, and in English, Ignorance and Barrenness. All or absence of some Ideas simple or complex, or all Ideas together; such words which Men make use of, not to signify any Idea, but the want § 4. Besides these Names which stand for *Ideas*, there be other

appearances; and then when they had got known and agreed experimented in themselves, which made no outward sensible make others the more easily to conceive those Operations they of all their Knowledge: whilst, to give Names, that might make and whence derived, which filled their Minds, who were the first we may give some kind of guess, what kind of Notions they were, our Senses, to have had their first rise from sensible Ideas. By which all Languages, the names, which stand for Things that fall not under not, but if we could trace them to their sources, we should find, in Names, to signify those internal Operations of their own Minds Words from ordinary known Ideas of Sensation, by that means to Things, unawares suggested to Men the Originals and Principles Beginners of Languages; and now Nature, even in the naming of primary signification, is Breath; Angel, a Messenger: And I doubt Things, and applied to certain Modes of Thinking. Spirit, in its Apprehend, Comprehend, Adhere, Conceive, Instill, Disgust, Disturbance, that come not under the cognizance of our senses; r.g. to Imagine, transferred to more abstruce significations, and made to stand for Ideas sense, bare their rise from thence, and from obvious sensible Ideas are made use of to stand for Actions and Notions quite removed from Notions and Knowledge, if we remark, how great a dependance our Ideas, that came not under their Senses, they were fain to borrow known to others any Operations they felt in themselves, or any other Words have on common sensible Ideas; and how those, which are Tranquillity, etc. are all Words taken from the Operations of sensible 5. It may also lead us a little towards the Original of all our 30 25 20 15. 5

S.S. Words ultimately derived from such as signify sensible Ideas

particular, as the likes they stand for are general or particular. But besides 1 (1-2) other words 2-5 | others 1 (2) Men 2-5 | Men have found and 1 (4) Nihil in Latin 2-5 | the Latin words, Nihil 1 (13-15) rise...senses 2-5 | Original, and are transferred from obvious sensible likess 1 (20) sources 2-5 | Originals 1 (1) Besides] 2-5 | Words then are made to be signs of our Ideas, and are general or

Chap. II

The Signification of Words

but what originally come either from sensible Objects without, or own Spirits, which we are conscious to our selves of within. what we feel within our selves, from the inward Workings of our other Ideas; since they could consist of nothing, but either of outward sensible Perceptions, or of the inward Operations of their they were sufficiently furnished to make known by Words, all their Minds about them; we having, as has been proved, no Ideas at all,

subservient to Instruction and Knowledge, it will be convenient to 6. But to understand better the use and force of Language, as

io consider,

First, To what it is that Names, in the use of Language, are immediately

25 positions, and those most commonly universal ones, has greater 20 Words; the natural Advantages and Defects of Language; and the connexion with Words, than perhaps is suspected. concerning Knowledge: Which being conversant about Prostand not particularly for this or that single Thing; but for sorts and ranks of Things, it will be necessary to consider, in the next which, it is impossible to discourse with any clearness, or order, obscurity or uncertainty in the signification of Words, without remedies that ought to be used, to avoid the inconveniencies of well looked into, we shall the better come to find the right use of sist; and how they come to be made. These being (as they ought) Names, what the Species and Genera of Things are; wherein they conplace, what the Sorts and Kinds, or, if you rather like the Latin Secondly, Since all (except proper) Names are general, and so

These Considerations therefore, shall be the matter of the follow-

#### CHAPTER II

### Of the Signification of Words.

30 from which others, as well as himself, might receive Profit and § 1. MAN, though he have great variety of Thoughts, and such,

(17-18) arc; ... consist;] 4er-5 | arc, ... consist, 1-4 (22) Words,] 4-5 Words: 1-3 (L. below 30) Coste Division générale de ce Troisiéme Livre.

stand for, are their proper and immediate Signification. such a Word is made arbitrarily the Mark of such an Idea. The use and Variety, he found himself able to make. Thus we may conceive and Advantage of Society, not being to be had without Comfrom others, nor can of themselves be made appear. The Comfort, Delight; yet they are all within his own Breast, invisible, and hidden then of Words, is to be sensible Marks of Ideas; and the Ideas they guage amongst all Men; but by a voluntary Imposition, whereby Sounds and certain *Ideas*, for then there would be but one Lanany natural connexion, that there is between particular articulate come to be made use of by Men, as the Signs of their Ideas; not by how Words, which were by Nature so well adapted to that purpose, Quickness, as those articulate Sounds, which with so much Fase others. For this purpose, nothing was so fit, either for Plenty or which his thoughts are made up of, might be made known to out some external sensible Signs, whereby those invisible Ideas, munication of Thoughts, it was necessary, that Man should find IJ ō

soever, or carelesly those Ideas are collected from the Things, cation at all. Words being voluntary Signs, they cannot be volunof his Ideas at the same time; and so in effect, to have no Signifito other Ideas; which would be to make them Signs, and not Signs that those Sounds, as Marks, may make known his Ideas to the another, it is, that he may be understood; and the end of Speech is, which they are supposed to represent. When a Man speaks to nothing, but the Ideas in the Mind of him that uses them, how imperfectly others: Words in their primary or immediate Signification, stand for tary Signs imposed by him on Things he knows not. That would be be to make them Signs of his own Conceptions, and yet apply them to any thing else, but the Ideas, that he himself hath: For this would the Speaker: Nor can any one apply them, as Marks, immediately it were, to bring out their Ideas, and lay them before the view of their own Thoughts for the Assistance of their own Memory; or as Hearer. That then which Words are the Marks of, are the Ideas of § 2. The use Men have of these Marks, being either to record 125 20

## SS 2, 3. Words are the sensible Signs of his Ideas who uses them.

**4–5** | possess his Mind in so great variety **1–3** (13) Sounds] **4–5** | Sounds, **1–3** (19) Tho 1er-5 | Conception 1 their Ideas 4-5 them out 1-3 (2) Comfort] 4-5 | Comfort therefore 1-3 (likewise Coste) (25) Speech 1T.er, 2-5 | the Speech 1 (21) others: | 4e<sup>-5</sup> | ldras 1-3 (20) out (21) others: | 4er-5 | others: 1-4 | or | 5 | the Speech 1 (30) Conceptions Thoughts 4-5 (6) his ... of 7) this ] 4-5 | which 1-3 5 | Ideas 1-3 (20)

<sup>§ 6.</sup> Distribution.
§ 1. Words are sensible Signs necessary for Communication.

Chap. II

25 the Word Gold, when they have Occasion to express the Idea, 20 yellow, great Weight: And then the Sound Gold, when he uses it, would express by them. A Child having taken notice of nothing in which they have apply'd it to: But it is evident, that each can apply it only to his own Idea; nor can he make it stand, as a Sign of such very heavy. Another adds Malleability. Each of these uses equally Substance. Another adds to those Qualities, Fusibility: and then the Word Gold to him signifies a Body, bright, yellow, fusible, and stands for a complex Illea of a shining Yellow and very weighty nothing else; and therefore calls the same Colour in a Peacocks to his own Illeas; to Illeas that he has, and not to Illeas that he has not. to correspond with the Conceptions of another Man; nor can he use Tail, Gold. Another that hath better observed, adds to shining consent to give them the same Names, that other Men do, 'tis still he applies the Word Gold only to his own Idea of that Colour, and the Metal he hears called Gold, but the bright shining yellow colour, They, in every Man's Mouth, stand for the Ideas he has, and which he learned, use the Words they speak (with any meaning) all alike. respect, the Knowing, and the Ignorant; the Learned, and Unhe represents to himself other Men's Ideas, by some of his own, if he any Signs for them: For thus they would be the Signs of he knows not what, which is in Truth to be the Signs of nothing. But when his own. Till he has some Ideas of his own, he cannot suppose them or of Conceptions in the Mind of another, whereof he has none in Man cannot make his Words the Signs either of Qualities in Things, to make them Signs of nothing, Sounds without Signification. A § 3. This is so necessary in the use of Language, that in this

§ 4. But though Words, as they are used by Men, can properly 30 and immediately signify nothing but the *Idea*, that are in the Mind of the Speaker; yet they in their Thoughts give them a secret reference to two other things.

complex Idea, as he has not.

First, they suppose their Words to be Marks of the Ideas in the Minds also of other Men, with whom they communicate: For else they should talk in vain, and could not be understood, if the Sounds they applied to one Idea, were such, as by the Hearer, were applied to another, § 4. Words often secretly referred, First, to the Ideas in other Mens Minds.

(6) thus they] 4-5 | it 1-3 (7) Signs] 2-5 | Sign 1 (26) which] add. 4-5 (30-1) [2nd] the ... Speaker] 2-5 | their Minds 1 (1. below 36) 5 | others 4 (30-1) [2nd] the same marginal summary as that for §§ 2, 3. other] 2-3,

which is to speak two Languages. But in this, Mcn stand not usually to examine, whether the *Idua* they, and those they discourse with have in their Minds, be the same: But think it enough, that they use the Word, as they imagine, in the common Acceptation of that Language; in which case they suppose, that the *Idua*, they make it a Sign of, is precisely the same, to which the Understanding Men of that Country apply that Name.

§ 5. Secondly, Because Men would not be thought to talk barely of their own Imaginations, but of Things as really they are; therefore they often suppose their Words to stand also for the reality of Things. But to this relating more particularly to Substances, and their Names, as perhaps the former does to simple Ideas and Modes, we shall speak of these two different ways of applying Words more at large, when we come to treat of the Names of mixed Modes, and Substances, in particular: Though give me leave here to say, that it is a perverting 15 the use of Words, and brings unavoidable Obscurity and Confusion into their Signification, whenever we make them stand for any thing, but those Ideas we have in our own Minds.

That they being immediately the Signs of Mens *Ideas*; and, by that 20 means, the Instruments whereby Men communicate their Conceptions, and express to one another those Thoughts and Imaginations, they have within their own Breasts, there comes by constant use, to be such a Comexion between certain Sounds, and the Ideas they stand for, that the Names heard, almost as readily excite certain *Ideas*, as if the Objects themselves, which are apt to produce them, did actually affect the Senses. Which is manifestly so in all obvious sensible Qualities; and in all Substances, that frequently, and familiarly occur to us.

§ 7. Secondly, That though the proper and immediate Signifi- 30 cation of Words, are Ideas in the Mind of the Speaker; yet because by familiar use from our Cradles, we come to learn certain articulate Sounds very perfectly, and have them readily on our Tongues, and always at hand in our Memories; but yet are not always careful to examine, or settle their Significations perfectly, it often happens 35 that Men, even when they would apply themselves to an attentive

§ 5. Secondly, To the reality of Things. § 6. Words by use readily excite Ideas. § 7. Words often used without signification.

(2) those] 2-5 | he 1 (3) have in their Minds] add. 2-5 (5) case] 1-4; om. 5 (19) it] 2-5 | this 1 (34) always . . . in] add. 2-5

Consideration, do set their Thoughts more on Words than Things. Nay, because Words are many of them learn'd, before the Ideas are known for which they stand: Therefore some, not only Children, but Men, speak several Words, no otherwise than Parrots do, only because they have learn'd them, and have been accustomed to those Sounds. But so far as Words are of Use and Signification, so far is there a constant connexion between the Sound and the Idea; and a Designation, that the one stand for the other: without which Application of them, they are nothing but so much insignificant Noise.

20 great Augustus himself, in the Possession of that Power which ruled 15 that use the same Language) the same Ideas, we take them to be ö Consent, appropriates certain Sounds to certain Ideas in all Lanthe Hearer, which he makes them stand for in speaking, he does not mon Language of his Subjects. Tis true, common use, by a tacit guages, which so far limits the signification of that Sound, that what Idea any Sound should be a Sign of, in the Mouths and comwhen they use the same Words, that he does. And therefore the And let me add, that unless a Man's Words excite the same *Ideas* in unless a Man applies it to the same *Idea*, he does not speak properly: which was as much as to say, that he could not arbitrarily appoint, the Signs of: And every Man has so inviolable a Liberty, to make the World, acknowledged, he could not make a new Latin Word: to make others have the same Ideas in their Minds, that he has, Words stand for what Ideas he pleases, that no one hath the Power excite in Men certain Ideas, so constantly and readily, that they are signify only Men's peculiar Ideas, and that by a perfectly arbitrary apt to suppose a natural connexion between them. But that they Imposition, is evident, in that they often fail to excite in others (even § 8. Words by long and familiar use, as has been said, come to

30 speak intelligibly. But whatever be the consequence of any Man's using of Words differently, either from their general Meaning, or the particular Sense of the Person to whom he addresses them, this is certain, their signification, in his use of them, is limited to his *Idea*, and they can be Signs of nothing else.

<sup>§§ 8-11.</sup> Their Signification perfectly arbitrary.

<sup>(27)</sup> does not | 4-5 | cannot 1-3 (28) let me add | 4-5 | it is also true 1-3 (29) does not | 4-5 | cannot 1-3 (30-2) consequence . . . Person | 4-5 | consequence of any Man's use of Words different either from their Publick use, or that of the Persons 2-3 | consequences of his use of any Words, different either from the Publick, or that Person 1 (17.er 'persons')