ON

EARLY ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION,

WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO

SHAKSPERE AND CHAUCER,

CONTAINING AN INVESTIGATION OF THE CORRESPONDENCE OF WRITING WITH SPEECH IN ENGLAND, FROM THE ANGLOSAXON PERIOD TO THE PRESENT DAY, PRECEDED BY A SYSTEMATIC NOTATION OF ALL SPOKEN SOUNDS BY MEANS OF THE ORDINARY PRINTING TYPES.

INCLUDING
A RE-ARRANGEMENT OF PROF. F. J. CHILD'S MEMOIRS ON THE LANGUAGE OF CHAUCER AND GOWER, AND REPRINTS OF THE RARE TRACTS BY SALESBURY ON ENGLISH, 1547, AND WELSH, 1567, AND BY BACLEY ON FRENCH, 1521.

BY

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PART III.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE PRONUNCIATION OF THE XIVTH AND XVIITH CENTURIES.
CHAUCER, GOWER, WYCLIFFE, SPENSER, SHAKSPERE.
SALESBURY, BACLEY, HART, BULLOKAR, GILL.
PRONOUNCING VOCABULARY.

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CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA.

In Part I.

pp. 270–297. In addition to the arguments there adduced to shew that the ancient sound of long i was (ii) or (ii), and not (ei, ai, ai), Mr. James A. H. Murray has communicated to me some striking proofs from the Gaelic forms of English words and names, and English forms of Gaelic names, which will be given in Part IV.

p. 302, l. 14, blue is erroneously treated as a French word, but in the Alphabetical List on the same page it is correctly given as anglosaxon. The corrections which this oversight renders necessary will be given in Part IV., in the shape of a cancel for this page, which could not be prepared in time for this Part.

In Part II.

p. 442, Credo, col. 2, vv. 4 and 8, for don, mis-doon read doon, mis-doon.

p. 443, Credo, col. 2, ll. 4 and 7, for lauerd, ded, read lauverd, deed; Credo 2, col. 2, line 4, for loverd read loouverd.

p. 462, verses, l. 2, for Richard read Richard.

pp. 464–5. On the use of 1 for 1, and the possibility of ; having been occasionally confused with (s) in speech, Mr. W. W. Skeat calls attention to the remarks of Sir F. Madden, in his edition of Laajamon, 3, 437.

p. 465, Translotion, col. 2, l. 4, for hil read hill.

p. 473, note, col. 2, l. 1, for 446 read 447; l. 17, for (mee, dee, swee, pee) read (mee, de, swee, pee); l. 18, for may read May; l. 24–5 for (eint-muyn) read (eint-mynt).

p. 503, l. 8, pronunciation, for dead-lishe read dead-litshe.

p. 540, l. 6, for hafodí read haféi.

p. 549, l. 6, from bottom of text, for mansaugur (maan-sawqr) read mansaugur (maan-sawgur).

p. 550, Mr. H. Sweet has communicated to me the sounds of Icelandic letters as noted by Mr. Melville Bell from the pronunciation of Mr. Hjaltaín, which will be given in Part IV.

p. 553, verse 30, col. 1, l. 4, for alikálfí read alikálfi; col. 2, l. 4, for aa-likaal-vi read aa-líkaa-lví.

p. 559, in the Haustlóng; l. 1, for er read es, l. 2, for er read es; l. 4, for bauge read baungi; l. 5, for Hel·lesbror... baun·ge read Hel·lesbror... baunge; line 7, for isarnleiki read isarnleiki.

p. 560, note 1, l. 2, for lóngr read lángr.

p. 599, col. 2, l. 14, for demesne read desmesne.

p. 600, col. 1, l. 6, for Eugene read Eugene.

p. 614, Glossotype as a system of writing is superseded by Glossic, explained in the appendix to the notice prefixed to Part III.

p. 617, col. 2, under n, l. 4, for Ipand read pland.

In Part III.

p. 639, note 2 for (spi-e-kli, spes-vel) read (spii-sheli, spesh-ul).

p. 651. The numbers in the Table on this page are corrected on p. 725.

p. 653, note 1. The memoir on Pennsylvania German by Prof. S. S. Haldeman, was read before the Philological Society on 3 June, 1870, and will be published separately; Dr. Mombert, having gone to Europe, has not furnished any additions to that memoir, which is rich in philological interest.


p. 754, note 1, for (abitees-shum) read (abit·ae·sümn).

p. 789, col. 1, the reference after tamat should be 7594.

p. 791, col. 2, under much good do it you, for mychyoditio read mychyditio; and to the references add, p. 938, note 1.

pp. 919–996. All the references to the Globe Shakspere relate to the issue of 1864, with which text every one has been verified at press. For later issues, the number of the page (and page only) here given, when it exceeds 1000, must be diminished by 3, thus VA 8 (1003), must be read as VA 8 (1000), and PT 42 (1057), must be read as PT 42 (1054). The cause of this difference is that pages 1000, 1001, 1002, in the issue of 1864, containing only the single word Poems have been cancelled in subsequent issues.
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NOTICE.

Indisposition, arising from overwork, has greatly delayed the appearance of this third part of my work, and a recent relapse, rendering the revision of the last seventy pages and the preparation of this notice extremely difficult, has compelled me to postpone to the next part the illustrations for the xviith and xviiith centuries, which were announced to be included in the present. Three years or more will probably elapse before the remainder of the book can be published.

The fourth and concluding part of this treatise is intended to consist of four chapters, two of which, devoted to the xviith and xviiith centuries respectively, are now completely ready for press, and will therefore certainly appear either under my own or some other superstendence. In chapter XI., I am desirous of giving some account of Existing Varieties of English Pronunciation, dialectic, antiquated, American, colonial, and vulgar, for the purpose of illustrating the results of the preceding investigation. This cannot be properly accomplished without the extensive co-operation of persons familiar with each individual dialect and form of speech. I invite all those into whose hands these pages may fall to give me their assistance, or procure me the assistance of others, in collecting materials for this novel and interesting research, which promises to be of great philological value, if properly executed. Many hundred communications are desirable. There cannot be too many, even from the same district, for the purpose of comparison and control. As I hope to commence this examination early in 1872, it will be an additional favour if the communications are sent as soon as possible, and not later than the close of 1871. They should be written on small-sized paper, not larger than one of these pages, and only on one side, leaving a margin of about an inch at the top for reference notes, with the lines wide apart for insertions, and all the phonetic part written in characters which cannot be misread. Correspondents would much add to the value of their communications by giving their full names and addresses, and stating the opportunities they have had for collecting the information sent. For the purpose of writing all English dialects in one alphabet on an English basis, I have improved the Glossotype of Chapter VI., and append its new form under the name of Glossic, with specimens which will shew the reader how to employ it, (pp. xiii–xx.) For the sake of uniformity and general intelligibility, I should feel obliged if those who favour me with communications on this subject would represent all peculiarities of pronunciation in the Glossic characters only, without any addition or alteration whatever. The little arrangements here suggested will, if carried
out, save an immense amount of labour in making use of any communications.

The following table will shew the kind of work wanted. All the varieties of sound there named are known to exist at present, and there are probably many more. It is wished to localise them accurately, for the purpose of understanding the unmixed dialectic English of the xixth and xixth centuries, and to find traces of the pronunciations prevalent in the more mixed forms of the xivth, xviith, and xviiith centuries. Many of the latter will be found in Ireland and America, and in the 'vulgar' English everywhere. No pronunciation should be recorded which has not been actually heard from some speaker who uses it naturally and habitually. The older peasantry and children who have not been at school preserve the dialectic sounds most purely. But the present facilities of communication are rapidly destroying all traces of our older dialectic English. Market women, who attend large towns, have generally a mixed style of speech. The daughters of peasants and small farmers, on becoming domestic servants, learn a new language, and corrupt the genuine Doric of their parents. Peasants do not speak naturally to strangers. The ear must also have been long familiar with a dialectic utterance to appreciate it thoroughly, and, in order to compare that utterance with the Southern, and render it correctly into Glossic, long familiarity with the educated London speech is also necessary. Resident Clergymen, Nonconformist Ministers, National and British Schoolmasters, and Country Gentlemen with literary tastes, are in the best position to give the required information, and to these, including all members of the three Societies for whom this work has been prepared, I especially appeal. But the number of persons more or less interested in our language, who have opportunities of observing, is so great, that scarcely any one who reads these lines will be unable to furnish at least a few observations, and it should be borne in mind that even one or two casual remarks lose their isolated character and acquire a new value when forwarded for comparison with many others. It is very desirable to determine the systems of pronunciation prevalent in the Northern, West and East and Central Midland, South Western, South Eastern, and purely Eastern dialects. The Salopian, Lincolnshire, and Kent Dialects are peculiarly interesting. Mr. James A. H. Murray's learned and interesting work on Lowland Scotch (London, Asher, 1871) will shew what is really wanted for each of our dialectic systems.

In the following, unfortunately very imperfect, Table a few suggestive words are added to each combination of letters, and the presumed varieties of pronunciation are indicated both in Glossic and Palaeotype, but only in reference to the particular combinations of letters which head the paragraph. The symbols placed after the sign =, shew the various sounds which that combination of letters is known to have in some one or other of the exemplificative words, in some locality or other where English is the native language of the speaker. In giving information, however, the whole
word should be written in Glossic, as considerable doubt may attach to local pronunciations of the other letters, and the name of the locality, and of the class of speakers, should be annexed. The quantity of the vowel and place of the accent should be given in every word, according to one of the two systems explained in the Key to Universal Glossic, p. xvi, and exhibited on pp. xix and xx. In writing single words, the accentual system, used on p. xx, is preferable. Great attention should be paid to the analysis of diphthongs, and the Glossic ei, oi, ou, eu, should only be employed where the writer, being unable to analyse the sound accurately, confines himself to marking vaguely the class to which it belongs. The trilled r when occurring without a vowel following should always be carefully marked, and the untrilled r should never be marked unless it is distinctly heard. Each new word, or item of information, should commence on a new line. Thus:
cord kaard or kaad Bath, workmen, petty traders, etc.
card ka'd or ka'd Bath, as before.
beacon baikn or baikn Bath, as before.
key kai or ka'i Bath, as before.
fair feir or faier sayer fayu Bath, country farming man.

**Table of Presumed Varieties of English Pronunciation.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Letters</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| EA      | leap cat seat meat knead mead read speak squeak league leaf leave wreath heath breathe ease ease leak wash ear, a tear, seam wean; yea great break bear wear, to tear; leapt sweat instead head thread spread heavy heaven weapon leather weather measure health wealth = ee, ai, e, oe; eeh', ai'h'; yaa = (ii, ee, ee c, ee E; ii', ee', ja.)
| EE      | sheep weed heed seek beef seeve teeth seethe fleece trees heel seem seen = ee, ai; aiy, ey = (ii, ee; ei, ei).
| EI      | either neither height slight Leigh Leighton conceive neive seize convey key prey hey grey = ee, ei; aay, wuy, uy = (ii, ee; ai, ai, ai). |
| EO      | people leopard Leominster Leopold Theobald = ee, e, eeo, eeu = (ii, e, i, iio, iia).
| EU, EW  | in pew few hew yew ewe knew, to mew, the mews, chew Jew new new shew Shrewsbury stew threw sew grow brew = eeu, uiv, aiv, ew, eeu, uiv, wi, we, uew, eo, eow, oo, oaw wuw; se, ah, au; yoa = (iu, iu, eu, eu, ahu, ii, yu, yu, a, a, o, ao, uu, oo, oow, eu; aa, aha, A, A; 300.)
| I       | shrew, new shrew Shrewsbury stew threw sew grow brew as eeu, eu, aw, aw, oo, oo, oow, eu; aa, aha, A, A; 300.)
| Short   | pip crib pit bid sick gig stiff, to live, smith smithy withy hiss his fish fill spin sin first possible charity furniture = ee, i, e, ae, a, u, w = (i, i, e, e, w, a, u).
I long in: wipe gibe kite hide strike
knife knives wife wives seythe blithe
ice twice thrice wise pile bille rime
pine fire shire; sight right might
light night fright fight sight; eight
rye my lie nigh fry fye pie = i, ee,
ai, au; iy, ey, ay, auy, auy, ay,
uy, unw = (ii, ii, ee, AA; ii, ei, ai,
ai, ai, Ai, ai, ai).

IE in: believe grieve sieve friend fiend
field yield = ee, i, e, ae = (ii, i, i, e, e).

O short, and doubtful in: mop knob
knot nod knock fog dog off office
moth broth brother mother pother
other moss cross frost pollard Tom
ton son done morning song
long = o, oo, oo, aou, au, aa, u, woo = (oo,
o, o, A AA, a, o, u).

Ol, OY in: hopo rope soap
note goat oats rode road oak stroke
joke rogue oaf loaves oath oth
loathe goes shoes lose roll hold
gold fold sold home roam hone groan
= oo, oo, aou, aou, ah, aou; ee, ai;
eo, ai, oo, ao, oo, aou, aow, uu,
wno: ye, ya, yoa; woo = (uu, oo,
oo, oo, aou, ao, ao, aou, u, oo, oo, oo).

Ol, OY in: join loin groin point joint
joist hoist foist oaf oil soil poison
ointment; joy hoy toy moil noise
boisterous foison = oy, aouy, aouy, aouy,
aouy, uou, oou, oo, uow, uow, uowo = (oi, a,
ai, oo, ai, oo, oo, oo, oo, oo, oo).

Ol, OW in: down town now how
flower sow cow, to bow fleetere,
a bow areu, a bowl of soup
eythius, a bowling green; plough
round sound mound round thou round
house flour; found ground round;
our; brought sought bought thought
ought ought naught soul four;
blow snow below, a low bough, the
cow lows, a row of barrows, a great
row tumultus, crow, know; owe,
own = oo, oo, oo, oo, aa, aou, au, ai;
aow, uw, uow, uow, aow, uow, uow,
wno, uow, wno, ow, ow, ow, ow = (uu, uu,
uh, oo, oh, aa, aou, a, oo, au, ao,
uo, oou, oon, uo, uu, uu, uo).

U short in: pup cub but put bud cud
pudding much judge suck lug sugar
stuff bluff busy business hush bush
crush push blush bushel cushion

bull pull hull hulk bulk bury burial
church run rum punish sung = u,
uu, oo, oo, t u, e, oo, ee = (oo, oo, oh,
i, e, y, a).

U long and U1, UY in: mute fruit
bruise cruise, the use, to use, the
refuse, to refuse, mule true sue fury
sure union = yoo, eww, uu, uuw, uuu,
eo, eew, eew = (yuu, uu, yu, uu,
vee, Au, oo).

Consonants.

B mute = p, f, v, v', w = (p, f, v,
gh, w).

C hard and K in: cat card cart sky etc.
= k, ky', g, gy' = (k, kj, g, gj).

C soft = s, sh = (s, sh).

CH in: beseech church church such
much etc. = ch, k, kh, kyh, sh = (tsh,
k, kh, kh, sh).

D = d, dh, t, th = (d, dh, t, th).

F = f, v = (f, v).

G hard in: guard garden, etc. = g, gy',
y = (g, gj), over heard before n as
in: gnaw, gnat?

S soft, and J in: bridge ridge fidget
fudge bsugh = j, g = (dzh, g).

GH in: neigh weigh high thigh nigh
burgh laugh daughter slaughter
bough cough hiccup cough cough
shough though lough plough plough
furlough, slough of a snake, a deep
slough, enough through borough
thorough tough sough tough = mute
or g, gh, ghy, kh, khy, f, f', wh,
w, oo, p = (g, gh, gh, kh, fh, ph,
wh, w, u, p).

H regularly pronounced? regularly
mute? often both, in the wrong
places? custom in: honest habitation
humble habit honour exhibition
prohibition hour hospital host
hostler hostage hostile shepherd
cowherd Hebrew hedge herb hermit
homage Hughes hue humidity (h)it
(h)'us ab(h)ominably?

J see G soft.

K see C hard; ever heard before n in:
knok knit knave knob?

L mute in: talk walk balk falcon fault
vault, als? syllabic in: stabling
juggler? sounded wul, ul, k'll = (ul,
al, 'l) after o long? voiceless as th?

M any varieties? syllabic in: el-m,
whel-m, fil-m, worm, war-m?

N nasalizing preceding vowel? ever =
ng? not syllabic in: fall'n, stol'n,
woll'n?

NG in: long longer hanger danger
stranger linger finger singer, strength
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length = ng, nng, ni, n = (q, sq, ndzh, n); ever nng or ngk = (qg, qk) when final in: sing thing nothing?
P ever confused with b? ever post-a spirated as p, h = (ph)?
QU = kw, kw, kwh = (kw, kw, kwh).
R not preceding a vowel; vocal = r = (z), or trilled = r = (r), or guttural = r = (r, rh), or mute? How does it affect the preceding vowel in:
far cart wart dirt shirt short hurt fair care feel shore ear court poor?
transposed in:
grass etc. trilled, and developing an additional vowel in: world cur?-wor-m wor-k ar-m?
R preceding a vowel; always trilled = r = (r), or guttural = r = (r) ever labial = w, = brh (w, brh).
Inserted in:
draw(r)ing, saw(r)ing, law(r) of land, etc.?
R between vowels: a single trilled r',
or a vocal r followed by a trilled r = r', h' = (w, r').
S = s, sh, zh, = (s, z, sh, zh) regularly s? regularly lisped t' = (c) ?
SH = s, sh, zh = (s, sh, zh), or, regularly zh = (zh)?
T = t, d, th, s, sh, t = (t, d, th, s, sh, th).
TH = t, d, th, th, dh, = (d, th, th, dh, f) in: fifth sixth eighth with though whether other nothing etc.
V=v, w', w = (bh, w), or regularly w? W = w, v', v = (w, bh, v). Is there a regular interchange of w, w? inserted before O and OI in: home hot coat point etc. regularly omitted in:
wood wood would woo wool woman womb, etc. pronounced at all in:
write, wring, wrong, wreak, wrought, wrap, etc.? any instances of w// pronounced as in: lisp wonk lukewarm
wasting loathing waive civic? WH = w, wh, f, f', kw = (w, wh, f, kw).
X = k, ks, gz?
Y inserted in: ale head, etc. regularly omitted in ye, yield, yes, yet, etc.?
Z = z, zh = (z, zh).

Unaccented Syllables.
Mark, if possible, the obscure sounds which actually replace unaccented vowels before and after the accented syllable, and especially in the unaccented terminations, of which the following words are specimens, and in any other found noteworthy or peculiar.

1) -and, husband brigand headland
2) -end, dividend legend
3) -ond, diamond almond
4) -und, rubicund jocund
5) -ard, hagard niggar sluggard renard
6) -erd, halberd shepherd
7) -anee, guidance dependance abundance clearance temperament ignorance resistance
8) -anee, licence confidence dependence patience
9) -age, village image manage cabbage
10) -gee, privilege college
11) -some, meddlesome irksome quarrelseome
12) -sure, pleasure measure merciless closure fissure
13) -ture, creature furniture vulture venture, 14) -ate, [in nouns] laureate frigate figurate, 15) -al, cymbal radical logical cynical metrical poetical local medial lineal, 16) -el, camel pannel apparel, 17) -ol, carol wittol, 18) -am, madam quondam Clapham, 19) -on, freedom seldom fathom venom, 20) -an, suburban logician historian Christian metropolitan, and the compounds of man, as: woman, etc., 21) -en, garden children linen woollen, 22) -on, beacon pardon fashion legion mission occasion passion vocation mention question felon, 23) -ern, eastern cavern, 24) -ar, vicar cedar vinegar scholar secural, 25) -er, robber chamber member render, 26) -or, splendor superior tenor error actor victor, 27) -our, labour neighbour colour favour, 28) -ant, pendant ser-geant infant quadrant assistant truant, 29) -ent, innocent quiescent president, 30) -acy, fallacy primary obstinacy, 31) -ancy, infamy tenaney constancy, 32) -eney, decency tendency currency, 33) -ary, beggary summary granary literary notary, 34) -ery, robbery bribery gunnery, 35) -ory, priory cursory oratory victory history, 36) -ury, usury luxury.

Also the terminations separated by a hyphen, in the following words: sol-a ide-a, sirr-ah, her-o stuce-o potat-o tobacco-o, wid-ow yell-ow fell-ow shadow-ow sporr-ow sparr-ow, val-ue neph-ew sher-iff, bann-ock hadd-ock padd-ock = frog, possible possible-ibility, stom-ach hil-ach, no-tice poul-tice, prel-acy pol-icy, eer-tain, Lat-in, a sing-ing, a be-ing, pulp-it vom-it rabb-it, mouth-ful sorrowful, terri-fy sighi-fy, child-hood, maiden-head, rap-id viv-id tep-id, un-ion commun-ion, par-ish per-ish, ol-ive rest-ive, bapt-ize civil-ize, ev-il dev-il, tru-ly sure-ly, har-mony matri-mony, hind-most ut-most better-most fore-most, sweet-
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-ness, right-eous pit-eous plent-eous, friend-ship, tire-some whole-some, na-
tion na-tional, pre-cious pro-digious, offi-cial par-tial par-tialcy, spe-cial spe-cialty spe-cialty, ver-dure or-dure, fl-gure, in-jure con-jure per-jure, plea-
sure mea-sure trea-sure lei-sure cock-
-sure cen-sure pres-ure fiss-ure, fea-
ture crea-ture minia-ture na-ture na-tural litera-ture sta-ture frac-ture con-jec-ture lee-ture archi-tec-ture pic-
ture stric-ture junc-ture punc-ture struc-ture cul-ture vul-ture ven-ture cap-ture rap-ture scrip-ture depar-ture tor-ture pas-ture ves-ture fu-ture fix-
ture seiz-ure, for-ward back-ward up-ward down-ward, like-wise side-
wise, mid-wife house-wife good-wife.

All infenxial terminations, as in: speak-eth speak-sadd-s spoke-en pierced breath-ed prin-ces prince's church-es church's path-s path's wolv-es ox-en vix-en, etc. Forms of participle and verbal noun in -ing.

Note also the vowel in unaccented prefixes, such as those separated by a hyphen in the following words: a-mong a-stride a-las, ab-use, a-vert, ad-vance, ad-apt ad-mire ac-cept af-fix' an-nounce ap-pend, a-i-lert', ab-cove a-byss, au-thent-ic, be-set be-gin, bin-
oc-ular, con-ceal con-cur con-trast con-trol, de-pend de-spit de-bate de-
stroy de-feat, de-fer', dia-meter, di-
rect dis-cuss, e-lope, en-close in-close, ex-cetp e-vent e-mit ec-clipse, for-bid, fore-tell, gain-say, mis-deed mis-guide, ob-ject' ob-lique oc-casion op-pose, per-
vert, pre-cede pre-fer', pro-mote pro-
duce' pro-pose, pur-sue, re-pose, sub-
ject' suf-fice, sur-vey sur-pass, sus-
pend, to-morrow to-gether, trans-fer trans-scribe, un-fit, un-til.

Position of Accent.

Mark any words in which unusual, peculiar, or variable positions of accent have been observed, as: illus-trate il-lustrate, demon-strate dem-on-strate, ap-plicable ap-plicable, des-picable des-picable, as-pect ap-spect, or-deal (two syllables) or-deal (three syllables), etc.

Words.

Names of numerals 1, 2, by units to 20, and by tens to 100, with thousand and million. Peculiar names of num-
ers as: pair, couple, leash, half dozen, dozen, long dozen, gross, long gross, half score, score, long score, long hun-
dred, etc., with interpretation. Pecu-
liar methods of counting peculiar classes of objects. Ordinals, first, sec-
ond, etc., to twentieth, thirtieth, etc., to hundredth, then thousandth and millionth. Numerical adverbs: once, twice, thrice, four times, some times, many times, often, seldom, never, etc., Single, simple, double, treble, quadru-
ple, etc., fourfold, mani-fold, etc., thre-
some, etc. Each, either, neither, both, some, several, any, many, enough, every. Names of peculiar weights and measures or quantities of any kind by which particular kinds of goods are bought and sold or hired, with their equivalents in imperial weights and measures. Names of division of time: minute, hour, day, night, week, days of week, seven- night, fortnight, month, names of months, quarter, half-quarter, half, twelvemonth, year, century, age, etc., Christmas, Michaelmas, Martin-\nmas, Candlemas, Lammas, Lady Day, Mid-summer, yule, any special festivals or days of settlement. Any Church ceremonies, as christening, burying, etc.

Articles; the, th', t', a, an, etc. Demonstratives: this, that, that, thick, thack, thuck, they = to, them = jam, thir thor thors these. Personal pro-
nouns in all cases, especially peculiar forms and remnants of old forms, as: I me ich 'eh, we us, hus huz, thou thee, ye you, he him 'en = hine, she hoo = heo her, it hit, its his, they them 'em = hem, etc.

Auxiliary verbs: to be, to have, in all their forms. Use of shall and will, should and would. All irregular or peculiar forms of verbs.

Adverbs and conjunctions: no, yes, and, but, yet, how, perhaps, etc. Pre-
positions: in, to, at, till, from, etc.

Peculiar syntax and idioms: I are, we, thee loves, thou best, thou ist, he do, they does, I see it = saw it, etc.

Negative and other contracted forms: don't doesn't aint aren't ha'nt isn't wouldn't shouldn't couldn't musn't can't canna won't wunna dianna didn't, etc., I'm thou'rt he's we're you're I've I'd I'd'll, etc.

Sentences.

The above illustrated in connected forms, accented and unaccented, by short sentences, introducing the commonest verbs: take, do, pray, beg, stand, lie down, come, think, find, love, believe, shew, stop, sew, sow, must, ought, to
use, need, lay; please, suffer, live, to lead, doubt, eat, drink, taste, mean, care, etc., and the nouns and verbs relating to: bodily parts, food, clothing, shelter, family and social relations, agriculture and manufacture, processes and implements, domestic animals, birds, fish, house vermin, heavenly bodies, weather, etc.

Sentences constructed like those of French, German, and Teviotdale in Glossic, p. xix, to accumulate all the peculiarities of dialectic utterances in a district.

Every peculiar sentence and word should be written fully in Glossic, and have its interpretation in ordinary language and spelling, as literal as possible, and peculiar constructions should be explained.

Comparative Specimen.

In order to compare different dialects, it is advisable to have one passage written in the idiom and pronunciation of all. Passages from the Bible are highly objectionable. Our next most familiar book is, perhaps, Shakspere. The following extracts from the Two Gentlemen of Verona, act 3, sc. 1, sp. 69-133, have been selected for their rustic tone, several portions having been omitted as inappropriate or for brevity. Translations into the proper words, idiom, and pronunciation of every English dialect would be very valuable.

The Milkmaid, her Virtues and Vices.

Launce. He lives not now that knows me to be in love. Yet I am in love. But a team of horse shall not pluck that from me, nor who ’tis I love—and yet ’tis a woman. But what woman, I will not tell myself—and yet ’tis a milkmaid. Here is a cate-rog of her condition. ‘Imprimis: She can fetch and carry.’ Why a horse can do no more; nay, a horse cannot fetch, but only carry; therefore is she better than a jade. ‘Item: She can milk;’ look you, a sweet virtue in a maid with clean hands.

[Enter Speed.

Speed. How now! what news in your paper?

Launce. The blackest news that ever thou hearest.

Speed. Why, man, how black?

Launce. Why, as black as ink.

Speed. Let me read them.

Launce. Fie on thee, jolt-head! thou canst not read.

Speed. Thou liest; I can. Come, fool, come; try me in thy paper.

Launce. There; and Saint Nicholas be thy speed!

Speed. [reads] ‘Imprimis: she can milk.’

Launce. Ay, that she can.

Speed. ‘Item: she brews good ale.’

Launce. And thereof comes the proverb: ‘Blessing of your heart, you brew good ale.’

Speed. ‘Item: she can sew.’

Launce. That’s as much as to say, Can she so?

Speed. ‘Item: She can wash and scour.’

Launce. A special virtue; for then she need not be washed and scoured.

Speed. ‘Item: she can spin.’

Launce. Then may I set the world on wheels, when she can spin for her living.

Speed. ‘Here follow her vices.’

Launce. Close at the heels of her virtues.

Speed. ‘Item: she doth talk in her sleep.’

Launce. It’s no matter for that, so she sleep not in her talk.

Speed. ‘Item: she is slow in words.’

Launce. O villain, that set down among her vices! To be slow in words is a woman’s only virtue: I pray thee, out with’t, and place it for her chief virtue.

Speed. ‘Item: she is proud.’

Launce. Out with that too; it was Eve’s legacy, and cannot be ta’en from her.

Speed. ‘Item: she will often praise her liquor.’

Launce. If her liquor be good, she shall; if she will not, I will; for good things should be praised.

Speed. ‘Item: she hath more hair than wit, and more faults than hairs, and more wealth than faults.’

Launce. Stop there; I’ll have her; she was mine, and not mine, twice or thrice in that last article. Rehearise that once more.

Speed. ‘Item: She hath more hair than wit.’

Launce. More hair than wit? It may be; I’ll prove it. The cover of the salt hides the salt, and therefore it is more than the salt: the hair that covers the wit is more than the wit, for the greater hides the less. What’s next?
Of course it would be impossible to enter upon the subject at
great length in Chapter XI. The results will have to be given
almost in a tabular form. But it is highly desirable that a complete
account of our existing English language should occupy the atten-
tion of an ENGLISH DIALECT SOCIETY, and I solicit all cor-
respondents to favour me with their views on this subject, and to
state whether they would be willing to join such a body. At the
same time I must request permission, owing to the necessity of
mental repose on this subject, to abstain from more than simply
acknowledging the receipt of their communications during 1871.

In Chap. XII. I hope to consider the various important papers
which have recently appeared, bearing upon the present investiga-
tions, especially those by Dr. Weymouth, Mr. Payne, Mr. Murray,
Mr. Furnivall, and Herr Ten Brink, together with such criticisms
on my work as may have appeared before that chapter is printed.
Any reader who can point out apparent errors and doubtful con-
clusions, or who can draw my attention to any points requiring
revision, or supply omissions, or indicate sources of information
which have been overlooked, will confer a great favour upon me by
communicating their observations or criticisms within the year
1871, written in the manner already suggested. The object of
these considerations, as of my whole work, is, not to establish a
theory, but to approximate as closely as possible to a recovery of
Early English Pronunciation.

Those who have read any portion of my book will feel assured
that no kind assistance that may thus be given to me will be left
unacknowledged when published. And as the work is not one for
private profit, but an entirely gratuitous contribution to the history
of our language, produced at great cost to the three Societies which
have honoured me by undertaking its publication, I feel no hesita-
tion in thus publicly requesting aid to make it more worthy of the
generosity which has rendered its existence possible.

ALEXANDER J. ELLIS.

25, ARGYLL ROAD, KENSINGTON, LONDON, W.
13 February, 1871.
Appendix to the Notice prefixed to Part III.

GLOSSIC,
A NEW SYSTEM OF SPELLING, INTENDED TO BE USED CONCURRENTLY WITH THE EXISTING ENGLISH ORTHOGRAPHY IN ORDER TO REMEDY SOME OF ITS DEFECTS, WITHOUT CHANGING ITS FORM, OR DETRACTING FROM ITS VALUE.

KEY TO ENGLISH GLOSSIC.
Read the large capital letters always in the senses they have in the following words, which are all in the usual spelling except the three underlined, meant for foot, then, rouge.

BEEt BAIt BAa CAUL COAl COOL
KNIt NEt GNAT NOT NUT FUOT
HHEIGHT POIL FOUL FEUD
YEa WAY WHEY HAY
PEA BEE TOE DOE CHEST JEST KEEP GAFE
FIE VIE THIN DHEN SEAL ZEAL RUSH ROUZHe
EAR R'ING eaRR'ING LAY MAY NAY SING

R is vocal when no vowel follows, and modifies the preceding vowel forming diphthongs, as in YEER, PAIR, BOAR, NOOR, HERB.
Use R for R' and RR for RR', when a vowel follows, except in elementary books, where R' is retained.
Separate th, dh, sh, zh, ng by a hyphen (-) when necessary.
Read a stress on the first syllable when not otherwise directed.
Mark stress by (') after a long vowel or ei, oi, ou, eu, and after the first consonant following a short vowel.
Mark emphasis by (') before a word.
Pronounce el, em, en, er, ei, a, obliquely, after the stress syllable.
When three or more letters come together of which the two first may form a digraph, read them as such.
Letters retain their usual names, and alphabetical arrangement.
Words in customary or NOMIC spelling occurring among GLOSSIC, and conversely, should be underlined with a wavy line (~), and printed with spaiest letters, or else in a different type.

Specimen ov Ingenglish Glosik.

Nom'tik, (dhat iz, kustemeri Ingenglish speling, soa kauld from dhi Greek nom'os, kustem,) konvaiz noa intimai'shen ov dhi risee'vd proanunsiai'shen ov eni werd. It iz konsikwentli veri difikelt too lern too reed, and stil moar difikelt too lern too reit.

Ingenglish Glosik (soa kauld from dhi Greek gloas'sa, tung) konvaiz whotever proanunsiai'shen iz inten'ded bei dhi reiter. Glosik buoks kan dhairfoar bee maid too impaar't risee'vd aurthoa'pi too aul reederz.

Inglish Glosik iz veri eezl too reed. Widh proper training, a child ov foar yeerz oald kan bee redili taut too giv dhi egzak't sound ov eni glosik werd prizen'ted too him. Aafter hee haz akweird familar'iti widh glosik reeding hee kan lern nomik reeding aumost widhout instruk'shen. Dhi hoal teim rikweird faur lerning boath glosik and nomik, iz not haaf that rikweird faur lerning nomik aloa'n. Dhis iz impoa'rtent, az nomik buoks and paiperz aar dhi oanli egzist'ing soarsez ov infermai'shen.
Glosik reiting iz akwei'rd in dhi proaes ov glosik reeding. Eni wun hoo kan reed glosik, kan reit eni werd az wel az hee kan speek it, and dhi proper moad ov speeking iz lernt bei reeding glosik buks. But oaeing too its pikew'lier konstruk'shen, glosik speling iz imee-dietli inteli-ijibl, withou't a kee, too eni nomik reeder. Hens, a glosik reiter kan komeu-nikait widh aul reederz, whedher glosik aur nomik, and haz hairfoar noa need too bikum'a nomik reiter. But hee 'kan bikum' wun, if serkemstense render it dizeti'rabl, widh les trubl dhan dhoaz hoo hav nat lernt glosik.

Dhi novelti ov dhi prezent skeem faeur deeling widh dhi Speling Difkelti iz, that, while it maiks noa chainj in dhi habits ov egzis'-ting reederz and reiterz, and graitli fasili'taits lerning too reed our prezent buks, it entei'ri obviaits dhi nises'iti ov lerning too reit in dhi euzheuel komplikaited fashen.

Dhi abuv' aar edeukai'shenel and soashel eusez ov Glosik. It iz heer introadeu'ust soalli az a meenz ov reiting Aul Egzis'ting Varei'itiz ov Ingglis Proanunsi'ai'shen 1 bei meenz ov Wun Alfa-bet on a wel noan Ingglis baisis.

1 Eevn amung: heeli edeukaited Ingglis'men, maarkt varei'tis ov proanunsi'ai'shen egzis't. If wee inkloo'd proavin'shel deialekts and vulcuitiz, dhi number ov dhee varei'tiz wil bee inaurmusi inkree's't. Dhi eer ri- kweirz much training, bifoar it iz aibl too apree-shait mineu't shaid ov sound, dhooa it redili diskrim'naits brand differensee. Too meet dhis diffikelti dhis skeem haz bee diveedzed into 'toot. Dhi ferst, aur Ingglis Glosik, iz adapted faur reiting Ingglis az wel az dhi autherz ov proanoun'sing dik'sheneriz euzheuel kontemplemt. Dhi sekend aur Euniversel Glosik, aimz az giving simbelz faur dhi mois mineu't foanet'ik anairisis yet acehe'vd. Dhus, in dhi ferst, dhi foar dithongz ei, oi, ou, eu, aar striktli konversheuel seinz, and pai noa heed too dhi grait varei'iti ov waiz in which at lease sum ov dhem aar habit'euel proanoun'st. Again', eer, air, oar, oor, aar stil ritu widh ee, ai, oa, oo, aulduoar' an atern'ivi lien wil redili rekogniz a mineu't aulte-rai'shen in dheir sound. Too fasili'tait reiting wee mai ez el, em, en, ef, a, when not under dhi stres, faur dhoaz obskeur soundz which aar soa prevalent in speech, dhooa reprobaited bei aurthoaippists, and singk dhi disting'kshen betwen a' and ee, under dhi sain serkemstense. Aulsoa dhi sounds in defe'r, occur, deferring, occur-ring may bee auwaiz ritn with er, dhus difer', oker', differ'ring, oker'ring, dhi dubling ov dhi r in dhi 'too laast werdz sikeet'ring dhi voakel karakter ov dhi ferst r, and dhi tril ov dhi sekend, and dhus disting'gwishing dhee soundz from dhoaz herd in her-ing, okur'ens. Konsid'erabl ekspeect-riens sujeets dhi az a konvee'nient praktikel aurthoa'ip. But faur dhi reprizentai'shen ov deialekts, wee rek- kweir jenereli a much striktier notaat'shen, and faur aurthoaep'ik diskri'p'shen, aur scientifik foanetik disk-kush'en, sumthing stil moar painfuul mineu't. A feu sentensee aar anek'st, az dhi aar renderd bei Wauker and Melvil Bel, ading dhi Autherz aan koloarkwiel utenerz, az wel az hee kan estimait it.

PRAKTIKLE. Endever faur dhi best, and proavei'd aen'st dhi werst. Ni-se'eiti iz dhi mudher ov iunvensheen. Hee' hoo wonts konteint kanot feind an eezi chair.

WAUKER. Endev'ur faur dhe best, and pr'ovaay'ed aen'st dhe wurst. Neeses'eete iz dhi mudder ov inven'shen. Hee' hoo wonts konteint kan't faaynd an ee'ze chair.

MELVIL BEL. Endaev'ur fo' dhi baest, a'nd pr'ovaay'ed a'gen'st dhi wurst. Neeses'eiti iz dhi mudder ov o'v inven'sheun. Hee' hoo wauhnt kno'ntaent kano't faaynd an' ee'zi chee'ar.

ELIS. Endev'ur fu'dhi'best u'n)-pr'ovaay'ed u'gen'st dhi'wurst. Ni-se'eiti iz dhi'mudder u'v'invensheun. Hee' hoo wou'ts ku'ntent kan'ut fuynd u'n)ee'zi cheu'.
**KEY TO UNIVERSAL GLOSSIC.**

Small Capitals throughout indicate English Glossic Characters as on p. xiii. Large capitals point out the most important additional vowel signs.

**THE THIRTY-SIX VOWELS OF MR. A. MELVILLE BELL’S “VISIBLE SPEECH.”**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High Primary.</td>
<td>u'</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>UU U AI</td>
<td>AA A' E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>ua ua' AE</td>
<td>AH E' A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Round.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>oo oo' ui' ui</td>
<td>oo oo' UE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>OA OA' EO</td>
<td>AO ao' OE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>au au' eo' o o' oe'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**BRIEF KEY TO THE VOWELS.**

A as in English *gnat.*

A' (read ai-hoak) fine southern English *ask,* between *aa* and *e.*

AA as in English *bax.*

AE usual provincial English *e,* French *è,* German *ä.*

AH broad German *ah,* between *aa* & *au.*

AI as in English *bait,* with no after-sound of *ee.*

AO open Italian *o,* between *o* and *oa.*

AO' closer sound of *ao,* not quite *oa.*

AU as in English *call.*

AU' closer sound of *au,* as *i* in Irish *sir.*

E as in southern English *net.*

E' modification of *e* by vocal *r* in *herb.*

EO close French *eu* in *pete, feuv.*

EO' opener sound of *eo,* not quite *oe.*

I as in English *knit.*

I' opener sound of *i,* not quite *e,* as *e* in English *houses,* Welsh *Welsh.*

O as in English *net,* opener than *au.*

O' a closer sound of *ö.*

OA as in English *coal,* with no after-sound of *oo.*

OA' closer sound of *oa,* *u* with lips rounded.

OE open French *eu* in *vent,* German *ö.*

OE' opener sound of *oe.*

OO as in English *cool.*

U as in English *net.*

U' obscure *u,* as *o* in English *mention.*

UA open provincial variety of *u.*

UA' slightly closer *ua.*

UE French *u,* German *ü.*

UI provincial *Ger. ü,* nearly *ee,* Swed. *y.*

UI' Swedish long *u.*

UU usual provincial variety of *u.*

UI' Gaelic sound of *oo* in *laugh,* try to pronounce *oo* with open lips.

**SPECIAL RULES FOR VOWELS.**

Ascertain carefully the received pronunciation of the first 12 key words on p. xiii. (avoiding the after-sounds of *ee* and *oo,* very commonly perceptible after *ai* and *oa.*) Observe that the tip of the tongue is depressed and the middle or front of the tongue raised for all of them, except *u*; and that the lips are more or less rounded for *oo,* *oo,* *au,* *o.* Observe that for *i,* *e,* *o,* the parts of the mouth and throat behind the narrowest passage between the tongue and palate, are more widely opened than for *ee,* *ai,* *oo.*

Having *ee* quite clear and distinct, like the Italian, Spanish, French, and German *i* long, practise it before all the English consonants, making it as long and as short as possible, and when short remark the difference between *ee* and *i,* the French *fini,* and English *finny.* Then lengthen *i,* noticing the distinction between *teap,* *lip,* *steal,* *still,* *feet,* *fit,* when the latter words are sung to a long note. Sustaining the sound first of *ee* and then of *i,* bring the lips together and open them alternately, observing the new sounds generated, which will be *ui* and *we.* A proper appreciation of the vowels, primary *ee,* wide *i,* round *ui,* wide round *ue,* will render all the others easy.

Obtain *oo* quite clear and distinct, like Italian and German *u* long, French *ou* long. Pronounce it long and short before all the English consonants. Observe the distinction between *pool* and *pull,* the former having *oo,* the latter *oo.* The true short *oo* is heard in French *poule.* English *pull* and French *poule,* differ as English *finny* and French *fini,* by widening. Observe that the back of the tongue is decidedly raised as near to the soft palate for *oo,* *oo,* as the front was to the hard palate for *ee,* *i,* and that the lips are rounded. While continuing to pronounce *oo* or *wo,* open the lips without moving the tongue. This will be difficult to do voluntarily at first, and the lips should be mechanically opened by the fingers till the habit is obtained. The results are the peculiar indistinct sounds *wu*
and \'u', of which \'u' is one of our commonest obscure and unaccented sounds.

In uttering ee, ai, ae, the narrowing of the passage between the tongue and hard palate is made by the middle or front of the tongue, which is gradually more retracted. The ai, ae, are the French \'e', \'è', Italian \'e chiuse and \'e aperto. The last ae is very common, when short, in many English mouths. The widening of the opening at the back, converts ee, ai, ae, into t, c, a. Now e is much finer than ae, and replaces it in the South of England. Care must be taken not to confuse English a with aa. The true a seems almost peculiar to the Southern and Western, the refined Northern, and the Irish pronunciation of English. The exact boundaries of the illiterate a and aa have to be ascertained. Rounding the lips changes ee, ai, ae, into wi, eo, eo', of which eo is very common. Rounding the lips also changes i, e, a, into we, oe, oe', of which oe is very common.

On uttering oo, oo, au, the back of the tongue descends lower and lower, till for au the tongue lies entirely in the lower jaw. The widening of these gives oo, ao, o. The distinction between oo, o, is necessarily very slight; as is also that between ao and o. But ao is very common in our dialects, and is known as o aperto in Italy. The primary forms of oo, oo, au, produced by opening the lips, are the obscure \'uu', \'uu, \'ua, of which \'uu is very common in the provinces, being a deeper, thicker, broader sound of u. But the wide sounds oo, oo, o, on opening the lips, produce u', aa, ah. Here aa is the true Italian and Spanish a, and ah is the deeper sound, heard for long a in Scotland and Germany, often confused with the rounded form au.

Of the mixed vowels, the only important primary vowel is u, for which the tongue lies flat, half way between the upper and lower jaw. It is as colourless as possible. It usually replaces uu in unaccented syllables, and altogether replaces it in refined Southern speech. Its wide form a' is the modern French fine a, much used also for aa in the South of England. The rounded form oo' seems to replace u or uu in some dialects. The mixed sound resulting from attempting to utter ah and a together is e', which Mr. Bell considers to be the true vowel in herd.

Distinctions to be carefully drawn in writing dialects. EE and I. AI and E. AE and E. AA, AH and A. OA and AO. AO, AU and AH. O0 and UO. UU and U. UI, UE and EEW. IW, YOO. UE and EO. OE and U.

**Quantitative Vowels.**

All vowels are to be read short, or medial, except otherwise marked.

The Stress (\') placed immediately after a vowel shews it to be long and accented, as august; placed immediately after a consonant, hyphen (-), gap (\(\cdot\)), or stop (\(\ldots\)), it shews that the preceding vowel is short and accented, as august, aamaoo'; pa'pa'... The Holder ('') placed immediately after a vowel or consonant shews it to be long, as au'gust, needl'; the Stress Holder ('') shews that the consonant it follows, is held, the preceding vowel being short and accented, compare hap'i, ha'pi, ha'pet, ha'pet'; in theoretical writing only. Practically it is more convenient to double a held consonant, as hap'i, happi, happpi.

Stop (\(\ldots\)) subjoined to any letter indicates a caught-up, imperfect utterance, as ka\(\ldots\), kat\(\ldots\) for kat; great abruptness is marked by (\(\ldots\)).

Accent marks may also be used when preferred, being placed over the first letter of a combination, thus:

\[\text{\textit{Vowels.}}\]

- **Very long:** 
  - oo, oo, au

- **Long:** 
  - ao, oo, u

- **Medial:** 
  - ao, oo, u

- **Short:** 
  - oo, oo, u

If the first letter is a capital the accent marks may be placed on the second, as August, August, kiaazaa.

**Systematic Diphthongs.**

The stressless element of a diphthong is systematically indicated by a preceding turned comma (\(\cdot\)) called hook 'mveeit or 'mveeit. It. miel, Laavoora It. Laura, paanovr It paura, 'nsee Fr. lui. But when, as is almost always the case, this element is 'ee 'oo, or 'ee, it may be replaced by its related consonant y, w or e, as myayit, Lavoora, l'ee. Any obscure final element as 'u, 'e, 'e, is sufficiently expressed by the sign of simple voice h', as provincial nech'it night, strech'm stream with'kn waken. In applying the rule for marking stress and quantity, treat the stressless element as a consonant.
The four English Glossic diphthongs æ, ø, ö, ü are unsystematic, and are variously pronounced, thus: æ is uy in the South, sometimes a'y, aay; and is often broadened to uny, ahy, au'y, in the provinces.  
or is oy in the South, and becomes au'y, provincially.  
ou is uw in the South, sometimes a'w, aaw, and is often broadened to uwo, awo, aoe; it becomes oe, w in Devonshire, and aew in Norfolk.  
eu varies as iu, eeu, yoo, yew, yeow.  
The Londoners often mispronounce ai as ai'y, ai'y, ey or nearly uy, and oaw, oaw, ow or nearly uwo.  
English vocal r, is essentially the same as H, forming a diphthong with the preceding vowel. Thus English glossic peer, pair, boar, boor, fer, differing, are systematic pi'k, pe'k, baor', buor', fe'h or fu', dife'h'ring or difurring. But r is used where r', or rr', or h' may be occasionally heard.

**Consonants.**

Differences from English Glossic consonants are marked by adding an h in the usual way, with y' for palatals, and w' for labials, by subjoining an apostrophe ($) or by prefixing a turned comma (') or a turned apostrophe ('), or a simple comma (,).

**Simple consonants, and added G.**


**Added H.**

WH, CH, TH DH, SH ZH.

KH, GH German ch, g in Deoch, Take; YH, R'H, LH, MH, NH, NGH are the hissed voiceless forms of y, r', l, m, n, ng.

**Added Y' and YH.**

TY', DY', KY',GY', LY', NY', NGY', are palatalised or mouillé varieties of t, d, k, g, l, n, ng, as in virtue, verdure, old cart, old guard, Italian gl, gn, vulgar French, il n'y a pas =ngy'aa pah. LYH is the hissed voiceless form of LY'.

KYH, GHY are palatal varieties of KH, GH as in German ich, fiege.

**Added W' and WH.**

TW', DW', KW', GW', RW', R'W', LW', NW', &c., are labial varieties of t, d, k, g, r, r', l, n, &c., produced by rounding the lips at or during their utterance, French toi, dois, English quiet, guano, our; French roi, loi, noise, &c.

KWH, GWH are labial varieties of KH, GH as in German auch, saugen, and Scotch guh. HWH is a whistle.

**Added apostrophe ($) called “Hook.”**

H' called aich-huok, is the simplest emission of voice; H'W is h' with rounded lips; H'WH a voiced whistle.

T', D', called tee-huok, deh-huok, dental t, d, with tip of tongue nearly between teeth as for th, dh.

F', V', called ef-huok, ve-huok, toothless f, v, the lip not touching the teeth; s' is true German w, n', or n before vowels, is trilled r.

N' read on-huok, French nasal n, which nasalizes the preceding vowel. To Englishmen the four French words vent, vont, vin, un sound vou', voan', van', van'; but Frenchmen take them as vahn', voan', vaen', oen'. Sanscrit uumoseva pu.

K', G' peculiar Picard varieties of ky', gy', nearly approaching ch, j.

CH', J', TS', DZ' monophthongal Roman varieties of ch, j, ts, dz.

T'H, D'H lisped varieties of s, z, imitating th, dh; occasional Spanish z, d.

S' not after t, Sanscrit visu, gyu.

**Prefixed comma (.), called “Comma.”**

,H read koma-aich, lax utterance, opposed to H.

,T .D read koma-tee, koma-dee peculiar Sardinian varieties of t, d, the tongue being much retracted.

,L Polish barred l, with LH its voiceless, LW its labial, and LWH its voiceless labial forms.

; read hamsa, check of the glottis.

**Prefixed turned comma ('), called “Hook.”**

!. read ein, the Arabic aayn or bleat.

'CH, 'T .D, 'S Z, 'K. read huok-aich, huook-tee, &c.; peculiar Arabic varieties of h, t, d, s, z, k; 'G the voiced form of 'K.

'KH, 'GH, called huok-kai-aich, huook-jee-aich; the Arabic kh, gh pronounced with a rattle of the uvula.
'W, PR, BR, read huok-dubb-en, &c.; lip trills, the first with tight and
the others with loose lips; the first
is the common English defective w
for r', as vevei t'voo, the last is
used for stopping horses in Germany.
'R read huok-aur, the French r grossseyé,
and Northumberland bur or k'vuyop
=gh'; 'RH its voiceless form.
'LH, 'L, read huok-el-aich, huok-el,
Welsh ll, and its voiced Manx form.
'F, 'V, read huok-ef &c.; f, v with back
of tongue raised as for oo.

Prefixed turned apostrophe (\), called
"Curve."

AA, read kerv-aa, an aa pronounced
through the nose, as in many parts
of Germany and America, different
from aan', and so for any vowel,
h, or h'.

T, D, SH, R, L, N read kerv-tee &c.,
Sanscrit "cerebral" t, d, sh, r', l, n;
produced by turning the upper part
of the tongue to the roof of the
mouth and attempting to utter t, d,
sh, r', l, n.

H read kerv-aich, a post aspiration,
consisting of the emphatic utter-
ance of the following vowel, in one
syllable with the consonant, or an
emphatically added final aspirate
after a consonant. Common in
Irish-English, and Hindoostaanie.

W is the consonant related to u, as
w is to oo.

Clicks,—spoken with suction stopped.
C, tongue in t position, English tut!
Q, tongue in t' position.
X, tongue in ty position, but unilateral,
that is, with the left edge dropping
the palate, and the right free, as
in English clicking to a horse. C, 
g, s, are used in Appleyard's Caffe.
QC, tongue in ty position, but not
unilateral; from Boyce's Hottentot.
KC, tongue retracted to the k' position
and clinging to the soft palate.

Whispers or Flats.

'H, called serkl-aich, simple whisper;
'H' whisper and voice together
'H' diphthongal form of h'.

'AA, read serkl-aa, whispered aa, and
so for all vowels.

'D, 'D, read serkl-bee etc., the sound of
b, d, heard when whispering, as dis-
tinct from p, t, common in Saxony
when initial, and sounding to

Englishmen like p, t when standing
for b, d, and like b, d when
standing for p, t. 'G, whispered g,
does not occur in Saxony.

'V, 'DH, 'Z, 'ZH, 'L, 'M, 'N read
serkl-vee etc., similar theoretical
English varieties, final, or interposed
between voiceless and voiceless letters.

Tones.
The tones should be placed after
the Chinese word or the English syllable
to which they refer. They are here,
for convenience, printed over or un-
der the vowel o, but in writing and
printing the vowel should be cut out.

$\theta$, o, high or low level tone; p, hing'.

$\sigma$, g, rising to high or low pitch,
shaan'.

$\delta$, q, rising and fall, (that is, foo-kyen
shaanq') or fall and rise.

$\phi$, p falling tone to high or low pitch,
kyoo' or k hoe'.

$\psi$, q, sudden catch of the voice at a
high or low pitch, shoo', shoo',
nyip', or yaap'.

Signs.

Hyphen (\), used to separate combina-
tions, as in mis-hap, in-got. In
what-ever, r is vocal; elm fauln
are monosyllables, el-m, faul-n are
dissyllables; fidel has two syllables,
fidl-er three syllables.

Divider (¿), occasionally used to assist
the reader by separating to the eye,
words not separated to the ear, as
tel-yer dhat'ti doo.

Omission (¿), occasionally used to assist
the reader by indicating the omission
of some letters usually pronounced,
as heeo)l doo).¿.

Gap (¿) indicates an hiatus.

Closure (¿) prefixed to any letter indi-
cates a very emphatic utterance as
mei heit for my eye.

Emphasis (¿) prefixed to a word, shews
that the whole word is more em-
phatically uttered, as ei 'nee dhat
'dhat dhat 'dhat man sed wos rong;
'ei gaw 'too things 'too 'too men,
and 'hee gaw 'too', 'too', 'too', 'too',
'The following are subjodined to indicate,
\ emission, \ suction, \ trill of the
organs implicated, \ inner and \ outer position of the organs impli-
cated, \ tongue protruded, \ unilate-
rality, \ linking of the two letters
between which it stands to form a
third sound, \ extreme faintness.
EXAMPLES OF UNIVERSAL GLOSSIC

The Reader should pay particular attention to the Rules for marking vowel quantity laid down in the Key, p. xvi.

FOREIGN LANGUAGES.

French.—Ai p,wee uen vyaïy ka‘raony’ ai un’n’on’fon’ bao’rny’ oan’ von’due deo moavae van’ oa poeplh ba’et. Ee aet voo?

German.—Ahkh! aaynu’ aaynteeghyu’ ue’blu’ fooyreegyhu’ mueku’ koentu’ v’oal ahwkkwh meekyhy boezu’ mahkhu’n! Yha’h szoa’! Es too’t meer’ oon:en’dleekyhy laayt!

OLD ENGLISH.

Conjectured Pronunciation of Chaucer, transliterated from “Early English Pronunciation,” p. 681:

Whaan dhaat Aa’pri’l with)is shoo’rees swao’te
Dhe droo’kwht aof’ Maarch haath per’sed tao dhe rao’te,
Aand baa’dhed ev’ri’ vaayn in swich li’koo’r
Aof which vert’te: enj’n’dred is dhe floo’r;
Whaan Zefiroos, e’k, with)is swe’te bre’the
Inspi’red haath in ev’ri’ haolt aand he’the
Dhe tendre kropes, aand dhe yononge soone
Haath in dhe Raam is)haalfe koo’r’s iroon’e,
Aand smaa’le foo’les maak’en melodii’e,
Dhaat sle’pen aal dhe nikiyht with ao’pen i’e,—
Sao priketh hem naa’tue’r in her’ koo’raajjes;
Dhaan laongan faolk tao gao’n aon pil’gri’maa’jes,
Aand paalmerz faor’ tao se’ken straawnje straonds,
Tao fer’ne haalwes koo’th in soon’dri’ laonds;
Aand spes’iaali’ fraom ev’ri’ shi’res ende
Aof Engelaand, tao Kaaawnter’ber’i’ dhaay wende,
Dhe hao’li’ blisfool maar’-ti’r faor tao se’ke,
Dhaat hem haath haolpen, whaan dhaat dhaay we’r se’ke.

DIALECTIC ENGLISH AND SCOTCH.

Received Pronunciation.—Whot d)you wont? Vulgar Cockney.—
Wau’chi waun’t? Devonshire.—Wat d)yue want? Fifeshire.—
Whuu’t ur’l yi’ waan’n? Teviotdale.—Kwaht er’ ee wahtun?
Teviotdale, from the dictation of Mr. Murray of Hauvick.—Dhe)r’
ti’kwkh sahkwhs graow’un e dhe Ri’kwkh Hi’kwkh Hakhwh.
—Kwaht er’ ee ah’nd um? U’)m ah’nd um naokwht.—Yuuw un ‘mey el gu’ng aowr’ dhe deyk un puuw e pey e dhe muunth e Mai’y.—Hey’)l bey aowr’ dhe ‘naow nuuw.

Aberdeen.—Faat foar’ di’d dhe peer’ si’n vreet tl)z mi’dher’?

Glasgow.—Wu’)l ait wur’ bred n buu;ur’ doon dhu waa’ur’.

Lothian.—Mah’ koanshuns! haahng u’ Be’yl!—Gaang u’wah’,
laadi! gai tu dhu hoar’s, sai xx! un shooh em ‘baak ugi’n’!

Norfolk.—Wuuy dao’nt yu’ paa’mi dhaat dhuur ‘tue paewnd yu’
ao’mi, bo? Uuy dao’nt ao’)yu’ nao ‘tue paewnd. Yuuw ‘due!

Scoring Sheep in the Yorkshire Dales.—1. yaan, 2 taih’n, 3 tedh-uru, 4 medhuru (edhuru), 5 pimp (pip), 6 saa’jis (see’zu), 7 laa’jis (re’ru), 8 sao’va (koturu), 9 dao’vu (han’nu), 10 diik, 11 yaan uboo’n, 12 tain uboo’n, 13 tedhur’ uboo’n, 14 medhur’ uboon, 15 jigit, 16 yaan ugeeh’n, 17 tain ugeeh’n, 18 tedhur’ ugeeh’n, 19 medhur’ ugeeh’n, 20 gin ageeh’n (bumfit).
**Chapel-en-le-frith Variety.**

Th'Soa'ng w) Sólumun, Chaáptur th)-sáekund.

1. Ad'j照射 v) Sháerun un(th)-lillí u/th váálíz.

2. Láyák th'líjíi umóa'ng tháárnz, séú'w iz máhy láuuv umóa'ng th)-dúwwt't'urz.

3. Láyák th')áappl t'riy umóa'ng th)'t'riy u/th wóá'd, séú'w iz máhy bílúuvd umóa'ng th)'soa'nnz. Aú sí(t)mi dááwn wi gráet dlíy óa'nd'jiz sháadu, un(jíz)fruí'w'tt wúruswiýt tu)mí táist.

4. Iy brúwut(w)mi tu(th)fèch'stítn ááws, un(jíz)áá'g Gar mi wú láuv.

5. Stráéngth'mi wi'sóa'mut' d'ringk, kúumfurt(m)wi jiáapпл: fúr aúJM láuv-sik.

6. Iz lift ónt)s óa'nd'ur mi(yáed, un(jíz) ríyt ónt tílpsemi.

7. Áú cháá̄r(jyú, óa dúwwt't'rz u) Ji-rí)wálum, b'i(b)róáaz, un(b)i(b)nt'ú tst'ág z uz)f(y)lít, uz yóa mun nóadhur stíur, tórá'wkn mi(láuv, tìlly)plééh'tzú.

8. Th'váys um(jíbíluuvd! Láú'w, ki kúumz lééch pin óa'pu(th)mááwntinz, ský'íppin óa'pu(th)liz.

9. Míjíbíluuv'd láyák u'roá, ur')ú'-yóoa'ng stá'g: láú'w, iy stóndz út(i)-bí'ku áár'wáu, iy dáú'wéks ááwt út)-th(w)ndús, un(jooh'daz isseél truí'w-th)lááatiz.

10. Mí(jíbíluuv spáák, un)saed tó)'w(mí, Gy'àé)'oá'p, mi(láuv, mi)faé'r)un, un(kúum uwiá).

11. Fur, láú'w, th')wint'u)rj páást, un(th)ráin(z óar un)gáun.

12. Th')dáawurz ur(kúumín óa'pu'-th) grááwnd, th)'tááhm jiz kúum un(th)-brídz singn, un(th) vá'y ú thú(t)dúrt(for)j éerd j'àácr koa'nt'jír'tí.

13. Th'(fig t'riy uz) Gy'àétin gríyin figz ón, un(th)'váhyzyn gy'in un(náh)ys smál w(i)th)'yóoa'ng gráipz. Gy'àé)'oá'p, mi(láuv, mi)faé'r)un, un(kúum uwiá.

14. Oá máhy dóáw, uz)ur(t)'j(th)tífs u(th)'rók, i)th'sái(k)k tóáps u(th) tááerz, lâ(e)mi sîy dhi)faí(e), lâ(e)mi éér dlí)-vá'y; fur(dhi) vá'y is swíy, un(dhi)-faí(e) iz vèrrí pràáti.

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**Taddington Variety.**

Th'Soa'ng w) Sólumun, Chaáptur th)-sáekund.

1. Aúm th)'róáaz u)'Sháerun un(th)-lillí u/th váálíz.

2. Us th)'lálii umóa'ng tháárnz, sóo iz máu láuv umóa'ng th)dúwwt'turz.

3. Us th]'áappl tráey umóa'ng th)-tráeyz u/th wóá'd, sóo má zá biíluuv umóa'ng th)'soa'nnz. Aú sí(t) dááwn wi gréet dááey óa'nd'jiz sháadu, un(jíz)fruí'w'tt wúruswiýt tu)mí táist.

4. Aéy brúuwut(mi) tu(th)'fèch'stítn ááws, un(jíz)áá'g Gar mi wú láuv.

5. Ký ayép mi óa'p wi' sóa'mut' d'ringk, kúumfurt(m)wi jiáapпл: fúr aúJM láuv-sik.

6. Iz lift ónt]'ó áá'nd'ur mi(yáed, un(jíz) ríyt ónt tílpsemi.

7. Áú tááél(jyú, óa dúwwt't'rz uz) Ji-rúwślum, b'i(b)róáaz, un(b)i(b)nt'ú tst'ág uz)f(y)lít, uz dáýa mun nóadhur stíur, tórá'wkn mi(láuv, tìlly)plééh'tzú.

8. Th'váys um(jíbíluuvd! Láú'w, aey kúumz lééch pin óa'pu(th)mááwntinz, ský'íppin óa'pu(th)liz.

9. Míjíbíluuv'd láyák u'roá, ur')ú'-yóoa'ng stá'g: láú'w, iy stóndz út(i)-bí'ku áár'wáu, iy dáú'wéks ááwt út)-th(w)ndús, un(jooh'daz isseél truí'w-th)lááatiz.

10. Mí(jíbíluuv spáák, un)saed tó)'w(mí, Gy'àé)'oá'p, mi(láuv, mi)faé'r)un, un(kúum uwiá).

11. Fur, láú'w, th')wint'u)rj páást, un(th)ráin(z óar un)gáun.

12. Th')dáawurz ur(kúumín óa'pu'-th) grááwnd, th)'tááhm jiz kúum un(th)-brídz singn, un(th) vá'y ú thú(t)dúrt(for)j éerd j'àácr koa'nt'jír'tí.

13. Th'(fig t'riy uz) Gy'àétin gríyin figz ón, un(th)'váhyzyn gy'in un(náh)ys smál w(i)th)'yóoa'ng gráipz. Gy'àé)'oá'p, mi(láuv, mi)faé'r)un, un(kúum uwiá.

14. Oá máhy dóáw, uz)ur(t)'j(th)tífs u(th)'rók, i)th'sái(k)k tóáps u(th) tááerz, lâ(e)mi sîy dhi)faí(e), lâ(e)mi éér dlí)-vá'y; fur(dhi) vá'y is swíy, un(dhi)-faí(e) iz vèrrí pràáti.

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**Specimen of Universal Glossic.**

Dialects of the Peak of Derbyshire from the Dictation of Mr. Thomas Hallam, of Manchester, a native of the Peak.

Mr. Hallam considers that he said a', oo, wuw, veyn, where I seemed to hear and wrote a', oo', wuu, va'ys. Mr. Hallam dictated the quantities.

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* * * Separate Copies of this Notice and Appendix on Glossic will be sent on application to the Author.
CHAPTER VII.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE PRONUNCIATION OF ENGLISH DURING THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

§ 1. Chaucer.

CRITICAL TEXT OF PROLOGUE.

In accordance with the intimation on p. 398, the Prologue to the Canterbury Tales is here given as an illustration of the conclusions arrived at in Chap. IV., for the pronunciation of English in the xivth century. But it has been necessary to abandon the intention there expressed, of following the Harl. MS. 7334 as closely as possible, for since the passage referred to was printed, the Chaucer Society has issued its magnificent Six-Text Edition of the Prologue and Knight's Tale, and it was therefore necessary to study those MSS. with a view to arriving at a satisfactory text to pronounce, that is, one which satisfied the laws of grammar and the laws of metre better than the reading of any one single MS. which we possess. For this purpose the systematic orthography proposed on p. 401, became of importance. The value of exact diplomatic reprints of the MSS. on which we rely, cannot be overrated. But when we possess these, and endeavour to divine an original text whence they may have all arisen, we ought not to attempt to do so by the patchwork process of fitting together words taken from different MSS., each retaining the peculiar and often provincial orthography of the originals. The result of such a process could not but be more unlike what Chaucer wrote than any systematic orthography. Chaucer no doubt did not spell uniformly. It is very difficult to do so, as I can attest, after making the following attempt, and probably not succeeding. But a modern should not venture to vary his orthography according to his own feelings at the moment, as they would be almost sure to lead him astray. Whenever, therefore, a text is made out of other texts some sort of systematic orthography is inevitable, and hence, notwithstanding the vehe-
ment denunciation of the editor of the Six-Text Edition, I have made trial of that one proposed on p. 401, in all its strictness. The result is on the whole, better than could have been expected. Notwithstanding the substantial agreement of the Harleian 7334, and the Six New Texts, there is just sufficient discrepancy to assist in removing almost every difficulty of language and metre, so far as the prologue is concerned, and to render conjecture almost unnecessary. The details are briefly given in the footnotes to the following composite text.

Pronunciation of Long U and of Ay, Ey as Deduced from a Comparison of the Orthographies of Seven Manuscripts of the Canterbury Tales.

The investigations in Chap. IV. for the determination of the pronunciation of the xivth century, were avowedly founded upon the single MS. Harl. 7334 (supra p. 244). Now that large portions of six other MSS. have been diplomatically printed, it is satisfactory to see that this determination is practically unaffected by the new orthographies introduced. The Cambridge and the Lansdowne MSS., indeed, present us at first sight with what appears to be great vagaries, but when we have once recognized these as being, not indeterminate spellings of southern sounds, but sufficiently determinate representations of provincial, northern, or west midland utterances, mixed with some attempts to give southern pronunciation, they at once corroborate, instead of invalidating, the conclusions already obtained. That this is the proper view has been sufficiently shewn in the Temporary Preface to the Six-Text Edition, p. 51 and p. 62, and there is no need to discuss it further.

1 Temporary Preface to the Six-Text Edition of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, Part I., by F. J. Furnivall, pp. 113-115. A uniform system of spelling did not prevail in the xivth century, and as we have seen, can scarcely be said to prevail in the xixth, but variations were not intentional, and the plan I advocate is, from the varied spellings which prevail, to discover the system aimed at, but missed, by the old writer, and adopt it. All varieties of grammar, dialect, and pronunciation, when belonging to the author, and not his scribe, who was often ignorant, and still oftener careless (p. 249), should be preserved, and autographs, such as Orrin's and Dan Michel's, must be followed implicitly and literatim. In such diplomatic printing, I even object to insertions between brackets. They destroy the appearance of the original, and hence throw the investigator into the editor's track, and often stand in the way of an independent conjecture. At the same time they do not present the text as the editor would show it, for the attention is distracted by the brackets. The plan pursued for the Prisoner's Prayer, supra pp. 434-437, of giving the original and amended texts in parallel columns, is the only one which fully answers both purposes. Where this is not possible, it appears to me that the best course to pursue is to leave the text pure, and submit the correction in a note. This serves the purpose of the [ ] or sic, much more effectually than such disturbances of the text, which are only indispensable when notes are inconvenient. The division of words and capitals of the original should for the same reason be retained. See the Temp. Pref. p. 88.
These MSS. may be looked upon as authorities for the words, but not for the southern pronunciation of the words, and they shew their writers' own pronunciation by using letters in precisely the same sense as was assigned from the Harl. MS. on p. 398 above. Two points may be particularly noticed because they are both points of difference between Mr. Payne and myself, (supra pp. 582, 583) and in one of them I seem to differ from many of those who have formed an opinion on the subject.

Long u after an examination of all the authorities I could find, was stated on p. 171 to have been (yy) during the xvi\textsuperscript{th} century. There did not appear to be any ground for supposing it to be different in the xiv\textsuperscript{th} century, and hence it was assumed on p. 298 to have had that value at that time. This was strengthened by the proof that (uu), the only other sound which it could have represented, was written ou, p. 305. A further though a negative proof seems to be furnished by the fact that I have not observed any case of long u and ou rhyming together, or being substituted one for the other in the old or any one of the six newly published texts.\footnote{\textsuperscript{1} Compare fortune, buke in Hampole (supra p. 410, n. 2). The two orthographies bke, buke, struggle with each other in Hampole. In the \textit{Towneley Mysteries}, I have also observed the rhyme, \textit{goode} \textit{infide}, which however, may be simply a bad rhyme, the spelling is Northern and of the latter part of the xvi\textsuperscript{th} century. On examining the Harl. MS. 2253 for the rhymes: bur mesaventur, bure coverture, quoted from the Cam. MS. of King Horn on p. 480, I find that the first rhyme disappears. Thus v. 325, Lumby's edition of the Cam. MSS. has

\begin{center}
\begin{itemize}
  \item Went ut of my bur
  \item Wip muchel mesaventur
\end{itemize}
\end{center}

and the Harl. reads fo. 85,

\begin{center}
\begin{itemize}
  \item Went out of my bower,
  \item Shame he mot byshoure;
\end{itemize}
\end{center}

and v. 649, the Cam. MS. has

\begin{center}
\begin{itemize}
  \item Heo ferde in to bure
c  \item to fen auesture,
\end{itemize}
\end{center}

and the Harl. has, fo. 87,

\begin{center}
\begin{itemize}
  \item Horn ne joyhte nout him on
  \item ant to boure wes ygon.
\end{itemize}
\end{center}

Judging however by the collation in F. Michel's edn. the Oxf. MS. agrees with the Cam. The text is clearly doubtful.

But v. 691, which in the Cam. MS. runs

\begin{center}
\begin{itemize}
  \item he lip in bure
  \item under couerure
\end{itemize}
\end{center}

becomes in the Harl. fo. 87,

\begin{center}
\begin{itemize}
  \item he byht nou in boure,
  \item vnder couertoure,
\end{itemize}
\end{center}

where the scribe by adopting the orthography ou has clearly committed himself to the pronunciation (uu) and not (yy). It would, however, not be safe to draw a general conclusion from these examples in evidently very untrustworthy texts, which have yet to be properly studied in connection with dialectic and individual pronunciation, supra p. 481.\footnote{\textsuperscript{2} On p. 301, note, col. 1, a few instances of the Devonshire substitutes for (uu) are given, on the authority of Mr. Shelly's pronunciation of Nathan Hogg's Letters. The new series of

\begin{center}
\begin{itemize}
  \item 1 Compare fortune, buke in Hampole (supra p. 410, n. 2). The two orthographies bke, buke, struggle with each other in Hampole. In the \textit{Towneley Mysteries}, I have also observed the rhyme, \textit{goode} \textit{infide}, which however, may be simply a bad rhyme, the spelling is Northern and of the latter part of the xvi\textsuperscript{th} century. On examining the Harl. MS. 2253 for the rhymes: bur mesaventur, bure coverture, quoted from the Cam. MS. of King Horn on p. 480, I find that the first rhyme disappears. Thus v. 325, Lumby's edition of the Cam. MSS. has

\begin{center}
\begin{itemize}
  \item Went ut of my bur
  \item Wip muchel mesaventur
\end{itemize}
\end{center}

and the Harl. reads fo. 85,

\begin{center}
\begin{itemize}
  \item Went out of my bower,
  \item Shame he mot byshoure;
\end{itemize}
\end{center}

and v. 649, the Cam. MS. has

\begin{center}
\begin{itemize}
  \item Heo ferde in to bure
  \item to fen auesture,
\end{itemize}
\end{center}

and the Harl. has, fo. 87,

\begin{center}
\begin{itemize}
  \item Horn ne joyhte nout him on
  \item ant to boure wes ygon.
\end{itemize}
\end{center}

Judging however by the collation in F. Michel's edn. the Oxf. MS. agrees with the Cam. The text is clearly doubtful.

But v. 691, which in the Cam. MS. runs

\begin{center}
\begin{itemize}
  \item he lip in bure
  \item under couerure
\end{itemize}
\end{center}

becomes in the Harl. fo. 87,

\begin{center}
\begin{itemize}
  \item he byht nou in boure,
  \item vnder couertoure,
\end{itemize}
\end{center}

where the scribe by adopting the orthography ou has clearly committed himself to the pronunciation (uu) and not (yy). It would, however, not be safe to draw a general conclusion from these examples in evidently very untrustworthy texts, which have yet to be properly studied in connection with dialectic and individual pronunciation, supra p. 481.\footnote{\textsuperscript{2} On p. 301, note, col. 1, a few instances of the Devonshire substitutes for (uu) are given, on the authority of Mr. Shelly's pronunciation of Nathan Hogg's Letters. The new series of
ginning of the xivth century and the subsequent strict severance of long u and ou, which seem so far as I have observed, to have been never confused, as short u and ou certainly were (p. 304). The conclusion seems to be inevitable, that long u and ou represented different sounds, and that the long u must have had in the xivth, what Bullokar in the xvi th century called its "olde and continued" sound, namely (yy). This, however, is directly opposed to Mr. Payne's opinions given on p. 583.

those letters there named, having an improved orthography, using u, a, for (y, a),—not (a), as there missprinted,—has allowed me to make some collections of words, which are curious in connection with the very ancient western confusion of u, e, i, and the pronunciation of long u as (yy). It may be stated that the sound is not always exactly (yy). In various mouths, and even in the same mouth, it varies considerably, inclining towards (uu), through (uu?) or towards (se) the labialised (ee). The short sound in did seemed truly (dd). But in could, good, I heard very distinctly (kyd, gyd) with a clear, but extremely short (y), from South Devon peasants in the neighbourhood of Totnes. Nor is the use of (yy) or (uu, se) for (uu) due to any incapacity on the part of the speaker to say (uu). The same peasant who called Combs, (Kzymz) or (Kemz), [it is difficult to say which, and apparently the sound was not determinate], and even echoed the name thus when put to him as (Kuunz), and called brook (bryk), with a very short (y), talked of (muur, stuunz, rund) for more, stones, road. Mr. Murray, in his paper on the Scotch dialect in the Philological Transactions, has some interesting speculations on similar confusions in Scotch, and on the transition of (u) or (u) through (a) into (a) and finally (a). On referring to pp. 160-3, supra, the close connection of (uu, yy) will be seen to be due to the fact that both are labial, and that in both the tongue is raised, the back for (uu) and front for (yy). The passage from (uu) to (yy) may therefore be made almost imperceptibly, and if the front is slightly lowered, the result becomes (se). The two sounds (yy, se) are consequently greatly confused by speakers in Scotland, Norfolk, and Devonshire. Mr. Murray notes the resemblance between (a, a)—which indeed led to the similarity of their notation in palaeotype—as shewn by Mr. M. Bell's assigning (a) and my giving (a) to the French mute e, which others again make (sh). If then (u) travels through (y, a) to (a), its change to (a) is almost imperceptible, and the slightest labialisation of the latter sound gives (o). Whatever be the reason, there can be no doubt of the fact that (u, y, a, o) do interchange provincially now, and hence we must not be surprised at finding that they did so in ancient times, when the circumstances were only more favourable to varieties of speech. These observations will serve in degree to explain the phenomena alluded to in the text, and also the following lists from Nathan Hogg's second series, in which I retain the orthography of the author (Mr. H. Baird), where we should read u, a as (y, a) short or long, and other letters nearly as in glossoty.

EW and long U become (yy), as: blu, buty, crayel, curys curious, cat, acute, duce decent, duty, hu, hue you, human human, kinkled conlude, music; nu new, pur pure, ruin'd, stu stew, stupid, tru, truth, tun, vist flute, vu view few, vum same, vutur future, you'd used, xuant suant.

Long and short OO, OU, O, U, usually called (uu, u) become (yy, y) or (ee, a), as: balu hullahhaloo, blum bloom, brok book, buk book, chuz choose, cwerk crook, cud could, curt court, cun course coarse, dru through, drapin drooping, du do, gud good, golden golden, intu, kushin cushion, luk look, lus'nd loosened, minyver manoeuvre, mus move, nun noon, pul'd pulled, pruc prove, puk poak, rum room, shu shoe, shied should, skide school, stid stood, trupin tripping, tu too two to [emphatic, unemphatic ta=(ta)], tuk look, twn tomb, u who, vul full foot, vut foot, yu you, zmuthe smooth, zun soon.

Short U, OO, O usually called (a) become (i), as: bid blood, dist do'it, honjist, unjust, jist just adv., zin run
The second point is extremely difficult, and cannot be so cursorily dismissed. What was the sound attributed to ai ay, ei ey in Chaucer? The constant confusion of all four spellings shews that it was one and the same. Here again the voice of the xvi th century was all but unanimous for (ai), but there is one remarkable exception, Hart, who as early as 1551 (in his MS. cited below Chap. VIII, § 3, note 1), distinctly asserts the identity of the sounds of these combinations with that of e, ea, that is (ee). For printing this assertion in 1569 he was strictly called to order by Gill in 1621, supræ p. 122. All the other writers of the xvi th century, especially Salesbury and Smith distinctly assert that (ai) was the sound. Hence on p. 263, (ai) was taken without hesitation to be the sound of ay, ey, in Chaucer. We are familiar with the change of (ai) into (ee), p. 238, and with the change of (ii) into (ai), (ai), p. 295, but the change of (ee) into (ai), although possible, and in actual living English progress (p. 454, n. 1), is not usual. There was no reason at all to suppose that ay could have been (ii), and little reason to suppose that it would have been (ee) before it became (ai). On examining the origin of ay, ey, in English words derived from ags. sources, the y or i appears as the relic of a former $g = (gh, gh, j)$ and then (i), which leads irresistibly to the notion of the diphthong (ai), p. 440, l. 14, p. 489. But if certainly does not always so arise, and we have seen in Orrin (ib.) that the $\delta\varepsilon = (x)$ was sometimes as pure an insertion as we occasionally find in romance words derived from the Latin, and as we now find

[also to yw], rish'd rushed, tich'd touched, vild flood, wid'n would not, winder wonder, wiser worser, sich such, zin sun son, zmitch smutch.

Short E, I, usually called (e, i) are frequently replaced by (o) or (e), as: bevul befell, bell belt, belched belch'd, burry'd buried, cherish cherish, eszul himself, eszul itself, mezul myself, mulkin milking, muller miller, purish perish, shullins shillings, spul spell, spurrer spirit [common even in London, and compare syrop, stirrup], tullce tell you, turlab terrible, ulbaw'd elobwed, vuller fellow [no r pronounced, final or pre-consonantal trilled (r) seems unknown in Devonshire], vullidge village, vulty filthy, vurrit feret, vury very, vust first, wul well, wulvare welfare, yul yell, yur'd heard, zmul smell, zulf self.

The words zap'd swept, indad indeed, did did done, humman hummen woman women, do not exactly belong to any of these categories.

The above lists, which, being only derived from one small book, are necessarily very incomplete, serve to shew the importance of modern dialectic study in the appreciation of ancient and therefore dialectic English (p. 581).

1 Not in Scotch, where the spellings ai, ei seem to have been developed independently in the xvth century, for the Scotch long a, e, and perhaps meant (ae, ey), compare Mr. T. Smith, supræ p. 121, l. 18. These spellings were accompanied by the similar forms oi, ui, out for the long o, u, ou, perhaps = (oe, ye, uu), though the first was not much used. We must recollect that in Scotch short i was not (i) or (ii), but (e), and hence might easily be used for (u) or (a) into which unaccented (e) readily degenerates. For this information I am indebted to Mr. Murray’s paper on Scotch (referred to in the last note), which was kindly shewn to me in the MS. The notes there furnished on the development of Scotch orthography are highly interesting, and tend to establish an intentional phonetic reformation at this early period, removing Scotch spelling from the historical affiliation which marks the English.

2 “In Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and Provençal, Latin A remains unaltered. Some deviations into ai or e must be admitted... The most important and frequent case is when a by
in English after the sound of (ee) in what many persons recognize as the "standard" pronunciation of our language, for instance (neeim) for name. There are a few straggling instances in even xiii th century MSS. where ay appears to rhyme to e, the chief of which turn on apparently a dialectic pronunciation of saide as sede, which is also an orthography occasionally employed (p. 484, l. 15, p. 481, l. 33). Dr. Gill, 1621 (Logonomia p. 17), cites (sed) as a northern pronunciation for (said), and classes it with (sai) for (sai). Mr. Payne has pointed out similar cases in the Owl and Nightingale, v. 349, 707, 855, 1779. The orthography sede occurs also, v. 472, 548, 1293, and probably elsewhere.1 Mr. Payne also notes the less usual rhymes: bigrede upbreide 1411, misrede maide 1061, grede maide 1335. These rhymes are certainly faulty, because in each case the ags. has a g in the second word but not in the first, and we cannot suppose them to have rhymed at this early period.2 In Floris and

the action of an inserted coalescing i or e, according to the individual tendency of the language, passes into ai, or ei, or e and ie: prov. air, sp. aire from aer; prov. primartrn (otherwise only primer primer), port. primeiro, span. primero, it. primiero, from primarius; prov. esclairvar from esclarvar which also exists; prov. bais, port. beijo. span. beso from basium; prov. fait, port. feito, span. hecho from factus c being palatalised into i. . . . This vowel has suffered most in French, where its pure sound is often obscured into ai, e and ie. We must first put aside the common romance process, just noticed, by which this obscuration is effected by an inserted i as in air, premier, baiser, fait." Translated from Diez, Gr. der rom. Spr. 2nd ed. i. 135.

1 The Jesus Coll. Oxf. MS. reads seyde in each case.

2 The orthography and rhymes of the Owl and Nightingale as exhibited in the Cott. MS. Calig. A. ix., followed by Wright, in his edition for the Percy Society, 1843, are by no means immaculate. The MS. is certainly of the xiii th century, before the introduction of ou for (u), that is, before 1280 or probably before the death of Henry III., 1272, (so that, as has been conjectured on other grounds, Henry II. was the king whose death is alluded to in the poem), and is contained in the same volume with the elder text of Lajamon, though it is apparently not by the same scribe. Nor should I be inclined to think that the scribe was a Dorsetshire man, although the poem is usually ascribed to Nicholas de Guildford, of Portisham, Dorsetshire.

The confusions of e i, o e, e a, recall the later scribe of Havelok. Dreim 21, elene 301, are obvious scribal errors, corrected to dreem clene in the Oxf. MS., and: cil 334, in Oxf. MS. crey, although put in to rhyme with dai, must be an error for cri. We have cases of omitted letters in: rise wse 53, wrste toberste 121, white wte 439, for wise, vortie (?), wite. There are many suspicious rhymes, and the following are chiefly assonances: worse merse 303, heisgge stubbe 505, worde forwerthe 547, igremet of-chamed 931, wise ire 1027, oreve idorve 1151, flesche ewesse 1355, fleiist viest 405, and, in addition to the ei, e rhymes cited in the text, we have: forbreideth nawedeth 1381, in Oxf. MS. ne awedep. As to the present pronunciation of ay, ey in Dorsetshire, the presumed home of the poet, Mr. Barnes gives us very precise information: "The diphthongs ai or ay, and ei or ey, the third close long sound [that is, which usually have the the sound of a in mate], as in May, hay, maid, paid, rein, neighbour, prey, are sounded—like the Greek au,—the a or e, the first open sound, as a in father, and the i or y as ee, the first close sound. The author has marked th a of diphthongs so sounded with a circumflex: as méy, háy, máid, páid, váin, náighbour, pray." Poems of Rural Life, 2nd ed., p. 27.—That is, in Dorsetshire the sound (ai), which we have recognized as ancient, is still prevalent. This is a remarkable comment upon the false rhymes of the MSS. Stratmann's edition, 1868, is of no use for the present investigation, on account of its critical orthography.
Blancheflur, Lumby's ed. occurs the rhyme: muchelhede maide 51, which is similarly faulty.¹ See also p. 473 and notes there. We have likewise seen in some faulty west midland MSS. belonging to the latter part of the xvth century, (supra p. 450, n. 2), that ey was regarded as equivalent to e. In the Towneley Mysteries we also find ay, ey, tending to rhyme either with a or e. In fact we have a right to suppose that in the xvth century, at least, the pronunciation of ey, ay as (ee) was gaining ground, for we could not otherwise account for the MSS. mentioned, for the adoption of the spelling in Scotch in 1500, p. 410, n. 3, and for the fact that Hart,—who from various other circumstances appears to have been a West Midland man—seemed to know absolutely no other pronunciation of ay than (ee) in 1551.² We have thus direct evidence of the coexistence of (ee, ai) in the xviith century, each perhaps limited in area, just as we have direct evidence of the present coexistence of both sounds in high German (p. 238), and Dyak (p. 474, note, col. 2). Such changes do not generally affect a whole body of words suddenly. They begin with a few of them, concerning which a difference prevails for a very long while, then the area is extended, till perhaps the new sounds prevail. We have an instance of this in the present coexistence of the two sounds (a, u) for short u, p. 175 and notes. It is possible that although Gill in 1621 was highly annoyed at maids being called (meedz) in place of (maidz) by gentlewomen of his day (supra, p. 91, l. 8), this very pronunciation might have been the remnant of an old tradition, preserved by the three rhymes just cited from the xiiiith century to the present day, although this hypothesis is not so probable as that of scribal error. And if it were correct, it would by no means

¹ On consulting the Auchinleck MS. text of Floris et Blancheflur, the difficulty vanishes. Lumby's edition of the Cam. MS. reads, v. 49:

\[\text{ju arth hire icle of alle pinge,}\]
\[\text{Both of semblant and of murninge,}\]
\[\text{Of fairnese and of muchelhede,}\]
\[\text{But ju ert a man and heo a maide;}\]
where the both of the second line makes the third line altogether suspiciously like an insertion. The Auchinleck MS., according to the transcription kindly furnished me by Mr. Halkett, the librarian of the Advocates Library, Edinburgh, reads, v. 53:

\[\text{You art iliche here of alle pinge}\]
\[\text{Of semblant and of mourning}\]
\[\text{But you art a man and she is a maide}\]
\[\text{Dous je wif to Florice faide.}\]

Another bad rhyme in the Cam. MS. is v. 533.

\[\text{Hele the wule and noying wreie}\]
\[\text{Ower beire campaignie}\]
which in the Abbotsford Club edition of the text in the Auch. MS. runs thus, v. 518:

\[\text{To the king that she hem nowt biwrie}\]
\[\text{Where though thai were siker to dethe.}\]

The editor suggests biweiche, which would not be a rhyme. The real reading is manifestly to deye, arising, as Mr. Murray suggests, from the common MS. confusion of y, þ. Admiral is both in the Auch. and Cott. MSS. constantly spelled -ayl, and hence we must not be offended with the rhyme, Admiral confail 799, for there was evidently an uncertain pronunciation of this strange word.

² This day (9 July, 1869) a workman, who spoke excellent English to me, called specially (spiisul). Had he any idea that others said (spesul)? The facts in the text are perhaps partly accounted for by the influence of the Scotch orthography and pronunciation, referred to on p. 637, n. 1.
prove that the general pronunciation of *ay* in all words from *ags.* was not distinctly (ai) and that the (ee) pronunciation was not extremely rare.

In a former investigation it was attempted to shew that Norman French *ei, ai,* had at least frequently the same sound (ai), suprâ pp. 453-459. Mr. Payne on the contrary believes that the sound was always pure (ee), and that the Norman words were taken into English, spellings and all, retaining their old sounds. He then seems to conclude that all the English *ay, ey,* were also pronounced with pure (ee), and maintains that this view agrees with all the observed facts of the case (p. 582). Prof. Rapp also, as we shall see, lays down that Early English Orthography was Norman, and as he only recognizes (ee) or (EE) as the sound of Norman *ay,* of course he agrees practically with Mr. Payne. Modern habits have induced perhaps most readers to take the same view, which nothing but the positive evidence of the practice of the xvi th century could easily shake. But it would seem strange if various scribes, writing by ear, and having the signs *e, ee, ea, ie,* at hand to express the sound (ee), should persist in a certain number of words, in always using *ey, ay,* but never one of the four former signs, although the sounds were identical. This is quite opposed to all we know of cacographers of all ages, and seems to be only explicable on the theory of a real difference of sound, more marked than that of (ee, ee). Nay, more, some occasional blunders of *e* for *ey,* etc., would not render this less strange to any one who knows by painful experience (and what author does not know it?) that he does not invariably write the letters he intends, and does not invariably see his error or his printer's or transcriber's errors when he revises the work. The mistake of *e* for *ey* we might expect to be more frequent than that of *ay* for *e.* When the writer is not a cacographer, or common scribe, but a careful theoretical orthographer as Orrmin or Dan Michel, the absolute separation of the spellings *e, ey* becomes evidence. We cannot suppose that Dutchmen when they adopted *pais* called it anything but (pais), why then should we suppose Dan Michel, who constantly employs the spelling *pais,* pronounced

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1 I was glad to learn lately from so distinguished an English scholar as Prof. H. Morley that he was always of opinion that *ay, ey,* were (ai) and not (ee).

2 Mr. Morris's index to Dan Michel's *Ayenbite* refers to p. 261, as containing *pese* for *peace.* I looked through that page without discovering any instance of *pese,* but I found in it 11 instances of *pais,* *payes* and 3 of *payable.* Thinking Dan Michel's usages important, I have extracted those words given in the index, which of course does not refer to the commonest *ags.* words of constant occurrence. This is the list, the completeness of which is not guaranteed, though probable: adreynt, adraynk(pro). agrayji, etc., anpayri, aparceyuei, apayreb, asayd, asayled, arayt, bargayn, batayle, baylf, baylyes, bayj, contraye, coritays, cortaysic, couaitise, daye, defayled, desparyed, eyder either, eyr=air, eyren=eggs, eyse=case, faili, fayntise, formayye, germayn, graynes, grayner, longaynes, maines, maine=retinue, maister, mayden, maystrie, messuye, meyster, nejebores, neen, or-dayni ordienliche, oreysonne, paye=please, payenes=pagans, pays, payable, plait, playneres, playni, playty, poruaye, porueyonce prays, quaynte, queayntese, quenytise, raymi, [ags. ree-mian hryman, to cry out], strayni, tuay, uileynie, uorlay, wayn=gain, wai, wuyerindemem, yfayed, zaynt.
otherwise? And when we see some French words in Chaucer always or generally spelled with e which had an *ai* in French, as: resoun 276, sesoun 348, pecs 2929, plesant 138, ese 223, 2672, why should we not suppose that in these words the (ee) sound was general, but that in others, at least in England, the (ai) sound prevailed? Nay more, when we find *ese* occasionally written *eye* for the rhyme in Chaucer (supra p. 250 and note 1, and p. 265), as it is in Dan Michel's prose, why should we not suppose that two sounds were prevalent, just as our own (*niidh:* : *neidh:* ) for *neither,* and that the poet took the sound which best suited him? This appears to me to be the theory which best represents all the facts of the case. It is also the theory which best accords with the existing diversities of pronunciation within very narrow limits in the English provinces. It remains to be seen how it is borne out by the orthography of the Ha. Harleian 7334, and the six newly published MS. texts, E. Ellesmere, He. Hengwrt, Ca. Cambridge, Co. Corpus, P. Petworth, and L. Lansdowne of the Canterbury Tales. For this purpose I have looked over the prologue and Knightes Tale, and examined a large number, probably the great majority of the cases, with the following results. The initial italic words, by which the lists are arranged, are in modern spelling, and where they are absent the words are obsolete. Where no initials are put, all the MSS. unnamed agree in the preceding spelling so far as having one of the combinations *ai,* *ay,* *ei,* *ey* is concerned, small deviations in other respects are not noted, but if any other letter is used for one of the above four it is named. The numbers refer to the lines of the Six Text edition, and they have frequently to be increased by 2 for Wright's edition of the Harleian MS.

List of Words containing *AY, EY* in the Prologue and Knightes Tale.

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<tr>
<th>Anglosaxon and Scandinavian Words.</th>
<th>maidens, maydens 2300</th>
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<td><em>again,</em> agayn 991</td>
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<td><em>against,</em> aiens Ca., aegyns 1787</td>
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<tr>
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<td><em>ashes,</em> aishes Co., ashen 2957</td>
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<tr>
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<td><em>seen,</em> seyn E. He. Co. L., seen Ha., sene P. 2840</td>
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<td><em>dyen</em> L. 1109, dyeed 2846</td>
<td><em>slain,</em> slayn 992, 2038, 2652, 2708; slayn P. L., sleen 1556, sleen 1859</td>
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<td>*dyster, dyer Ha., dyere 362</td>
<td><em>two,</em> tweye 704</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>eye,</em> ey e. Ca., eyhe P., yhe Ha. L.,</td>
<td><em>wailith,</em> wayleth 1221</td>
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<td><em>eye</em> He. 10, eyen E. He., eygen Ha. P., eyyyn Ca., ygen Co.,</td>
<td><em>way,</em> way 34, 1264, and often.</td>
</tr>
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<td>yhen L. 267 and frequently</td>
<td><em>weighed,</em> weigheden 454</td>
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<td><em>fain,</em> fayn 2437</td>
<td><em>whether,</em> whether E. He., whethir Ha., whopr Ca. Co. L., whedere P., 1857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>fair,</em> faire 1685, 1941</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>flesh,</em> fleish Ha. Co., flessh 147</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><em>height,</em> heght P., heights 1890</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><em>laid,</em> leyde 1384 and frequently</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lay,</em> lay 20 and frequently</td>
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FRENCH WORDS.

acquaintance, aqueyntaunce 245
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chieflain, chevyan Ha., chieflayn 2555
company, comaignynge E. He. Co. P.,
cumpany Ca., companye Ha. L. 331, compaigny E. He. L.,
2105, 2411
complain, compleyn 908
conveyed, conuoyed E., conveyed 2737
counsel, conseil Ha. E. He. Co. P.,
counsel L., cuntre Ca. 3096
courtesy, curtayse E. He. Ca., curtaysie
Ha. Co. P. L. 46, 132
daie, deys Ha. E. He. Ca. Co. P. dese
[rh. burgeise] L. 370
darrayne, 1609, 2097
debonnaire, debonnair [rh. faye] 2282
despair, dispeare 1245
dice, deys Ca., dys 1238
disdain, dusteind 789
displayeth, desplayeth 966
distrainen, destreyyneth 1455, 1816
dozyn, dossyne 578
fail, faillle 1854, 2798
finest, Feynest Ca., feynest 194
L., florin E. He. 2088
frankling, franekeine 216
fresh, freysse He. E. He. Co. P., freysche
Ca., freysche Co., 92, [freysch Ha.]
2176, 2622
furnace, forneys 202, 559
gaineth, ganeth 1176, 2755
gay, gay 73
golyardeys 560
harnessed, harneyed 114, 1006, 1634,
2140
kerchief, kerchercei H., couercheis
Ca. [the proper Norman plural,
according to Mr. Payne], couerchefs E. He. Co. L., couereches
P. 453

leisure, leyser 1188
Magdalen, Maudelayne 410
maintain, mayntene H. E., mayntene
He. Ca. Co. P., maiyn L. 1778
master, mistyr Ca., maister 261
mastery, maistrie 165
meyned 2170
money, moneye 703
ordained, ordelynyge 2553
paid, ypayed 1802
pain-ed, penyed 139, penyne 1133
painted, puyntid 1934, 1975
palace, paleys 2513
palfrey, palfrey 207, 2495
plain, pleyn 790, 1464
plein, pleyn 315
portrailure, portreurlure Ha. E. He. Ca.
Co., pourtrelure P. L. 1968, [pur-
trelure Ha.] 2036
portrey, porstrey 96
portrelyer, portrelyor H., portrelyour
E., purtrelyour He., purtreloyr
Co., purytrelour P., portrelour Ca.,
putreloore L. 1899
portryning, portraying Ha., portreyning
Ca. Co., purtreyoyne P.,
portreyynge E. He., purtreyynge L.
1938
pray, preyen 1260
prayer, prayer 2226
purveyance, purveyance E. He., pur-
veyance Ha. Co. P. L. purveyance
Ca. 1665, purveyance E. H., pur-
veyance Ha. Co. P. L., purveyance
Ca. 3011
quaint 1531, 2321, 2333, 2334
raineth, reynth 1535
reyn, reynes 904
sovereign, souereyn 1974
straight, streyte 457, stryt Ca., streyt
1984
suddenly, sodanly L., sodeynly 1530,
sodeinliche 1575
sustain, susteyne Ca. L., sustene 1993
trace, trays 2141
turkish, turkeys 2895
turneyng, turneyng E. He. Co,
turnynge Ca. tornynge L., tor-
nymente P. 2557
vain, veyn 1094
vassalage Ha. E. He. Co. L., vassalage
P., vassellagge Ca. 3054
vein, veyne 3, 2747
verily, verraily E. He. Ca. Co. verrely
P. L., verrily Ha. 1174.
very, verray 422
villany, vilonye E. He., velany Ca.,
L. vilonye Ha. Co. P. 70, [vilanye
Ha.] 740
waiting, watinge 929
The general unanimity of these seven MSS. is certainly remarkable. It seems almost enough to lead the reader to suppose that when he finds the usual ay, ey replaced by a, e, i in any other MSS., the scribe has accidentally omitted one of the letters of the diphthong, which being supplied converts a, e, i into ay, ey, ai or ei respectively. Thus when in v. 1530 all but L. use ey or ay, and in v. 1575 all, including L., use ey in sodeynly, sodeynliche, we cannot but conclude that sodanly in L. 1530, is a clerical error for sodaynly. We have certainly no right to conclude that the a was designed to indicate a peculiar pronunciation of a as ay or conversely. But it will be best to consider the variants seriatim as they are not many in number.

Consideration of Variants in the Last List.

Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian Words.

Against 1787 has still two sounds (uuenst', ugenst') which seem to correspond to two such original sounds as (again· agen').

Ashen, aisshes Co. 2957 represented really a duplicate form, as appears from its having been preserved into the xvi century, p. 120, l. 6.

Dye 1109, see variants on p. 284.

Dry 420, see variants on p. 285.

Dyer, the general orthography dyer 392 is curious, for the agg. deagan would naturally give deyder, which however is only preserved in Ha., the rest giving dyere, and the Promptorium having dyyn; Ha. has deye in 11037. It would almost seem as if habit had confused the two words dye, die, and hence given the first the same double sound as the second. There is no room for supposing the sound (dee) in either case.

Eye 10, see variants on p. 285.

 Flesh, 147 is one of the words mentioned on p. 265, as having two spellings in Ha. see also p. 473 note 1, for a possible origin of the double pronunciation.

Height, heght P. 1890 is of course a clerical error for heighte.

Neighbour 535, follows nigh in its variants.

Nigh 732, 535. The variants here seem to show that this word should be added to the list given on pp. 284–6, as having a double pronunciation, especially as we have seen that the (ii) sound is preserved in Devon, p. 291, as it is in Londsle.

Seen. The orthography seyn 2840 for seen is supported by too many MSS. to be an error, it must be a duplicate form, retaining in the infinitive the expression of the lost guttural, which crops up so often in different parts of this verb, Gothic saithwan, compare the forms on p. 279.

Slay 392, see p. 265; the double sound (ee, ai) may have arisen from the double ags. form, without and with the guttural, the latter being represented by (ai) and the former by (ee), which is more common.

Spreind, isprend, isprind 2169 must be merely clerical errors for spriceiud, as in most MSS., because both words rhyme with ymeynd, which retains its orthography in each case.

Whether, 1857, has certainly no more title to (ai) than beat or them, but nevertheless we have seen Orrmin introduce the (i) or (j) into these words, p. 489, hence it is not impossible that there may have been some provincials who said wheider, but still it is more probable that the et of E. and He. in 1857 are clerical errors. The word is not common and I have not noted another example of it in E. He.

French Words.

Barren, baran L. 1977, must be a clerical error for barayn.

Braid 1049, seems to have had various sounds, corresponding to the ags. bregdan, icel. bregađa, and to the French brider, which would give the forms bryde, broude. while bryde would seem to be an uncertain, or mistaken mixture of the two (braid-e, broid-e, braid-e). We do not find brede (breed-e). but as the g was sometimes omitted even in ags. it would have been less curious than bryde.

Caitiff. The orthography caitiff P. 1552, 1717, 1946, being repeated in
three places, although opposed to the other six MSS. which determine caitif to be the usual form, may imply a different pronunciation rather than be a clerical error. The French forms of this derivative of the Latin captivus, as given by Roquefort are very numerous, but all of them contain i, or an e derived from ai, thus: caitif, caiptif, caitieu, caitis, caitiu, caitiu, cetif, cetis, chaitieu, chatif, chatis, chatiu, cheitif, chetif, chetuy, quietif, quetif. Roquefort gives as Provençal and Languedoc forms: caitiou, caitious, caitiu, caitivo. The Spanish cautivo has introduced the labial instead of the palatal modification, while the Italian only has preserved the a pure by assimilating y, thus, cattivo. If then the a in P. was intentional, it was very peculiar.

Chieftain, cheveten Ha. 2555, should according to the general analogy of such terminations be cheveteyn, and it will then agree with the other MSS.

Company. In Compaignye 331, 2105, 2411, the i is conceived by M. Francoisque Michel to have been merely orthographical in French, introduced to make gn mouillé, just as i was introduced before ll to make it mouillé. Compare also p. 309, n. 1, at end. It is very possible that both pronunciations prevailed (kumpanii-e, kumpani-e) and that the first was considered as French, the latter as English. There is no room for supposing such a pronunciation as (kumpeeni-e) with (ee).

Conveyed. Convoyed E. 2737 is not a variant of the usual conveyed, but another word altogether, a correction of the scribes.

Counsel, counsel L. 3096, is probably a clerical error for counsell as in the other MSS.

Courtesy. Curteisye 46, vileynye 70, may be considered together. They were common words, and the second syllable was usually unaccented, whereas in curteis, vileyn, it was frequently accented. Hence we cannot be surprised at finding ey strictly preserved in the latter, but occasional deviations into non-diphthongal sounds occurring in the former. Careful scribes or speakers seem, however, to have preserved the ey of the primitive in the derivative. The vilonye of Ha. Co. P. 70, which is replaced by vilanye in Ha. 740, serves to corroborate this view, as evidently the scribe did not know how to write the indistinct sound he heard, a difficulty well known to all who have attempted to write down living sounds. See also Mr. Payne’s remarks, supra p. 585. To the same category belong the variants of portraiture, pureyvance, verily.

Dais, dese L. for deys = dais 370, in opposition to the six other MS. is probably a clerical error for deys the final e being added also to the rhyming word bourse in L. which retains the i.

Diee. Deys Ca. 1238 for dys is clearly an error as shown by the rhyming word paradyse, but dys itself seems to have been accommodated to the rhyme for dees, which occurs in Ha. 13882, and is the natural representative of the French dés.

Finest. The orthography fynest Ca. 194, must be a clerical error.

Florin. The floren, florin, floreyne 2088 may be concurrent forms of a strange word, and the last seems more likely to have been erroneous.

Fresh 92, had no doubt regularly (ee), but the older (ai) seems to have been usual to some, the frosshe of Ca. is a provincialism of the order noted on p. 476.

Kerchiefs. Couercheis Ca. 463, is probably a mere clerical error for corweches, i having been written for j; as we can hardly suppose the provincial scribe of Ca., to have selected a Norman form by design.

Maintain. Maynteyne 1778, susteyne 1993, belong to the series of words derived from tenere. There is no disagreement respecting the ay in the first syllable of maynteyne; sustene is fully supported by the rhyme, p. 265, l. 1, and hence maytene, sustene are probably the proper forms. I have unexpectedly no note of the Chaucerian forms of obtain, detain, retain, contain, appertain, entertain, abstain, but probably -tene would be found the right form. The spelling ey and pronunciation (ai) may have crept in through a confusion with the form -teyne = Lat. stingere, of which I have also accidentally been guilty p. 265, l. 25, as: atteyne, bareyne, must rhyme, 1243, 3232, and as -stringere produces -streynye 1455, 1816 in all MSS.

Master, mystir Ca. 261 for master is probably a clerical error.
Portraiture 1968, portrayor 1899; the variants may be explained as in Courtesy, which see.

Portraying. In portrayynge, portrayry 1388 there is an omission of one y on account of the inconvenience of the yy in the first form, overcome by changing the first y into i in P.

Purveyance 1165, the variants may be explained as in Courtesy, which see.

Straight. Stryt Ca. 1984, must be a clerical error for streyt, as the absence of e is quite unaccountable.

Suddenly. Sodanly L. 1530 must, as we have seen p. 643, be an error for sodainly.

The natural effect of this examination has been to place the variants rather than the constants strongly before the reader's mind. He must therefore recollect that out of the total of 111 words the following 73, many of which occur very frequently, are invariably spelt with one of the phonetically identical forms ai, ay, ei, ey, in each of the seven MSS. every time they occur:

again, aileth, bewray, day, faire, fair, laid, lay, maidens, nails, neither, said, say, sleight, two tweye, waileth, way, weighed.—acquaintance, aiwed, air, apayed, appareling apparaligynge, array, attain, avaielth, barnes, bargain, battle bataille, certain, chain, châtaigne, complain, darreyne, debonnair, despair, dice, disdain, displayeth, distraineth, dozen, fail, franklins frankeleynts, furnace forneys, gaineth, gay, golyardays, harnessed harneyseid, leisure, Magdalene Maudeleyne, mastery, meyned, money, ordained, paid, painned, painted, palace paleys, palfrey, plain, pleyn, portray, pray, prayer, quaint, raineth, reays, sovereign, trace trays, turkish turkeys, vain, vein, very, wailling.

On the other hand, the variants only affect 38 words, of which few, except those already recognized to have two forms in use, occur more than once, while the variants confined to one or two MSS. display no manner of rule or order, and are far from shewing a decided e form as the substitute for ay, ey. They may be classified as follows:

15 Clerical Errors: height, heught, spreynd spred sprinid, whether, whether.—barren baran, chiefstan, chevetan, counsel, dice deys, finest fynest, kerchiefes coucherches, maintain maynteyne mayntene, master misty, straight stryte, suddenly sodanly, sustain susteyne, turneynge turnyngge tonynge.

12 Double Forms: ashes aisshes ashen, die deyen dyen, dry dreye drye, dyer dyere dever, eye sighe yhe, flesh fleish flesh, neighbour neighbore nykeheur, nigh neigh nyge, seen seyn seen, slain slayn sleen, — braided breided browwed, fresh fresshe freisshe.

6 Indistinct Unaccented Sylla-

bles: courtesy courtoisie curtesie, portraiture portreire portature, portrayr portrayor purtreoure, purveyance purveyance purveance purveyance, verify verraylly verrely verrily, villany vileynye velany vilony.

5 Miscellaneous: caitiff may have been occasionally catiff as well as cautif — convoyed was a different reading, not an error for conveyed — florin being a foreign coin may have been occasionally mispronounced freyn, —portring was an orthographical abbreviation of portreynge — wasseyllage was a manifest error for the unusual vasseylage, the usual wasseyl occurring to the scribe.

The variants, therefore, furnish almost as convincing a proof as the constants, that ay, ey represented some sound distinct from e
(ee). But if there was a distinct sound attachable to these combinations ay, ey, in Chaucer’s time, what could it have possibly been but that (ai) sound, which as we know by direct evidence, subsisted in the pronunciation of learned men and courtiers (Sir T. Smith was secretary of state) during the xvi th century, and which the spelling used, and no other, was calculated to express, and was apparently gradually introduced to express. The inference is therefore, that Chaucer’s scribes pronounced ay, ey as (ai) and not as (ee), and where they wished to signify the sound of (ee), in certain well-known and common Norman words, they rejected the Norman orthography and introduced the truly English spelling e. The inference again from this result is that there was a traditional English pronunciation of Norman ai, ei, as (ai), which may have lasted long after the custom had died out in Normandy, on the principle already adduced (p. 20), that emigrants preserve an older pronunciation.

TREATMENT OF FINAL E IN THE CRITICAL TEXT.

As the following text of the Prologue is intended solely for the use of students, it has been accommodated to their wants in various ways. First the question of final e demanded strict investigation. The helplessness of scribes during the period that it was dying out of use in the South, and had already died out in the North, makes the new MSS. of little value for its determination, the Cambridge and Lansdowne being evidently written by Northern scribes to whom a final e had become little more than a picturesque addition. It was necessary therefore to examine every word in connection with its etymology, constructional use, and metrical value. In every case where theory would require the use of a final e, or other elided letter, but the metre requires its elision, it has been replaced by an apostrophe. The results on p. 341 were deduced from the text adopted before it had been revised by help of the Six-Text Edition, and therefore the numbers there given will be slightly erroneous, but the reader will by this means understand at a glance the bearing of the rules on p. 342.

The treatment of the verbal termination -ede, required particular attention. There are many cases in which, coming before a consonant, it might be -ed or '-de, and it was natural to think that the latter should be chosen, because in the contracted forms of two syllables, we practically find this form; thus: fedde 146, bledde 145, wente 255, wiste 280, spente 300, coude 326, 346, 383, kepte 442, dide 451, couthe 467, tawghte 497, cawghte 498, kepte 512, wolde 536, mighte 585, scholde 648, sedye 695, moste 712 and

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1 The number of elisions of essential e, stated at 13 on p. 341, has been reduced. The only important one left is meer 541, and that is doubtful on account of the double form of the rhyming word milleer. The number of plural -es treated as -s has been somewhat increased. The following are examples: palmer’s 13, servawnt’s 101, fether’s 107, finger’s 129, hunter’s 178, greyhound’s 190, sleev’s 193, tavern’s 240, haven’s 407, housbond’s 460, aventur’s 795. Of course ‘(‘) is not used as the mark of the genitive cases, but only to show a real elision.
many others. But even here it is occasionally elided. Mr. Morris observes that in the Cambridge MS. of Boethius, and in the elder Wycliffite Version (see below § 3), the -ede is very regularly written. This however does not prove that the final e was pronounced, because the orthography hire, here, oure, youre, is uniform, and the elision of the final -e almost as uniform. The final e in -ede might therefore have been written, and never or rarely pronounced. It is certain that the first e is sometimes elided, when the second also vanishes, as before a vowel or h in: lov'd 206, 553, gam'd 534, etc. But it is also certain that -ed' was pronounced in many cases without the e, supra p. 355, art. 53, Ex. Throughout the prologue I have not found one instance in which -ede, or -de, was necessary to the metre,¹ but there are several in which -ed', before a vowel, is necessary. If we add to this, that in point of fact -ed' remained in the xvth century, and has scarcely yet died out of our biblical pronunciation, the presumption in favour of -ed' is very strong.² On adopting this orthography, I have not found a single case in the prologue where it failed, but possibly such cases occur elsewhere, and if so, they must be compared to the rare use of hadde, and still rarer use of were, here for the ordinary had'd', wer', her'.

The infinitive -e is perhaps occasionally lost. It is only saved by a trisyllabic measure in: yeve penawnce 223. If it is not elided in help' 259, then we must read whelpe 258, with most MSS. but unhistorically. On the other hand the subjunctive -e remains as: ruste 500, take 503, were 582, spede 769, quyte 770.

Medial elisions must have been common, and are fully borne out by the Cuckoo Song, p. 423. Such elisions are: ev'ry 15, 327, ev'ne 83, ov'ral 249, ov'rest 290, rem'nawnt 724, and: mon'th 92, tak'th 769, com'th 839. The terminations -er, -el, -en, when run on to the following vowel, should also probably be treated as elisions. As respects -er, -re, I have sometimes hesitated whether to consider the termination as French -re, or as assimilated into English, under the form -er, but I believe the last is the right view, and in that case such elisions as: ord'r he 214, are precisely similar to: ev'ry 15, and occasion no difficulty. Similarly, -el, -le, are both found in MSS., but I have adopted -el, as more consonant with the treatment of strictly English words, and regarded the cases in which the l is run on to the following word, as elisions, thus: simp'l and 119. Such elisions are common in modern English, and in the case of -le, they form the rule when syllables are added, supra p. 52. In: to fest'n' his hood 195, we have an elision of e in en, and a final e elided, the full gerundial form being to festene, as it would be written in prose.

¹ The plural weygheden 454, is not in point.
² Mr. Murray observes that loved would be an older form than loved for loved, and grounds his observation on the fact of the similar suppression of the y before l in tabyll, sadyll, fadyr, modyr, in the old Scotch plurals tablys, sadlys, fadrys, modrys, but its subsequent restoration, accompanied by a suppression of the y before the e, in the more recent forms tabylls sadyls, fadyrs, modyrs. These analogies are valuable. All that is implied in the text is that the form -ed seems to have prevailed in Chaucer.
As the text now stands there is no instance of an open e, that is, of final e preserved before a vowel (supra p. 341, l. 2. p. 363, art. 82, and infra note on v. 429), but there is one instance of final e preserved before he, (infra note on v. 386).

**Metrical Peculiarities of Chaucer.**

The second point to which particular attention is paid in this text is the metre. Pains have been taken to choose such a text as would preserve the rhythm without violating the laws of final e, and without having recourse to modern conjecture. For this purpose a considerable number of trisyllabic measures (supra p. 334) have been admitted, and their occurrence is pointed out by the sign iii in the margin. The 69 examples noted may be classified thus:

- **i**., arising from the running on of i to a following vowel, either in two words as: many a 60, 212, 229, etc., bisy a 321, carl' a 130, studi' and 184, or in the same word, as: luvier 80, curious 196, bisier 321, which may be considered the rule in modern poetry, see 60, 80, 130, 184, 196, 212, 229, 303, 321, 322, 349, 350, 396, 438, 464, 630, 560, 764, 782, 840, instances

- **er**, arising from running this unaccented syllable on to a following vowel, in cases where the assumption and pronunciation of -r would be harsh, as: deliver, and 84, sommer hadd' 394, water he 400; and in the middle of a word, as: colerik 587, leecherous 626; instances

- **el**, not before a preceding vowel, as: mesurebel was 435, mawncipel was 567, mawncipel sett' 586, instances

- **en**, not before a preceding vowel, as: yocom from 77; or before a preceding vowel or h, where the elision 'n would be harsh, as: written a 161, geten him 291, instances

- **e**, arising from the pronunciation of final e, where it seems unnecessary, or harsh, to assume its suppression, as 88, 123, 132, 136, 197, 208, 223, 224, 276, 320, 341, 343, 451, 454, 475, 507, 510, 524, 537, 550, 630, 648, 650, 706, 777, 792, 806, 834, 853, instances.

**Miscellaneous**, in the following lines, where the trisyllabic measures are italicised for convenience.

| Of Engelond', to Cawnterbery they wende. | 16 |
| To Cawnterbery with ful devout corage. | 22 |
| His heed was balled, and schoon as any glas. | 198 |
| And thryes hadd' she been at Jerusalem. | 463 |
| Wyd was his parish and houses fer asonder. | 491 |
| He was a schepperd, and not a mercenarie. | 514 |
| He waited after no pomp' and reverence. | 525 |
| Ther coude no man bring' him in arrerage. | 602 |
| And also war' him of a significavit. | 662 |

instances 9

Total 69

It would have been easy in many cases by elisions or slight changes to have avoided these trisyllabic measures, but after considering each case carefully, and comparing the different manuscripts, there did not appear to be any sufficient ground for so doing. Allied to trisyllabic measures are the lines containing a superfluous unaccented syllable at the end, but to this point, which was a matter of importance in old Italian and Spanish versification, and has become a matter of stringent rule in classical French poetry, no attention seems to have been paid by older writers, whether French or English, and Chaucer is in this respect as free as Shakspere.
There are a few cases of two superfluous unaccented syllables, comparable to the Italian versi sdruccioli, and these have been indicated by (+) in the margin. There are only 6 instances: bery mery 207, 208, apotecaryes letuaryes 425, 426, miscary mercenarye 513, 514, all of which belong to the class i-, so that the two syllables practically strike the ear as one.

But there are also real Alexandrines, or lines of six measures, which do not appear to have been previously noticed, and which I have been very loth to admit. These are marked vi in the margin. There are four instances. In:

But sore wepte sche if oon of hem wer' deed. 148

the perfect unanimity of the MSS., and the harsh and unusual elision of the adverbial -e in sore, and the not common elision of the imperfect e in wepte, which would be necessary to reduce the line to one of five measures, render the acceptance of an Alexandrine imperative, and certainly it is effective in expressing the feeling of the Prioresse. In:

Men mote yeve silver to the pore freres. 232

the Alexandrine is not pure because the caesura does not fall after the third measure. But the MSS. are unanimous, the elisions mot' yeve' undesirable, and the lengthening out of the line with the tag of "the pore freres," seems to indicate the very whine of the begging friar. In:

With a thredbare cop', as a pore scoleer. 260

the pore which lengthens the line out in all MSS., seems introduced for a similar purpose. The last instance

I ne sawgh not this yeer so mery a companye. 764

is conjectural, since no MS. gives the reading complete, but: I ne sawgh, or: I sawgh not, are both unmetrical, and by using both we obtain a passable Alexandrine, which may be taken for what it is worth, because no MS. reading can be accepted.

The defective first measures to which attention was directed by Mr. Skeat, surpà p. 333, have been noted by (—), and a careful consideration of the MSS. induces me to accept 13 instances, 1, 76, 131, 170, 247, 271, 294, 371, 391, 417, 429, 733, 778, though they are not all satisfactory, as several of them (131, 247, 271, 391, 778) offend against the principle of having a strong accent on the first syllable, and two (417, 429) throw the emphasis in rather an unusual manner, as: weel coud' he, weel knew he, where: weel cou'd' he, well knew he, would have rather been expected, but there is no MS. authority for improving them.

Three instances have been noted of saynt forming a dissyllable, as already suggested, (surpà pp. 264, 476), one of which (697), might be escaped by assuming a bad instance of a defective first measure, but the other two (120, 509,) seem clearly indicated by MS. authority. See the notes on these passages. They are indicated by at in the margin.¹

¹ Mr. Murray has observed cases in Scotch in which at was dissyllabic, but then it had its Scotch value (an), suprà p. 637, n. 1. He cites from Wyn-
CHAUCEL'S TREATMENT OF FRENCH WORDS.

The third point to which attention is directed in printing the text of the prologue, is linguistic rather than phonetic, but seemed of sufficient interest to introduce in a work intended for the use of the Chaucer Society, namely, the amount of French which Chaucer admitted into his English. "Thank God! I may now, if I like, turn Protestant!" exclaims Moore's Irish Gentleman on the evening of 16th April, 1829, when the news of the royal assent to the Catholic Relief Bill reached Dublin.1 And in the same way it would appear that the removal of the blockade on the English language, when after "pe furste moreyn," 1348, "John Cornwall, a maystere of grammere, chaungede pe lore in gramere scol,"2 and Edward III. enacted in the 36th year of his reign, 1362-3, that all pleas should be pleaded and judged in the English tongue, the jealous exclusion of French terms from English works, which marks the former period, seemed to cease, and English having become the victor did not disdain to make free use of the more "gentle" tongue, in which so many treasures of literature were locked up. Even our older poems are more or less translations from the French, though couched in unmistakable English. But in the xivth century we have Gower writing long poems in both languages, and Chaucer familiar with both, and often seeking his originals in French. The people for whom he principally wrote must have been also more or less familiar with the tongue of the nobles, and large numbers of French words must have passed into common use among Englishmen, before they could have assumed English inflectional terminations. We have numerous instances of this in Chaucer. Whenever a French verb was employed, the French termination was rejected, and an English inflectional system substituted. Thus using italics for the French part, we have in the prologue: perced 2, engend'red 4, 421, inspired 6, esed 29, honour'd 50, embroderyed 89, harneyed 114, entuned 123, penyed 139, rosted 147, ypinched 151, gawded 159, crowned 161, purfylked 193, farsed 233, accorded 244, enyned 342, chaunged 348, passed 464, encombered 508, spyced 526, ypunish'd 657, trussed 681, fyned 705, assembled 717, served 749, graunten 810, pray'den 811, reuled 816, studeith 841.—flouting' 91, harping' 266, offring' 450, 489, assoyling 661, —cry' 636, rost', broyl', frye 383, roers' 732, fyeune 736. Again we have an English adjective or adverbial termination affixed to French words, as: specially 15, fetisly 124, 273, certainly 235, solemnly 274, staatly 281, estaatlich 140, verrayly 338, really

town's Orygynal Cronykil of Scotland, circa 1419-30, in reference to Malcolm Ceanmór,

Malcolm kyng, be lawchful get,
Had on his wyf Saynt Margret.
Where, however, Margret might rather have been trisyllabic.

1 Travels of an Irish gentleman in search of a religion, by Thomas Moore, chap. i.

2 See the whole noteworthy passage from Trenis's translation of Higden, printed from the Cott. MS. Tiberius D. VII., by Mr. R. Morris, in his Specimens of Early English, 1867, p. 339.
= royally 378, devoutly 482, scarily 583, privelly 609, subtilly 610, privelly 652, playnly 727, properly 729, rudely 734.—dett'lees 582.—In esy 441, pomenly 616, we have rather the change of the French -e into -y, which subsequently became general, but the esse remains in: esely 469. In: daggeer 113, 392, we have a substantive with an English termination to a French root. Footmantel 472, is compounded of an English and French word. In: daliawunce 211, loodmannage 403, deyerye 577, French terminations only are assumed. A language must have long been in familiar use to admit of such treatment as this. What then more likely than the introduction of complete words, which did not require to have their terminations changed? The modern cookery book and fashion magazines are full of French words introduced bodily for a similar reason. Of course the subject matter and the audience greatly influence the choice of words, and we find Chaucer sensibly changing his manner with his matter—see the quantity of unmixed English in the characters of the Yeman, the Ploughman, and the Miller. To make this admixture of French and English evident to the eye, all words or parts of words which may be fairly attributed to French influence, including proper names, have been italicised, but some older Latin words of ecclesiastical origin and older Norman words have not been marked and purely Latin words have been put in small capitals. The result could then be subjected to a numerical test, and comes out as follows:

| Lines containing no French word | 325 | 37-9
| --- | --- | ---
| only one | 343 | 40-0
| two French words | 157 | 18-2
| three | 87 | 3-4
| four | 12 | 0-4
| five | 1 | 0-1

Lines in the Prologue 858 100-0

If the total number of French words in the prologue be reckoned from the above data, they will be found to be 761, or not quite one word in a line on an average. The overpoweringly English character of the work could not be more clearly demonstrated.

Chaucer's language may then be described as a degraded Anglo-Saxon, into which French words had been interwoven, without interfering with such grammatical forms as had been left, to the extent of about 20 per cent., and containing occasionally complete French phrases, of which, however, none occur in the prologue. To understand the formation of such a dead dialect, we have only to watch the formation of a similarly-constructed living dialect. Such a one really exists, although it must rapidly die out, as there are not only not the same causes at work which made the language of Chaucer develop into the language of England, but there are other and directly contrary influences which must rapidly lead to the extinction of its modern analogue.

1 These are very few in number, see 5, 162, 254, 336, 429, 430, 646, 662.  
2 The line is: The reul' of Saynt Mewr' or of Saynt Beneyt. 173, in which the French words were indispensable.
PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN: THE ANALOGUE OF CHAUCER'S ENGLISH.

Fully one half of the people of Pennsylvania and Ohio in the United States of America understand the dialect known as Pennsylvania German. This neighbourhoood was the seat of a great German immigration from the Palatinate of the Rhine and Switzerland. Here they kept up their language, and established schools, which are now almost entirely extinct. Surrounded by English of the 17th century they naturally grafted some of its words on their own, either as distinct phrases, or as the roots of inflections; and, perhaps, in more recent times, when fully nine-tenths of the present generation are educated in English, the amount of introduced English has increased. The result is a living dialect which may be described as a degraded High German, into which English

1 See supra, p. 47, lines 5 to 15.
2 Some of these particulars have been taken from the preface to Mr. E. H. Rauch's Pennsylvania Deitsch. De Breese fum Pit Schweffelbrenner un de Bevvy, si Fraw, fun Schliffletown on der Drucker fum "Father Abraham," Lancaster, Pa., 1868, and others from information kindly furnished me by Rev. Dr. Mombert, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, U.S., in April, 1869.
3 This does not mean that it is a degraded form of the present literary high German, but merely of the high German group of Germanic dialects. On 19 Aug. 1869, the 14th meeting of the German Press Union, of Pennsylvania, U.S., was held at Bethlehem, when an interesting discussion took place on Pennsylvania German, or das Deutsch-Pennsylvanische, as it is termed in the Reading Adler of 31 Aug. 1869, a German newspaper published at Reading, Berks County, Pa., U.S., from which the following account is translated and condensed. Prof. Notz, of Allentown, who is preparing a Pennsylvania German grammar, drew attention to the recent German publications on Frankish, Upper-Bavarian, Palatine, Swabian, and Swiss dialects, and asserted that the Penn. Germ. had an equally tough existence (zähnes Leben) and deserved as much study. Mr. Dan E. Schröder declared that the Germans of Pennsylvania could only be taught literary high German, in which their divine service had always been conducted, by means of their own dialect. Dr. G. Kellner justified dialects. He considered that linguists, including J. Grimm, had not sufficiently comprehended the importance of dialects. Speech was as natural to man as walking, eating, and drinking, and the original language of a people was dialectic, not literary, which last only finally prevailed, to use Max Müller's expression as the high language, (Hochsprache). The roots of a literary language were planted in its dialects, whence it drew its strength and wealth, and which it in turn modified, polished and ennobled. Was Penn. Germ. such a dialect? Many English speakers, who knew nothing of German dialects, might deny it, and so might even many educated north Germans, who were unacquainted with the south German dialects, and regarded all the genuine southern forms of Penn. Germ. as a corrupted high German or as idioms borrowed from the English. They would therefore style it a jargon, not a dialect. Certainly, the incorporation of English words and phrases had given it some such appearance, but on removing these foreign elements it remained as good a dialect as the Alsatian after being stripped of its Gallicisms, in which dialect beautiful poems and tales had been written, taking an honourable position in German literature, Penn. Germ., apart from its English additions, was a south German dialect, composed of Frankish, Swabian, Palatine, and Alsatian, which was interlarded with more or less English, according to the counties in which the settlements had occurred; in some places English was entirely absent. All that marked a dialect in Germany was present in Penn. Germ., and since new immigration was perpetually introducing fresh high German, the task would be to purify the old dialect of its English jargon, and use the result for the benefit of the people
words have been interwoven, without interfering with such grammatical forms as had been left, and containing occasionally complete English phrases. On referring to the first sentence of the last paragraph, the exact analogy of Pennsylvania Dutch to Chaucer's English will be at once apprehended. The dialect is said to possess a somewhat copious literature, and it is certainly an interesting study, which well deserves to be philologically conducted. For the present work it has an additional special value, as it continually exhibits varieties of sound as compared with the received high German, which are identical with those which we have been led to suppose actually took place in the development of received English, as \( (oo, ee, AA) \) for \( (aa, ai, au) \).

The orthographical systems pursued in writing it have been two, and might obviously have been three or more. The first and most natural was to adopt such a German orthography as is usually employed for the representation of German dialects, and to spell the introduced English words chiefly after a German fashion. This is the plan pursued, but not quite consistently, in the following extract, for which I am indebted to Dr. Mombert. The English constituents are italicised as the French are in the following edition of the prologue. A few words are explained in brackets \([\cdot]\), but any one familiar with German will understand the original, which seems to have been written by an educated German familiar with good English.

of Pennsylvania. The Penn. Germ. press was the champion of this movement, by which an entire German family would be more and more imbued with modern German culture. As a striking proof of the identity of Palatine with Pennsylvania German, he referred to Nadler's poems called *Fröhlich Pfalz, Gott erhall's*, which, written in the Palatine dialect, were, when read out to the meeting by Dr. Leisenring, a born Penn. German, as readily intelligible to the audience as if they had been written in Penn. German. Prof. Notz also observed that in Germany the people still spoke among one another in dialects, and only exceptionally in high German when they spoke with those who had received a superior education — and that even the latter were wont to speak with the people in their own dialect. This was corroborated by Messrs. Rosenthal, Hesse, and others. On the motion of Prof. Notz, it was resolved to prosecute an inquiry into the Germanic forms of expression in use in Pennsylvania, and to report thereon, in order to obtain materials for a complete characterisation of the dialect.

1 Prof. S. S. Haldeman, of Columbia, Pennsylvania, to whom I have been under great phonetic obligations, and who has been familiar with the dialect from childhood, has promised to furnish the Philological Society with some systematic account of this peculiar hybrid language, the living representation not only of the marriage of English with Norman, but of the breaking up of Latin into the Romance dialects. The Rev. Dr. Mombert, formerly of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, but now of Dresden, Saxony, who has long been engaged in collecting specimens, has also promised to furnish some additions. The preceding note shows the interest which it is now exciting in its native country. In this place it is only used as a passing illustration, but through the kindness of these competent guides, I am enabled to give the reader a trustworthy account so far as it goes.

2 Thus *ây* is used for *ee* in *keyn* = (kein), or rather *kein* according to Dr. Mombert, and *ee* for *th* (ii) in *Teev*, which are accommodations to English habits. Cowskin retains its English form. A more strictly German orthography is followed in *L. A. Wolkenwärter's Gemälde aus dem Pennsylvanischen Volksleben, Philadelphia und Leipzig*, 1889, p. 76.
Ein Gespräch.

1. Ah, Davée, was hot Dich gestern Owen [Abend] so vertollt schmärt aus Squever Essebeises kumme mache? War ebbes [etwas] letz 1? 2
2. Nix apartiges! ich hab justh a bissel mit der Pally gespärckt [played the spark], als Dir ganz unvermuth der alte Mann derzu kummt, ummer [und mir] zu vershte' gibt, er dat des net gleiche. 2
1. Awer [aber] wie hot er's dir zu vershteh' gegewe' (gegeben)? Grob oder höfflich?
2. Ach net [nicht], er hat kēyn [kein] wort geschwätz t.
1. Well, wie hot er's dann g'mocht?
2. Er hat justh de Teer

The second style of orthography is to treat the whole as English and spell the German as well as the English words, after English analogies. This apparently hopeless task, 3 was undertaken by Mr. Rauch, who in his weekly newspaper, Father Abraham, has weekly furnished a letter from an imaginary Pit i.e. Peter Schwefflebrenner, without any interpretation, and in a spelling “peculiarly his own.” 4 Perhaps some of the popularity of these satirical letters is due, as

1 South German letz, letsch, lätsch, wrong, left-handed, as in high German links, for which Prof. Haldeiman refers to Stalder, and to Ziemann, Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterb. 217. See also Schmeller, Bayerisches Wörterb. 2, 530, “(Miar is letz) mir ist nicht recht, d. h. übel.” Compare high German verletzen, to injure.

2 Dr. Mombert considers gleichen in this sense of “like, approve of,” to be the English word like Germanized. But Dr. Stratmann, on seeing the passage, considered the word might be from the old high German liechen, to please. This verb, however, was intransitive in all the Germanic dialects, and in old English (see ProI. 777 below: if you liketh, where you is of course dative). The present active use seems to be modern English, and I have therefore marked it accordingly.

3 An attempt of Chaucer’s scribes to write his language after Norman analogies, as Rapp supposes to have been the case, would have been precisely analogous. Fortunately this was not possible, suprà p. 588, n. 4, or we might have never been able to recover his pronunciation.

4 In the prospectus of his newspaper, Mr. Rauch says: “So weit das mer wissa, is der Pit Schwefflebrenner der eantsich mounn in der United States ders Pennsylvania Deitsch recht shreibt un bushtaweert exactly we's g'shwezt un ons g'shprocha wierd,” i.e., as far as we know, Pit Schwefflebrenner is the only man in the United States who writes and spells Pennsylvania German correctly, exactly as it is gossipped and pronounced.
some of the fun of Hans Breitmann’s Ballads\(^1\) certainly is, to the
drolliness of the orthography, which however furnishes endless diffi-
culties to one who has not a previous knowledge of the dialect.\(^2\)

The third orthography would be the usual high German and

\(^1\) Hans Breitmann’s “poems are writ-
ten in the droll broken English (not to be
confounded with the Pennsylvania
German) spoken by millions—mostly
uneducated—Germans in America, im-
migrants to a great extent from south-
ern Germany. Their English has not
yet become a distinct dialect; and it
would even be difficult to fix at present
the varieties in which it occurs”—
Preface to the 8th edition of Hans
Breitmann’s Party, with other Ballads,
by Charles G. Leland, London, 1869,
p. xiii. In fact Mr. Leland has played
with his dialect, and in its unfixed con-
tition has made the greatest possible
fun out of the confusion of \(\pi\) with \(b\), \(t\)
with \(d\), and \(g\) with \(k\), without stopping
to consider whether he was giving an
organically correct representation of
any one German’s pronunciation. He
has consequently often written combi-
nations which no German would na-
turally say, and which few could, even
after many trials, succeed in pronoun-
cing, and some which are scarcely
attackable by any organs of speech.
The book has, therefore, plenty of \(\text{vis comica}\), but no linguistic value.

\(^2\) The following inconsistencies
pointed out by Prof. S. S. Haldeman,
are worth notice, because similar ab-
surdities constantly occur in attempts
to reduce our English dialects, or
barbaric utterances, to English analo-
gies, by persons who have not fixed
upon any phonetic orthography, such
as the Glossotype of Chap. VI., § 3,
and imagine that the kaleidoscopic
character of our own orthography is not
a mere “shewing the eyes and
grieving the heart.” Prof. H. says:
“The orthography is bad and incon-
sistent, sometimes English and some-
times German, so that it requires some
knowledge of the dialect, and of English
spelling to be able to read it.

“The vowel of \(\text{they occurs in ferstay}
mech, may, thus, bes and base (=boze,
angry), heest (=heiss, called) ewich,
duet, gea—ea being mostly used (as in
heans, iswea); but gedreet (also dreet)
rhymes its English form treat, and
drejet, (=drecht, turns) with fate.

“\(\text{The German a is as in what and}
fall, but the former falls into the vowel
of hut, but. Fall is represented by \(\text{ah}
\) in betzahla, and \(\text{aa}\) in paar, but usually
by \(\text{aw}\) (\(\text{au}\) in same) as in \(\text{aw}\) (auch,
also) \(\text{g'saunt}\) (said, gesagt). 
Hawa =
haben, should have been hav-wa. The
vowel of what is represented by \(\text{a}\) or
\(\text{o}\), as in \(\text{was}, \text{war}, \text{hab}, \text{kann}, \text{dann},
norra, gonga.

“\(\text{O of no occurs in bohna, so amoill,
=einmal, coaxa (=to coax!) doch,
hoar (=haar hair), woch, froke.

When \(\text{German a has become Eng-
lish u of but, it is written u, as in hut
(=} \text{hat}, has), and a final, as in maacha,}
denka = denken, [which = (\(\text{an}\)), an = ein.

“The vowel of field occurs in wie,
skipela, de, shees, kreya = (kriight), \(y\)
is used throughout for (\(\text{g}\)) of regen.
The y of my occurs in sei, si, my and
mei, bei, dyfel, subscriba.

“\(\text{W, when not used as a vowel, has}
its true German power (bh), as in
tswea = zweii, haec = haben, weasht =
weisst, wenich and wecanich ! = venig,
awer = aber, and some other examples
of b have this sound.

“Das is for dass that, and des is
used for the neuter article das. The
s is hissing (s). The r is trilled (\(\text{r}\)) as
in German. \(\text{P b, t d, k g, are con-
fused. The lost final n is commonly}
recalled by a nasalis vowel.

“\(\text{Oo in fool, full, appears in un,}
when used for \(\text{und}, \text{uf for auf, wu =}
\text{voo where, Zeitüng pure German, shoola}
= schools, trivel = trouble.

“\(\text{English words mostly remain Eng-
lish in pronunciation, as in: meeting-
house, town, frolic, for instance, horse-
race, game poker shpeela, bensa pitcha}
=pitch pence, uf course; but many
words are modified when they cross a
German characteristic, thus greenbacks,
the national currency, is rather (kriin-
peks).

“The vowel of \(\text{et occurs in Bärriks = Berks county, lodwärrick}
lodwärrick = latweerge elecutinary, kär-
rich = kirche, wert = werth, här = her.
-\(\text{e}\) is only an English orthography for
ei or ’t, sh is English.”
English orthographies for the words used, which would of course convey no information respecting the real state of the dialect. The only proper orthography, the only one from which such information can be derived, is of course phonetic. The kindness of Prof. Haldemann has enabled me to supply this great desideratum. The passage selected is really a puff of a jeweller's shop in Lancaster, Pa., and was chosen because it is short, complete, characteristic, varied, and, being not political, generally intelligible. It is given first in Mr. Rauch's peculiar Anglo-German spelling, and then in Prof. Haldemann's phonetic transcript, afterwards by way of explaining the words, the passage is written out in ordinary High German and English, the English words being italicised, and finally a verbal English translation is furnished. On pp. 661-3 is added a series of notes on the peculiarities of the original, referred to in the first text. The reader will thus be able to form a good idea of the dialect, and those who are acquainted with German and English will thoroughly appreciate the formation of Chaucer's language.

1 Professor Haldeman not having spoken the dialect naturally for many years, after completing his phonetic transcript, saw Mr. Rauch the author, and ascertained that their pronunciations practically agreed. The phonetic transcript, here furnished, may therefore be relied on. Prof. Haldeman being an accomplished phonetician, and acquainted with my palaeotype, wrote the pronunciation himself in the letters here used. Of course for publication in a newspaper, my palaeotype would not answer, but my glosstype would enable the author to give his Pennsylvania German in an English form and much more intelligibly. Thus the last paragraph in the example, p. 661, would run as follows in glosstype, adopting Prof. Haldeman's pronunciation: "Auwer iy kon der net ollia's saughia. Varr [vehr] mai'ner vissa vil, oonn va'r [vehrr] farrsrait Krishrinkh sokh vil—dee faaynsti oonn beshti bressents, mauhn selver dorr ons Tsouns guïk, oonn siyh selvrr sootä. Noh moehr et pres'nt. Peet Schveff'lbrenner." But the proper orthography would be a glosstype upon a German instead of an English basis. The following scheme would most probably answer all purposes. The meaning of the symbols is explained by German examples, unless otherwise marked, and in palaeotype.

**LONG VOWELS:** ie lieb (ii), ee beet (ee), ae sprîche (ee, waa), aa Æel (aa), ao Eng. awel (AA), oo Boot (oo), uh Pfuhl (uu), uu Ubel (yy), oe Oel (œœ).

**SHORT VOWELS:** i Sinn (i, ł), e Bett (e, x), ä Eng. bet (x, wä), a all (a), ä Eng. what (a, o), o Motte (œ o), u Freiend (u, w), u Fülle (y), û Böcke (oe), ô eine (œ), Eng. but (y, a), (ř) sign of nasality.

**DIPHTHONGS:** ai Hein (ai), oi Eng. joy, Hamburgh Eule (ai), aü theoretical Eule (ay), au kaun (au).

**CONSONANTS:** j ja (j), w wie (bh), Eng. w (w) must be indicated by a change of type, roman to italic, or conversely, h heu (h), p b (p b), t d (t d), isch ësh (tsh dzh), k g (k g), kh (kh), f e (f v), th dh (th dh), ss Æiss (s), s wisse (z), sch sh (sh zh), ch gh (kh gh, ggh), r l m n (r l m n), ng nk (q qk). German readers would not require to make the distinction ss, ç, except between two vowels, as Wiese, Nüsse, Fussë. They would also not find it necessary to distinguish between e, ë final, or between er, ër, unaccented. For similar reasons the short vowel signs are allowed a double sense. This style of writing would suit most dialectic German, but if any additional vowels are required ih, eh, ah, oh, are available. The last sentence of the following example, omitting the distinction e, ë, would then run as follows: "Aower ich kon der net olles saoghe. Waer meener wisse wil, un waer ferst recît Krishctaoh sokh wil,—die fainsti un beshti bressents, moakh selwer dort ons Tsouns gecê, un sikh selwer suhtë. Noo moor et press'nt. Piet Schweff'lbrenner."
1. RAUCH's Orthography.

Pensylvanisch Deitsch.

Mr. Fodder Abraham² Printer —Deer Sir: Ich kon mer now net⁹ helft⁴—ich mus der yetz amohl⁵ shreiva⁶ we ich un de Bevvy⁷ ousgemocht hen doh fer-gonga⁸ we mer in der shtadt Lancaster wara.

Der hawpt⁹ platz wu¹⁰ mer onna¹¹ sin, war dort in selly Zahm's ivver ous sheana Watcha¹² un Jewelry establishment, grawd dort om eck¹³ fun was se de Nord Queen Strose¹⁴ heasa un Center Shquare—net weit fun wu das eier office is.

In all mein leawa hab ich ne net so feel tip-top sheany sacha g'sea, un sell¹⁵ is exactly was de Bevvy sawgt.¹⁶

We mer nei sin un amohl so a wennich rum gegukt hen, donn secht¹⁶ de Bevvy—loud gengunk¹⁷ das der monn's hut heara kenna —"Now Pit,"¹⁸ secht se, "weil

2. PROF. HALDEMAN'S Pronunciation.

Pensylvænæš Daitsch.

Mist'r Fad'r: Abrahaṃ prin'tr—Diir Sor: Ikkan m't nau net helf-ν—ikhn mus d'r jets emoöl: shriabhν bhii ikh un di Bebh'i aus'gemakht hen doo fr'gaqν bhii m't in d'rt shtat Leq'kesht'r bhaatν.

'Dr haapt platz bhuu m't arν sin, bhar dart in sel'i Tsaams ibh'ν aus shee'nυ bhatshν un tshu'vrι esteplishment, graad dart am ek fun bhas si di Nort Kfiin Shtroos hees'y un Sen'tr Shkbheer—not wait fun bhuu das ai'ν a'tis is.

In Al main leebhν hab ikh nii net so full tiptap shee'nυ sakhν kseeν un sel is eksak-li bhas di Pebh'i saakt.

Bhi m't nai sin un vmoool soo ν bhen'ikh rum gegukt hen, dan sekht di Bebh'i—laut genuqk: das d'r mans nôt heerν kenν —"Nau Pit," sekht si,

3. German and English Translation.

Pensylvanisches Deutsch.

Mr. Vater Abraham, Printer —Dear Sir: Ich kann mir now nicht helfen —ich muss dir jetzt einmal schreiben wie ich und die Barbara ausgemacht haben, da vergangen, wie wir in der Stadt Lancaster waren.

Der Haupt-Platz wo wir an sind, war dort in selbiges Zahms überaus schöne Watche und Jewelry Establishment, grade dort an-der Eck von was sie die Nord Queen Strasse heis sen un Centre Square—nicht weit von wo dass euer office ist.

In all meinem Leben habe ich nie nicht so viele tiptop schöne Sachen geschen, und selbiges ist exactly was die Barbara sagt.

Wie wir hinein sind und einmal so ein wenig herum geguckt haben, dann sagte die Barbara—laut genug dass der Mann es hat hören können—"Now,


Pennsylvania German.

Mr. Father Abraham, Printer—Dear Sir: I can myself now not help —I must to-thee now once write, how I and the Barbara managed [i.e. fared] have there past, as we in the town Lancaster were.

The chief-place where we arrived are, was there in same Zahm's over-out beautiful Watches and Jewelry Establishment, exactly there at corner of what they the North Queen Street call, and Centre Square—not far from where that your office is.

In all my life have I never not so many tiptop beautiful things seen, and same is exactly what the Barbara says.

As we hence-into are, and once so a little around looked have, then said the Barbara—loud enough that the man it has to-tear been-able—"Now, Peter,"
1. **Rauh's Orthography, continued.**

se der di watch g'shtola hen
dort in Nei Yorrick,19 musht an
cnie kawfa, un doh gooks das36
wann20 du dich suta21 kennsht."22

We se sell g'sawt hut, donn
hen awer amohl de kœrls23 dort
hinnich24 em counter uf gueckt.
Eaner hut si brill gedropt,25
un an onnerer is uf g'shtonna
un all hen mich orrig26 freind-
lisch aw27 gueckt.

Donn sogt eaner—so a wen-
nich an goot guckicher28 ding—
secht er, "Ich glawb doch now
das ich weas wær du bisht."
"Well," sog ich, "wær
denksht?" "Ei der Pit Schwef-
flebrenner." "Exactly so," hab
ich g'sawt. "Un des doh is
de Bevvy, di alty," secht er.
"Aw so," hab ich g'sawt.

Donn hut er mer de hond
gevva, un der Bevvy aw,
un hut g'sawt er het shun feel fun
meina breesa g'leasa, un er wær
orrig froh mich amohl selwer

3. **Germ. & Eng. Translation, cont.**

Peter," sagte sie, "weil sie dir deine
Watch gestohlen haben dort in Neu
York, musst du eine neue kaufen, and
da guckt es [als] dass wann du dich
suten könnest."

Wie sie selbiges gesagt hat, dann
haben aber einmal die Kœrls dort hin-
terig dem counter aufgeguckt. Einer
hat seine Brille gedropt, und ein an-
derer ist aufgestanden und alle haben
mich arg freundlich angeguckt.

Dann sagt einer—so ein wenig ein
gutguckiges Ding—sagte er, "Ich
glaube doch now dass ich weiss wer du
bist." "Welt," sagte ich, "wer
denksht?" "Ei, der Peter Schwefel-
brenner." "Exactly so," habe ich
gesagt. "Und das da ist die Barbara,
deine Alte," sagte er. "Auch so,"
habe ich gesagt.

Dann hat er mir die Hand gegeben,
und der Barbara auch, und hat gesagt
er hätte schon viel von meinen Briefen
gleesen, und er wäre arg froh mich

2. **Haldeman's Pronunciation, cont.**

"bhal si dir dai, bhatch
kshtool-un hent dar in Nai Var'k,
musht un nai'v kaaf-un, un doo
guks das bhan du dihk suut-un
ekensht."

Bhi si sel ksaat nat, dan hen
AA'-b'r umool di kœrls dart hün-
ihk em kaunt'-ur uf geguk-
"Een'-t nat sa'i bril gedrap't,
un an a'wer is uf kshtan'-un un al
hen mikh ar'ikh fraiind-ihk AA-
eguk't."

Dan sagt e'en'-t—soo v bhen'-ihk
un guut guv'-ihk'-ur diq—soekt ur,
"Ich glaab doh nau das ihk
bhees bhaar du bisht." "Bheul,
sag ihk, 'bhaar deqksht?' "Ai
d'r Pit Shbheef-ihbren'-'r," "Ek-
sek-li soo," hab ihk ksaat. "Un
des doo is di Bebh'-i, dai al'ti,'
soekt a'er. "AA soo," hab ihk
ksaat."

Dan nat a'r m'r di hand
gebh'-uv, un d'r Pebh'-i AA, un nat
ksaat a'er met shun fiil fun main'-
бриф'а glee-su, un aër bheer
ar'ikh froo mikh umool sel'bhur

4. **Verbal Eng. Translation, cont.**

said she, "because they tho-thee thy
watch stolen have there in New York,
must thou a new (one) buy, and there
looks it [as] that if thou thee suit
mightest."

As she same said has, then have
again once the fellows there behind the
counter up-looked. One has his spec-
tacles dropped, and another is up-stood,
and all have me horrid friendlily on-
looked.

Then says one—so a little a good-
looking thing—said he, "I believe,
however, now that I know who thou
art." "Well," say I, "who thinkest
(thou that I am)?" "Eh, the Peter
Sulphurburner." "Exactly so," have
I said. "And that there is the
Barbara, thy old-woman," said he.
"Also so," have I said.

Then has he me the hand given, and
to-the Barbara also, and has said he
had already much of my letters read,
and he was horrid glad me once self to
1. Rauch's Orthography, cont.

Dort hen se aw was se Termomiteres heasa—so a ding dass cam31 weist we kalt s'wetter is, un sell dinkt mich kent mer brauchtra allesweil. Anyhow mer hen eans gekawft.

De watch is aw an first-raty. Ich war als31 uf32 der meanung das de Amerikanishe watcha werra drous in Deitschland g'macht, un awer sell is net wohr. Un de house-uhra; cheemany33 fires awer se hen about sheany! Uf course mer hen aw eany gekawft, for wann ich amohl Posht Meashder bin mus ich eany hawa for34 in de office ni du.

2. Haldeman's Pronunciation, cont.

Dort haben sie auch was sie Thermometers heissen—so ein Ding das einem weiset wie kalt das Wetter ist, und selbiges dünkt mich könnten wir brauchtra alleweile. Anyhow wir haben eines gekauft.

Die Watch ist auch eine first-rate-e. Ich war also auf [alles auf, also of ?] der Meinung dass die Amerikanischen Watches wären draussen in Deutschland gemacht, und aber selbiges ist nicht wahr. Und die Hausuhren; Gemini fires! aber sie haben about schöne! Of course wir haben auch eine gekauft, for wann ich einmal Post Master bin, muss ich eine haben for in de office hinein [zu] thun.


Ware hitch bin, don't have a watch. Their watchs are first-rate—so in the hundred and fifty Thaler. Nachdem dass wir sie einmal recht beguert haben, ist die Barbara zu der conclusion gekommen eine Amerikanische watch zu kaufen.

Dort haben sie auch was sie Thermometers heissen—so ein Ding das einem weiset wie kalt das Wetter ist, und selbiges dünkt mich könnten wir brauchtra alleweile. Anyhow wir haben eines gekauft.

Die Watch is also a first-rate one. I was always on [all up = entirely of, always of ?] the opinion that the American watches were there-out in Germany made, and but same is not true. And the houseclocks; Gemini Fires! but they have about beautiful (ones)! Of course we have also one bought, for when I once Post Master am, must I one have, for into the office hence-in (to) do.


see. Then are we again once on business.

Watches have they there, first-rate (ones) for sixteen up-to four hundred (and) fifty dollars. After that wie them once rightly besee have, is the Barbara to the conclusion come, an American watch to buy.

There have they also what they Thermometers call—so a thing that to-him shows how cold the weather is, and same thinks me might we use presently. Anyhow we have one bought.

The watch is also a first-rate (one). I was always on [all up = entirely of, always of ?] the opinion that the American watches were there-out in Germany made, and but same is not true. And the houseclocks; Gemini Fires! but they have about beautiful (ones)! Of course we have also one bought, for when I once Post Master am, must I one have, for into the office hence-in (to) do.
1. Rauch's Orthography, continued.

Se hen aw an grosser shtock
fun Silverny Leifla, Brilla, un
ich weas net was olles. De
Bevvy hut gedu das weil ich
yetz boll amohl35 an United
Shtates Government Officer si
war, set ich mer aw an Brill
kawfa, un ich hab aw eany
krickt das ich now net gevwa
deat fer duppfelt's geld das se
gekosht hut, for ich kon yetz
noch amohl so goot seana un
leasa das36 tsufore.

Un we ich amohl dorrich my
neie Brill geguckt hab, donn
hab ich aersht all de feiny sacha
recht beguckt, un an examination
gemacht fun Breast Pins,
Rings, Watch-ketta,37 Shtuds,
Messera un Govvella, etc.

Eans fun sella Breastpins hut
der Bevvy about goot aw-g'-
shtonna, awer er hut mer doch a
wennich tsu feel g'fuddert der-
fore—25 dahler, un donn hab


Sie haben auch einen grossen stock
von silbernen Löfflen, Brillen, und ich
weiss nicht was alles. Die Barbara
hat gethan dass weil ich jetzt bald
einmal ein United States Government
Officer sein werde, sollte ich mir auch
eine Brille kaufen, und ich habe auch
eine gekriegt, dass ich now nicht geben
thaite für doppelt-das Geld das sie
gekostet hat, for ich kann jetzt noch
einmal so gut sehen und lesen [als]
dass zuvor.

Und wie ich einmal durch meine
neue Brille geguckt habe, dann habe
ich erst alle die feinen Sachen recht
beguckt un an examination gemacht
von Breastpins, Rings, Watch-ketten,
Studs, Messer un Gabeln, etc.

Eins von selbigen Breastpins hat der
Barbara about gut angestanden, aber er
hat mir doch ein wenig zu viel gefodert
dafür—fünf und zwanzig Thaler—and

2. Haldeman's Pronunciation, cont.

Sii hen aa un groos' sb shtak
fun Sil'bherni Lef'-la, Bril'-w un
ikh bhees net bhas al'-us. Di
Pebh'-ri not geduu'- das bhail ikh
jets baal umool un Junai'-tät
Shtects Gof'-ment Ofi'-ser sai
bhaeser, set ikh m't aa un Bril
kaa'-fe, un ikh hap aa eem'-ni krikt,
has ikh nau net gebh'-ve deet f'r
dupulits geld das sii gekosht-
net, f'r ikh kan jets nokh umool-
soo gwent see'nve un lee'se das
tsufore.

Un bhii ikh umool; dar-ikh
mai, nai'-i Bril gugukt hap,
dan hap ikh aersht al dei fein'-
sakh'-ve rechkt begukt, un un
eksëmensh'n gomakht fun
Bresht'pins, Riqs, Bhatsh'-ket'e,
Shtats, Mess'eve un Gabh'-le,
etset'ure.

Eens fun sel'a Bresht'pins not
d'r Bebh'-'i aboat' guut aa;
-gsh't'aa'n'v, aa'b'ht' er not mit
mokh a bhenikh tsu fiil gford'rt
d'foor — five un tsbhan'sikh


They have also a great stock of silver
spoons, spectacles, and I know not
what all. The Barbara has done [es-
timated] that because I now soon once
a United States Government Officer be
shall, should I me also a pair-of-spec-
tacles buy, and I have also one got,
that I now not give would-do for
double the money that it cost has, for
I can now still once so good see and
read [as] that before.

And as I once through my new
spectacles looked have, then have I
first all the fine things right be-seen,
and an examination made of Breast-
pins, Rings, Watchchains, Studs, knives
and forks, etc.

One of the same Breastpins has the
Barbara about good on-stood [suited],
but he has me, however, a little too
much asked therefore—five-and-twenty
1. Rauch's Orthography, continued.

ich mer tsulëtsh' eany rous ge- 
pickt fer drie fiërtle dahler, fer 
selly sogt de Bevvy, is anyhow 
ahead fun enniicher²⁸ onnery in 
Schliffletown.

Awer ich konn der net alles 
sawya. War meaner²⁹ wissa 
will, un wart first raty krishdog 
sach will — de feinsty un beshty 
presents, mog selwer dort ons 
Zahms gea un sich selwer suta. 
No more at present.

Pit Schwefflebrenner.


dann habe ich mir zuletzt eine heraus 
gepfcntl fur drie Viertel Thaler, for 
selbiges sagt die Barbara is anyhow 
ahead von einiger anderen in Schliffel-
town.

Aber ich kann dir nicht alles sagen. 
Wer mehr wissen will, und wer first-
rate -e Christag Sachen will — die 
feinsten und besten presents, mag selber 
dort an's Zahms gehen und sich selber 
suiten. No more at present.

Peter Schweffelbrenner.

2. Haldeman's Pronunciation, cont.

\[\text{taa}'l'r, un dan hab i'ch mir }\]
tsulëtsh' ee'n's raus gepfcntl \[\text{f'r }\]
traf fæ'r't'll taa'lur, \[\text{f'r sel'z sakt }\]
di Bebh'-i is en'fau whet' fun \[\text{en'ikher an'vri in Shliff'taun. }\]

\[\text{AA'bb'}r i'ch kan d'r net al'vs }\]
saa'ghu. Bhaer meen'r bhis'w 
bhil, un bhaer first reet'i Krish'-
taakh sakh bhil — dii fain'sht' 
un besht'i bres'ents, maakh sel'-
bb'z dart ans Tsams gee'w un 
sikh sel'bh'z suu'tu. Noo moor 
et bres'nt.

Piit Shbhef'l'bren'z'r.

dollars — and then have I for-me 
at-last one out picked for three-quarters 
(of a) dollar, for same says the Barbara 
is anyhow ahead of any other in 
Schliffletown.

But I can thee not all say. Who 
more know will, and who first-rate 
Christmas things will — the finest and 
best presents, may himself there to-the 
Zahm's (house) go, and him self suit. 
No more at present.

Peter Schweffelbrenner.

Notes on the above Text.

¹ Mister is used as well as the 
German form (mëesch't'r). — S. S. 
Haldeman.

² Father Abraham means the late 
president Abraham Lincoln, assumed 
as the title of Rauch's newspaper.

³ The guttural omitted, as frequently 
inicht, nichts.

⁴ The infinitive -e for -en, as fre-
quently in Chaucer, and commonly 
now on the Rhine.

⁵ Einmal, a common expletive, in 
which the first syllable, even among 
more educated German speakers sinks 
into an ind-stinct (u). Observe the 
transition of (a) into (oo).

⁶ The common change of (b) into 
(bb).

⁷ Bevvy, or Peevy, is a short form 
of Barbara, a rather common name in 
the dialect. Both forms are used in the 
following specimen.—S.S.11. German 
Babbe, Babichen, compare the English 
Bab, Babby.

⁸ Doh here, feronga recently, an 
adverb, not for vergangene Woche.—— 
S. S. H.

⁹ Observe the frequent change of 
the German au, indisputably (au, au) 
into English (aa), precisely as we find 
to have occurred in English of the 
xvii th century.

¹⁰ The not unfrequent changes of o 
long into (uu) are comparable to 
similar English changes xv th century.

¹¹ Onna, the preposition an used as a 
verb, as in the English expression, 
"he ups and runs." I take this view 
because sind is an auxiliary and a 
present tense form, but the adverbial 
tendency of onna (as if thither) must 
nevertheless not be overlooked. A 
German will sometimes use in English 
an expression like "ouen the candle!" 
rarely heard in English—S S H.

¹² Observe here a German plural 
termination e affixed to an English 
word.
15 Eccke being feminine, the correct form is an der Eccke, although -eck in composition is neuter, as dreieck, vier-eck.—S.S.H. In Schmeller's Bayr. Wört. 1, 25, “das Eck, eigentlich Egg” is recognized as south German. In the following word fun for von, short o becomes (u) or (u).

14 This change of German a to o is common, as in (shoofin) for schlafen, (shoof) for schaf, etc.—S.S.H. See note 8, and compare this with the change of a's, (aa) into South English (oo, oo), while (aa) remained in the North.

13 Ecke being feminine, the correct form is an der Eccke, although -eck in composition is neuter, as dreieck, vier-eck.—S.S.H. In Schmeller's Bayr. Wört. 1, 25, “das Eck, eigentlich Egg” is recognized as south German. In the following word fun for von, short o becomes (u) or (u).

This frequent and difficult word has been translated selbiges throughout, as the nearest high German word, and selby, 9 lines above it, may, in fact, indicate this form. Compare Schmeller's Bayr. Wört. 3, 232, “Selb [declinabel] in Schwaben öfter nach erster Decl.-Art (sel'er, e, es), in A. B. lieber nach zweiter [der, die, das (s'l', den s'in, di s'in, etc.] gebraucht, statt des hochd. jener, e, es, welches un-volksilich ist. [Für der, die, das selbe im hochd. Sinn. d.h. idem, eadem, idem, braucht die Mundart der die, das nennliche.] (s'l' as mal, des s'l mal, s'tmalz) jenes Mol, (s'te tsait) zu jener zeit, (s'tat-halb'm) oder (-bhegq) desjenigen] wegen.”

18 Sauget =sagt, says, secht = sägt, instead of sagt, said, with the Umlaut. —S. S. H. The weak verb has therefore a strong inflection. This distinction is preserved throughout. Compare the common vulgar (and older?) forms slep, swep, with the usual slept, swept, and see supr à p. 355, art. 54.

17 Gemunk, with educed k, is common in archaic and provincial German, and Rollemhagen rhymes jung, pronounced junck dialectically, with trunk. —S. S. H. See supr à p. 192, n. 1.

16 (Pit) or (Piit) may be used for this short form of Peter.—S.S.H. It is the English Pete, not a German form as the vowel shews.

Observe the German infinitive termination -e for -en, added to a purely English verb.

The development of s into (sh) is remarkable in high German. It is acknowledged as the proper pronunciation before t, p at the beginning of a syllable, throughout Germany, even North German actors not venturing to say (st-, sp-) even in Hamburg, as I am informed, the capital of that pronunciation. But in final -st, the common (-sh) is looked upon as a vulgarism, even in Saxony.

Kärs, may have an English s, but the form is often playfully used by good speakers in Germany, and hence may have been imported and not adopted.

Hinnich for hinter has developed a final -ig, but this is a German addition.

Gedropt, the German participial form for dropped. So also elsewhere I find gepunished, which may be compared with Chaucer's ypunish'd, Proli. v. 557.

Orrig, very, Swiss arig (Stalder 1, 110), German arg, but not used in a bad sense.—S.S.H. The word arg implies cunning and annoyance, but its use as an intensifier is comparable to our horrid, awfully, dreadfully, which are frequently used in a good sense, as: horrid beautiful, awfully nice, dreadfully crowded. Das ist zu arg! that is too bad. too much! is a common phrase even among educated Germans.

Auw for German an is nasalised, which distinguishes it from the same syllable when used for the German auch, also. —S. S. H. This recent evolution of a nasal sound in German, common also in Bavarian, may lead us to understand the comparatively recent nasal vowels in French, infra Chap. VIII. § 3.

18 'he gender is changed because it refers to a man; so in high German it is not unfrequent to find Fräulein, Madchen, although they have a neuter adjective, referred to by a feminine pronoun, as: "das Fräulein hat ihnen Handschuhe fallen lassen," the young lady [neuter] has dropped her [fem.] glove.

In an earlier line g'sea for geehen, but here we have a double infinitive, as if zu sehenen. This is also used for the third person plural of the present
tense, as in *sie gehen-a*, they go.—S.S.H. Compare also *ich hab dich, wohl gesähe*, in the *Gespräch*, p. 654. This seems comparable to what Prof. Child calls the protracted past participle in Chaucer, *suprā* p. 357, art. 61. It is impossible to read the present specimen attentively without being struck by the similarity between this Pennsylvania German and Chaucer’s English in the treatment of the final *-e, -en* of the older dialects. The form (sel-bher) in the preceding line preserves the *b* in the form (*bh*). Schmeller also allows *selber* to preserve the *b* as (*s*’*l*-ba), see n. 15. 30 Das eam weist, that shews him, that shews to one or a person.—S. S. H. Eam=einem, not *ihn*.

31 This *als* is Swiss, which Stalden defines by *chedem hitherto and immer always, compare ags. *cad-ence* altogether and *cad-wig always*—S.S.H. See also Schmeller Bayr.-*Wört.* 1, 50. Dr. Mombert takes *als* to be an obsolete high German contraction of *alles* in the sense of ever, mostly, usually.

32 Prof. Haldeman takes *uf* for *auf,* but *der Meinung,* and not *auf der Meinung,* is the German phrase, and hence the word may be English, as afterwards, *uf* course. But this is hazardous, as *uf* in this sense could hardly be joined with a German dative *der Meinung.* Can *als uf* be a dialectic expression for *alles auf,* literally all up, that is, entirely? Compare, Schmeller, Bayr. *Wört.* 1, 31, "auf und auf, von unten (ganz, ohne Unterbrechung) bis oben, auf und nider vom Kopf bis zum Fuss, ganz und gar."

33 Cheemany is the English exclamation *Oh jeemaney.*—S.S.H. The English is apparently a corruption of: Oh Jesus mihi, and has nothing to do with the *Gemini.* But what is the last part of this exclamation: *fires?* Prof. Haldeman, suggests, *hell fires!* Dr. Mombert derives from the shout of: *fire!* Can the near resemblance in sound between *cheemany* and chimney, have suggested the following *fires?* Such things happen.

34 For *in de office ni du seems to stand for um in die office hinein zu thun.* The use of *for for um* is a mere Anglicism, but why is *zu* omitted before *thun?* By a misprint, or dialectically for euphony? It is required both by the German and English idiom. Dr. Mombert considers the omission of *zu* dialectic in this place, elsewhere we find *zu* do.

35 *Boll amohl,* bald einmal, pretty soon, shortly. This use of *einmal* once, appears in the English of Germans, as in: “Bring now here the pen once.”—S.S.H.

36 *Das.* This is not the neuter nominative article *dais,* which is *des* in this dialect, but a contraction of *als dais,* with the most important part, *als,* omitted.—S.S.H. I am inclined to take it for *dass* used for *als,* as in the former phrase *dass wann* = *als ob,* see note 20. According to Schmeller, Bayr. *Wört.* 1, 400 *dass* schliesst sich als allgemeinste conjunction, in der Rede des Volkes, gern andern conjunctionen erklärend an, oder vertritt deren Stelle."

37 *Watch-ketta,* a half English, half German compound, is comparable to Chaucer’s *footmantel,* half English and half French, in Pro/. *infra,* v. 472, and *suprā* p. 651, l. 6.

38 This may be the English *any,* like the German *eineig,* treated like *einiger,* or it may be a legitimate development of this, as *eins* is *eens.* —S.S.H. The latter hypothesis seems the more probable, and then the English signification may have been attached to the German word from similarity of sound. Dr. Mombert thinks the word may be either *any* treated as a German word, or *sryuod einer corruped.* Observe the frequent use of *ee* for (ai) as *eens* for *eins.* The transitions of (au) into (aa), (ii) into (ee), (aa) into (oo), and occasionally (o) in (n), are all noteworthy in connection with similar changes in English.

F. W. Gesenius on the Language of Chaucer.

Two German scholars, Professors Gesenius and Rapp, have published special studies on the language and pronunciation of Chaucer, of which it is now necessary to give an account. The following is a condensed abstract of the treatise entitled: De Lingua Chauceri commentationem grammaticam scripsit Fridericus Guilelmus Gesenius, Bonnæ, 1847, 8vo. pp. 87. The writer (who must not be confounded with the late Prof. Wilhelm Gesenius, of Halle, the celebrated Hebraist,) used Tyrwhitt’s text of the Canterbury Tales, according to the 1843 reprint. In the present abstract Wright’s spelling and references to his ed. of Harl. MS. 7334 (which have all been verified) are substituted, and much relating to the peculiarities of Tyrwhitt’s text is omitted; inserted remarks are bracketed. Gesenius’s ags. orthography has been retained.

Part I. The Letters.

Chaucer seems to add or omit a final e at pleasure, both in ags. and fr. words, as was necessary to the metre; and he used fr. words either with the fr. accent on the last syllable or with the present English accent, for the same reason.

Chap. 1. Vowels derived from Anglo-Saxon.

Short vowels are followed by two consonants, or by either one or two in monosyllables, and long vowels have a single consonant followed by e final.

I. Ags. short a is preserved in: land 402, hand 401, bogan 5767, ran 4103, drank 6044, thanked 927; but fluctuates often between a and o, as: londes 14, hond 108, outsprong 13526. bygon 7142, nat 2247, drank 13970, i-thanked 7700 [in the three last cases, Tyrwhitt has o].

Short a answers to ags. ā, according to Grimm’s separation ā = goth. a, and æ = gothic ē, as: what, that pron., ags. hvat jät; atte. ags. at 29; glas 152, have ags. hābben, etc.

Short a also answers to ags. ā, as in: alle ags. ēall 10, scharhe ags. secárp 114, halle 372, barme 10945, starf 935, 4703, halpe [Tyrwhitt. hilp Wright] 5340, karf 9647, hals 4493.

Long a is either a preserved ags. a long, or a produced ags. a short, as: make ags. macjan 4763, name, fare 7016, ham, ags. hām 4030. That this last word was pronounced differently to the others, which probably even then inclined to ā (vowel), is shown by its interchange with home, whereas a always remains in make, name, etc.

Long a also arises from ags. ā short, as: smale ags. smil 9, bar 620; sadur 100, blake 2980, this last vowel is sometimes short as 629.

Long a like short a also arises from ags. ā, as: gaf. ags. gēaf 177, mary, ags. mēař 382, jape ags. gēap 4341, ale 3820, gate 1895, care, etc.

II. Chaucer’s e replaces several distinct ags. vowels.

Short e stands for ags. e short, in: ende 15, wende 16, bedde, selle 3819, etc.

for ags. i, y, in: cherish (Wr. chirche). ags. circe 4987; selle ags. syl, threshold, 3820, rhyming with selle, ags. sylle; schedel ags. scyld 2896, rhyming with heeld, ags. hēold, kesse ags. cyssan 8933; stenten, ags. stīntan 906; geven, ags. gifan, gyfan 917, etc. These forms are only found when wanted for the rhyme, and i is the more common vowel.

for ags. ēa, ed in: erme, ags. ēarma 513727; erthe, ags. ēard, ēorð 1898; ers, ags. ēars 7272; derne, ags. déarn 3200, 3297; berd 272; est, ags. ēast 1905.

for ags. əo in: sterres, ags. stōorra 270; cherles ags. ëoerl, ger. kerl, 7788; yerne ags. géorne, ger. gern, 6575; lerne, ags. lēornjan. 310; swerd 112, werk 481, derkst 4724; yelwe, ags. gēolu 677.

Long e stands for ags. short e in: ere, ags. erjan 888; queenn. ags. even 870, etc.

for ags. long e, more frequently, in: seke, ags. sēcan 13; kene 104, grene 103, swete 9, mete 1902, wepyng 2831, deme 1883.
for ags. ae long: heres, ags. haer 557; breede, 1972; lere, ags. laeran 6491; see 59, yeer 82, reed 3527, siepen 10, clene 369, speche 309, strete 3823, etc.

for ags. ëo as in: seke, ags. séóc 18, as well as: sike, ags. sioca 245, these diphthongs eo, io, had probably a similar pronunciation and are hence frequently confused, so höfon, höfon, and red, lióis; scheene, ags. scéóne, beautiful, 1070; leef 1839, theef 3937; tene, ags. téôna, grief, 3108; depe 129, chese 6480, tree 9337, tre 6341, prestes 164, prest 503, etc.

for ags. ëu and ei in: eek 5, gret 84, beteth 11078, neede 306, reede 1971, bene 9728, chepe 5850, deeg 448, stremes 1497, teeces 2829, cet 13925, mere 544.

Nothing certain can be concluded concerning the pronunciation of these e's, which arose from so many sources. They all rhyme, and may have been the same. In modern spelling the e is now doubled, or more frequently reverted to ea.

III. The vowel i has generally remained unchanged at all periods of the language. Mention has already been made of its interchange with e where the ags. y was the mate of u or ëo, io, thus: fist 6217, fest 14217, ags. fyst; mylle 4113, melle 3921, ags. myll; fel 5090, fille 10883, ags. ficf; devels 7276, devyl 3901 [divel Tyrwhitt, devul Heng, and Corp.], ags. diof. The i generally replaces ags. y, and e replaces ags. ëo. Long i similarly replaces long ags. y, as occasionally in ags. Short i, as seems to have been lengthened before id, nd, [no reasons are adduced,] as in: wylde 2311, chylde 2312, fynde 2415, bynde 2416. Undoubtedly this long i was then pronounced as now, namely as German ei (ai). [Tronunciation longe vocalis i sine dubio iam id acetas cadet fuit quam nunc, id est ei.] In the contracted forms fin, griint for findeth, grindeth, there was therefore a change of vowel, fin having the German short i, and findeth German ei. [No reasons adduced.]

IV. Short o stands

for ags. short o in: wolde 651, god 1265.

for ags. short u: somer ags. sumer 396; wonne ags. wunnen 51; nonne 118, sonne 7, domb 776, dong 532, sondry, ags. sunder, 14, 25. Nearly all these words are now written with u, and preserve Chaucer's pronunciation, for summer is written, but sommer spoken [i.e. Gesenius did not distinguish the sounds (a, o).]

for ags. short ë, as already observed, and o is generally preferred before nd, and remains in Scotch and some northern dialects.

Long o stands

for ags. long o in: bookes, ags. bóc, 1200; stooden 8981, stood 5435, took 4430, foot 10219, some 5023, sothely 117, etc.

for ags. long a in: wo, ags. vå 8015, moo 111, owne, ags. ågen 338, homly 7425, on 31, goost 265, hoote 396, ooth 120, loth 488. In such words a is uncommon, the sole example noted being ham 4030. Both o's rhyme together and were therefore pronounced alike. At present the first is u and the second o.

for ags. short u in: sone 79; wone, ags. vanjan 337, groneth 7411.

V. Short u stands for ags. short u in: ful, ags. full 90, lust 192, but 142, cursyng 663, uppon 700, suster 873, shuld probably arose from some form sculde, not seawede, as we have no other instance of ags. ëo becoming short u. There is no long u in Chaucer.

VI. The vowel y is occasionally put for i.

VII. The diphthong ay or ai stands for ags. ëg in: day, ags. dag 19, weie 793, lay 20, mayde 69, sayde 70, faire 94, tayl 3876, nayles 2143, pleye 236, reyn 592, i-freyed, ags. frägnan 12561. These examples shew that ey was occasionally written for ay, and hence that ey, ay must have been pronounced alike.

VIII. The diphthong ey or ei arose from ags. ed as in: agein, ags. agean 8642, or from edy as: eyen, ags. ége 182, deye, ags. dégan 6502, [mort, is there such a word in ags.? it is not in Bosworth or Etimüller; Orrmin has dezenn, supra p. 284. There is a dégan tingere.] The change in these two last words may be conceived thus: first g is added to ei, then replaced by j (i) and finally vanishes, as eige, eige, eie or eye. From eah comes eigh, as eah, heah, neeth, sleeth, which give eigh, heigh, neygh, sleugh. This orthography is however rare, and highe, nigh, slige, or hi nie slye, without gh, which was probably not pronounced at that time, are more common. The
word eight explains the origin of night, might, etc., from ags. nēht, méht, which were probably first written neut, meld, and then dropped the i. [There is no historical ground for this supposition.]

IX. The diphthong ou, or ow at the end of words or before e, answers to ags. long u (as the German au to medieval German u), in: bonr, ags. bûr 15153, oure 34, schwores 1, toun, ags. tun 217; rouned, ags. rûn 7132, doun, ags. dûn 945; houz 252, oule 6663, bouk, ags. bûce. Germ. bauch, 2748, souked 8326, bronke, ags. brûcan, use, 10182, etc. In many of these words ow is now written.

Before ld and nd, ow stands sometimes for ags. short u. Before gh, ou arises from ags. long o, and answers to middle German wo, as: inough, ags. genog, mhg. genuoc 375; rought, ags. rôhte 8561, 3770, for which au is sometimes found, compare sake 4185, soele 4261.

Finally ou sometimes arises from ags. óón, as in: foure, ags. féower 210; trouthe, ags. tròovth, 46, etc.

X. The diphthong eu, ev, will be treated under e.

**Chap. 2. Consonants derived from Anglosaxon.

I. Liquids l, m, n, r.

L is usually single at the end of words, though often doubled, as it is medially between a short and any vowel, but between a long vowel and a consonant it remains single.

The metathesis of R which occurs euphonically in ags., is only found in: briddes 2951, 10925; thríd 2273, thretene 7841, thrithy 14437; thurgh 2619. But as these words have regained their primitive forms bird, third, through, we perceive that the metathesis was accidental. In other words the transposed ags. form disappears in Chaucer, thus: gothic birman, ags. ibræm, Chaucer renne 3888; frankic dressan, ags. þérsæn, Ch. threiesse 538, thrithesfoll 3482 ags. þrésvold, þérsævold; frank. préstan, ags. þerstæn, Ch. berst [Harleian and Lansdowne bresten Ellesmere and Hengwirth, and Corpus, bresten Cambridge.] 1982; goth. brinan, ags. birnan, Ch. brene 2333; modern run, [urn in Devonshire], thrash, but burn burst.

II. Labials b, p, f, v.

B is added euphonically to final m in lamb 4879, but not always, as lymes 4881, now limbs.

F is used for b in nempen 4927. F, which between two vowels was v in ags., is lost in heed 109, ags. heafod, he NSW. There seems to be a similar elision of f from ags. efennorf in enforce 2237 [enforst Ellesmere, Hengwrt, Corpus, enforst Cambridge, hensforth Petworth, onforpe Lansdowne], compare han for hoven 754, 1048, etc. F is generally final, as: wif 447, lyf 2259, gaf 1902, haf 2430, stryf 1836 knyf 3958, more rarely medial, [the instances cited have final f in Wright], where it is generally replaced by v, not found ags., as: wyve 1862, lyes 1720, geven 917, heven 2441, steven, ags. stéfen 10464; havens 409.

V is never used finally, but is replaced by w, followed sometimes by e, as: sawg 2019, draw 2549, now 2266, sowe 2021, lowe 2025, knew 2070, blew 10093, fewe 2107, newe 17291, trewe 17292. In the middle of a word aw, ow are replaced by aw, ou, but before v, w is retained, as: bowe 3909, showwe 3910.

W arises from ags. g, as in: lawe, ags. lagu 311; dawes, ags. dág, 11492, and as day is more common for the last, we also find lay for the first, 4796. Compare also fæwe ags. faegens 6802 rhyming with lawe, i-slawe 945, for fain, slain. W also replaces g in: sawe 1528, 6241, mawe 4906, wæves 1600, sørw 10736, morwe 2439, borwe 10910, herberw 4143, herbergh 767, 11347.

III. Linguals d, t, th, s.

The rule of doubling medial consonants is neglected if D stands for ags. S, as: thider 4664, whider 6968, gaderd, togeder, etc., in the preterits dide 3421, 7073, 8739, and had 556, 619, [Ellesmere and a few MSS. where it seems to have been an accommodation to the rhymes spade, blade.] Similarly i-written 161, i-write 5086, although the vowel was short in ags. [It is lengthened by Bullock in the xvi th century, p. 114, l. 7.] Perhaps litel has a long i in Chaucer's time, see 87, 5254.

S final is often single, as: blis 4842, glas 152, amys 17210.)

The termination es in some adverbs is now ce, as: oones 3470, twyes 4346, thries 63, hennes heus 10972, 14102, henen 4031 [in Tywhitt, heÿthen Ellesmere, heithen Corpus, no corresponding word in Harleian], hene
2358; thennes 5463, 4930, thenne 6723; whennes 12175.

The aspirate TH had a double character þ in ags., and a double sound, which probably prevailed in Chaucer’s time, although scarcely recognized in writing. That th was used in both senses we see from: breath, ags. brasile 5; heeth, ags. haece 6; fetheres, ags. fecon 107; forth, ags. for 976; walketh 1056, etc.; that, ags. vaet 10—ther 43, thanked 927. The use of medial and final d for th are traces of §, as: maybe, ags. maegd 69; quod, ags. eva 909; wheder ags. hvadre 4714 [whether, Wright]; owde ags. cud 94; whether and couple are also found. Again, we also find [in some MSS.] the ags. d replaced by th, in: father 7937, gather 1055, wether, 10366, mother 5433, [in all these cases Wright’s edition has d]. But t on the other hand is never put for ags. þ.

The relation of th, s, is shown by their flexional interchange in -eth, -es.

The elision of th gives wher 7032, 10892.

IV. Gutturals, c, k, ch, g, h, j, q, x.

K is used before e, i, and e before a, o, u, hence kerver 1801, kerveth 17272, but: carf 100. Medial ags cc becomes ck or kk, as nekke, ags. hnecca 238; thkke, ags. pieca 551; lakketh 2282, lokes 679. Modern ck after a short vowel is sometimes k, as: seke 18, blake 2980.

Grimm lays down the rule that c fall into ch before e, i, except when these vowels are the mutates of a, o, u, in which cases k remains, (Gram. 13, 515.): chh has arisen from ags. cc in the same way as kk; as: wrecche, ags. vreecce 11332 fecche, ags. fiscan 6942; cacee Mel., streccche, recche, etc. Probably the pronunciation was as the present tch.

K was ejected from made, though the form makd remains 2526. In route 173, if it is not derived from the French, the g of ags. regul, regol, has been ejected.

G was probably always hard, and so may have been gg, in: brigg, ags. brycg 3920; eggyng ags. egg, 10009; hegge, ags. hegg 16704. From this certainly did not much differ that gg which both in Chaucer and afterwards passed into i, as: ligge, lye ags. leegan, 2207; legge, ags. leegan, 3935; abegge, abeye, ags. byegan 3936.

The g and y were often interchanged, as give yeve, forgote, forgeate, gate yate, ayen ajen, etc. The y replaced guttural g [due to editor] as in: yere, yonge, yerre, ey; and also in words and adjectives where y arises from iy, as: peny, very, mery, etc., and in the prefix y or i for ags. ge, as: ylike, ynough, wyis, ymade, ysalain, ywright, ysene, ysowe 5663. And g we have seen is also interchanged with w.

The hard sound of ags. h is evident from the change of nght, iehht, liht, viht, etc., into night, light, flight, weigh, etc.

Ags. se had always changed into sh, German sch. In some words ssh replaces sh as: freshe, ags. fréce 90, wessch 2285, wissch 4873, asshe 2885. There is also the metathesis cs or x for sc in axe.

Chap. 3. Vowel mutation, apocope, and junction of the negative particle.

I. There is no proper vowel mutation (umlaut), but both the non-mutate and mutate forms, and sometimes one or the other, are occasionally preserved, as: sote 1, swete 6; grove 1637, greves 1497, 1643 to rhyme with leves; welen 9090, ags. wolcen, Germ. wolke; the comparatives and superlatives, lenger, strenger, worst, and plurals, men, feel, gees.

II. Apocope; lite, fro, mo, tho than.

III. Negative junction; before a vowel: non=ne on, nother, neithir= ne other, ne either, nis=ne is, nam= ne am; before h or w: nad=ne had, 10212, nath=ne hath 925, nil=ne will 5822, nolde=ne wolde 552, nere =ne were 877, not=ne wot 286, nysten =ne wyster 10948.

Chap. 4. Vowels derived from the French.

French words with unaltered spelling were probably introduced by Chaucer himself, and the others had been previously received and changed by popular use.

I. The vowel a in unaccented syllables had probably even then approximated to e, and hence these two vowels are often confounded. Thus Chaucer’s a replaces fr. e, ai, and again Ch. e replaces fr. a, thus: vasselage [see vasselage, p. 642, col. 2, and vasscyllage, p. 645]; fr. vasselage 3056, vilanye [see villany, p. 642, col. 2, and couerty, p. 644, col. 1], fr. vilenie, vilainie,
728; companye, fr. campainchie 4554, chesteyn [chasteyn, chesteyn, in MSS.; see p. 642] fr. chastaigne 2924.

With the interchange of the ags. vowels a, o, we may compare the change of fr. a, au, the latter having probably a rough sound as of ao united, which took place before ne, ns, ng, nd, nt in both languages, but au was more frequent in Chaucer and a in French, as: grevance 11253, grevance 15999, and other ance and ant terminations, also: romauns, fr. romance 15305; enhausen, fr. enhanser 1436; straunge fr. estrange 10590, 10408, 10381; demandes, fr. demande 8224; launde fr. lande, uncultivated district, 1693, 1698; tyrant, fr. tirant 9863, tyrant 15589; grannet 6478, 6595; haunt fr. hante 449. With the exception of the last word all these have now a.

II. Long e frequently arises from French as, as in: plessance, fr. plaisance 2487; appese, fr. apaisier 8909; freese, fr. frailete; peere, fr. pare 15540. Sometimes it replaces ie, as: nece, fr. niez 14511; sege 939, siege 56; and the e is even short in: cherte, fr. chierté 11183. Similarly fr. i is omitted in the infinitive termination ier, compare arace, creance, darreine, auter, etc. in the list of obsolete fr. words.

Long e also replaces fr. au in: peple 2662 [the word is omitted in Harl., other MSS. have peple, poeple, puple], mebles [moebitis Harl.] 9188. To this we should refer: reproe 5598, ypreued [proved Harl., proved Hengwrt] 487.

III. The pronunciation of i fluctuated between i and e we see by the frequent interchange of these letters; the fr. shews e for lt. i, as: de vine 122, divlyn 15543, divide 15676, divided 15720 [Tyr. has devide in the first case], enformed 10649, fr. informer, enformer; defame 8416, dif fame 8606; surquidrie surquiedir, chirvachee chevachie, see obsolete fr. words below.

IV. Chaucer frequently writes o for fr. ou in accented syllables, as: coverches [most MSS., hoverches Harl.] fr. couvrecelh 455; corone, fr. couronne 2292; boeler, fr. boueler 4017; gouvernace, fr. gouvernance 10625; sower wyn, fr. souverain 67. More rarely Ch. u=fr. ou, as: turne [most MSS., tourne Harl.], fr. tourner 2456; courtesy, fr. courtoisie 15982.

V. Fr. o is often replaced by Ch. w, as: torment [torment Harl.], fr. tormente 5265; abundantly, fr. habondant 5290; purveans, fr. porveance, pourveance 1667; in assuage 11147, fr. assoager, assouager, the u had certainly the sound of w, compare assuage 16130.

For long u we occasionally find eu, which was certainly pronounced as in the present few, dew, thus: salewith [Harl. and the six MSS. read saluets] 1494, transmwed [translated Harl., transmewyd Univers. Cam. Dd. 4, 24] 826 mewe, fr. mue 351 [munu Ellesmere and Hengwrt MSS.] jeweise, fr. juise [juwyse Harl. and most MSS., iwees Petworth, iwyse Lansd.] 1741.

VI. The vowels y and i are interchanged in fr. as in ags. words.

VII. The fr. diphthongs ai, oi, usually appear as ei in Chaucer, and must have been pronounced identically, as: scynte, fr. saint 511; doseyn, fr. dosaine 580; chesteyn, fr. chastaigne 2924; peynet, fr. painer, peiner 4740; coveitouz, fr. covoiteux, Mel. These diphthongs interchange in Ch. as well as in fr. [different MSS. differ so much that Gesenius's references to Tyrwhitt's edition on this point are worthless]. For the interchange of a and ai see I.

VIII. When the diphthong ou arose from fr. o, it was perhaps pronounced as long o. This is very probable in those words which now contain o or u in place of the diphthong, but less so in those which have preserved ou; as these had even then perhaps the sound of German au. Ex. noumbre 5607; facound, fr. faconde 13465; soun, fr. son 2434; abounde fr. labonder 16234. [The other examples have o in Wright's ed., or like flour 4 are not to the point; the above are now all nasal on.]

Chap. 5. Consonants derived from the French.

The doubling of final consonants is frequently neglected.

I. Liquids.

[The examples of doubling l, r, are so different in Wright's cd. that they cannot be cited.]

P inserted: dampened 5530, dampnacioun 6649; somnpe 6829 =someone 7159, somnpour 6908, solenmpe 209. This p is also often found in old fr. Similarly in Provençal dampna, sampnar, Diez. Gram. 1, 190 (ed. 1).]
II. Labials.

*P* for *b*; *giser*, fr. *gibeier* 359; capul, fr. *cabal* 7732. The letter *v*, which was adopted from the romance languages into English, had no doubt the same sound as at present, that is, it was the German *w*; and the *v* was the German *u*. [That is, Ges. confuses (*v, w*) with (*bh, u*) in common with most Germans.]

As in ags. *g* passes into German *v*, so in fr. *words initial w* becomes *g* or *gu*. Whether this change was made in English by the analogy of the ags. elements or from some other dialect of old fr., in which probably both forms were in use, it is difficult to determine. The following are examples: *wiket*, fr. *guichet* 10026; *awayt*, fr. *auget* 7539; *wardrobe*, fr. *garderobe* 14983. To these appear to belong *warice* and *wastear*, though they may derive from the frankic *warjan* *wastan*.

III. Linguals.

*Z* is an additional letter, but is seldom used, as *lazer* 2412. Ch. generally writes *s* for *z*.

IV. Gutturals.

*C* before *e* is probably *s* as now. Fr. *gu* now pronounced as German *nj* (*nj*) is reduced to *n* in Ch., as Coloyne 468, *feyne* 738, barreine, essoine, oine-ment. *G* was doubled after short vowels in imitation of ags.

The aspirate *h*, which seems to have come from external sources into English, and was scarcely heard in speech, was acknowledged by Ch., but has now disappeared, as: abominacions 4508. In *proheme* 7919, the *h* seems only inserted as a dierses.

Fr. *gu* before *e* and *i* is often changed into *k*, as: *phisik* 913, *magik* 418, *prakite* 5769, eliket 10025.

Chap. 6. *Aphareosis of unaccented French e, a.*

Initial *e* is frequently omitted before *sc*, *sp*, *se*, as: *stabled*, fr. *establir* 2997; *spices*, fr. *espece* 3015; specially 14, *squier*, fr. *escuyer* 79, *scoiler*, fr. *escolier* 262; *strange*, fr. *estrange* 13. Similarly *a*, *e*, are rejected in other words where they are now received, as: potecary 14267, compare Italian *bottega* a shop; *prentis* 14711, *pistil* 9030, compare Italian *pistola*, *chiesa*. The initial *a* in *avysioyn* 16600, has been subsequently rejected.

**Part II. Flexion.**

Chap. 1. *On Nouns.*

Chap. 2. *On Adjectives.*

Chap. 3. *On Pronouns & Numerals.*

Chap. 4. *On Verbs.*

Appendix.

I. Obsolete Chaucerian words of *AngloSaxon* origin.

[All Gesenius's words are inserted, though some of them are still in frequent use, at least provincially, or have been recently revived. To all such words I have prefixed †. The italic word is Chaucer's, the roman word is ags., meanings and observations are in brackets. Gesenius seems to have simply extracted this list from Tyrwhitt's Glossary without verification, as he has occasionally given a reference as if to Cant. Tales, which belongs to Rom. of Rose. The Mel. and Pers. T. refer to the tales of Melibeus and the Persoun, without any precise indication, as editions differ so much.]


fele fëla fëola [many] 3793, fer [companionship, suprâ p. 383], †fite fitt [song] 15296, fëme aflyman [drive away] 17114, fëlo floga? [arrow] 17196,
Dr. Moritz Rapp, at the conclusion of his *Vergleichende Grammatik*, vol. 3, pp. 166-179, has given his opinion concerning the pronunciation of Chaucer, chiefly on *a priori* grounds, using Wright's edition, and has appended a phonetic transcription of the opening lines of the Canterbury Tales as a specimen. This account is here annexed, slightly abridged, with the phonetic spelling transliterated into palaeotype, preserving all the peculiarities of the original, such as absence of accent mark, duplication of consonants, German (bh) for (w), modern English errors of pronunciation, etc. A few remarks are added in brackets.

The liquids are to be pronounced as written, and hence l is not mute, though there is a trace of its disappearance in the form (nal) for (nalf). The transposition of r is not complete; we again find (renne) for (irn), and (brenne) for (birn), English (renn, bren), (thurkh) through is unchanged, (bird) and (brid) are both used, (threshe) replaces (thersken), and (breste) replaces (berstan), English (brust).

Among the labials, b remains after m in (lemb), but (limm) is without the present mute b. For (nemnan) we have the peculiar (nempnen), and similarly (dampnen) to damn. Final f as in (bhiif) wife, is also written medially *wif*, that is, in the French fashion, because v tended towards f in the middle ages. But initially, in order to preserve the pure German (bh), recourse was had to the reduplication *uw* or *w*. On w after a vowel see below. (Bh) sometimes arises from a guttural, as *sorwe*, that is, (sorbe) now *sorrow* (=sorwe), from *sory*.

Among the dentals d and t occasion no difficulty, and s has, by French influence, become pure (s), [Dr. Rapp holds it to have been (sj) in *ag*.] especially as it sometimes results from *p*. The z is merely an *s*. The most difficult point is *th*. In *ag*., we have shewn [supra p. 555, note] that it had only one value (th). I consider that this is also the case for this dialect. As regards the initial sound, which in the English pronouns is (dh), there is not only no proof of this softening, but the contrary results from v. 12589.

So faren we, if I schal say the sothe.

Now, quod oure ost, yit let me talke to the.

The form *sothe* has here assumed a false French e, since the *ag*., is (sooth) and English (south), [it may be the adverbial e, or the definite e, according as the is taken as the pronoun or the definite article,] which must therefore have here been called (soothe), as this *th* is always hard, and as to the, i.e. (too thee) rhymes with it, shewing that the *e* of *sothe* was audible if not long, and that the *th* of *to the* was necessarily hard, as the English (tun dhii) would have been no rhyme, [but see supra p. 318.]. Similar rhymes are (duuu thee) allow thee, and (juuthe) youth, (uii thee) hie thee, and (sbhithe) quickly, [supra pp. 318, 444, n. 2].

The Anglo-Saxon value of the letters must be presumed until there is an evident sign of some change having occurred. For the medial English *th* we have a distinct testimony that the Icelandic and Danish softening of *d* into (dh) had not yet occurred, for the best MSS. retain the *ag*. *d*, thus: *ag*., (fieder) here (fader), now (faedher), (gader*en*) here (gader) now (gadvdhhar), (logededere) here (logeder) now (logudhdhar), (bhr*er*) here (bhrader) now (uadhdhar), weather, (moodor) here (mooder) now (moddhhar) mother, (kkbhider) here (kkbhider) now (huiddhar) whither, (thider) here (thider) now (hidhdhar) thither. Inferior MS. have *father*, *gather*, *thither*, etc., shewing that the softening of *d* into the Danish (dh) began soon after Chaucer. But when we find the *d* in Chaucer it follows as a matter of course that the genuine old *p* (th) as in (brother, fether) when here written *brother*, *fether*, could only have had the sound (th), and could not have been pronounced like the (bradhddhar, faadhdhar). The *ag*. *kre* is here (kuth) and also (kud) or (kund) for (kun-de-)

Among the gutturals, k is written for *c* when *c* or *s* follows, and before
n as (kneu) knew. The reduplicated form is ok. The g is pure (g) in the German words, but in French words the syllables ge, gi, have the Provençal sounds (dzhe, dzhi), which is certainly beyond the known range of Norman or old French, where g is resolved into simple (zh), but here gentil is still (dzheental) not (zhentil). Similarly romantic ch is (ts), and this value is applied to old naturalised words, in which the hiss has arisen from k, as (tshertsh) from (kirk), (tsheep) from (keapman) cheapen, and in thoroughly German words (tshild) child; and (tse) becomes (etsch) each. Replication is expressed by ceh, representing the sharpened (ts) [i.e. which shortens the preceding vowel] so that (bhrakka) exile becomes wrecche, and sometimes wrecch, which can only mean (bhratsh); similarly from (fekkat) comes (felche) and in the same way (retse, streishe) and the obscure cacche (= katsche), which comes from the Norman cachier, although (tsahse) also occurs from the French chisser. The reduplicated g occasions some difficulty. In French words abbrevier can only give abregge (= abredshe), and loger gives (lodshe), etc., but the hiss is not so certain in bridge bridge, ege edge, point, hege hedge, as now prevalent, because we find also tige and lie from (ligen) now (lal), loge and (lezzi) from (leggan) now (lez), and (abere) from (byggan) now (baei). Similarly (bregge) ask, beg, now (beg), which, as I believe, was formed from (buugan) or (beggan) to bow. Here we find modern (dzh) and hence the (dzh) of the former cases is doubtful.

The softening of g into (j) is a slighter difference. The letter (j) does not occur in ags., and has been replaced in an uncertain way by i, g, ge. In Chaucer the simple sign y is employed [more generally &r, the y is due to the editor, p. 310], which often goes further than in English, as we have not only (ser) a year, but give and (jeve, saj, forze, saf, orfen, ascens) and (ze) or (zei) an egg.

The termination ig drops its g, as (pent) for penig, and the particle ge assumes the form t, as (muuk) enough, (ibhis) certain, and in the participles (teken) taken, (imead) made, (isla) or (iszen) slain, (iseene) seen, (ibritten) written, etc. From (geliik) comes (iliik) or (iliitsh), and the suffixed (-liik) is reduced to (li).

The old pronunciation (gg) must be retained for ng, thus (loog, logger) or (legger); there is no certain evidence for (loq). The French nasal is in preference expressed by n. What the Frenchman wrote raison and pronounced (rezsan) is here written resoun and called (resuun), as if the (g) were unknown. As the termination in giveande has assumed the form (giving), we might conjecture the sound to be (giviq), because the form comes direct from (givin), as the Scotch and common people still say, but we must remember that giving also answers to the German Gebung, in which the g is significant.

We now come to h, which is also a difficulty. That initial h before a vowel had now become (r') as in German of the xiii th century, is very probable, because h was also written in Latin and French words, and is still spoken. Chaucer has occasionally elided the silent e in the French fashion before h, which was certainly an error [was freilich ein Missgriff war! shared by Orrmin, supra p. 490, and intermediate writers, who were free from French influence.]. For the medial h, the dialect perceived its difference from (r'), and hence used the new combination gh known in the old Flemish, where the soft (kh) has been developed from g. The ags. nhit = (nikht) became night = (nikht), and similarly thurgh = (thurkh).

For (khbakh) we have lauh, and laugh, both = (laak); (seakh) gives sauh = (saakh) or seigh = (seekh). Before l, n, r, the ags. h has disappeared, but ags. (khbhiite) is here somewhat singularly written white, a transposition of huite. Had h been silent it would have been omitted as in hl, hn, hr, but as it was different from an ordinary h before a vowel, this abnormal sign for (khb), formed in the analogy of gh, came into use, and really signified an abbreviated heavy ghe. Hence (khbhiite) retained its Anglosaxon sound in Chaucer's time. [Rapp could not distinguish English w from (u), and hence to him wh was (hu), the real meaning of wh thus escaped him. His theory is that h was always (kh) in the old Teutonic languages.]

We have still to consider sk and ks.
The former was softened to (ejkr) in ags., and hence prepared the way for the simple (sh), and this may have nearly occurred by Chaucer's time, as he writes skwh which bears the same relation to the French ch = (shb), as the Italian sci to ci, shewing the omission of the initial t. Some MSS. use skh and even the present sh, the guttural being entirely forgotten. The ags. ks remains, but sk is still transposed into ks in the bad old way, as axe = (ake) for (eske).

For the vowels, Gesenius has come to conclusions, which are partly based on Grimm's Grammar, and partly due to his having been preoccupied with modern English, and have no firm foundation. The Englishmen of the present day have no more idea how to read their own old language, than the Frenchmen theirs. We Germans are less prejudiced in these matters, and can judge more freely. Two conditions are necessary for reading old English correctly—first, to read Anglosaxon correctly, whence the dialect arose; secondly, to read old French correctly, on whose orthography the old English was quite unmistakably modelled. [The complete catena of old English writers now known, renders this assertion more than doubtful. See suprà p. 588, n. 2, and p. 640.]

We must presume that the old French a was pure (a). The ags. a, was lower = (a). The English orthography paid no attention to this difference, and hence spoke French a as (a). There can be no doubt of this, if we observe that this a was lengthened into au or aw, the value of which from a French point of view was (aa), as it still is in English, as strange, demaund, tyraunt, graunte, haunt. In all these cases the Englishman endeavours to imitate French nasality by the combination (aun). [This au for a only occurs before n, see suprà p. 143, and infra Chap. VIII., § 3].

The old short vowel a hence remains (a) as in ags., thus (makaen) is in the oldest documents (mekie, maka) and afterwards (make), where the (a) need no more be prolonged by the accent than in the German machen (mehken), and we may read (makke). [But see Orrmin's makenn, p. 492].

The most important point is that the ags. false diphthongs are again overcome; instead of (zalle) we have the older form (alle), instead of (skaearp) we find (sharpe) etc. The nasal (en), as in ags., is disposed to fall into (en), as (hond, lord, droqk, beongene), etc.

The greatest doubt might arise from the ags. ær or rather (e) appearing as (a) without mutation; thus, ags. (thuet, khhbat, bhater, smal) again fall into (that, khhbat, bhater, smel). The mutation is revoked—that means, the ags. mutation had prevailed in literature, but not with the whole mass of the people, and hence in the present popular formation might revert to the older sound, for it is undeniable that although the present Englishman says (duxt) with a mutated a, he pronounces (nuet, uuater, smal) what, water, small, without a mutate. In most cases the non-mutated form may be explained by a flexion, for if (deeg) in ags. gave the plural (dagas), we may understand how Chaucer writes at one time (deme) day and at another (daja) day for day.

Short e remains unchanged as (e) under the accent, when unaccented it had perhaps become (a). Even in ags. it interchanges with i, y, as (tshirts) or (tshertsh) church. The ags. eo is again overcome, for although forms like beo, beb, still occur in the oldest monuments, e is the later form, so that (steorre) star again becomes (stzrrre), and (gezln) yellow gives (rulbh, ruln), (tsol) fell becomes (fell, fill), etc. A short (e) sometimes rhymes with a long one in Chaucer, as (mde, reede) meadow, red. Such false rhymes are however found in German poetry of the xiii. century, and they are far from justifying us in introducing the modern long vowel into such words as (make, made, etc).

The old long vowel e is here (ee), as appears all the more certainly from its not being distinguished in writing from the short. [Rapp writes é é, but he usually pairs é é, à = (ee e, EE e), the (ee) being doubtful, (ee, ee). This arises from German habits, but in reality in closed syllables (e) is more frequent than (e), if a distinction has to be made. It would perhaps have represented Rapp more correctly to have written (ee e, EE e), but I considered myself bound to the other distribution, although it leads here to the absurdity of making (ee, e) a pair. The quantity of the ags. must be retained, hence (seeken, keen) can only give (seek, keen) seek, keen, and from
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(sheete) we also obtain (soote), with omitted (ee), compare Norse (soøæt) sweet. [The careful notation of quantity by Ormim points him out as a better authority for this later period.] Long (ee) also replaces ags. æ as (heete, see, sleepe) hare, sea, sleep, and the old long æ as (seeke, leefe, leve, deep, thesee) seek, lief, deep, choose, and finally the old long ea as (eek) from (eak), and similarly (greete, bene, thesepe) great, bean, cheapen. These different (ee) rhyme together and have regularly become (ii) in modern English.

There is no doubt about short i, and long i could not have been a diphthong, because the French orthography had no suspicion of such a sound. Ags. y is sometimes rendered by ui as fiire fire, which, however, already rhymes with (miire) and must therefore have sounded (fiire). The (yy) had become (ii) even in ags., so that (brund) becomes (briide), etc. Least of all can we suppose short i in (bilde, tshilde, finde) wild, child, find, to be diphthongal, or even long, as the orthography would have otherwise been quite different.

Short o may retain its natural sound (o), and often replaces ags. u, thus (sumor) gives (sommer), and (khnut, further) give (not, forthor) nut, further. In these cases the Englishman generally recurs to the mutate of (u), to be presently mentioned.

Long o in Chaucer unites two old long vowels, (AA) in (noome), sometimes (ham), (goost from (gaast), (soote) from (Aath) oath, (noote) from (hat); and the old (oo) in (booke, tooke, foote, soothe). Both (oo) rhyme together, and must have, therefore, closely resembled each other; they can scarcely have been the same, as they afterwards separated; the latter may have inclined to (u) and has become quite (u).

The sound of (u) is in the French fashion constantly denoted by ou. [But see supra p. 425, l. 3. Rapp is probably wrong in attributing the introduction to French influence.] French raison was written raisun by the Anglo-Norman, and resoun by Chaucer, which could have only sounded (resun). A diphthong is impossible, as the name Caucasus rhymes with house, and resoun with town. Hence the sound must have been (ruus, tuun) as in all German dialects of this date.

Hence we have (fluur) flower for the French (fleecer). The real difficulty consists in determining the quantity of the vowel, as it is not shewn by the spelling. Position would require a short (i) in cases like (shulder, hund, stuffed, bunden) shoulder, old (skulder), hound, hour, bound; but the old (sookhte) must produce a (suukhte) sought; and cases like (brukhte, thukhte) brought, thought, are doubtful.

On the other hand the vowel written u, must have been the mutate common to the French, Iceland, Dutchman, Swede. The true sound is therefore an intermediate, which may have fluctuated between (o, v, y), (lyst, kyrs) desire, curse. These u generally derive from ags. u, not y. The use of this sound in the unaccented syllable is remarkable. The ags. (bathen) has two forms of the participle (bathed, bathed).

Hence the two forms in Chaucer, (bathyd) or rather (bathud) exactly as in Icelandic [where the u=(o), not (v), supers p. 548], the second (bathid, bathed). Later English, however, could not fix this intermediate sound, and hence, forced by the mutations, gave the short u the colourless natural vowel (o), except before r where we still hear (i), [meaning, perhaps (ai)]. This theoretical account does not seem to represent the facts of the case.] The above value of short (u) in old English is proved by all French words having this orthography. Sometimes Chaucer endeavours to express long (yy) by ui, as fruit, where, however, we may suspect the French diphthong; but generally he writes nature for (natyyre) without symbolising the length. We should not be misled by the retention of the pure (u) in modern English for a few of these mutated u, as (full, putt, shudd, fruit). These anomalies establish no more against the clear rule than the few pure (a) of modern English prove anything against its ancient value.

The written diphthongs cause peculiar difficulties. The combinations ai, ay, ei, ey, must have their French sound (ae), but as they often arise from (are) there seems to have been an intermediate half-diphthongal or triphthongal (æ) thus (déage) gives (deæ) or (deë). From (äge) we have the variants eye, ye, eighe, yghë, so that the sound varies as (ææ), (iæ), (ie,}
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CHAP. VII. § 1.

ennuyer peuple -4nd dialect give Enspiryd written varied law, At Reedi That Than Khbhan and might have been (AA). The ags. (laju, lekh) law, gives lave, which perhaps bordered on a triphthong (laaue). In the same way we occasionally find (daaue) day, in two syllables, instead of the usual (der), ags. (ddeg, dagas), and from ags. (saAabhi) comes sauie = (saale) and soule, which could have only been (smule). The medial ow = ow, that is, (uu), but before a vowel it might also border on a triphthong; thus lowh = (luukh) low, is also written love = (loone)? Oughen = (uukhen), and also oven = (ouuen), now own = (oon). Similarly grove may have varied between (gruue, groone) and so on with many others. These cases give most room for doubt, and the dialect was probably unsettled. But the diphthong en, en, leaves no room for doubt; it cannot be French (e) for heure hour is here (hyyre) [probably a misprint for (nuure)], and for people we also find (peple). On the other hand the French beaute, which was called (bæauete, bêteete) is here written bête, which was clearly (beute). Similarly German words, as knew, cannot have been anything but (kneo, knen). Similarly (nxne) new. The French diphthong oi as in vois

Khhban that Aprille bhith his shuures soot The drukht of marth neth persed too the root And bethyd eyri venn in abbitsh likuur Of khhbhanl verty- zandhendred is the durt.

Khhban Sefryns eek bhith his sbbeete breeth Ensipryi neth in eyri nolt and neet The tendre kroppes, and the jongs some

Hath in the Rem nis nalfie kurs ironne, And smale foules meken melodie

That sleepen al the nikht bhith oopen lie, Soo priketh hen matyryr- in her koradhzes, Than loqen folk too goon on pilgrimadzhes, And palmers for too seeken straandzhe strondes.

Too farne maibhes, knuth- in sondri loddes, And spesiell from eyri shires xnde Of Egliod too Kandythryhi thee bhende 16 The noot blissfyl martir for too seeke That herz nath nolpen Kkhban that thee bheer seeke.

Bifall that in that secuun on a dxz

In Suth-bharke at the tabbord as ii lek, 20 Reetl too bhwend eno pil pilgrimadzhe Too Kandyth-rl bhith fyl devunt koradzhe, At nikht bhes kom into that hosterdie Bhel niin and thbhenn at ena kompanie 24 Of sondri folk ii aventyr- -ifale

In felrship, and piligrims bheer bhi alle That tobbard Kandythryhi bholden ride, The tshembers and the stables bheeren bhilde.

Khhban that Aprille bhith his shuures soot The drukht of marth neth persed too the root And bethyd eyri venn in abbitsh likuur Of khhbhanl verty- zandhendred is the durt.

Khhban Sefryns eek bhith his sbbeete breeth Ensipryi neth in eyri nolt and neet The tendre kroppes, and the jongs some

Hath in the Rem nis nalfie kurs ironne, And smale foules meken melodie

That sleepen al the nikht bhith oopen lie, Soo priketh hen matyryr- in her koradhzes, Than loqen folk too goon on pilgrimadzhes, And palmers for too seeken straandzhe strondes.

Too farne maibhes, knuth- in sondri loddes, And spesiell from eyri shires xnde Of Egliod too Kandythryhi thee bhende 16 The noot blissfyl martir for too seeke That herz nath nolpen Kkhban that thee bheer seeke.

Bifall that in that secuun on a dxz

In Suth-bharke at the tabbord as ii lek, 20 Reetl too bhwend eno pil pilgrimadzhe Too Kandyth-rl bhith fyl devunt koradzhe, At nikht bhes kom into that hosterdie Bhel niin and thbhenn at ena kompanie 24 Of sondri folk ii aventyr- -ifale

In felrship, and piligrims bheer bhi alle That tobbard Kandythryhi bholden ride, The tshembers and the stables bheeren bhilde.

And bhe bhe bheereen esyed atte baste, And shortli khhban the sonne bhas too reste Soo had ii spoken bhith hem xvirish-oon That ii bhas of her felrship anon 32 And maade forbhard xril too arilse.

Too thiour bhas too xris bi uu debliss, Byt naathless, khhbillis ii nabh tim and spase Or that ii farther in this tale pase 36 Me thiketh it akordunt too resuun Too tele xan all the kendidzin

And kkhbhitsh thee bheeren and of kkhbat degree,

Of eeta of hem, soo as it seemed mee 40 And eek in kkhbat arrasse that thee bheer- inne,

And at a knikth than bhol ii first beginne.

A knikth thrur bhas and that a bhorti man That from the tyme that we first bigan 44 Too riden unt me loved tehaveralie Truuth and nemour, freedoom and kyrtetiese. Fyl bhorti bhes me in his lordes bharre And thrurttoo hadd he riden nooman ferre 48 As bheil in kristendoom as meethenzees And uver nnoourd for his bhortenzesse.

At Alland- he bhas Kkhban it bhas bheonne, Fyl ofte tim u ne hadd the bord bigonne 50 Aboveu elle nasuuns in Pryse, In Letteon medde reesed and in Ryse Nee kristen man soo ots of his degree,

In Geyran- allie siidzhe hadd me bee, 56
Instructions for Reading the Phonetic Transcript of the Prologue.

The application of the results of Chapter IV. to the exhibition of the pronunciation of the prologue, has been a work of great difficulty, and numerous cases of hesitation occurred, where analogy alone could decide. The passages have been studied carefully, and in order to judge of the effect, I have endeavoured to familiarise myself with the conception of the pronunciation by continually reading aloud. The examination of older pronunciation in Chap. V., has on the whole confirmed the view taken, and I feel considerable confidence in recommending Early English scholars to endeavour to read some passages for themselves, and not to prejudge the effect, as many from old habits may feel inclined. As some difficulty may be felt in acquiring the facility of utterance necessary for judging of the effect of this system of pronunciation, it may not be out of place to give a few hints for practice in reading, shewing how those who find a difficulty in reproducing the precise sounds which are indicated, may approximate to them sufficiently for this purpose. These instructions correspond to those which I have given in the introduction to the second edition of Mr. R. Morris's Chaucer.

The roman vowels (a, e, o, u) must be pronounced as in Italian,
with the broad or open \( e \), \( o \), not the narrow or close sounds. They are practically the same as the short vowels in German, or the French short \( a \), \( e \), \( o \), \( ou \). The \( a \) is never our common English \( a \) in *fat*, that is \( \{a\} \), but is much broader, as in the provinces, though Londoners will probably say \( \{a\} \). For \( o \) few will perhaps use any sound but the familiar \( \{o\} \). The \( u \) also may be pronounced as \( \{u\} \), that is, \( u \) in *bull* or \( oo \) in *foot*. The long vowels are \( \{aa\}, \{ee\}, \{oo\}, \{uu\} \) and represent the same sounds prolonged, but if any English reader finds a difficulty in pronouncing the broad and long \( \{ee\}, \{oo\} \) as in Italian, Spanish, Welsh, and before \( r \) in the modern English *mare*, *more*, he may take the easier close sounds \( \{ee\}, \{oo\} \) as in *male*, *mole*. The short \( i \) is the English short \( i \) in *pit*, and will occasion no difficulty. But the long \( \{ii\} \) being unusual, if it cannot be appreciated by help of the directions on p. 106, may be pronounced as \( \{ii\} \), that is as \( ee \) in *feet*. The vowel \( \{yy\} \), which only occurs long, is the long French \( u \), or long German \( u \). The final \( \{-e\} \) should be pronounced shortly and indistinctly, like the German final \( -e \), or our final \( a \) in *China*, *idea*, (supra p. 119, note, col. 2), and inflectional final \( -en \) should sound as we now pronounce \( -en \) in *science*, *patient*. It would probably have been more correct to write \( \{e\} \) in these places, but there is no authority for any other but an \( \{e\} \) sound, see p. 318.

For the diphthongs, \( \{ai\} \) represents the German \( ai \), French, \( a^i \) Italian *ahi*, Welsh *ai*, the usual sound of English *aye*,\(^1\) when it is distinguished from *eye*, but readers may confound it with that sound without inconvenience. The diphthong \( \{au\} \) represents the German *au*, and bears the same relation to the English *ow* in *now*, as the German *ai* to English *eye*, but readers may without inconvenience use the sound of English *ow* in *now*. Many English speakers habitually say \( \{ai\}, \{au\} \) for \( \{ai\}, \{au\} \) in *eye*, *now*. The diphthong \( \{ui\} \) is the Italian *ui* in *lui*, the French *oui* nearly, or more exactly the French *oui* taking care to accent the first element, and not to confound the sound with the English *we*.

The aspirate is always represented by \( \{H\} \), never by \( \{h\} \), which is only used to modify preceding letters.

\( \{J\} \) must be pronounced as German \( j \) in *ja*, or English \( y \) in *yea*, *yaw*, and not as English \( j \) in *just*.

The letters \( \{b\} \, \{d\} \, \{f\} \, \{g\} \, \{k\} \, \{l\} \, \{m\} \, \{n\} \, \{p\} \, \{r\} \, \{s\} \, \{t\} \, \{v\} \, \{w\} \, \{z\} \) have their ordinary English meanings, but it should be remembered that \( \{g\} \) is always as in *gay*, *go*, *get*, never as in *gem*; that \( \{r\} \) is always trilled with the tip of the tongue as in *ray*, *roe*, and never pronounced as in *air*, *ear*, *oar*; and also that \( \{s\} \) is always the hiss in *hiss* and never like a \( \{z\} \) as in *his*, or like \( \{sh\} \). The letter \( \{q\} \) has altogether a new meaning, that of *ng* in *sing*, *singer*, but *ng* in *finger* is \( \{qg\} \).

\(^1\) This word is variously pronounced, and some persons rhyme it with *nay*. In taking votes at a public meeting the sound intended to be conveyed in the text is generally used in the South of England, but this pronunciation is perhaps unknown in Scotland.
(Th, dh) represent the sounds in thin, then, the modern Greek θ δ.  
(Sh, zh) are the sounds in mesh measure, or pish, vision, the 
Fr. ch, j. 

(Kh, gh) are the usual German ch in ach and g in Tage. But 
careful speakers will observe that the Germans have three sounds 
of ch as in ich, ach, auch, and these are distinguished as (kh, kh, 
Kwh); and the similar varieties (gh, gh, gw h) are sometimes found. 
The reader who feels it difficult to distinguish these three sounds, 
may content himself with saying (kh, gh) or even (Hu). The (Kvh) 
when initial is the Scotch guh, Welsh chw, and may be called 
(khw-) without inconvenience. Final (gwh) differs little from 
(wh) as truly pronounced in when, what, which should, if possible, 
be carefully distinguished from (w). As however (wh) is almost 
unknown to speakers in the south of England, they may approximate 
it, when initial, by saying (Hu'), and, when final, by 
saying (un'). 

The italic (v) is also used in the combination (kv) which has 
precisely the sound of gu in queen, and in (rw) which may be 
pronounced as (rw), without inconvenience. 

(Tsh, dzh) are the consonantal diphthongs in chest jest, or such 
fudge. 

The hyphen (-) indicates that the words or letters between which 
it is placed, are only separated for the convenience of the reader, 
but are really run on to each other in speech. Hence it frequently 
stands for an omitted letter (p. 10), and is frequently used for an 
omitted initial (i), in those positions where the constant elision of 
a preceding final -e shews that it could not have been pronounced 
(p. 314). 

These are all the signs which occur in the prologue, except the 
accent point (·), which indicates the principal stress. Every syllable 
of a word is sometimes followed by (·), as (naa'tyyrr'), in order 
to warn the reader not to slur over or place a predominant stress 
on either syllable. For the same reason long vowels are often 
written in unaccented syllables. 

If the reader will bear these directions in mind and remember 
to pronounce with a general broad tone, rather Germanesque or 
provincial, he will have no difficulty in reading out the following 
prologue, and when he has attained facility in reading for him- 
self, or has an opportunity of hearing others read in this way, he 
will be able to judge of the result, but not before. 

The name of the poet, Geoffrey Chaucer, may be called (Dzhef- 
ma·Tshau·seeer'), but the first name may also have been called (Dzhef- 
reee'), see suprâ p. 462. The evenness of stress seems guaranteed 
by Gower's even stress on his own name (Guu·eer'), but he uses 
Chaucer only with the accent on the first syllable, just as Chaucer 
also accents Gower only on the first.
THE PROLOG TO THE CAWNTERBERY TALES.

— is prefixed to lines containing a defective first measure.
+ is prefixed to lines containing two superfluous terminal syllables.
iii is prefixed to lines containing a trissyllabic measure.
vi is prefixed to lines of six measures.
ai is prefixed to the lines in which saynt appears to be dissyllabic.
(*) indicates an omitted e.

Italics point out words or parts of words of French origin.
Small capitals in the text are purely Latin forms or words.

INTRODUCTION.

— When that April with his schoures swote
The drought of March hath perced to the rote
And bathed’ ev’ry veyn’ in swich licour,
Of which vertu engend’red’ is the flour; 4

When zephyrus, eek, with his swete brethe
Inspired hath in ev’ry holt’ and hethe
The tendre croppes, and the yonge sonne
Hath in the Ram his halfe cours ironne
And smale foules maken melodye
That slepen al the night with open ye,—
So pricketh hem natur’ in her’ corages;
Than longen folk to goon on pilgrymages, 12
And palmeer’ s for to seken straung strondes
To ferne halwes couth’ in sondry londes;
And specially, from ev’ry schyres ende

iii Of Engelond, to Cawnterbery they wende,
The holy blisful martyr for to seke.
That hem hath holpen whan that they wer’ seke.
Bifel that in that sesoun on a day’
In Southwerk at the Tabard as I lay,
Redy to wenden on my pilgrymage 20

iii To Cawnterbery with ful devout corage,
At night was com’ into that hostelrye
Wel nyu’ and twenty in a companye
Of sondry folk’, by aventur’ ifalle
In felawship’, and pilgrim’s wer’ they alle,
That toward Cawnterbery wolden ryde.
The chambres and the stabel’s weren wyde,
And wel we weren esed atte beste.
And schortly, whan the sonne was to reste
So hadd’ I spoken with hem ev’rych oon,
That I was of her’ felawship’ anoon, 32

Preliminary Note.
Seven MSS. only are referred to, unless others are specially named. Ha. is the Harl. 7334, as edited by Morris. “The Six MSS.” are those published by the Chaucer Society, and edited by Furnivall. They are referred to thus: E. Ellesmere, He. Hengwrt, Ca. Cambridge, Co. Corpus, P. Petworth, L. Lansdowne.

1 Defective first measure see p. 333, note 1. The six MSS. do not favour any other scheme, but all write
DHE PROOLOG TO DHE KAUN-TERBER:II TAA-LES.

(ii) See pp. 106, 271, readers may say (ii) for convenience, p. 678.

(oo) See p. 95, readers may read (oo, o) for (oo, o) for convenience, pp. 678.

(-) Initial often indicates an unpronounced (u), and that the word is run on to the preceding; at the end of a word it denotes that it is run on to the following.

\textit{Introductiun.}

When dhat Aa'priil with -is shuur'es swoot'e
Dhe druuk'ht of Martsh nath pers'ed too dhe root'e,
And baadh'ed ev'rii vain in switch lii'kuur',
Of whish vert'yy' endzhen'dred is dhe fluur;

Whan Zef'rus, eek, with -is sweet'e breeth'e
Inspi'red nath in ev'rii holt and heedh'e
Dhe ten'dre krop'es, and dhe juq'e sun'e
Hath in dhe Ram -is half'e kuurs irlun'e,
And smaal'e fuul'es maak'en melodii'e,
Dhat sleep'en al dhe nikt'ht with oop'en ii'e,—
Soo prik'eth nem naa'tyy' in her koo'raadzh'es;
Dhan loq'en folk to goon on pil'grimaadzh'es,
And pal'meerz for to seek'en straundzh'e strond'es,
To fern'e hal'wes kuuth in sun'dri lond'esi;
And spes'ialii, from ev'rii shiir'es end'e
Of Eq'elond, to Kaun'terber'ii dhai wend'e,
Dhe noo'lii blis'ful mar'tiiir for to seek'e,
Dhat nem nath holp'en, whan dhat dhai weer seek'e.
Bifel' dhat in dhat see'suur' on a dai
At Suuth'werk at dhe Tab'ard' as Ii lai,
Reed'ii to wend'en on mi pil'grimaadzh'e
To Kaun'terber'ii with ful devuut' koo'raadzh'e,
At nikt'ht was kuum in too dhat ostelrii'e
Weel nüh and twen'tii in a kum'panii'e
Of sun'drii folk, bii aa'ventyy' ifal'e
In fel'aushiiip, and pil'grimz wer dhai al'e,
Dhat too'werd Kaun terber'ii wold'en riid'e.

Dhe tshaam'berz and dhe staa'b'lz wec'ren wiid'e,
And weel we wec'ren ees'ed ate' best'e,
And short'mii, whan dhe sun'e was to rest'e
Soo nad Ii spook'en with -em ev'riith oon,
Dhat Ii was of -er fel'aushiiip anoon,

or indicate a final e to A pril, which is against Averil 6128, April 4426.
16 C a wnterbery. E. He. Co. and Harl. 1758, write Caun., and P. indicates it. It would seem as if the French pronunciation had been imitated. The verse is wanting in Ca. which however reads Caun. in v. 769.
18 wh a n th a t, L. alone omits th a t, and makes w e r e a dissyllable, which is unusual, and is not euphonic in the present case.
And made forword eerly for to ryse,
To tak' our' wey theer as I you devyse.
But natheles whyl's I hav' tym' and space,
Eer that I ferther in this tale pace,
Me thinketh it accordawnt to resoun
To tellyn you al the condicioun
Of eech' of hem, so as it seem'd me;
And which they weren, and of what degree,
And eek in what array that they were' inne,
And at a knight than wol I first beginne.

1.  The Knight.

A Knight ther was, and that a worthy man,
That fro the tyme that he first bigan
To ryden out, he loved' chivalry,
Troutth and honour, freedom and curteysye.
Ful worthy was he in his lorde werre,
And theerto hadd' he ridden, no man ferre,
As weel in Cristendom as hethenesse,
And ever' honour'd for his worthinesse.
At Alisawnd'r he was whan it was wonne,
Ful ofte tym' he hadd' the boord bigonne
Above alle naciouns in Pruse.
In Letto' hadd' he reysed and in Ruse,
No cristen man so oft' of his degree.
At Gernad' atte seg' eek hadd' he be

iii Of Algesir, and ridden in Palmyre
At Lyeys was he, and at Satalye
Whan they were' woun'; and in the Grete Se

iii At many a nob'l aryve' hadd' he be.
At mortal balayl's hadd' he been fiftene,
And fowghten for our' feyth at Tramassene.
In listes thryes, and ay slayn his fo.
This ilke worthy knight hadd' ben also
Somtyme with the lord of Palatye,
Ayeyn another hethen in Turkye:
And evremor' he hadd' a sov'rayn prys.
And thowgh that he were' worthy he was wys,

33 foourward, promise. No MS. marks the length of the vowel in foour, but as the word came from foreword, it would, according to the usual analogy, evidenced by the modern pronunciation of fore, have become lengthened, and the long vowel, after the extinction of the e, becomes useful in distinguishing the word from forword, onward. for to ryse is the reading of the six MSS.

36 eer, E. He. L. read er, the others or; in either case the vowel was probably long as in modern ere.

38 tellen, the MSS. have telle, the n has been added on account of the following y.
46 curteysye, so E. He. Ca., the rest have curtesye; the ey has been retained on account of curteys. See Courtesy, p. 644.
56 eek is inserted in the six MSS.
57 Palmyre, the MSS. have all the unintelligible Belmurye. This correction is due, I believe, to Mr. W. Aldis Wright, who has kindly favoured me with his collation of v. 15733 in various MSS.
And maad'e foro'ward eer'lui for to rii'se',
To taak urr wai dearhe as N Juu deviis'e.
But naa'dheles, whii's N -aav tiim and spaas'e,
Eer dhat N ferdl' er in dhis taa'le paas'e;
Methi'k' eth it ak'ord' aunt' to ree'suun.
To tel'en juu al khi kondis'iuun.
Of eetsh of nem, soo as it seemed mee,
And whiist dhai wее' ren, and of what deeg'ree;
And eek in what arai' dhat dhai wer in'e
And at a kni'kht dhan wol N first begin'e.

1. Dhe Knikht.

A kni'kht dhere was, and dhat a wurdhi'i man,
Dhat froo dhe tiim'e dhat -e first bigan.
To riid'en uut, nee luv'ed tshii-valri'e,
Truuth and on'uur', free'doom' and kur'taisi'e.
Ful wurdhi'i was -e in -is lord'es were',
And dhere-to nad -e riid'en, noo man fer'e,
As weel in Krist'endoom', as needh'nes'e,
And ev'er on'urd' for -is wurdhi'iines'e.
At Aa'liasun'dr -e was when it was wun'e,
Ful oft'e tiim -e had dhe board bigun'e
Abuu'ven al'e naa'siuunz' in Pryys'e.
In Let'oou nad -e raiz'ed and in Ryys'e,
Noo krist'en man soo oft of nis deeg'ree.
At Gem-naad' at'e seedzh eek nad -e bee
Of Al'dzehesiir', and riid'en in Pal miiri'e.
At Liui'ais was -e, and at Saa'taali'i' e
Whan dhai wer wun'; and in dhe Greg'te see
At man'i a noob'l -aa'rii'vec' nad -e bee.
At morta'al bat'ailz' nad -e been fifteen'
And fouk'uh't'en for nur faith at Traa'maaseen'e
In list'es thrii'es, and ai slain -is foo.
Dhis ilk'e wurdhi'i knikht -ad been alsoo
Sumtiim'e with dhe lord of Paa'laatii'e,
Araia anudh'er needh'en in Tyrikii'e:
And ev'remoor -e nad a suv'rain priis.
And dhoo'kwh dhat nee wer wurdhi'i nee was wiis.
And of his poort' as meek as is a mayde.
Ne never yit no vilayny' he scye
day, In al his lyf, unto no maner' wight.
He was a very perfyt gentil knight.
But for to tellen you of his aray,
His hors was good, but he ne was not gay.
Of fustian he wered' a gipoun,
Al bisometerd with his haubergeoun.
iii For he was laat' ycomen from his vyage,
And wente for to doon his pilgrymage.

2. The Squyeer.

With him ther was his son', a yong Squyeer,
iii A lovieer, and a lusty bacheleer,
With lockes crull' as they wer' leyd' in presse.
Of twenty yeer he was of aag' I gesse.
Of his statur' he was of ev'ne lengthe
iii And wonderly deliver, and greet of strengthe.
And he hadd' ben somtym' in chivachye
In Flawndres, in Artoys, and Picardy,
And boorm him weel, as in so lytel space,
In hope to stonden in his lady grace.
Embrouded was he, as it wer' a mede
Al ful of frescho floure whit' and rede.
Singing' he was, or flowing' al the day;
He was as fresch as is the mon' th of May.
Schort was his goun, with sleves long and wyde.
Weel coud' he sitt' on hors, and fayre ryde.
He coude songs mak' and weel endyte,
Just' and eek dawnc', and weel purtray' and wryte.
So hoot he loved', that by nightertale
He sleep no moor' than dooth a nightingale.
Curteys he was, lowly, and servisabel,
And carf bifoorn his fader at the tabel.

3. The Yeman.

A Yeman hadd' he and servaunt's no mo,
At that tym', for him liste ryde so;
And he was clad in coot' and hood' of grene.
A scheef of pocock arwes bright' and kene
Under his belt' he baar ful thriftily.
Weel coud' he dress' his tackel yemanly,
His arwes drouped' nowght with fethres lowe,
And in his hond he baar a mighty bowe.
A notheed hadd' he, with a broun visage.
Of wodecraft weel coud' he al th' usage.

90 freshe was not counted in the enumeration of the fr. words p. 651.
In correcting the proofs several other omissions have been found and a new enumeration will be given in a foot-
note to the last line of the Prologue.
109 notheed, a closely cropped poll. Tondre, "to sheere, clip, cut,
And of -is poort as meek as is a maid'e.
Ne nev'er hit noon vii-lainir' -e said'e
In all -is liif, untoo noon man'-eer' wikht.
He was a ver'rai per-fiit dzhent'lii knikht.
But for to tel'en run of his arai',
His nors was good, but hee ne was not gai,
Of fust'tian' -e weer'ed a dzhii'puun',
Al bismoof'erd with -is hau'berdzhuun:
For hee was laat iku'men from his vii'aadzh'e,
And went'e for to doon -is pil'grimaadzh'e.

2. Dhe Skwi'eer.
With him dheer was -is suun, a nuq Skwi'eer',
A luv'eer, and a lust'ii baat'sheler';
With lok-es krul as dai wer laid in pres'e.
Of twen'titt theer -e was of aadzh *g' ges'e.
Of his staat'tyrr' -e was of eev'ne leqth'e,
And wun'derlii deliver, and greet of streqth'e.
And nee -ad been sumtit'm in tshii'vaatshii'ee
In Flau'n'dres, in Ar'tuis', and Piu'kar'dui',
And boorn -im weil, as in soo liit'tl spaa'se,
In noo'p'e to stond'en in -is laad'ii graas'e.
Embruud'ed was -e, as it wer a meed'e
Al ful of fresh'e fluur'es, whiiit and reed'e.
Siq'uu' -e was, or fluut'tiq', al dhe dai;
He was as fresh as is dhe moonth of Mai.
Short was -is guun, with sleeves loq and wiid'e.
Weel kuud -e sit on nors, and fai're riid'e,
He kuud'e soq'es maak and weil enduit'e,
Dzhust and eek dauns, and weil purtrai'
And karf bifoorn' -is faad'er at dhe taab'li.

3. Dhe Jee'man.
A Jee'man had -e and servaunts' noon moo,
At dhat tiim, for -im list'e riid'e soo;
And nee was klad in koot and mood of green'e.
A sheef of poo'kok ar'wes briikht and keen'e
Under -is belt-e baar ful thriift'ilii.
Weel kuud -e dres -is tak'il Jee'manlii;
His ar'wes druupe'd noukwiht with fed'erz looure,
And in -is nond -e baar a miikht'tii booure.
A not'need had -e, with a bruun vii'saadzh'e.
Of wood'ekraft weel kuud -e al dh- yy'saadzh'e.

W. J. A." Ibid., 5 June, 1869, p. 772,
Upon his arm' he baer a gay braceer,
And by his syd' a swerd and a bouleer
And on that other syd' a gay daggeer
Harneysed weel, and scharp as poyn t of sper';
A Cristofr' on his brest' of silver schene.
An horn he baer, the hawdrick was of grene;
A forsteer was he soothly, as I gesse.

4. The Pryoresse.

Ther was also a Nonn', a Pryoresse,
That of hir' smyllyng' was ful simp' and coy;
Hir' gretest ooth was but by Saynt Loy;
And sche was cleped madam' Englentyne.
Ful weel sche sang the servyse divyne,
Entuned in hir' noose ful semely;
And Frensch sche spake ful fayr' and fetisly,
After the scool' of Stratford atte Bowe,
For Frensch of Paris was to hir' unknowe.
At mete weel ytawght was sche withalle;
Sche leet no morsel from hir' lippes falle,
Ne wett' hir' finger's in hir' saucce depe.
Weel coud' sche cari' a morsel, and weel kepe,
That no droppe fil upon hir' breste.
In curteysye was set ful moch' hir' leste.
Hir' overlippe wyped' sche so cleme,
That in hir' cuppe was no ferthing seane
Of grese, whan sche drunken hadd' hir' drawght.
Ful semely after hir' mete sche rawght'.
And sikerly sche was of greet dispoorte,
And ful pleasaunt, and amiable of poorte,
And payned' hir' to countrefete chere
Of court', and been estaaflich of manere,
And to been hoolden dign' of reverence.
But for to spoken of hir' conscience,
Sche was so charitab' and so pitous,
Sche wolde weep' if that sche sawgh a mous
Cawght in a trapp', if it wer' deed or bledd.
Of smale houndes hadd' sche, that sche fedde
With roosted flesch, and milk, and wastel breed,
But sore wepte sche if oon of hem wer' deed,

col. 3. Jamieson gives the forms nott, nowt for black cattell, properly oxen with the secondary sense of lout, and refers to Icel. naut (nótt), Dan. nát (nættredh), Sw. nöt (nætæ), and ags. nödt, our modern nöt (nitt) cattell.
115 Cristofr', this was accidentally not counted among the French words on p. 651.
120 seyn. See supræ, pp. 264, 476, 649, note, and notes on vv. 509 and 697 infrà for the probable occasional disyllabic use of saynt as (saa'nt). As this had not been observed, Tyrwhitt proposes to complete the metre by reading Elóy. with no MS. authority, Prof. Child proposes othe (supræ p. 390, sub. oath), thus: Hir' gretest othe nas but by Saint Loy, and Mr. Morris would read ne was as in v. 74, thus: Hir' gretest ooth ne was but by
Upon: -is arm -e baar a gai braa'seer,
And bi- -is siid a sword and a buk'leeer,
And on dhat udh'er siid a gai dag'eer,
Har-nais'ed weel, and sharp as point of speer;
A Krist'o'fr- on -is brest of sîl'ver sheen'e.
An horn -e baar, dhe bau'drik was of green'e.
A for'steer was -e sooth'lii, as Ii ges'e.

4. Dhe Pri'v ore's'e.

Dheer was al'soo' a Nun, a Prii'ores'e,
Dhat of -iir smi'll'iq was ful sim'pl- and kui,
Hiîr greet'est ooth was but biî saa'int Lui;
And shee was klep'ed maâ'daam: Eq' lentîin'e.
Ful weel she saq dhe serv'iis'e divii'n'e,
Entyn'ed în -iir nooz'e ful seem'elîi,
And French she spake ful fair and fee' tislîi,
Aft'er dhe skool of Strat'ford at'e Boou'e,
For French of Paa'riis' was to hiîr unknoou'e,
At mee'te weel itaukwht' was shee with'al'e,
She leet noo mor'sel from -iir lip'es fal'e,
Ne wet -iir fiq' gerz in -iir saus'e deep'e.
Weel kuud she kar'i a morsel, and weel keep'e
Dhat no drop'e fil upon -iir brest'e.
In kurt'aiiri'e was set ful mutsh -iir lest'e.
Hiîr ov'erlip'e wiip'ed shee soo kleen'e,
Dhat în -iir kup'e was no ferdh'iq seen'e
Of grees'e, whan shee druq'k'en nad -iir draukwht.
Ful see'melîî aft'er -iir meet'e she raukweht.
And sik'erliîi she was of greet dispoort'e,
And ful pleez'zaunt' and aa'miâa'-bl- of poort'e,
And pain'ed hiîr to kuun'trefeete tsheere
Of kuurt, and been esteaat'litsh of man'eer'e,
And to been noold'en diün of reev'erens'e.
But for to speek'en of -iir kom'siens'e,
She was soo tshaar'riita'a'-bl- and soo pi' tuus',
She wold'ee weep, if dhat she saugwth a muus
Kaukweht in a trap, if it wer deed or bled'e.
Of smaal'e mund'es nad she, dhat she fed'e
With roost'ed flesh, and milk and was'tel breed,
But soor'e wep' te shee if oon of hem wer deed,

Saint Loy. Both the last suggestions make a lame line by throwing the accent on by, unless we make by saynt Loy, a quotation of the Nonne's oath, which is not probable. The Ha. has nas, the Six MSS. have was simply. For othe, which is a very doubtful form, Prof. Child refers to 1141, where Ha. reads: This was thyn othe and myn eek certayn, which would require the exceptional preservation of the open vowel in othe, but all the Six MSS. read: This was thyn ooth, and myn also certeyn, only P., L. write a superfluous e as othe.

122 servyse. See suprâ, p. 331.
131 fil, all MSS. except He. read ne fil. The insertion of ne would introduce a iii.
132 ful, so E. Ca. Co. L.
148 So all MSS., producing an Alexandrine, see suprâ p. 649.
Or if men smoot’ it with a yerde smerte,
And al was conscience’ and tend’re herte.
Ful semely hir’ wimp’l ypinned was;
Hir’ nose streyt; hir’ eyen grey as glas;
Hir’ mouth ful smaal, and theerto soft’ and reed,
But sikerly sche hadd’ a fayr foorehed.
It was almost a spanne brood, I trowe,
For hardly sche was not undergrowe.
Ful semely hir’ wimp’l ypinched was:
Hir’ nose streyt; hir’ eyen grey as glas;
Hir’ mouth ful smaal, and theerto soft’ and reed,
And theron heng a brooch of goold ful schene,
On which ther was first writen a crowned A
And after : AMOR VINCIT OMNIA.

5. 6. 7. 8. ANOTHER NONNE AND THEE PREESTES.

Another Nonne also with hir’ hadd’ sche,
That was hir’ chapellayn, and Preestes thre.

9. THE MONK.

A Monk ther was, a fayr for the maystrye,
An out-rydeer, that loved’ venerye;
A manly man, to been an abbot abel.
Ful many a deynte hors hadd’ he in stabel:
And whan he rood, men might his bridel here
Ginglen, in a whistling’ wind’ as clere
And eek as loud’ as dooth the chapel belle
Theer as this lord was keper of the celle.
The test of Saynt Mawr’ or of Saynt Benvyt,
Becaus’ that it was oold and somdeel streyt,
This ilke Monk leet it forby him pace,
And heeld after the newe world the space.
He yaaf nat of that text a pulled hen,
That sayth, that hunter’s been noon holy men,
Ne that a monk, when he is reccheeles,
Is lyken’d to a fisch’ that’s waterlee;
This is to sayn, a monk out of his cloyster,
But thilke text heeld he not worth an oyster.

159 payr’. This was accidentally not counted among the French words on p. 651.
164 Chapellayn. See Temp. Pref. to Six-Text Ed. of Chaucer, p. 92.
170 Ginglen. E. gyngle, He. gyngelyn Ca., gynglyng Co. Pe. L. In any case the line has an imperfect initial measure, and the reading in He. has only four measures.
175 This line has evidently caused difficulties to the old transcribers. The following are the readings:
This ilke monk leet forby hem pace.
—Ha.
This ilke monk leet olde thynges pace.—The six MSS.
Now the Ha. is not only defective in metre, but in sense, for there is no antecedent to hem. The two rules
Or if men smoot it with a yerd'ee smert'e,
And al was kon'siens' and tend're nert'e.
Ful seem'elii -iir wimpl- ipintsh'ed was,
Huir nooz'ee strait, niir ai'en grai as'glas
Huir muth ful smaal, and dheer'too' soft and reed,
But sik'erlii she had a fair foor'heed'.
It was almoost: a span'e brood, It trouere,
For har'delii she was not un'dergroou'e.
Ful fee'tis was -iir klook, as It was waar.
Of smaal koo-raal' abuut' -iir arm she baar
A pair of beed'es gaud-ed al with green'e;
And dheer'oon neq a brooth of goold ful sheen'e,
On whist'liq dher was first weil'en a krum'ed Aa,
And aft'er, Aa'mor vin'sit om'niaa.

5. 6. 7. 8. Anud'h'er Nun'e and three Preest'es.
Anud'h'er Nun alsoo' with niir -ad shee,
Dhat was -iir tsha'a-pelain', and Preest'es three.

A Muqk dher was, a fair for the mais'tri'e,
An uut'tiiideer', dhat luu'ed veer'nerii'e,
A man'lii man, to been an ab'ot aa'bl.
Ful man'i- a dain'ee nors -ad nee in staab'bl:
And when -e rood men miikht -is brii'd'l neer'e
Dzhiq'glen in a whist'liq wind as kleer'e
And eek as luud as dooth dhe tsha'a-pel' bel'e
Dheer as dhis lord was keeper' of dhe sel'e.
Dhe ryyl of saint Maur or of saint Benait',
Bekaus' dhat it was oold and sum'deel strait,
Dhis ilk'e Muqk leet it forbi' -im paas'e,
And neeld aft'er dhe neu'e world dhe paas'e.
He jaa'f nat of dhat tekst a pul'ed men,
Dhat saith dhat nun't-erz been noon nool'ii men,
Ne dhat a muqk, whan nee is retsh'elees,
Is liik'end too a fish dhat -s waa'terlees;
Dhat is to sain, a muqk uut of -is kluist'er,
But dhill'ek tekst neeld nee not wurth an uist'er.

named being separated by or, have been
referred to as it in the preceding line.
I therefore conjecturally insert it and
change hem to him, though I cannot
bring other instances of the use of forby
him. The reading of the six MSS.
gets out of the difficulty by a clumsy
repetition of old, and by leaving a sen-
tence incomplete thus: "the rule . . .
because that it was old . . . this monk
let old things pass," which must be
erroneous.

179 recehlees, so the six MSS.
It probably stands for reghel-lees,
without his rule, which not being a
usual phrase required the explanation
of v. 181, and the Ha. cloysterles
was only a gloss which crept into the
text out of v. 181, and renders that
line a useless repetition.
And I sayd' his opynioun was good.

iii What! schuld' he studi', and mak' himselven wood, 184
Upon a book in cloyst'r alwey to poure,
Or swinke with his handes, and labour,
As Awstyn bit? Hou schal the world be served?
Let Awstyn hav' his swinke to him reserved. 188
Theerfor' he was a prikasour aright;
Grayhound's he hadd' as swift as foul in flight,
Of priking' and of hunting' for the hare
Was al his lust, for no cost wold' he spare.
I sawgh his slev's purfyled att' honde
With gris' and that the finest of a londe,
And for to fest'n' his hood under his chin
He hadd' of goold ywrowght a curious pin; 196
A loveknott' in the greter ende ther was.
His heed was balled and schoon as any glas,
And eek his faac' as he hadd' been anoynt;
He was a lord ful fat and in good poynt;
His eyen steep, and rotting in his heed,
That stemed, as afornays of a leed;
His botes soup', his hors in greet estaat.
Nou certaynlj he was a fayr prelaat;
He was not par as a forpyned goost.
A fat swan lov'd' he best of any roost.
His palfrey was as broun as is a berye.

10. THE FERE.

+ iii A Frere ther was, a wantoun and a merye, 208
A limitour, a ful solemn man.
In alle th' ord' res fowr' is noon that can
So moch' of daliawne' and fayr langage.
iii He hadd' ymaad ful many a fayr mariage
Of yonge wimen, at his owne cost.
Unto his ord'r he was a nobel post.
iii Ful weel bilov'd and familieer was he
With frankelcyns ov' ral in his cuntre,
And eek with worthy wimen of the toun:
For he hadd' poneer of confessioun,
As sayd' himself, more than a curaat,
For of his ord'r he was licenciaat.
Ful swetely herd' he confessioun,
And plesawnt was his absolucioun;
iii He was an esy man to yeve penawnce
iii Theer as he wiste to haan a good pitawnce; 224

184 studi', although taken from the French, so that we should expect u = (yy), Ca. and L. read stodie, shewing u = (u), which agrees with the modern u = (o), and has therefore been adopted.
201 steep, bright, see steap on p. 108 of Cockayne's St. Marherete (supra p. 471, n. 2).
And I said his oo-pr'u:nium was good.
What! shuld -e stud-i and maak -imself-en wood,
Upon a book in kluiis-tra' al-wai to puu're,
Or swiigke with -is hand'es and laa'buun-re,
As Aust'in bit? Huu shal dhe world be serv-ed?
Let Aust'in maav -is swiigk to him reserv-ed.
Dheerfoor -e was a prii'kaasuur arikht;
Grai'mundz -e had as swift as fuul in flieht;
Of prik'iq and of hunt'iq for dhe naar'e
Was al -is lust, for noo kost wold -e spaar'e.
Ni sauwh -is sleez purf'il'ed at'e hond'e
With gruis, and dhat dhe fi'n'est of a lond'e,
And for to fest'n - -is hood un'der -is tshin
He had of goold irwoukwht a kyy'r'ius pin;
A luv'e-knot in dhe greet'er end'e dher was.
His need was bal'ed and shoon as an'ii glas,
And eek -is faas, as tee -ad been anuinet'.
He was a lord ful fat and in good pint;
His ai'en steep, and rool'iq in -is heed,
Dhat steem'ed as a fur'nais' of a leed;
His boot'es sup-1-is nors in greet estaat'.
Nuu sert'ainlii -e was a fair prelaat';
He was not paal as a forpi'n-ed goost.
A fat swan luv'd -e best of an'ii roost.
His pal'frai was as bruun as is a ber'ie.

10. Dhe Freere

A Freere dher was, a wan'tuun and a mer'ie
A lii'mii'tuur', a ful soo'lem'ne man.
In ale dh- ordres four is noon dhat can
Soo mutsh of daa'launs' and fair laq'gaadzh'e.
He had imaad' ful man'i a fair mar'iaadzh'e
Of juq'e wî'm'en, at -is ooun'e kost.
Untoo -is or'dr-e was a noo'b'l post.
Ful weel biluvd' and faa'mi'leeer' was née
With fraqk'elainz' ovral' in nis kun'tree',
And eek with wurdh'ii wî'm'en of dhe tuun:
For née -ad puu'er' of konfes'iuun',
As said -imself, moor'e dhan a kyy'raat',
For of -is or'dr-e was lii'sen'siaat'.
Ful sweet'elii nerd née konfes'iuun',
And plees'aunt' was -is ab'soolyysiuun';
He was an eez'ii man to jeeve penauuns'e
Dheer as -e wi'st'e to maan a good piu'tauns'e;
For unto a *por* order for to yeve
Is *signe* that a man is wel yschreve.
For *if* he yaafe, he dorste mak' *avawnt*,
He wiste that a man was *repentawnt*.

iii For many a man so hard is of his herte,
He may no wepe though him sore smerte.
Theerfor' insted' of weping' and *preyeres*,

vi Men moote yeve silver to the *pore freres*.
His tipet was ay *farsed* ful of knyfes
And pinnes, for to yeve fayre wyfes.
And *certaynly* he hadd' a mery *note*.
Weel coud' he sing' and pleyen on a *rote*.
Of yedd'ing's he baer utterly the *prys*.
His necke whyt was as the *flour-de-lys*.
Theerto he strong was as a *chaumpion*.
He knew the *tavern's* weel in ev'ry toun,
And ev'rich *ostellaer* or *gay* tapsteer,
Better than a *lazeor* or a beggeer,
For unto swich a worthy man as he
*Accorded* not, as by his *faculte*.
To haan with sike *lazeer's* *acqueytawnce*.
It is not *honest*, it may not *avaunce*,
— For to delen with noon swich *porayle*,
But al with *rich' and seller's of vitayle*.
And ov'ral, ther as *profit* schuld' aryse,
*Curteys* he was, and lowly of *servyse*.
Ther was no man no wheer so *vertuous*.
He was the beste beggeer in his hous,
For thowgh a widwe hadde nowght a sho,
*So plesawnt* was his *In principio*.
Yet wold' he haan a ferthing er he wente.
His *pourchaas* was wel better that his *rente*.
And *rag' he coud' and pleyen as a whelp,
In lovedayes coud' he mochet help'.
For theer was he not *lyk' a cloystereer,*

vi With a threedbare *cop' as a pore schooler*.
But he was *lyk' a mayster* or a pope.
Of *doubel* worsted was his *semicope*.
For un'to a poor ord'er for to jeeve 
Is si'i'ne dat a man is weel ishree'v.e. 
For if' -e jaff, -e drurst'e maak avaunt', 
He wist'e dat a man was ree'pentaunt'. 
For man'i a man soo hard is of' -is her'ce, 
He maie not weep'e dhououkwh -im soore' smert'e. 
Dheer'foor' instead' of weep'iq' and pra'eer'es, 
Men moot'e jeeve' sil'ver too dhe poor'ee freer'es. 
His tip'et was ai fars'ed ful of kniif'es, 
And pin'es for to jeeve' fai're wif'es. 
And ser'tainlii - e nad a mer'i'i noot'e. 
Weel kuund - e siq and pla'i'en on a root'e. 
Of jed'iqz nee baar ut'erlii dhe priis. 
His nek'e whiiit was as dhe fluer de liis. 
Dheer'too' -e stroq was as a tshaun'piuun'. 
The kneu dhe taa'vernz' weel in ev'rii tuun, 
And ev'ritsh os'teleer' or gai tapsteer', 
Bet'er dhan a laa'zeer' or a beg'eer', 
For un'to switsh a wurdh'ii man as nee 
Akord'ed not, as bii' -is fak'ultee 
To naan with siik'e laa'zeerz aa'kwain'tauns'e; 
It is not on'est, it maie not avauns'e, 
For to deel'en with noon switsh poor'ail'e 
But al with ritsh and sel'erz of vii'tail'e. 
And ovral', dheef as prof'it shuld arriise', 
Kur'tais' - e was, and loou'lii of serv'iis'e. 
Dher was noo man noo wheer soo ver'tyy'uus'. 
He was dhe best'e beg'eer' in' -is nuus, 
For dhououkwh a wid'we nade nouk'kht a shoo, 
So plee'saunt' was' -is In pri'nis i'v pioo', 
Jet wold -e naan a fer'dh'iq eer' -e went'e. 
His puurtshaas' was weel bet'er dhan' -is rent'e. 
And raadzh -e kuund, and pla'ien as a whelp, 
In luv'edai'ees kuund -e mutsh'el nelp. 
For dheer was nee not luik a kluist'eer'e', 
With a threed'baa're koop as a poo're skol'eer', 
But nee was luik a maister or a poo'pe. 
Of duu'bl wursted was' -is sem'koop'e,

*verb*um (See Temp. Pref. to Six-Text ed. of Chaucer, p. 93) that he would coax a trifle out of her. The Ha. reads but oo schoo, on which see Temp. Pref. p. 94. That we are not to take the words literally, but that schoo was merely used as a representative of something utterly worthless, which was convenient for the rhyme, just as pull*ed* hen 177, or oyster 182, and the usual bean, straw, modern fig, farthing, etc., is shewn by its use in the Prologue to the Wyf of Bathe, 6288 as pointed out by Mr. Aldis Wright,—

The clerk when he is old, and may nought do

Of Venus werkis, is not worth a schoo.

256 Wee el, so the six MSS., omitted in Ha.

260 So all MSS. except Ca. which reads, as is a scholer, against rhythm. Compare v. 232. See also Temp. Pref. to Six-Text Ed. of Chaucer, p. 100.
And rounded as a bell' out of the presse.
Somewhat he lipsed, for his wantounnesse,
To mak' his English swet' upon his tongue;
And in his harping', whan that he hadd' songe,
His eyghen twinkled in his heed aright.
As doon the sterres in the frosty night.
This worthy limitour was call'd Huberd.

11. The Marchawnt.

A Marchawnt was ther with a forked berd,
In motlee and heygh on hors he sat,
Upon his heed a Flawndrisch bever hat;
His botes clapsed fayr' and fetisly.
His resouns spaak he ful solemnely,
Souning' alwey th' encrees of his winninge.
He wolde the se wer' kept for any thinge
Betwixe Middeburgh and Orewelle.
This worthy man ful weel his wit bisette;
Ther wiste no wight that he was in dette,
So staatlj was he of his governawnce,
With his bargayn's, and with his chevisawnce.
For sooth' he was a worthy man withalle,
But sooth to sayn, I n'oot hou men him calle.

12. The Clerk.

A Clerk ther was of Oxenfoord' also,
That unto logik hadde long' ygo.
So lene was his hors as is a rake,
And he n'as not right fat, I undertake,
But loked' holw', and theerto soberly.
Ful threedbar' was his ov'rest courtepy,
For he hadd' geten him yet no benefyce,
Ne was so worldly for to hav' offyce.
For him was lever hav' at his bedd's heed
Twenty bokes, clad in blak and reed,
Of Aristot'l, and his philosophye,
Than robes rich' or fith'l or gay sawtrye.

264 his, so the six MSS., omitted in Ha. which therefore required lipsede for the metre.
271 motlee, so all but Ha. L which have mottley. The word is obscure, and may be Welsh mudliw, (myd-liu) of a changing colour.
274 All MSS. read he spaaak, but the order of the words is conjecturally altered on account of the rhythm.
275 sou'n appears in ags. as son, (Ettmüller 667) but only as the substantive song. As the word has here the form of one derived from the French it is here printed in italics and marked as French.
And ruund-ed as a bel ut of dhe pres'e.
Sumwhat: ne lip'sed, for -is wan'tuunnes'e,
To maak -is Eq-l'ish sweet upon. dhe tuqe';
And in -is mar'pq, whan dhat nee -ad suq'e,
His aikh'en twirk'led in -is need arikht',
As doon dhe ster'es in dhe frost'ii nikh't.
Dhis wurdh'ii lii'mii'tuur' was kald Hyy.'berd'.

11. Dhe Mar'tshaunt.
A Mar'tshaunt' was dher with a fork'ed berd,
In motlee' and nai'h on nors -e sat,
Upon -is need a Flau'drish beever' nat;
His boot'es klaps-ed fair and fee'tulii.
His ree'suuns' speak -e ful soolem'nellii',
Suu'n'iq' alwai' dh- enkrees' of nis win'iq'e.
He wold'e dhe see wer kept for an'ii thique
Betwiks'e Mid'eburkh and Oo'rewel'e.
Weel kuud -e in est'shaundzh'e sheld'es sel'e.
Dhis wurdh'ii man ful veel -is wit biset'e;
Dher wiste noo wikt dhat -e was in det'e,
Soo staat'lii was nee of -is guu'ernauns'e,
With nis bar'gains' and with -is tshee'viisauns'e.
For sooth -e was a wurdh'ii man withal'e,
But sooth to sain, Ji n - oot nuu man -im kal'e.

12. Dhe Klerk.
A Klerk dher was of Ok'senfoord' al'soo',
Dhat un'to lodzh'ik had'e loq 'igoo'.
So leen'e was -is nors as is a raak'e,
And nee n- -as not rikht fat, Ji undertaak'e.
But look'ed hol'w- and dheer'too soo'berlii.
Ful threed'baar was -is ov'rest kur'tepii,
For nee -ad get'en -im jet noo benefiis'e,
Ne was soo wurdh'ii for to naav ofiis'e.
For him was leev'cr naav at his bedz need
Twen'tii book'es, klad in blak and reed,
Of Aristot'l-, and nis fiu'loo'soo'fiu'e,
Dhan roob'es rish or fidhl'- or gai sautrii'e.

281 staatly, so Co., the rest have estaatly, and Ha. alone omits his, against the metre. If we read:  
so estaatly, the first measure will be trissyllabic.

288 n'as, so E. Ca. Co., but was Ha. He. P. and L.

291 geten him yet no, E.  
He. Ca.; yit geten him no P.,  
nought geten him yet a Ha,  
geten him no, Co. L.

292 wordly E. He. Co., wordely Ca., wordly P., wordly L., Ne was not worthy to haven an office Ha.

296 gay, so all MSS. except Ha. which omits it.
But albe that he was a *philosopher*,
Yet hadd’ he but a lytel gold in *cofer*,
But al that he might’ of his frendes hente,
On bokes and on lerning’ he it spente,
And bisely gan for the sowles *preye*
Of hem, that yaaf him wherwith to *scoleye*.

Of *studie* tok he moost *cur*’ and moost heed.
Not oo word spak he more than was need;
And that was seyd in *form* and *reverence*,
And schort and quik, and ful of heygh *sentence*.
*Souning*’ in *moral vertu* was his speche,
And gladly wold’ he lern’ and gladly *teche*.

13. **The Sergeant of Lawe.**

A *Sergeant* of Lawe, waer and wys,
That often hadde ben at the *parvys*,
Ther was alsoo, ful *rich*’ of *excellence*.
*Discreet* he was, and of *greet reverence*.
He semed’ swich, his wordes wer’ so wyse.
*Justyc*’ he was ful often in *assyse*
By *patent*, and by *pleyn commissioun*,
For his *scienc*’, and for his heygh *renoun*;
Of fees and *robes* hadd’ he many oon.
So greet a *pourchasing* was no wheer noon.
Al was fee *simpel* to him in *effect*.

iii
His *pourchasing* ne mighte not ben *infect*.

iii
No wheer so bisy a man as he ther n’as,
And yit he semed’ bisier than he was.
In *termes* hadd’ he *caas* and domes alle,

iii
That fro the tym’ of king *William* wer’ falle.
Theerto he coud’ *endyt*’ and mak’ a thing.
Ther coude no wight *pinch*’ at his *writing*.
And ev’ry *statut* coud’ he *pleyn* by *rote*.
He rood but hoomly in a *medlee cote*,
Gird with a *coynt* of silk with *barres* smale;
Of his *array* tell’ I no longer tale.

297 So the six MSS., the Ha. is unmetrical. The long vowels in *philosopher*, *gold*, *coffer*, are very doubtful, and it is perhaps more probable that short vowels would be correct.

298 “a” is only found in Co. If it is omitted, the first metre becomes defective.

303 *moost heed*, so the six MSS.; *heed* Ha.

305 So all the six MSS. (H. has *spoke*), but Ha. has the entirely different line: Al that he spak it was of heye prudence. The whole of the clerk’s character is defective in Ha. In “Cassell’s Magazine” for May, 1869, p. 479, col. 1, there occurs the following paragraph: “The following pithy sketch of Oxford life half a dozen centuries ago is from the pen of Wycliffe:—The scholar is famed for his logic; Aristotle is his daily bread, but otherwise his rations are slender enough. The horse he rides is as lean as is a rake, and the rider is no better off. His cheek is hollow, and his coat
But al bee dhat -e wer a fii'loosoo'fer,
Jet nad -e but a lii't'l goold in koof'er,
And al dhat nee miikht of -is fred'es ment'e,
On book'es and on lern'iq nee it spent'e,
Andbiz'ilii gan for dhe soul'es prai'e
Of nem dhat jaaf -im wheer'with to skolai'e.
Of stud'ie took -e moost kyyr and moostheed.
Not oo word spaak -e moor'e dhan was need;
And dhat was said in form and ree'verens'e,
And short and kwik and ful of naikh sentens'e.
Suur'niq' in moor'aal ver'tty was -is speetsh'e,
And glad'lii wold -e lern, and glad'lii teetshe.'

13. Dhe Ser'dzhee aunt of Lau'e.

A Ser'dzhee aunt' of Lau'e, waar and wiis,
Dhat of'ten mad'e been at dhe par'viis',
Dher was alsoo', ful rtsh of ek'se'lns'e.
Diskreet' -e was and of greet ree'verens'e.
He seem'ed switsh, -is word'es wer soo wiis'e.
Dzyyst'iis' -e was ful oft'en in asiis'e
Bii paa'tent, and bir plain komis'iun';
For his sii'ens, and for -is naikh renuun';
Of feez and roob'ees nad -e man'ii oon,
So greet a puur'tsha'a'suur' was noo wheer noon.
Al was fee sim'pl too -im in efekt;
His puur'tshaas'iq' ne miikht'e not been infekt'.
Noo wheer soo biz'i a man as nee dher n- -as,
And sit -e seem'ed biz'ier dhan -e was.
In term'es nad -e kaas and doom'es al'e,
Dhat froo dhe tsim of kiq Wil'iaam' wer fal'e.
Dheertoo' ne kuud endiit' and maak a thiq.
Dher kuud'e noo wikht pintsh at his ruuit'iq'.
And ev'rii staa'tyyt kuud -e plain bii root'e.
He rood but noom'lii: in a med'lee koot'e,
Gird with a saint of silk with bar'es smaal'e;
Of nis arai: tel II noo leq'ger taal'e.

threadbare. His bedroom is his study.
Over his bed's head are some twenty volumes in black and red. Whatever coin he gets goes for books, and those who help him to coin will certainly have the advantage of his prayers for the good of their souls while they live, or their repose when they are dead. His words are few, but full of meaning. His highest thought of life is of learning and teaching. This is obviously a modern English translation of the present passage. Is there anything like it in Wyeliffe?
14. The Frankeleyn.

A Frankeleyn was in his companye;
Whyt was his berd, as is the dayesye.
Of his complexioun he was sangwyn.
Weel lov'd' he by the morrw' a sop in wyn'.
To lyven in delyt' was e'er his wone,
For he was Epicurus owne sone,
That heeld opinioun that pleyn delyt
Was verrayly felicite perfyt.
An housholdeer, and that a greet was he;
Saynt Juliaan he was in his cuntree.
His breed, his ale, was alwey after oon;
A bettr' envyned man was no wheer noon,
Of fisch' and flesch', that so plentevom
It snewed in his hous of met' and drinke
Of alle deyntees that men coude thinke.
After the sondry sesouns of the yeer',
So chawnged' he his met' and his soupeer.
Ful many a fat partrich hadd' he in meue,
And many a breem and many a luc' in stew.
Woo was his cook, but if his sawce were
Poynawnt and scharp, and redy al his gere.
His tabel dormawnt in his hall' alwey
Stood redy cover'd al the longe day.
At sessioums theer was he lord and syre.
Ful ofte tym' he was knight of the schyre.
An anlas and a gipseer al of silk
Heng at his girdel, whyt as morne milk.
A shyrreev hadd' he been, and a countour.
Was no wheer such a worthy vavasour.

15. 16. 17. 18. 19. The Haberdascheer, Carpenteeer, Webbe,
Dyeer, and Tapiceer.

An Haberdascheer, and a Carpenteeer,
A Webb', a Dyeer, and a Tapiceer,
Wer' with us eek, clothed in oo liv'ree,
Of a solemn' and greet fraternite.
Ful fresch and new' her' ger' apyked was;
Her' knyfes wer' ychaped not with bras,
But al with silver wrovght ful elcn' and weel
Her' girdles and her' pouches cv'ry deel.
Weel seemed' eech of hem a fayr burgeys
To sitten in a yeld'hall' on the deys.

334 sop in wyn, so all six
MSS., sop of wyn Ha.

348 So all six MSS. Ha. reads: He chaunged hem at mete and at soper, which is clearly wrong:
14. Dhe Fraqk'elain.

A Fraqk'elain was in -is kum'panii'e;
Whi'ft was -is berd, as is dhe dai'esire.
Of -is komplek'siuan' -e was saqgwii'n'.
Weel luv'd -e in dhe morn a sop in wiin.
To liiv'en in deliit' was eer -is wuum'e,
For nee was Ee'pi'kyry'rus ooun'e suun'e,
Dhat nee'ld oo'pi'nyuun' dhat plain deliit'.
Was verai'lli fee'li'sitt'e pef'fit'.
An muus'hooldere', and dhat a greet was nee;
Saint Dzhyyliaan' -e was in mis kun'tree'.
His breed, mis aan'le, was al'wai after oon;
A bet'r- enviin'ed man was noo wheer noon.
Without'e baak'e meet'e was neer -is muus
Of fis'h, and flesh, and dhat soo plent'evuus.
St neued in -is muus of meet and drik'k'e
Of al' e dain'tees dhat men kuud'de thiik'e.
Aft'er dhe sun'driY see'suunz- of dhe jeeer,
Soo tshaundzh'ed nee mis meet and mis sumpeer'.
Ful man'i a fat partvitch' -ad nee in myy'e,
And man'i a breem and man'i a lyys in sty'e'.
Woo was -is kook, but if -is saus'e weere'
Puin'aunt' and sharp, and reed'i'i al -is geere'.
His taa'b'l dor'maunt' in -is hal alwai
Stood red'i'i kuv'erd al dhe loq' e dai.
At ses'suunz' dheer was -e lord and siir'e.
Ful oft'e tiim -e was knikht of dhe shiir'e.
An an'las and a dzhip'seer' al of silk
Heq at -is gir'd'l, whiit as morn'e milk.
A shiir'reev' nad -e been, and a kun'tuur.'
Was noo wheer sutsh a wurdh'i'i vaa'vaasuur'.

15.16.17.18.19. Dhe Hab'erdash'eer, Karpenteer',
Web'e, Div'eer, and Taap'pi'seer.

An Hab'erdash'eer and a Karpenteer',
A Web, a Div'eer, and a Taap'pi'seer',
Weer with us eek, cloudh'ed in oo liiv'vree',
Of a soo'lem'n- and greet fraarter'miitee'.
Ful fresh and neu -er geer apiik'ed was;
Her kniit'es wer itshaap'ed not with bras,
 But al with siv'ver rewoukeht ful kleen and weel
Her giir'dlees and -er puutsh'es ev'rii deel.
Weel seem'ed eets of hem a fair bur'dzhais'.
To siti'en in a jeld'nal on dhe dais.

362 dy eer, so the six MSS., Harl. 365 apyk ed, so all six MSS.,
deyer, see dyer, p. 643. piked Ha.
— Ev'rich for the wisdom that he can,

Was schaaply for to been an alderman.

For catel hadde they ynoough and rente,
And eek her' wyfes wold' it wel assente;
And elles certayn weren they to blame.

It is ful fayr to be yclept Madame,
And goo to vigilyes al bifoire,
And haan a mantel really ybore.

20. The Cook.

A Cook they hadde with hem for the none,
To boyle chicknes with the mary bones,
And poudre-marchawnt tart, and galingale.

Weel cou'd' he know' a drawght of London ale.
He coude roost', and seeth', and broyl', and frys,
Make mortrewes, and weel bak' a pye.

But greet harm was it, as it semed' me,
That on his schinn' a normal hadde he;
For blankmangeer that maad' he with the beste.

21. The Schipman.

A Schipman was ther, woning' fer by weste;
For oght I woot, he was of Dertemoute.
He rood upon a rounce as he couthe,

— In a goun of falding' to the kne.
A daggeor hanging' on a laas hadd' he
About' his neck' under his arm adoun.

iii The hoote sommer hadd' mad' his hew al broun;
And certaynly he was a good felawe.

iii Ful many a drawght of wyn hadd' he ydrawe
From Bourdevex-ward, whyl that the chapman sleep.
Of nyce conscience' he took no keep.
If that he fowght, and hadd' the heygher hand,

iii By water he sent' hem hoom to ev'ry land'.
But of his craft to reckon weel the tydes,
His streymes and his dawngers' him bisydes,

371 ev'rich, so all six MSS.,
ev'ry man Ha.

375 were n they, so, or: they were, read all six MSS., hadde they be Ha.

380 mary, ags. meark, the h becoming unusually palatalised to -y, instead of labialised to -we; the parenthetical remark p. 254, n. 1. is wrong.

381 poudre-marchawnt, see Temp. Pref. to the Six-Text Ed. of Chaucer, p. 96.

386 Prof. Child reads: That on his schyne—a normal hadde he, supra p. 363. The Six MSS. render many of the examples there cited suspicious, see note on v. 120 for v. 1141. In v. 1324, He. reads m o o t, and the line may be: Withouten dout' it mote stonden so. For v. 1337 all six MSS. read: And let him in his prison stille dwelle. For v. 2286 all six MSS. read: But hou sche did' hir' ryt' I dar not telle. For v. 2385, E. He. Ca. Co. L. read: For thilke peyn' and thilke hote fryr. In v. 2714, E. He. Ca. have: Somm' hadden salves and somm' hadden charmes. For v. 1766,
Evr'tsh for dhe wis'doom dhat -e kan,
Was shaap'-l'ii for to been an al'derman. 372
For kat'-el nad'c dhai inuukeh' and rent'e,
And eek -er wiit'es wold it weel asent'e;
And el'es sert'ain weer'en dhai to blaam'e.
It is ful fair to be sklept' Ma a' d a a'm'e, 376
And goo to vii'dzhiliil'e es al bifoor'e,
And maan a man't'l ree'alii 'boor'e.

20. Dhe Kook.
A Kook dhai nad'e with -em for dhe noon'es,
To buil'e thsh'k'es with dhe mar'-i boorn'es, 380
And puud're mar'tshaunt' tart, and gaa-liggaal'e.
Weel kun'd -e knou a draunkwh of Lun'dun aal'e.
He kun'de roost, and seedh, and bruil, and fri'c,
Maak'-e mortre'un'es, and weel baak a pri'e.
But greet harm was it, as it seem'ed mee,
Dhat on -is shm a mor'maal: nad'e nee;
For blaqk-maan'dzheer' dhat maad -e with dhe best'e.

A Ship'man was dher, wuun'iq fer bii west'e; 388
For oukhe'te L' woot, ne was of Dert'emuuth'e.
He rood upon' a ruun'sii as -e kuuth'e,
In a guun of fal'diq' too dhe knee.
A dag'er' naq'iq on a laas -ad nee 392
Abuut' -is nek un'der -is arm aduun'.
Dhe moot'c sum'er -ad maad -is neu al bruun;
And sert'ainlii -e was a good fel'ure.
Ful man'-i a draunkh of wiin -ad nee idrau'e
From Buur'deus-ward, whi'll dhat dhe tshap'man sleep.
Of nis'e kon'siens' -c took noo keep.
If dhat -e foukwh and nad dhe nailh'er mand,
Bii waa'ter -e sent -em noom to ev'rii land. 400
But of -is kraft to rek'-en weel dhe tii'd'es,
His streem'es and -is daun'dzherz nim bisiid'es,

E. He. Ca. Co. L. read: The trespass of hem both' and eek the cause. For v. 4377 (in which read sight for night) E. He. Pe. L. practically agree with Ha., but it would be easy to conjecture: Til that he hadd' al thilke sight' yseyn. For v. 4405, E. reads rotie in place of rote, but He. Pe. L. agree with Ha. The form rotie, which is more ancient, see Stratmann's Dict. p. 467, would save the open vowel. It is possible, therefore, that the other examples of open e preserved by caesura in Chaucer, would disappear if more MSS. were consulted. Again, in the first line cited from Gower, i. 143, we see in the example below that two MSS. read: he wept' and with ful woful teres. The practice is therefore doubtful. But final e often remains before he at the end of a line in Gower, supra, p. 361, art. 76, a. Hence the division in the text is justified. There is no variety in the readings of the MSS. 387 that maad' he, so all six MSS. Ha. he made. 391 falding, -vestis equi vil-
His herbergh and his moon', his loodmanage,
Ther was noon swich from Hulle to Cartage.

Hardy he was, and wys to undertake;

With many a tempest hath his herd been schake.

He knew weel al the haven's, as they were,
From Scotland to the caap' of Fynistere,
And every cryk' in Bretayn' and in Spayne;
His barg' ycleped was the Mawdeleyne.

22. The Doctour of Phisylc.

Ther was also a Doctour of Phisyk,
In al this world ne was ther noon him lyk
To spek' of phisyk and of surgery e;
For he was grounded in astronomye.
He knew weel al the haven's, as they were,
Prom Scotland to the caap' of Fynistere,
And every cryk' in Bretayn' and in Spayne;
His barg' ycleped was the Mawdeleyne.

He kept' his pacient a ful greet deel
In houres by his magyk natureel.

"Weel coud' he fortunen th' ascendent
Of his images for his pacient.
He knew the caws' of ev'ry maladye,
Wer' it of coold, or heet', or moyst, or drye,
And wheer engendred and of what humour;
He was a verray parfyt practisour.
The caws' yknow', and of his harm the rote,
Anoon he yaaf the syke man his bote.

Ful redy hadd' he his apotecaryes
To send' him drogges, and his letuaryes,
For eech' of hem mad' other for to winne;
Her' frendship' was not newe to beginne.

Weel knew he th' old' Escalapius,
And Deiscorides, and eek Rufus;
Oold Ipocras, Haly, and Galien;
Serpion, Razys, and Avycen;
Averrois, Damasen, and Constantyn;
Bernard and Gatesden and Gilbertyn.
Of his dyete mesurabel was he,
For it was of noon superfluite,
But of greet nourisching' and digestybel.
His studie was but lytel on the Bybel.
In sangwyn and in pers he clad was al,
Lyned with taffata and with sendal'.
And yit he was but esy in dispence;
He kepe that he wan in pestilence.
For goold in phisyk is a cordial;
Theerfor' he loved' goold in special.

losa, see Temp. Pref. to Six-Text Ed. of Ch. p. 99.
403 loodmanage, pilotage, see Temp. Pref. to Six-Text Ed. of Chaucer, p. 98. A loodman must have been a pilot, or leading-man, compare loadstone, loadstar. The -age is a French termination.
415 a ful greet deel, so all six MSS., wondurly wel Ha.
Hi's her'berkh and -is moon', -is lood'manaadzh'e,
Dher was noon swit'ch from Hul'e too Kartaadzh'e. 404
Hard'ii ne was, and wiiis to un'dertaak'e;
With man'i a tem'pest nath -is berd been shaak'e.
He kneu weel al dhe naa'ven'z, as dhai weer'e,
From Skotland too dhe kaap of Fu'nisteer'e, 408
And ev'rii kriik in Bree-tain and in Spain'e;
His baar'dzh 'iklep'ed was dhe Mau'delaure.

22. Dhe Dok'tuur of Fu'ziik:
Dher was alsoo' a Dok'tuur' of Fu'ziik;
In al dhe world ne was dher noon -im liik 412
To speek of fu'ziik: and of sur'dzhheri'-e;
For hee was grund'ed in astroo'nom'i'e.
He kept -is paa'sient' a ful greet deel
In uur'es bi'-is maad'zhiiik naa'tyy'reel'.
Weel kuu'd 'hee fortyyn'en dh- as'endent'
Of nis imaadzh'es for -is paa'sient'.
He kneu dhe kauz of ev'rii maal'aadii'-e,
Weer et of koold, or neet, or muist, or dri'e,
And wheer endzhen'dred, and of what nyy'muur';
He was a ver'ai par'fiiit prak'tii'suur'.
Dhe kauz 'knoou', and of -is narm dhe root'e,
Anoon' -e yaaf dhe sii'k'e man -is boot'e.
Ful red'ii had -e nis apootee'kaar'ies 424
To send -im drog'es, and -is let'yy'aa'ries,
For etsh of nem maad udh'er for to win'e;
Her fred'shiip was not neu'e too begin'e.
Weel kneu 'nee dh- oold Es'kyy'laa'p'ius,
And Dee,iskor'iides, and eek Ryy'fus;
Oold Ipopras', Haalii', and Gaal'icionar;
Seraap'oon', Raaziz' and Aar'viiseen';
Avero'is, Daamaseen' and Konstantooin';
Bernard' and Gaat'esden' and Gilbertiim'.
Of nis diieet'ee mee'syy'raa'b'l was 'nee,
For et it was of noon syy'perflly'itee,
But of greet nuur'ishiq' and diii'dzhes'tii'b'l.
His stud'ie was but liit'l on dhe Bi'i'b'l.
In saq'gwiin' and in pers -e klad was al,
Lii'n'ed with taf'ataa' and with sendal'.
And jii -e was but eez'ii in dispense';
He kep'te dhat -e wan in pestile'se.
For goold in fi'i'ziik is a kordial';
Dheerfoor' -e luv'ed goold in spes'ial'.

429 Suprà p. 341, l. 2 and 13, I treated this as a full line, thinking that the e in old e was to be preserved. Further consideration induces me to mark the line as having an imperfect first measure, and to elide the e in the regular way, on the principle that exceptional usages should not be unnecessarily assumed.
A good Wyf was ther of bisyde Bathe,
But sche was somdeel deep, and that was skathe.
Of clothmaking' sche hadde swich an haunt,
Sche passed' hem of Ypres and of Gawnt.
In al the parisch' wyf ne was ther noon,
That to th' offeringe' bifoorn her schulde goon,

And if ther dide, certayn so wrooth was sche,
That sche was out of alle charite.

Hir' keverchefs ful fyne wer' of grounde;
I durste swere they weygheden ten pounde
That on a Sunday wer' upon hir' heed.
Hir' hosen weren of fyn scarlet reed,
Ful strey' ytceyd', and schoos ful moyst' and newe.
Boold was hir' faac', and fayr, and reed of hewe.
Sche was a worthy woman al hir' lyfe.

Housbond's at chirche dore sche hadd' fyfe,
Withouten other company in youthe,
But theerof nedeth nowght to spek' as nouthe.

And thryes hadd' sche been at Jerusalem;
Sche hadde passed many a straunge streem;
At Rome sche hadd' been, and at Bolyne,
In Galic', at saynt Jaam', and at Coloyne.
Sche couthe moch' of wandring' by the weye.
Gaat-tothed was sche, sooth'ly for to seye.
Upon an ambleer esely sche sat,
Ywimpled wel, and on hir' heed an hat
As brood as is a boucleer or a targe;
A foot-mantel about' hir' hipples large,
And on hir' feet a payr' of spores scharpe.
In felawschip' weel coud' sche lawgh' and carpe.

Of remedy's of love sche knew parchawnce,
For sche coud' of that art the oolde dawnce.

A good man was ther of religioun,
And was a pore Persoun of a toun;
But rich' he was of holy thought and werk',
He was also a lerned man, a clerk,
That Cristes gospel gladly wolde preche;
His parischens devoutly wold' he teche.

was thanne out Ha.
ful fyne wer', so the six MSS., werei ful fyne Ha.
weygheden, weyghede Ha. weyeden E. He. Co. P,
23. Dhe Wiif of Baath'e.

A good wiif was dher of bsiid'e Baath'e,
But shee was sum'deel deef, and dhat was skaath'e.
Of klooth'maak'iq' she had'e switsh an haunt,
She pas'ed nem of l'pres and of Gaunt.

In al dhe par'ish wiif ne was dher noon,
Dhat too dh- ofriq' bifoorn' -er shuld'e goon,
And if dheer did'e, ser'tain' so rwooth was shee,
Dhat shee was uut of al-e tsaa'l'r'ic'.

Huir kevertshefs ful fiin'e weer of grund'e;
Durst'de swee're dheai wai/dreden ten puund'e
Dhat on a Sun'dai weer upon' -iir heed.

Faal dheer nooz'en weer'en of fiin skar'let reed,
Full strait staid', and shooz ful muist and nue'e.
Boold was -uir faas, and fair and reed of nue'e.
She was a wurdh-n wunran al -uir
Huus-bondz-at ts*rtslre shee sad fnf'e,
Withoot'en udher kum'pann-in ruuth'e,
But dheer'of need-eth noukwht to speek as nuuth'e.
And thrtres shee had been at Dzeeruu'saleem';
She mad'e pas'ed man'-i a straundzh'e streem;
At Room'e shee had been, and at Bolooim'e,
In Gaa'lis', at saint Dzhaam, and at Kolooim'e.

She kuuth'e mutsh of wand'-riq bii dhe wai'e.
Gaat-tooth'ed was she, sooth-lii for to sai'e.
Upon' an am'bleer ces'elii she sat,
Wim'pled weel, and on -uir need an hat
As brood as is a buk'leer' or a tardzh'e;
A foot'mantel- abuut' -uir nip'es lardzh'e,
And on -uir feet a pair of spuur'es sharp'e.

In fel'aushwip weel kuud she laugwh and karp'e.
Of rem'edriz' of luuv'e she kneu partshauns'e,
For shee kuud of dhat art dhe oold'e dauns'e.

24. Dhe Persuun'.

A good man was dher of reli'dzhiaun';
And was a poor'e Persuun' of a tuun;
But ritsh-e was of nool'-iir thoukwht and werk,
He was alsoo' a lern'ed man, a klerk,
Dhat Krist'es gosp'el glad'lii wold'e preetsh'e;
His par'ishenz devuut'lii wold -e teetsh'e.

465, 466. Boloyne, Coloyne. The MSS. are very uncertain in their orthography. Boloyne, Coloyne, appear in Ha. He. Ca., and Boloyne in P. L., but we find Boloigne, Coloigne in E. Co., Coloigne in P., and Coloynge in L. The pronunciation assigned is quite conjectural. The following pronunciations of the termination are also possible: (-oon'e,-oon-e,-uin'e, uiq'ne) The modern Cockneyism (Bwloin-, Kaloin-) points to (-uin'e). See also note on v. 634.
Benyn’ he was and wonder dylygent,
And in adversite ful pacient;
And such he was ypreved ofte sythes.
Ful looth wer’ him to curse for his tythes,
But rather wold’ he yeven out of doubt,
Unto his pore parischens aboute,
Of his offring’, and eek of his substantwne.
He coud’ in lytel thing haan susstwne.

Wyd was his parisch, and houses fer asonder,
But he ne lafte not for reyn ne thonder,
In sikness’ nor in meschief’ to visyte
The frestest in his parisch’, mocl’ and lyte,
Upon his feet, and in his hond a staaf.
This nobl’ ensample to his scheep he yaaft,
That first he wroght’, and after that he tawghte.
Out of the gospel he tho wordes cawghte,
And this figur’ he added’ eek thereto,
That if goold ruste, what schuld’ yren do?
For if a preest be foul, on whom we truste,
No wonder is a lewed man to ruste;
And scham’ it is, if a preest take kep’
A schyten schepperd and a clene scheep;
Weel owght’ a preest ensample for to yive
By his cleness’, hou that his scheep schuld’ live.

He sett not his benefyce to hyre,
And left’ his scheep encomb’red in the myre,
And ran to London’, unto saynt Powles,
To seken him a chawnterye for sowles,
Or with a bretherheed to been withhoolde;
But dwelt’ at hoom, and kep’ wel his foolde,
So that the wolf ne mad’ it not miscarye.
He was a schepperd, and not a mercenarye;
And thowgh he holy wer’ and vertuous,
He was to sinful man nowght dispitous,
Ne of his speche daungerous ne dygne,
But in his teching’ discreet and benyge.

meschief, so all but Ca.,
which reads myschief, and L. which has meschief. The old French forms,
according to Roquefort, are meschef, meschif, meschis, meschies, meschief, mesciès.

ek E. He. Co. P., yit Ha.,
omitted in Ca., L. has eke he hadded. Ca. reads addede, but no particular value is attachable to its final e’s.

So all six MSS., if that Ha. in which case tak’ must be read,
Beniin’ -e was and wund’er dii1 ‘liidzhent’,  
And in adver’site: ful paa’sient’,  
And suthsh -e was ipreev’ed oft’e siidh’-es.  
Ful looth wer nim to kurs’e for -is tiidh’-es,  
But raadh’-er wold -e jeev’en uut of duut’e,  
Untoo’ -is poor’e par’ishenz abuut’e,  
Of nis ofrîq’; and eek of nis substauns’e.  
He kuud in lii’t’l thiq man syf’sauns’e.  
Wiid was -is par’ish, and muus’es fer asunder,  
But nee ne lait’e not for rain ne thund’er,  
In sik’-nes nor in mes’tsheef’ to vii’ziit’e  
Dhe fer’est in -is par’ish, mutsh and liit’e,  
Upon’ -is feet, and in -is nond a staaf.  
Dhis noo’-bl- ensam’p’l too -is sheep -e jaaf,  
Dhat first -e rwowukwht, and after dhat -e taukw’-t’e.  
Uut of dhe gos’pel nee dho word’-es kaukwh’t’e,  
And dhis tii’gyyr’ -e ad’ed eek dhertoof’,  
Dhat if goold rust’e, what shuld ii’ren doo?  
For if a preest be fuul, on whom we trust’e,  
Noo wund’-er is a leu’ed man to rust’e;  
And shaam it is, if a preest taak’e keep,  
A shii’ten sheep’-erd and a kleen’e sheep;  
Weel oukwht a preest ensam’p’l for to jii’v’e  
Bi’ mis kleen’n’es, muu dhat -is sheep shuld lii’v’e.  
He set’e not -is ben’eef’-e to mi’i’-e,  
And left -is sheep enkum’-bred in dhe mi’i’-e,  
And ran to Lun’dun, un’-to saa’int Poul’-es,  
To seek’en nim a tshaun’t’rii’e for soul’-es,  
Or with a breedh’-erned to been wthrenold’e;  
But dwelt at noom, and kepte weel -is foold’e,  
Soo dhat dhe wulf ne maad’it not miskar’i’e,  
He was a shep’-erd, and not a menseran’i’e;  
And dhooukwh’ -e nool’ii weer and vert’y’ynuus’,  
He was to sin’ful man noukwht dis’piittuus’,  
Nee of -is speetshe: daun’dzheruus’ ne dii’n’e,  
But in -is teets’h’iq dis’kreet’ and beniin’e.

509 s a y n t, Ha. and Co. add an e,  
thus s e y n t e for the metre, the other  
five MSS. have no e, and the gram-  
matical construction forbids its use.  
Tyrwhitt, to fill up the number of  
syllables, rather than the metre, (for  
he plays havoc with the accentual  
rhythm which commentators seem to  
have hitherto much neglected, but  
which Chaucer’s ear must have appreci-  
ated,) changes the first to into  
unto, thus: And ran unto London,  
unto Seint Poules, but this is not  
sanctioned by any MS. The solution  
of the difficulty is to be found in the  
occasional dissyllabic use of sain’t, see  
note on v. 126. P o w l e s, see supra  
pp. 145, 148. Mr. Gibbs mentions  
that he knows (Powels) as an existent  
Londoner’s pronunciation in the phrase  
as old as Powel’s, see supra p. 266 for  
Chaucer’s usage.

512 f o l d e, the final e is excep-  
tional, supra p. 384, col. 1.

514 a n d n o t a, so all the six  
MSS., and no Ha.
To drawen folk to heven by fayrnesse,  
By good ensampe, was his besinesse;  
But it wer' eny person obstinaat,  
Whatso he wer' of heygh or low' estaat,  
Him wold he snibbe scharply for the nones.

iii A bett' re preest I trowe ther nowheer noon is.  
iii He wayted' after no pomp' and reverence,  
Ne maked' him a spyced conscience,  
But Cristes loor', and his apostel's twelve,  
He tawght', and first he folwed' it himselfe.

25. The Ploughman.

With him ther was a Ploughman, was his brother,  
iii That hadd' ylaad of dong' ful many a fother.  
A trewe swinker and a good was he,  
Living' in pees and perfyt charite.  
God lov'd' he best with al his hole herte  
At alle tymes, thowgh him gam'd' or smerte,  
And than his neygebour right as himselfe.  
He wolde thresch' and therto dyk' and delve,

iii For Cristes sake, for ev'ry pore wighte,  
Withouten hyr', if it lay in his mighte.  
But tythes payed' he ful fayr' and weel,  
Booth of his prop're swink', and his catel.  
In a tabbard' he rood upon a meer'.

Ther was also a reev' and a milleer,  
A somnour and a pardoneer also,  
A mawncip'l and myself, ther wer' no mo.


The Milleer was a stout carl for the nones,  
Ful big he was of brawn, and eek of bones;  
That preved' weel, for ov'ral ther he cam,  
At wrastling' he wold' hav' awey the ram.  
He was schort schuld'red, brood, a thikke knarre,

iii Ther n'as no dore that he n'old' heev' of harre  
Or breck' it with a rening' with his heed.  
His berd as ony sou' or fox was reed,  
And thecrtro brood, as thowgh it wer' a spade.  
Upon the cop right of his noos' he hadde

519 fayrnesse E. He. Co. P.  
L., eilenesse Ha. Ca., with He.,  
by, the rest.

525 a nd E. He. Co. P. L., ne  
Ha. Ca., but this would introduce two  
trissyllabic measures.

526 spyced conscience, com-
To draw'en folk to hev'en bii fairnes'e,
Bii good ensam'pl', was -is besines'e;
But it wer en'ii persuun' ob'stinaat,'
What'soo' -e weer of naikh or loou estaat,'
Him wold -e snh'e sharp'lii for dhe noon'es.
A bet're preest Hi trou'e dher noo wheer noon is.
He wait-ed aft'er no pomp and reeverens'e,
Ne maak'ed Him a spis'ed kon'siens'e,
But Krist'esloor, and mis apos't'lz twel'v'e,
He tauk'ed, and first -e fol'wed it himself'e.

25. Dhe Pluukwh'man.

With him dher was a Pluukwh'man, was -is broodh'er,
Dhat nad ilaad' of duq ful man'i a foodh'er.
A tre'u' swiqk'er and a good was hee,
Liiv'iq in pees and per'fiit' tshaariitee'.
God luvd -e best with al -is nool'e nert'e
At al'e tiim'es, dhooukwh-im gaamd or smert'e,
And dhan -is naikh-ebuur rikt as -imselve.'
He wold'thresh and dher'too diik and delv'e,
For Krist'es saak'e, for evrii poo're wiA;ht'e,
Withuut'en miir, if it lai in -is mikt'e.
But tiidh'es pai'ed see ful fair and weel,
Booth of -is prop're swiqk and -is kat'el'.
In a tab'ard' -e rood upon a meer.

Dher was alsoo' a reev and a m'l'eer',
A sum'nuur' and a par'doneer alsoo',
A maun'sipl- and miiself', dher weer no moo.


Dhe Ml'eer' was a sttuht karl for dhe noon'es,
Ful big -e was of braun, and eek of boon'es;
Dhat preev'ed weel, for ov'ral' dher -e kaam,
At res'liq hee wold maav'away' dhe ram.
He was short shuld'ed, brood, a thik'e knar'e,
Dher n- -as no door'e dhat hee n- -old neev of mar'e
Or breck it with a ren'iq' with -is need.
His berd as on'ii suu or foks was reed,
And dher-t'o brood, as dhoukwh it weer a spaa'de.
Upon dhe kop rikt of -is nooz -e nad'e
A wert', and theeron stood a tuft of heres,
Reed as the berstles of a soues eres.
His nose-thirles blake wer' and wyde.
A swerd and boucleer baar he by his syde.
His mouth as greet was as a greet fornyays.

iii

He was a jangleer and a goliardes,
And that was most of sinn' and harlotryes.
Weel could' he stele corn, and tollen thryes;
And yet he hadd' a thomb' of goold', parde!
A whyt cootf and a blew hood wered he.
A baggepype coud' he blow' and soune,
And theerwithal he brought us out of toune.

27. The Mawncipel.

iii

A gentel Mawncipel was ther of a tempel,
Of which achatours mighten tak' exempl,
For to be wys in bying' of vitaille.
For whether that he pay'd or took by taille,
Algat' he wayted so in his achat
That he was ay bifoorn and in good state.
Nou is not that of God a ful fayr grace,
That swich a lewed mannes wit schal pace
The wisdom of an heep of lern'de men?
Of mayster's hadd' he moo than thryes ten,
That wer' of law' expert and curious,
Of which ther wer' a doseyn in that hous,
Worthy to be stiwards of rent' and londe
Of any lord that is in Engelonde,
To mak' him lyve by his propre good'
In honour del'teles, but he were wood,
Or lyv' as scarsly as he can desyre;
And abel for to helpen al a schyre
In any caas* that mighte fall' or happe;
And yit this mawncipel sett' her' aller cappe.

28. The Reve.

iii

The Reve was a sclender colorik man,
His herd was schav' as neygh as c'er he can.
His heer was by his eres round yshcoorn.
His top was docked lyk a preest bifoorn.
Ful longe wer' his legges and ful lene,
Ylyk a staaf, ther was no calf ysene.
Weel coud' he keep a gerner and a binne,
Ther was noon awditour coud' on him winne.
Weel wist' he by the drought,' and by the reyne,
The yeelding of his seed' and of his grayne.

559 fornyays, see note to v. 202. 559 bying, see suprâ, p. 285.
560 a blew, E. He. Ca., Co., a
blewe P. L., blewe Ha. 572 state has only a dative e.
A wert, and dheer on stood a tuft of nee'cs,
Reed as dhe bers'tles of a suu'cs eer'es.  
His nooze thirl'es blaak'e wer and wiid'e.
A sword and buk'leer' baar -e bii -is siid'e.  
His muuth as greet was as a greet formais'.
He was a dzaq'leer' and a gool'ardais',
And dhat was moost of sin and har'lotri'es.
Weel -e steel'e korn, and tol'en thrri'es;
And jet -e had a thumb of goold, pardee'!
A whii't koot and a bleu hood weer'ed nee.
A bag'epn'-pe kuud -e broou and suun'e,
And dheer'withal' -e broukzht us uut of tuun'e.

27. Dhe Maun'sip'1.
A dzen't'l Maun'sip'1 was dher of a temp'1,
Of whits'h atshaat'uurz' miikh't'en taak eksem'p'l,
For to be wiis in bii'iq of viitail'e.
For wheth' er dhat -e paid or took bii' tail'e,
Algaat' -e wait'ed soo in nis atshaat'e,
Dhat nee was ai bifoorn' and in good staat'e.
Nuu is not dhat of God a ful fair graas'e,
Dhat switsh a leu'ed man' es wit shal paas'e.
Dhe wis'doom of an neep of lern'de men?
Of mais'terz had -e moo dhan thrri'es ten,
Dhat wer of lau ekspert' and kyy'riuu's;
Of whits'h dher weer a duu'zain' in dhat nuus,
Wurdh'r'tt to bee stiwardz' of rent and lond'e.
Of an'ii lord dhat is in Eq'elond'e,
To maak -im lii'v'e bii -is prop're good
In on'uur' det'ees, but -e weere wood,
Or lii'v as skars'lii as -e kan desiir'e;
And aa'b'l for to help'en al a shii're
In an'ii kaas dhat miikh't fal or nap'e;
And jit dhis maun'sip'1 set -er al'er kap'e.

Dhe Reeve was a sklend'er kol'erk man,
His berd was shaav as naik'h as eer -e kan.
His neer was bii -is eer'es ruund iishoorn'.
His top was dok'ed liik a preest bifoorn'.
Ful loq' e weer -is leg'es and ful leen'e,
Liik' a staaf, dher was no kalf iseen'e.
Weel kuud -e keep a gern' er and a bii'e,
Dher was noon an'dituur' kund on -im win'e.
Weel wist -e bii dhe drunkwht, and bii dhe rain'e,
Dhe jeeld'iq of -is seed and of -is grain'e.
His lordes scheep, his neet, his deyerye,
His swyn, his hors, his stoor, and his pultrye,
Was hoolly in this reves governing',
And by his covenawnt yaf the rek'ning,
Sin that his lord was twenty yeer of age;

iii Ther coude no man bring' him in arrerage. Ther n'as bally f, ne herd', ne other hyne, That they ne knew' his sleyght and his covyne; They wer' adraad of him, as of the dethe. His woning was ful fayr upon an hethe, With grene trees yschadwed was his place. He coude better than his lord purchace.

Ful rich he was as fared prive',
His lord weel couth' he plese subtilly,
To yeev' and leen' him of his owne good',
And hav' a thank, and yet a coof and hood.

In youth' he lemed hadd' a good mesteer;
He was a weel good wright, a carpenteer.

This reve sat upon a ful good stot',
That was a pomely grey, and highte Scot.
A long surcoot' of pers' upon he hadd',
And by his syd' he baar a rusty blaad.

Of Northfolk was this reve' of which I telle,
Bysyd' a toun men callen Baldeswelle.
Tucked he was, as is a freer', aboute, And e'er he rood the hind'rest of the route.

29. THE SOMNOUR.

A Somnour was ther with us in that place,
That hadd' a fyr-reed cherubynes face,
For sawceflem he was, with eyghen narwe.

iii As hoot he was, and leccherous, as a sparwe,
With skalled browes blak', and pyled berd;
Of his vysage children wer' aferd.
 Ther n'as quiksilver, lytarg', or brimstoon,

Boras, ceruce, ne oyl of tarter noon,
Ne oynement that wolde clens' and byte,
That him might helpen of his whelkes whyte,
Nor of the knobbes sitting' on his chekes.

Weel lov'd' he garleek, oynouns, and eek lekes,

597 deyerye, the termination seems borrowed from the French, for dey see Wedgwood's Etym. Dict. 1, 424.
598 stoor, I am inclined to consider this a form of steer, ags. steer, rather than store, as it is usually interpreted, as the swine, horse, steer, and poultry go better together. On the interchange of (ee) and (oo) see supra, p. 476.
598 so He. Ca. Co. P.; and an hoo de L., a thank, a cote, and eek an hoo de Ha., a thank, yet a gowne and hoo d E.
612 ful E. Ca. Co. L., wel the others.
618 blaad, supra, p. 259.
623 somnour Ca. P., som-
Chap. VII. § 1. PRONUNCIATION OF CHAUCER'S PROLOGUE. 713

His lord's sheep, -is neet, -is dai'erii'e,
His swii'n, -is nors, -is stoor, and his pultri'fe,
Was nool'lii in dhis reev'es guv'erniq',
And bi' -is kuv'enaut' jaaf dhe rek'niq';
Sin dhat -is lord was twen'tii jeer of aadzh'e;
Dher kuud'e noo man briq -im in aree'raa'dzhe.
Dher n -as bal'ri', nee neerd, nee udh'er mii'n'e,
Dhat dhai ne kneu -is slai&ht and his koviiire;
Dhai weer adraad' of him, as of dhe deeth'e.
His wuun'iq was ful fair upon an Heethre,
With green'e treez ishad'wed was -is plaas'e.
He kuud-e bet'er dhan -is lord pur'tshaas'e.
Ful n'tsh -e was astoor'ed priv'elii,
His lord weil kuuth -e pleez'e sub'ti'HiY,
To jeev and leen -im of -is ooure good,
And naav a thaqk, and jet a koot and Hood.

29. Dhe Sum'nuur.

A Sum'nuur was dher with us in dhat plaas'e,
Dhat nad a fiir'reed tshee'rubiVn'es faas'e,
For sau'seflem -e was, with aikh'en nar'we.
As noot -e was and letsh'eruus, as a spar'we,
As kal'ed broou'es blaak, and piil'ed berd;
Of his viisaa'dzhe tshil'dren weer aferd'.
Dher n -as kwik'sil'ver, li'i'tardzh', or brim'stoon',
Boraas', seryys'e, ne uil of tart'er noon,
Ne uin'ement dhat wold'e klenz and biit'e,
Dhat nihm mii'kht help'en of -is whelkes whit'e,
Nor of dhe knob'es sit'iq on -is tsheek'es.
Weel luvd -e gar'leek', un'yuunz', and eek leek'es,

nour Ha., somonour E. He., somynour Co. L. See Temp.
pref. to the Six-Text Ed. of Chaucer, p. 100, under citator.
625 sawCEFlem, from salum phlegma, Tyrwhitt's Glossary.
629 or Co. P. L.; this is more rhythmical than ne Ha. E. He. Ca., which would introduce a very inhar-
monious trissyllabic measure.

634 oynons Ha. E. He. Co., oynons L., onyounnys Ca., oynouns P. The pronunciation (in'yuunz) is, of course, quite conjec-
tural, and moulded on the modern sound, though the more common oynons might lead to (nin'unz), which seems hardly probable. Com-
pare the modern vulgar (iq'nz) and note on v. 465.
And for to dreke strong wyn reed as blood.
Than wold' he spek' and cry' as he wer' wood.
And whan that he weel drunken hadd' the wyn,
Than wold' he spoke no word but Latyn.
A fewe termes hadd' he, two or thre,
That he hadd' lerned out of som decre;
No wonder is, he herd' it all the day;
And eek ye knowe weel, how that a jay
Can clepe Wat, as weel as can the pope.
But whoso cou'd in other thing' him grope,
Than hadd' he spent al his philosophye,
Ay, Questio quid juris? wold' he crye.
He was a gentel harlot, and a kinde;

iII A betr're felawe schulde men not finde.
He wolde suffer for a quart of wyne

iII A good felawe to haan his concubynye
A twelvmoon'th, and excus' him atte fulle.
And privelv a finch eek cou'd he pulla.
And if he fond owheer a good felawe,
He wolde techen him to haan noon awe
In swich caas of the archedek'nes curs,
But if a mannys sowl wer' in his purs;
For in his purs he schuld' ypunisch'd be.
Purs' is the archedek'nes hel, seyd' he.
But weel I woot he lyeth right in dede;
Of cursing' owght eech gilty man to drede;
For curs wol se right as assoyling saveth;

iII And also war' him of a significavit.
In dawnger' hadd' he at his owne gyse
The yonge girles of the dyceyse,
And knew her' counseyl, and was al her' reed.
A garland' hadd' he set upon his heed,
As greet as it wer' for an alestake;
A boucleer hadd' he maad him of a cake.

30. The Pardoneer.

With him ther rood a gentel Pardoneer
Of Rouncival, his frend and his compeer,
That streyt was comen from the court of Rome.
Ful loud' he sang, Com hider, love, to me!

648 not, the six MSS., now her Ha. felawe, compare v. 395, 650, and 663. Hence it seems best to leave felawe in 648, although felaw frequently occurs, see supra p. 383, col. 2. 665 such a caas Ha. only.
656 purs, see supra p. 367, art. 91, col. 1, l. 13, it is spelled without an e in all MSS. but L.

657 ypunisch'd; ypunysshed E. He., punyssched Ha. Co., punysched L., ponsched Ca., punshed P. The two last readings, in connection with the modern pronunciation (pon'sht), lead me to adopt (ipun'sht) for the old pronunciation, notwithstanding the French origin of the word. Compare note on v. 184.
And for to driq’ke stroq wiin reed as blood.
Dhan wold -e speek and krui as nee weer wood. 636
And whan dhat nee weil druq’ken nad dhe wiin,
Dhan wold -e speek’e noo word but Lat’iin.
A feu’e term’es had -e, twoo or three,
Dhat nee -ad ler’ed ut of sum dekree;
Noo wund’er is, -e nerd it al dhe dai;
And eek je knoo’u eel, nuu dhat a dzhai
Kan klep’e Wat, as weel as kan dhe poop’e.
But whoo’soo’ kuund in ud’re thiq -im groop’e, 644
Dhan nad -e spent al -is fri’loo’soo’fii’e,
Ai, Kwees’t ioo kwid dzhyyr’i s? wold -e krui’e.
He was a dzhen’tl nar’rut, and a kind’e;
A bet’ree fela’u e shuld’e men not fii’d’e.
He wold’e sufer for a kwart of wiin’e
A good fela’u e to naan -is kon’dkybiin’e
A twelv’moonth, and ekskyyz’ -im at’e ful’e.
And priv’eli’i a fintsh eek kuund -e pul’e.
And if -e fund owheer a good fela’u e,
He wold’e teets’ -im for to naan noon au’e
In switsh kaas of dhe artsh’edee’k’nes kurs,
But if a man’es soul weer in -is purs;
For in -is purs -e shuld’pun’isht bee.
Purs is dhe artsh’edee’k’nes nel, said nee.
But weil Xi’ woot -e li’veth rikht in deed’e;
Of kurs’iq oukwht eetsh gu’t’iu man to dreed’e;
For kurs wol slee rikht as asuil’iq saav’eth;
And al’soo waar -im of a sign’ it’kaa’v ith.
In daun’dzheer nad -e at’is oon’u e guis’e
Dhe jeeq’e gir’es of dhe di’oos’iis’e,
And kneu -er kuun’sail, and was al -er reed;
A gar’land nad -e set upon -is need,
As greeet as it wer for an aa’lestaak’e;
A buk’lee nad -e maad -im of a kaak’e.
668

30. Dhe Par’doneer.

With him dher rood a dzhen’tl Par’doneer.
Of Ruum’isival’, his freend and his kom’peer,
Dhat strait was kum’en from dhe kuurt of Room’e.
Ful luund -e saq, Kum ni’d’er, luve, too me!

I love another, and elles were I to blame, 3709.
On p. 254, n. 3. I marked the usual reading compame as doubtful,
and gave the readings of several MSS.
The result of a more extended compari
son is as follows: compame Lans.
851, Harl. 1758, Reg. 18. C. ii, Sloane
1685 and 1686, Univ. Cam. Dd. 4, 24,
This somnour baar to him a stif burdoun,
Was never tromp' of half so greet a sound.
This pardoner hadd' heer as yelw' as wex,
But smooth' it heng, as dooth a stryk' of flex,
By ounces heng' his lockes that he hadde,
And theerwith he his schuldr' res overspradde,
Ful thinn' it lay, by colpoun's oon and oon,
And hood, for jolite, ne wer'd' he noen,
For it was trussed up in his walet.
Him thought' he rood al of the newe get,
Dischevel', sawf his cappe', he rood al bare.
Swich glaring' eyghen hadd' he as an hare.
A vernik'l hadd' he sowed on his cappe.
His walet lay bifoorn him in his lappe,
Brediful of pardoun com' of Rom' al hoot.
A voy's he hadd' as smaal as eny goot.
No berd n' hadd' he, ne never schold' he have,
As smooth' it was as it wer' laut' yschave;
I trow' he weer' a gelding or a mare.
But of his craft, fro Berwick unto Ware,
Ne was ther swich another pardoner:
For in his maal' he hadd' a pilwebbeer,
Which that, he semye, was our' lady veyl:
He semy' he hadd' a gobet of the seyl

That saynt Peter hadd', whan that he wente
Upon the se, til Jhesu Crist him hente.
He hadd' a cros of latoun ful of stones,
And in a glass' he hadde piggges bones.
But with thys' relyques, whan that he fond
A pore persoun dwelling' upon lond',
Upon a day he gat him mor' moneye
Than that the persoun gat in mon'thes tweye.
And thus with seened flatery' and japes,
He made the persoun and the pep'l his apes.
But trewely to tollen atte laste,
He was in chirch' a nobl ecclesiaste.

and Mm. 2, 5, Bodl. 686, Christ Church, Oxford, MS. C. 6, Petworth,
—sumpame, Univ. Cam. Gg. 4, 27—
com pame Harl. 7334, Reg. 17, D. xv,
Corpus,—come pame, Oxf. Barl. 20,
and Laud 600—com pa me, Hengwrt
—combame, Trin. Coll. Cam. R. 3, 15,
Oxf. Arch. Seld. B. 14, New College,
Oxford, MS., No. 314,—come bame
Harl. 7335, Univ. Cam. Li. 3, 26, Trin.
141,—cum bame, Bodl. 414.—bame
Oxf. Hatton 1,—come ba me, Rawl.
Misc. 1133 and Laud 739. The verb ba occurs, in:

Come ner, my spouse, let me ba thy cheke, 6015,
and the substantive ba in Skelton
(Dyce's ed. i. 22), where a drunken lover lays his head in his mistress' lap and sleeps, while
With ba, ba, ba, and bas, bas, bas,
She cheryshed hym both cheke and chyn.
To ba basiare (Catullus 7 & 8) was
distinct from to kiss, osculari, compare:
Thanne kisseth me, syn it may be no bett. 3716.
Dhis sumnuur baar to uim a stff burduun;
Was never trump of half so great a suum.
Dhis par doneer naad heer as jelw- as weks,
But smoothh it neq, as dooth a strik of fleks;
Bii uns'es heq -is lok'es dhat -e naad'e,
And dheed'with nee -is shuld'res oversprad'e,
Ful thin it lai bii kul-puunz oon and oon,
And mool, for dzhul'itee', ne weerd -e noon,
For it was trus'ed up in his wal'et.
Ham thoukuht -e rood al of dhe neure dzhet,
Dishe'vel, sauf -is kap, -e rood al baare.
Switsh glaa'tiq aih'hen nad -e as an naare'e.
A vernikl -ad -e soured on -is kap'e.
His wal'et' lai bi'oorrn -im on -is lap'e,
Bred'ful of parduun kum of Room al noot.
A vuis -e nad as smaal as enii goot.
Noo berd n -ad heed, ne never shuld -e naav'e,
As smoothh it was as it wer laat ishaave'e,
It troou -e weer a gelt'iq or a maare.
But of -is kraft, fro Ber'wik un-to Waaare,
Ne was ther switsh anudhe'er par'doneer'.
For in -is maal -e nad a pil'webeer',
Whitsh dhat, -e said'e, was uur laa'dii vail:
He said, -e had a gob'et of dhe sail
Dhat saav'nt Pec'ter nad, whan dhat -e wente
Upon' dhe sec, til Dzhee'syy Krist -im hente.'
He had a kros of laa'tuun ful of stoon'es,
And in a glas -e mad'e piges boon'es.
But with dhiiz rel'iikes, whan dhat -e fond
A poor'e pers'suun' dwel'iq upon' lond,
Up'on' a dat -e gat -im moor munai'e
Dhan dhat dhe pers'suun' gat in moon'thes twai'e.
And dhus with fain'ed flateri' and dzhaap'es,
He maad'e dhe pers'suun' dhe peec'pl' -is aap'es.
But treu'elii to tel'en at'e last'e,
He was in tshirsh a noob'bl- eklee'siast'e.

Chap. VII. § 1. PRONUNCIATION OF CHAUCER'S PROLOGUE.

Com ba me! was probably the name of a song, like that in v. 672,
or the modern "Kiss me quick, and go, my love." It is also probable
that Absolon's speech contained allusions to it, and that it was very
well known at the time.

677 ounces, so all six MSS., unces Ha., which probably meant
the same thing, supra p. 304, and not inches.

679 colpoun's, I have adopted
a systematic spelling, colpons Ha.
P., colpouns E. He., culpones
L., culpounnys Ca., colpouns

678 bredient, the MSS. have
all an unintelligible bret ful or
bretful, probably a corruption by
the scribes of Orrmin's bredient = brimful;
breird, brend are found in Scotch,
see Jamieson.

697 So all the MSS. Either
saynt is a dissyllable, see note to v.
120, or the line has a defective first
measure, to which the extremely un-
accented nature of that is opposed.
Weel coud' he reed' a lessoun or a storie,
But altherbest he sang an offertorie;
For weel he wiste, whan that song was songe,
He moste preach', and weel affyl' his tonge,
To winne silver, as he right weel coude;
Theerfoor' he sang so mery' and so loude.

Chawceres Preyer.

Nou hav' I toold you schortly in a clause
Th' estaat, th' array, the nombr', and eek the cauze Why that assembled was this companye
In Southwerk at this gentel hostelrye,
That hight the Tabbard, faste by the Belle.
But nou is tyme to you for to telle
Hou that we baren us, that ilke night,
Whan we wer' in that hostelrye;
And after wol I tell' of our' vyage,
And al the rem'nawnt of our' pilgrimage,
But first I prey' you of your' curteysye
That ye ne rett' it nat my vilaynye
Thowgh that I playnly spek' in this materre,
To tellen you her' wordes and her' chere;
Ne thowgh I spek' her' wordes properly.
For this ye knownen al so well as I,
Whoso schal tell' a taal' after a man',
He moost' rehears', as neygh as e'er he can,
Ev'ry word, if it be in his charge,
Al spek' he ne'er so rudely or large:
Or elles he moot tell' his taal' untrewe,
Or fayme thing, or find' his wordes newe.
He may not spare, thowgh he wer' his brother;
He moost' as weel sey oo word as another.
Crist spaaak himself ful brood' in holy writ,
And weel ye woot no vilayny' is it.
Eek' Plato seyth, whoso that can him rede,
The wordes moot be cosin to the dede.
Also I prey' you to foryecev' it me,
Haav' I not set folk in her' degre
Her' in this taal' as that they schulde stonde;
My wit is schort, ye may weel understonde.
Weel kuud-e reed a les'nuun or a stoo'tie,
But al'dherbest-e saq an ofertoortie;
For weel-e wiist'e, when dhat soq was suq'e,
He moost-e prectsh, and weel afüll'-is tuq'e,
To wiire siö-ver, as -e rikht weel kuund-e;
Dheer'foor-e saq soo mer'e and soo luud'e.

Tshau'see'rees Prai'eer.

Nuun naav /i/ toold ju short'lii in a klauz'e
Dh'-estaat', dh- arai', dhe num'br-, and eek dhe kauz'e
Whii dhat asem'bled was dhis kumpanii'e
In Suuthwerk at dhis dzhen'tl ostelrii'e,
Dhat nikht dhe Tab'ard', fast'e bui dhe Bel'e.
But nuu is tiu'me too ju for to tel'e
Huu dhat we baar-en us dhat ilk'e nikht,
Whan wee wer in dhat ostelrii' alikht;
And aft'er wol /i/ tel of uur vii'aadzh'e,
And al dhe rem'naunt' of uur pil'grimaadzh'e.
But first /i/ prai juu of juur kur'taisii'e
Dhat see ne ret it nat mii vii'lairi'i'e,
Dhouk'vich dhat /i/ plain'lii speek in dhis matee're.
To tel'e juu-er word'es and -er tshee're;
Ne dhouk'vich /i/ speek -er word'es properl'i'i.
For dhis je knou'en al so weel as /i/,
Whoo'soo shal tel a taal aft'er a man,
He moost remers', as naikh as eer-e kan,
Ev'rii word, if it bee in -is tshardzh'e,
Al speek -e neer so royd'elsi or lardzh'e;
Or el'es mee moot tel -is taal untreu'e,
Or fain'e thiq, or find -is word'es neue'e.
He mai not spaar'e, dhouk'vich -e wer -is broodh'er;
He moost as weel sai oo word as anoodh'er.
Krëst spaak -ëmself' ful brood in noo'li rwiit,
And weel je woot noo vii'lairi'i is it.
Eek Plaa'too saith, whoosoo dhat kan -im reed'e,
Dhe word'es moot be kuz' in too dhe deed'e.
Alsoo /i/ prai juu to forreev' it mee,
Al naav /i/ not set folk in her degree
Heer in dhis taal, as dhat dai shuld'e stond'e;
Miit wit is short, je mai weel un'derstond'e.

as euerich a word E., apparently to avoid a defective first measure.
738 another. I have throughout pronounced other as (udh'er), because of the alternative orthography outher, supra p. 267. This rhyme, however, shews that there must have also been a sound (oodh'er), which is historically more correct. Orrmin writes operr for the adjective, and both operr and oppr for the conjunction. That distinction has been carried out in the pronunciation of the Proclamation of Henry III., supra pp. 501-3-5.
744 not set folk, so all the six MSS., folk nat set Ha.
The Hooste and His Merth.

Greet chere maad’ our’ hoost’ us ev’rychoon,
And to the soupeer sett’ he us anoon;
And served us with vytayl’ atte beste.
Strong was the wyn, and weel to drink’ us lest.’
A seem’ly man our’ hooste was withalle
For to haan been a marshal in an halle;
A large man was he with eyghen steppe,
A fair’ re burgeys is ther noon in Chepe:
Boold of his spech’, and wys, and weel ytawght,
And of manhode lacked’ him right nawkht.

Eek theerto he was right a merye man,
And after soupeer pleyen he began,
And spak of merth’ amonges other things,
Whan that we hadde maad our’ reckeninges;
And seyde thus: Lo, lording’s, trewely,
Ye been to me weelcomen hertely,
For by my trouth’, if that I schul not lye,

At ones in this herbergh, as is nou.
Fayn wold I do you merthe, wist’ I hou,
And of a merth’ I am right nou bithowght,
To doon you es’, and it schal coste nowght.
Ye goon to Cawnterbery: God you sped, to
The blissful martyr guyte you your’ mede!
And weel I woot, as ye goon by the weye,
Ye schapen you to talken and to pleye;
For trewely comfort ne merth is noon
To ryde by the weye domb’ as stool;
And theerfoor’ wol I make you dispoort,
As I seyd’ erst, and do you som comfort.

And if you lyketh alle by oon assent
— For to standen at my jugement;
And for to werken as I schal you seye,
To morwe, whan ye ryden by the weye,
Nou by my fader sowle that is deed,

But ye be merye, smyte of myn heed.
Hoold up your hond withoute more speche.
Our’ counseyl was not longe for to seeche;
Us thought’ it n’as not worth to maak’ it wys,
And grawnked him withoute mor’ avys,
And bad him sey’ his verdyt’, as him leste.
Lording’s, quoth he, nou herk’ neth for the beste,

756 lacked’ him, this is conjectural; lackede he Ha., him lackede the six MSS. variously spelled, in which case the final s must be pronounced, which is so unusual that I have preferred adopting the order of Ha. and the construction of the other MSS.

759 amonges E. He. Co.

764 I ne sawgh not, this is a composite reading; I ne saugh Ha., I sawgh not the other MSS. variously spelled. The Ha. has therefore a triasyabic first measure, which is unusual and doubtful; to write both ne and not introduces an Alexandrine.
Dhe Oost and his Merth.

Greet tsheer'e maad uur Oost us evrui'tshoon; 748
And too dhe suup'eer set-e us ano0; 748
And serv'eth us with vii'tail' at'e best'e. 748
Stroq was dhe wiin, and weel to driqk us leste. 752
A scem'lîu man uur oost'e was witha'le
For to maan been a mars'hal in an ma1'e; 752
A lar'dzhe man was nee with aîk'hen steep'e
A fair're bur'dzhalis is ther noon in Tsheep'e:
Boold of -is spectsh, and wiis, and weel itauk'wht;
And of ma1'nood'e lak'ed nim rikht nauk'wht. 756
Eek dheer-too nee was rikht a mer'rîe man,
And after suup'eer plai'en nee bîgân',
And speak of merth amuq'es udh'er thiq'es,
Whan dhat we na1'de maad uur reke'nîq'es; 760
And said'e dhus: Loo, lord'iqz, treu'elîu,
Je been to mee weel'kum'en nertelîu,
For bii mîu tru11uth, if dhat Ii shul not liî'e,
I' nee sau1k'wht not dhis jeer so mer'î a kumpanii'e
At oon'ees in dhis nerk'berkh, as is nuu.
Fain wold Ii duu ju merth'e, wist Ii nuu,
And of a merth Ii am rikht nuu bithouk'wht;
To doon juu ees, and it shal kost'e nauk'wht. 768
Je goon to Kaunte'ber'iî: God juu speed'e,
Dhe blî'sul mar'tiiî kwiit'e juu juu meer'de !
And weel Ii woot, as je goon bii dhe wai'e,
Je shaap'en juu to talk'en and to plai'e;
For treu'elîu kumfort' ne merth is noon
To ri1d'e bîu dhe wai'e dumb as stoon;
And dheer'foor wold Ii maak'e juu dispoort';
As Ii said erst, and doo ju sum kumfort'. 776
And if ju liî'keth al'e bii oon asent:
For to stand'en at mîu dzhyydzh'ement';
And for to werk'en as Ii shal ju sai'e,
To mor'we, whan je riîd'en bii dhe wai'e,
Nuu bii mîu faad'er soul'ë, dhat is deed,
But je be mer'i'e, smiit'eth of miîn need.
Hoold up juur nond without'e moore' specksh'e.
Uur kuun'sail was not loq'e for to sete'sh'e; 784
Us thouk'wht it n- -as not worth to maak it wiis,
And graunt'ed nim without'e moor avîis;
And bad -im sai -is ver'dîit as -im leste.
Lor'diqz', kwooth nee, nuu nerk'neth for dhe best'e, 788

We might read the Ha. I ne saw gh th is ye er, as an Alexandreine with a defective first measure. Perhaps I is a mistake, and ne saw gh th is ye er, or th is ye er saw gh not, may be correct, but there is no author- ity for it. Tyrwhitt reads; I saw not this yere swiche a compaigne, which is probably conjectural. See p. 649. 782 smyt'eth of myn heed Ha., I wol yeve you myn heed E. He. Co. P. and Sloane MS. 1685, variously spelled, I : eu e : owe M ne hede L. But if ye E.
But taak'th it not, I prey' you, in disdeyn,
This is the poyn't, to spoken schort and playn;
That eech of you to schorte with your' weye,

In this wyage schal telle tales tweye,

To Cawnterbery-ward, I meen' it so,
And hoomward he schal tellen other two,
Of aven'ur's that whylom haan bifalle.

And which of you that beer'th him best of alle,
That is to seyn, that telleth in this caas
Tales of best sentenc and moost solaas,
Schal han a soupeer at your' alther cost
Heer' in this place, sitting' by this post,
Whan that we com' ageyn from Cawnterbery.
And for to make you the more mery,
I wol myselven gladly with you ryde,
Hight at myn ow'ne cost, and be your' gyde.

And whoso wol my juggement withseye
iii Schal paye for al we spenden by the weye.
And if ye vouchesauw that it be so,
Tel me anoon, withouten wordes mo,
And I wol erly schape me therafter.

This thing was grawnted, and our' othes swore
With ful glad hert', and prey'd'en him also
He wolde vouchesauf for to doon so,
And that he wolde been our' governour,
And of our' tales jug' and reportour,
And sett' a soupeer at a certayn prys;
We wolde reuled be at his devys
In heygh and low', and thus by oon assent
We been accorded to his juggement.
And theerupon the wyn was fet anoon;
We dronken, and to reste went' eech oon,
Withouten eny leng're taryinge.

**WE RYDEN FORTH.**

A morwe whan the day bigan to springe,
Up roos our' hoost, and was our' alther cok,
And gader'd us togider in a flok,
And forth we ryd' a lytel moor' than paas,
Unto the watering' of Saynt Thomas.
And theer our' hoost' bigan his hors areste,
And seyde, Lordes, herk'neth, if you leste.
Ye woot your' foorward, I it you recorde,
If evesong and morwesong accorde,
which is unlikely, as they must have all known them; why l o m' is

omits the word; of aven'ur's that ther han bifalle Ha,
which would refer only to the second stories and imply that they should
relate to adventures at Canterbury,

and so Tyrwhitt, Sloane MS. 1685,

omits the word; of aven'ur's that ther han bifalle Ha.

which would refer only to the second stories and imply that they should
relate to adventures at Canterbury,
But taakth it not, 1i prai ruu, in disdain;
Dhis is dhe puint, to speek'en short and plain;
Dhat eetsh of ruu to short'e with ruur wai'e,
In dhis vii'aadzh'e shal tel'e taal'es twai'e, 792
To Kuunt'erb'er'iward, 1i meen it soo,
And hoom'ward nee shal tel'en udh'er twoo,
Of aa-ventyyrz dhat whiil'om naan bifar'e.

And whitsh of ruu dhat beerth -im best of al'e,
Dhat is to sain, dhat tel'eth in dhis kaas
Taal'es of best sentens' and moost soolaas',
Shal naan a suup'eer' at juur al'dher kost,
Heer in dhis plaas'e, sit'iq-bii dim post,
In dhis vii'aadzh'e shal tel'e taal'es tware,
To Kaunt'erberiiward, li meen it soo,
And hoon'ward nee shal tel'en udh'er twoo,
Of aa-ventyyrz dhat whiil'om naan bifar'e.

796 To Kaunt'erberiiward, li meen it soo,
And hoon'ward nee shal tel'en udh'er twoo,
Of aa-ventyyrz dhat whiil'om naan bifar'e.

And if je vuutsh'esauf' dhat it be soo,
Tel me anoon' without'en word'es moo,
And 1i wol er'lii shaap'e mee dheerfoore.
Dhis thiq was graunt'ed, and uur ooth'es swoor'e
With ful glad nert, and prai'den him alsoo.'
He wold'e vuutsh'esauf' for to doon soo,
And dhat -e wold'e been uur guu'vernuur',
And of uur taal'es dzhyydzh and rep'oortuur',
And set a suup'eer' at a sert'ain' pris;
We wold'e ryyel'ed bee at his deviis.'
In nai'kh and loou; and dhus bii oon asent'
We been akord'ed too -is dzhyydzh'ement.'
And dheer'upon' dhe wii was fet anoon;
We druq'ken, and to rest'e went eetsh oon,
Without'en en'i leq're tar'i,iq'e.

We riid'en forth.
A mor'we whan dhe dai bigan' to spriq'e,
Up roos uur oost, and was uur al'dher kok,
And gad'er'd us togid'er in a flok,
And forth we riid a lii't'l moor dhan paas,
Untoo' dhe waa'teriq' of Saint Toomaas'.
And dheer uur oost bigan' -is nors arest'e,
And said'e, Lord'es, nerk'neth, if juu lest'e.'
Je woot jur foor'ward, 1i it ruu rekord'e,
If eev'esoq and mor'wesoq akord'e,'
Let see nou who schal telle first a tale.
As ever' moote I drinke wyn or ale,
Whose be rebel to my juggement

iii Schal paye for al that by the wey' is spent.
Nou draweth cut, eer that we forther twinne;
And which that hath the schortest schal beginne.

Syr' knight, quoth he, my mayster and my lord,
Nou draweth cut, for that is myn accord.

Com'th neer, quoth he, my lady pryoress, 
And ye, syr' clerk, lat be your schamfastnesse,

iii Ne studieth nat; ley hand to, ev'ry man!
Anoon to drawen ev'ry wight bigan,
And schortly for to tellen as it was,

Wer' it by aventure', or sort, or caus,
The sooth is this, the cut fil to the knight',
Of which ful blyth' and glad was ev'ry wight,
And tell' he moost' his tal' as was resoun,

By forword and by composicioun,
As ye haan herd; what nedeth wordes mo?
And whan this gode man sawgh it was so,
As he that wys was and obedient
To kep' his forword by his fre assent,

iii He seyde: Sin I schal beginne the game,
What! Welcom be the cut, in Goddes name!
Nou lat us ryd', and herk'neth what I seye.
And with that word we ryden forth our' weye;

And he bigan with right a merye chere
His tal' anoon, and seyd' in this manere.

854 the cut, so all the six MSS.,
858 So E.; his tale and seide
thou cut Ha.
right in this manere Ha;

In correcting the proofs of this text and conjectured pronunciation of Chaucer's Prologue I have had the great advantage of Mr. Henry Nicol's assistance, and to his accuracy of eye and judgment is due a much greater amount of correctness and consistency than could have been expected in so difficult a proof.1 Owing to suggestions made by Mr. Nicol, I have reconsidered several indications of French origin. One of the most remarkable is Powles v. 509,

1 Some trilling errors escaped observation till the sheets had been printed off, which the reader will have no difficulty in correcting, such as e, o, i for ee, oo, y, etc. The following are more important. Read in Text, v. 15 specially, v. 69 poop't, v. 123 entuned, v. 152 streyt, v. 208 Frere, v. 260 pore, v. 289 soberly, v. 366 fresch, v. 569 ytayle, v. 570 tayle, v. 599 governing, v. 601 age. Read in the Pronunciation, v. 14 sundri, v. 23 kum, v. 35 whilz, v. 48 fer're, v. 53

Abu'v'en, v. 66 Asain; v. 71 al, v. 72 dzhen't'l, v. 107 fedhres, v. 144 sakuh, v. 181, Dhis, v. 210 kan, v. 241 eyrithsh, v. 265 his tuq'e, v. 284 men, v. 292 world'llii, v. 334 bri dhe morw-, v. 414 grund'ed, v. 424 jaaf. Read in the Footnotes, on v. 60, l. 3 nob'l, on v. 120, l. 1 saynt, on v. 120, last line but three, "all the six MSS. except L"); and add at the end of the note "and L omits also," on v. 247, l. 1 noon, on v. 305, l. 1 He, on v. 612, l. 1, foolde.
Let see nuu whoo shal tel'e first a taal'e.
As ev'er moot ḳi ḍrōk'e wīn or aal'e,
Whoo'soo' be reb'el too mīi dzhyýdzh'ement.
Shal pai'e for al dhat bīi dhe wai is spent.
Nuu drau'eth kut, eer dhat we furdh'er twīn'e;
And whīts hdat nath dhe short'est shal bigīn'e.
Siūr knīkht, kwooth mee, mīi maister and mīi lord,
Nuu drau'eth kut, for dhat is mīn akord'.
Kumth neer, kwooth mee, mīi laa'dīi prīi'ores'e,
And jee, siūr klerk, lat bee sur shaam'fastnes'e,
Nee stud'īeth nat; lai and too, ev'tīi man!
Anoon' to drau'en ev'tīi wīkht bigan';
And short-līi for to tel'en as it was,
Wer ḳi bīi aa'ventyyr', or sort, or kaas,
Dhe sooth is dhīs, dhe kut fi'l too dhe knīkht,
Of whīts hul blīūdh and glad was ev'tīi wīkht,
And tel'e moost -is taal as was re'e'suun;
Bīi foor'ward and bīi kompoosiis'iuen',
As jee naan herd; what need'eth word'es moo?
And whan dhīs good'e man saukwh it was soo,
As jee dhat wīis was and obee'dient'.
To keep -is foor'ward bīi -is free asent',
He said'e: Sin ḳi shal bigīn'e dhe gaam'e,
What! weel'kum' bee dhe kut, in God'es naam'e!
Nuu lat us riid, and nerk'neth what ḳi sai'e.
And with dhat word we riid'en forth uur wai'e.;
And nee bigan with rīkht a mer'v teesher'e
His taal anoon', and said in dhīs man'eer'e.

his tale anoon, and seyde MSS. in various spellings.
as ye may heere, the other

which seemed to have a French pronunciation, but which ought perhaps to be marked Pow'iles, the form Powel appearing in v. 13938, supra p. 266, a direct derivative from Orrmin's Powell with a long a. The alterations thus admitted affect the calculation on p. 651, which was made from the MS. As now printed (making the corrections just mentioned), the numbers are as follows:—

Lines containing no French word . . 286, per cent. 33-3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>one</th>
<th>two</th>
<th>three</th>
<th>four</th>
<th>five</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>359</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lines in Prologue . . 858 100-0

These numbers are not sensibly different from the former. The number of Trisyllabic measures after correction appears as 76, the numbers in the six classes on p. 648 being respectively 25, 6, 3, 4, 29, 9. The number of lines with defective first measures, p. 649, remains 13, as before. The number of lines with two superfluous syllables, p. 649, is now 8, vv. 709, 710, having been added.
§ 2. **Gower.**

Johan Gower, died, a very old man, between 15 August and 24 October 1408, having been blind since 1400, the year of Chaucer's death. His three principal works are *Speculum Meditantis*, written in French, which is entirely lost; *Vox Clamantis*, in Latin, still preserved; and *Confessio Amantis*, in English, of which there are several fine MSS., and which was printed by Caxton in 1483. In this edition Caxton calls him: "Johan Gower squyer borne in Walys in the tyme of kyng richard the second." The district of Gowerland in S. W. Glamorganshire, between Swansea bay and Burry river, a peninsula, with broken limestone coast, full of caves, and deriving its name from the Welsh *geyr* = (guїr) oblique, crooked, traditionally claims to be his birth place. Now Gower's own pronunciation of his name results from two couplets, in which it is made to rhyme with *power* and *reposer*. The first passage, according to the MS. of the Society of Antiquaries, is

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Scie axe? me what was my name</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madame I seye Johan Gower</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Now Johan quod scie in my power</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thou mufe as of pi loue fionde.</td>
<td>iii 353.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The other will be found below, pp. 738-9. The sound was therefore (Guїr'), which favours the Welsh theory. The modern form of the name is therefore (Geur'), and Gowerland is now called (Gow-r'land) in English.

But the correctness of this Welsh derivation has been disputed. Leland had heard that he was of the family of the Gowers of Stittenham in Yorkshire, ancestors of the present Duke of Sutherland. The Duke has politely informed me that the family and traditional pronunciation of his patronymic *Gower* is a dissyllable rhyming to *mover, grower*, that is (Goo'er). Now this sound could not be the descendant of (Guїr'), and hence this pronunciation is a presumption against the connection of the two families, strengthening the argument derived from the difference of the coats of arms.²

He was certainly at one time in friendly relations with Chaucer, who, in his Troylus and Cryseyde, writes:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O moral Gower, this boke I directe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the, and to the philosophical Strode,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To vouchensau, ther nede is, to correcte,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of youre benignites and zeles good.</td>
<td>5·77</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

And Gower, in some manuscripts, makes Venus send a message to Chaucer, as her disciple and poet, which is printed as an example below, pp. 738-9.

The text of Gower has not yet been printed from the manuscripts,

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1 These references throughout are to Pauli's edition, as explained supra, p. 256.
2 For other particulars of the life of Gower, derived from legal papers, shewing that he was possessed of land in Kent, see the life prefixed to Pauli's edition of the *Confessio Amantis*, and Sir Harris Nicolas's Notice of Gower, in the Retrospective Review, N. S., vol. ii. No weight is to be attributed to his calling himself English, when asking to be excused for faults in French, in a French poem. He would have no
or from any one MS. in particular. Pauli’s edition is founded on
Berthelette’s first edition, 1532, “carefully collated throughout”
with the Harl. MSS. 7184 and 3869. Of the first Pauli says:
“This volume, on account of its antiquity and its judicious and
consistent orthography, has been adopted as the basis for the spelling
in this new edition.” Pauli says that he has also used Harl. MS.
3490, and the Stafford MS. where it was important, and that his
“chief labour consisted in restoring the orthography and in regulat-
ing the metre, both of which had been disturbed in innumerable
places by Berthelette.” As the result is eminently unsatisfactory,
it has been thought best, in giving a specimen of Gower, to print
the original in precise accordance with some MSS.

The following MSS. of Gower’s Confessio Amantis are described
by Pauli. At Oxford, having the verses to Richard II, and those
on Chaucer: MS. Laud. 609, Bodl. 693, Selden, B. 11, Corp. Chr.
Coll. 67;—without these verses: MS. Fairfax 3, Hatton 51, Wad-
ham Coll. 13, New Coll. 266;—with the first and without the
second, MS. Bodl. 294;—dedicated to Henry of Lancaster, and with
verses on Chaucer; MS. New Coll. 326. In the British Museum,
Harl. 7184, 3869, 3490. MS. Stafford, in the possession of the
Duke of Sutherland. Pauli does not mention the MS. 134, of the
Society of Antiquaries.

The MSS. most accessible to me were the four cited supra p. 253.
Of these the orthography of Harl. 3869 appeared to me the best, and
I have therefore printed it in the first column. In the second
column I have given the text of Harl. 7184, which Pauli professes
to follow; and in the third the text of the MS. of the Society of
Antiquaries, No. 134.1 The fourth column contains the conjectural
pronunciation. By this means the diversities of the orthography
and the uniformity of the text will be made evident. It is the
former in which we are most interested. The passage selected for
this purpose is the story of Nebuchadnezzar’s punishment, as being
unobjectionable in detail, and sufficient in length to give a complete
conception of the author’s style.

But as the Message from Venus to Chaucer possesses great interest
from its subject, I have added a copy of it according to Harl. MS.
3869, from which Pauli states that he has taken the copy printed
in his edition. In the second column I have annexed the same text
according to the MS. of the Society of Antiquaries, and, since the
passage does not occur in the other two MSS., in the third column I
have added my own systematic orthography, and in the fourth column
the conjectured pronunciation. For these two last columns a com-
posite text has been chosen, founded on a comparison of the two MSS.

In all cases the phonetic transcript has been constructed on the
same principles as that of Chaucer in the preceding section.

doubt considered himself an English-
man, as he spoke English and was an
English subject and landowner, even if
he had been born in Wales.

1 As this MS. makes no distinction
between z and, but writes the guttural
with the same z that it uses in Nabu-
godonozor, I have used z throughout
its transcription.
THE PUNISHMENT OF NEBUCHADNEZZAR.

Harl. MS. 3869, folio 49b to 52a.

i 136

Ther was a kinge that mochel myhte
Which Nabugodonofor highte
Of whom got nat. I spak hier tofore
Yit in the bible his name is bore
For al the world in Orient
Was hol at his commandement
As his name to his liche
Was not so myhty ne so riche
To his empire and to his lawes
As who se qu' al in bilke dawes
Were obeiniant and tribut bere
As þogh he godd of Erpe were
Wip strengte he putte kynges vnder
And wroghte of pride many a wonder
He was fo full of veine gloire
That he ne hadde no memoire
That þer was eny good bot he
For pride of his prosperite
Til þat þe hihe king of kinges
Which fep and knowe þe þinges
Whos yhe mai nopting afterte
The priuete of mannes herte

i 137

Thi sponde and souen in his Ere
As þogh þei lowde wyndes were
He tok vengance vpon þis pride
Bot for he wolde a while a bide
To loke if he him wolde amende
To him aferstekne he fende
And þat was in his flep be nyhte
This proude kyng a wonder fyhte
Hadd he in his sweene þer he lay
Him þoght vpon a merie day
As he beheld þe world a boute
A tre was fulgrows he fyl þeroute
Whiche stod þe world amiddles euene
Whos hichthe straighte vp to þe heuene
The leues were faire and large [fol. 50]
Of fruit it bar fo ripe a charge
That alle men it mihtede fede
He fih also þe bowes spriede
A bowe al Erpe in which were
The kynde of alle briddes þere
And eke him þoght he fih also
The kynde of alle bestes go
Vnder þis tree a boute round
And fedden hem vpon þe ground
As he þis wonder stod and fih
Him þoght he herde a vois on him
Criende and feide a bouen alle
How doun þis tree and lett it falle
The leues let defoule in haste
And do þe fruit destroie and waite

Harl. MS. 7184, folio 23, a, 1 to 24, a, 2.

i 136

Ther was a king that mochel mithe
Which Nabugodonofor highte
Of whom that I spak hier tofore.
Yit in the bible his name is bore
For al the world in the orient
Was holl at his commandement
And of kinges to his liche
Was not so mitthi ne so riche
To his empire and to his lawes
As who seft all in thilke dawes
Were obeiniant and tribut bere
As thou; he god of erthe were
With ðrenghe he put kinges vnder
And wrout of pride many a wonder,
He was fo full of veingloire,
That he ne had no memoire,
That ther was any good but he
For pride of his prosperite
Til that the high king of kinges
Which feth and knoweth alle things
Whoz yhe may no thing afterte
The priuete of mannes herte

i 137

To speke and souen in his here
As thou; thei loude wyndes were
He toke vengeaunce vpon this pride
But for he wolde a while abide
To loke if he wolde him amende
To him a fore tokene he fende [fo.23,a,2]
And that was in his flep be nyhte
This proude king a wonder fyhte
Hadd he in his sweene ther he lay
Him thout vpon a mery day
As he beheld the world aboute
A tree full growe he figh theroute
The which stode the world amiddles euene
Whoz heighte straughte vp to the heuene
The leues were faire and large
Of fruit it bar fo ripe a charge
That alle men it mightede fede
He sigh also the bowes spriede
Aboute all erth in which were
The kinde of alle briddes there
And eke him thout he sigh also
The kinde of alle bestes go
Vnder the tre aboute round
And fedden hem vpon the ground
As he this wonder stode and sigh
Him thoute he herde a vois on high
Criende and feide abouen alle
Hewe doun this tree and lett it falle
The leues let defoule in haste
And do the fruit destroie and waite
FROM GOWER'S "CONFESSIO AMANTIS," LIB. 1.

Conjectured Pronunciation.

i 136
Dher was a kiq dat mutsh'el miikhte,
Whitsh Naa'buu'goo'doornooz'or miikhte,
Of whomh dat Ti spaa hir tofoor'e.
Jet in dhe Bibb'{-is naam is boor'e,
For al dhe world in Oo'rient;
Was nool at his komaundement'.
As dhan of kiq'es too -is liishe'
Was noon soo miikht'ii nee soo ritshe';
To his empir' and too -is lau'es,
As whoo saith, al in dhilk'e duave
Wer oo'baaun't, and trii'byt beere',
As dhounkwh -e God of Erth'e weere'.
With streqth -e put'e kiq'es unders,
And rwoonkht of pri'de man': a wund'er.
He was so ful of vain'e glooorie'
Dhat nee ne had'e noo memoor'e
Dhat dher was eu'n'i God but nee,
For priid of his prosper'tee'.
Til dat dhe nikiht're Kiq of kiq'es,
Whitsh saith and kownouht al'e thiq'es,
Whoos i'te mai nooth'th'g' asterte,—
Dhe prii'veteeg' of man'es herte,

i 137
Dhai speek and sun'en in -is cere,
As dhounkch dhai laud'e wind'es weere—
Hec took vendzhaams upon: dhe priid'e.
But, for -e wold a whil' ahbide'
To look if nee -im wold amend'e,
To him a fooretook'n' -e send'e,
And that was, in -is sleep bi' nikiht'e,
Dhis praud'e kiq a wund'er sikhte'
Had, in -is swee've nee dheer -e lai.
Him thoukht upon a mer'ii dai,
As nee beeneeld' dhe world abunte',
A tree fulgrou'n -e sikh dheerr'ute,
Whitsh stood dhe world amid'es ceene,
Whooos naiht'e straukht up too dhe neev'ne
Dhe leevs weer'en fair and lardz'h'e,
Of fryyt it baar soo rip a tshardz'h'e
Dhat al'e men it miikhte' feed'e.
He sikh al'soo' dhe bou'es spread'e
Abu' al erth, in whitsh'e weere'
Dhe kind of al'e bridd'es dheere.
And eek -im thoukht -e sikh al'soo'
Dhe kind of al'e bees'tres goo
Und'er dhis tree abunte' ruunde,
And feed'en hem upon dhe grund,
As nee dhis wund'er stood and sikh,
Him thoukht -e nerd a vuis on nikih
Crii'end', and said abuv'en al'e:
"Hem duun dhis tree, and let it fal'e!
"Dhe leev's let defuul' in hast'e,
"And dow dhe fryyt destrui' and wast'e!

Society of Antiquaries, MS. 134, folio
56, b, 2 to 58, a 2.

i 136
There was a kinge whet machell myzte
Whiche Nabugodonozor hyzte
Of whom dat y'. spak here to fore
Zit in pe bible his name is bore
For all pe orient world in orient
Was hool at his comawedment
As paane of kinges to his liche
Was noun fo myzty ne fo riche
To his empire and to his lawis
As who faye'b all in bilke dawis
Were obeyant and tribute here
As pouz he god of erpe were
With streng'h he putte kynges vndir
And wrouzie of pride many awondir
He was so full of vayne glorye
That he ne hadde no memorye
That per was eny god but he
For pride of his propertie.
Till he hyze kinge of kinges
Whiche seeb and knoweb all pinges
Whos ye may no kyngse afterte
The priuete of mannis herte

i 137
They speke and fownen in his ere
As pouz pey loude wyndis were
He tok veniance vp on pis pride
But for he wrole awhile abyde
To loke yf he him wolde amende
To him a fore toreke fende he
And pat was in his flege benzyte
This kynde pruudg a wonder fyzte
Haddde in his fweuen per he lay [fo. 57,
Him pouzte vp on a mercy day
As he behelde he worldlye aboute
A tre full growe he fyeze beroute
Whiche fto dpe world amiddis euene
Whos heyze frauzte vp to pe heuene
The leuis weren fayre and large
Of frute he bare fo riporte a charge
That all men it myzte p' fede
He fyze also pe bowis spred
Aboute all erpe in whiche were
The kynde of all breddis per
And eek him pouzte he fyeze also
Pe kynde of all beettis goo
Vndir pis tre aboute rounde
And fedden hem vp on pe grounde
As he pis wondir ftole fand hyze
Him pouzte he herde anoys on hyze
Criende and fanye abouen alle
Hew dew pis tre and lete it falle
The leuis let do foule in bafe
And to pe frute destruie and waste

729
GOWER'S NEBUCHADNEZZAR.
Harl. MS. 3869.
And let of shreden euery branche
Bot a Rote let it stauche
Whan al his Pride is caft to grounde
The rote schal be fatfe bounde
And fechal no mannes herte bere
Bot euery luft he schal forbere
Of man. and lich an Oxe his mete
Of gras he schal pourchache and ete
Til þat þe water of þe heuene
Hawe waifthen him be times feuene
So þat he he þurgknewe ariht
What is þe heueneliche myht
And be mad humble to þe wille
Of him which al mai faue and spille
This kynge out of his swefne abride

And he vpon þe morwe it feide
Vnto þe clerkes which he hadde
Bot non of hem þe foþe aradde
Was non his sweneune cowþe vndo
And it stod pikle time so
This kynge hadde in subieccion
Jude, and of affeccion
A boue alle ofre on Daniel
He lonenope. for he cowþe wel
Divine þat non oper cowþe
To him were alle þinges cowþe
As he it hadde of goddes grace
He was before þe kinges face
Afent. and bode þat he schold
Vpon þe point þe king of tolde

Harl. MS. 7184.
And let of shreden euerei braunche
But ate roote let it stauche
Whan all his pride is caft to grounde
The roote shall be fatfe bounde
And shall no mannes hert bere
But euery luft he shall forbere
Of man and lich an hoxe his mete
Of gras he shall purchase and ete
Til that the water of the heuene
Hawe waifhen him be tymes feuen
So that he throu knowe aright
What is the heuenlych might
And be mad humble to the will
Of him which al may faue and spille
This king out of his sweneune abride

And he vpon the morwe it seide
Vnto the clerkes which he hadde
But non of hem the foth aradde
Was non his sweneune couthe vndo
And it stode thilke time too
This king had in subieccion
Jude, and of affeccion
Aboue al othir oon Daniell
He loueth. for he couthe well
Divine that non othir couthe [fo. 23, b,]
To him were all thinges couthe 1]
As he it hadde of goddes grace
He was before the kinges face
Afent and bode that he shulde
Vpon the point the king of tolde

The fortune of his sweneune expounde
As it scholdel afterward be founde
Whanne Daniel þis sweneune herde [fo.
He stod long time er he anfuerde 569]
And made a wonder heuy chiere
The king tok hiede of his manere
And bad him telle þat he wihte
As he to whom. he mochel trifte
And feide he wolde noght be wroþ
Bot Daniel was wonder loþ
And feide vpon þi fomen alle
Sire king þi sweneune mote falle
And naþele. touchende of this
I wol þe tellen how it is
And what desete is to þee schape
God wot if pou it fechal afcape
The hihe tre which þou haft fein
Wip lef and fruit fo wel befein
The which stod in þe world amiddles
So þat þe bestes and þe briddes
Gouerned were of him al one
Sire king betokneþ þi perfone
Which fænt a boue all ornþi þinges
Thus regnen vnder þe þe kinges
And al þe people vnto þe louþþe
And al þe world þi pour doubteþ

The fortune of his sweneune expounde
As it shuld afterward be founde
When Daniel this sweneune herde
He stod long tymc he hadde
And made a wonder hewy chiere
The king took hiede of his manere
And bad him telle that he wishe
As he to whom that mochel trifte
And feid he wolde nouþt be wroth
But Daniel was wonder loth
And feide vpon thi fomen alle
Sir king þi sweneune mot falle
And naþele touchende of thiþ
I wol the tellen hou it is
And what desete is to þee shape
God wot if thou it staulc escape
The highe tre which thou haft fein
With lef and frut fo wel befein
The which stod in the world amiddles
So that the bestes and the briddes
Gouerned were of him alone
Sir king betokeneth thi perfone
Which fænt aboue all ethelhi thinges
Thus reginen vnder the kinges
And all the people vnto the louteth
And all the world thi power doubteth
Gower's Nebuchadnezzar.

**Soc. Ant. MS. 134.**

i 138

And let of shreden euery branche

But at rote let it staunche.

Whan all his pride is cafto to grounde

The rote shall be feste bounde.

And schall no maesnis herte bere.

But euery lufe he schall forbere

Of man and liche an oxe his mete

Of gras he schall purchase and ete

Till pet he water of he heuen

Hane watchen him be timis seuen.

So pet he purgh knowe aryste

What is he heuen liche myzte.

And he made vmble to pe wille.

Of him whiche all may faue and spille.

This kyngge oute of his sweuen abreyde.

And hee vp on pe morow it fye de

Vn to pe clerks liche he hadde

But none of hem pe fo pe aradde.

Was nonn his sweuen coupe vnadoo.

And it ftood pilk tyme foo [fo. 57, a, 2]

This kyngge hadde in subieccon

Jude and of asceccony

Above alle oeper oni daniell

He lounpe for he couppe well

Diuie pet nonn oeper couppe

To him were all pinges couppe

As he hadde of goddis grace

He was tofore pe kyngis face

Ament and bende pet he fheulde

Vp on pe pouyte pe kyngge of toldo

The fortune of his sweuen exponde

As it schulde aftirwarde be foude

Whan danniell his sweuen coupe

He flode longe tyme er he anwerde

And made a wondir heuy chere

Pe kyngge tok hede of his manere

And bad him telle pet he wifte.

And he to whom he mochel trite

And feyde he wolde nouzt be wrof. But daniell was wondir lof

And feyde vp on yf fomes alle

Sere kyngge 

And napeles touchende of pis

I wol te tellen how it is

And what defete is to be shape

God wet yt. peu, it fchall afchape

The byze tre which peu, haft feyne

With leef and frute so wel befeyne

The whiche ftoed in pe world amiddes

So pet he befits and pe briddis.

Governed were of him allone

Sere kyngge bitokencbi pe perfone

Whiche fante aboue all erpen bynges

Thus regen vnnd pet pe kynges

And of pe peple vn to pe louteb

And all pe world pe power douteb

**Conjectured Pronunciation.**

i 138

"And let of shread·en ev·rī braun·tʃe, "But at·e root·e let it staun·tʃe."

"Whan al ·is prīd is kast to grund·e, "Dhe root·e shall be fast·e bund·e."

"He shall noo man·e·s nerte bee·re, "But ev·rī lust·e shal for be·cre"

"Of man, and li·sht an oks ·is meet·e "Of gras ·e shal pur·tʃe ·a, and cete,"

"Tl dat dhe wa·ter·e of dhe nee·ve·ne "Haav wai·t·en him bi· tīm·es see·ve·ne,"

"Soo dat ne bee thu·rkh··knoon· arıkt, "What is dhe nee·en·lit·sh·e mikt,"

"An bee maad um·b·l too dhe wī·e "O·f Hīm, whītsh al mai saav and spī·e."

Dhis kīq uut of ·is swee·v·n· abroad·ed." And hee upon· dhe mor·w· it said·e

Untoo· dhe kler·kes whītsh ·e madr·e, But noon of hem dhe sooth arad·e, Was noon ·is swee·ve·ne kutht un·do. And it stood dīkh·e tīm·e so, Dhis kīq had in sub·dze·k·sān. Dzyh·de·e, ·and of afek·sān. Abu· al udh·r· oon Da·niel· He luv·eth, for he kuth·t·e wel Divī·nē dat noon udh·er kutht·e. To hīm weer al·e thīq·e·s kuth·t·e As hee it hād of God·e·s gra··se. He was befoor· dhe kīq·e fa·a·se Asent·, ·and bool·e dat ·e shold·ed Upon· dhe puint dhe kīq of·toold·e, Dhe fortyyn· of ·is swee·v·n· eks·poon·de, As it shold afterward be fun·de Whan Da·niel· dhis swee·ve·ne her·de He stood loq tīm eer hee an·wer·de, And maad a wun·der nev·i tse·he·re. Dhe kīg took need of his manec·re And baad ·i m·e·l·e dat ·e wiste, As hee to whom ·e mūsh·e triste, And said ·e wold·e nouk·k·t·e be roo·ooth. But Da·niel· was wun·der looth, And said: · "Upon· dhīi foo·men al·e, ·Siīr kīq, dhib· swee·v·n· moo·te fal·e! ·And, naa·dhe·les, tu·sh·e·n· of dhīs, ·Jī wol dhe·l·e·t·en nuu it is, ·And what dī·ze·ez· is to dhe·e sha·ar·pe. ·God wot it dhū·u it shalt esk·a·e·pe! ·"Dhe nī·cḥ·e·e tree whītsh dhū·u nast sain "With leef and fryt·t soo wel bes·ain; ·Dhe whītsh stood in dhe world amī·des, ·So dat dhe beest·es dhe dhe brī·des ·Guvern·ed weed of xīm· aloon; ·Siīr kīq, bet·took·neth dhī·i per·son· ·Whītsh stant abu·v al erh·liī thīq·e·s, ·Dhus rec·en un·der dhe·e dhe kīq·es, ·And al dhe peep·l· untoo· dhe·e lu·tt·eth, ·And al dhe world dhīi pu·ve·er· du·u·ve·t, 2. At 139 
Harl. MS. 3869.
So þat wip vein honour deceived
Thou haft þe reverence weyued
For him which is þi king a boun
That þou for drede ne for lone

Wolt noping known of þi godt
Which now for þe haþ mad a rodd
Thi veine gloire and þi folie
With gret þe peines to chastie
And of þe vois þou hereft speke
Which bad þe bowes for to breke
And hewe and felle doun þe tree
That word belongep vnto þee
Thi regne schal ben ouerprowe
And þou despulled for a broue
Bot þat þe Rote scholde stonde
Be þat þou schal wel vnderstonde
Ther schal a biden of þi regne
A time asein whan þou schalt regne
And ek of þat þou herdeft feie
To take a manners herte a weie
And sette þere a bettial
So þat he lich an Oxe schal!
Pature. and þat hebe bereined
Be times fefne and fore peined
Til þat he knowe his goddes mihtes

Than scholde he stonde asein vprightes
Al þis betokneþ þin atat
Which now wip god is in debat
Thi mannes forme schal be lassed
Til seuene þer ben ouerpaffed
And in þe likenes of a bette
Of gras schal be þi real seite
The weder schal vpon þe reine
And vnderstondæ þat al þis peine

Harl. MS. 7184.
So that with vein honour deceived
Thou haft the reverence weyued
For him which is þi king above
That thou for drede ne for lone

Wolt no thing known of this god
Which now for the hath made a rod
Thi veingloire and þi folie
With gret þe peines to chastie
And of the vois thou herdeft speke
Which bad þe bowes for to breke
And hewe and felle doun the tree
That word belongeth vnto the
Thi regne shall be ouerthrowe
And thou despulled for a throwe
But that the roote shall stonde
But that thou shalt wel vnderstonde
Ther shall a biden of thi regne
A tyme ayen whan thou shalt regne

And eke of that thou herdeft feie
To take a manners herte a weie
And fette there a bettial
So that he like an oxse shall
Pature. and that he be bereined
Be tymes fefne and fore peined,
Till that he knowe his goddes mihtes,

Than shuld he stonde ayen vprightes
All this betokeneth thine estat
Which now with god is in debat
Thi mannes forme shall be lossed
Til seuen yere ben ouerpaßed
And in the likenes of a bete
Of gras shall be thi roiall feste
The weder shall vpon the rayne
And vnderstondæ that all his peine

I 140
Which þou schal soffre þilke tide
Is schape al only for þi pride
Of veine gloire and of þeinne
Which þou haft longe stonden inne
So vpon þis condicion
Thi sweneþ haþ eposicion
Bot er þis þing befallen in dede
Amende þee. þis wold þe rede
þif and departe þin almeþe
Do mercy forþ wip rihtwisness
Befech. and preci. þe hibe grace
For þo þou miht þi þes purchase

Wip godt. and stond in good acord
BOt pride is loþ to leue his lord
And wol noght soffe humilite
Wip him to stonde in no degree
And when a shippe haþ loft þis stiere
Is non so wys þat mai him stiere

I 141
Which thou shalt suffre thilke tide
Is shape all only for thy pride
Of veingloire and of the sinne
Which thou haft longe stonden inne
So vpon this condicion
Thi sweneþ hath eposicion
But or this thing befallen in dede
Amende the this wold I rede
Yif and departe thine almeþe
Doth mercy forth with rightwisness
Befech and praie the high grace
For so thou miht þi þecs purchase

With god and stonde in good acord.
But pride is loth to leue his lorde
And wol not suffe humilite
With him to stonde in no degree
And when a shippe hath loft þis stiere
Is non so wys that may him stiere
So pat with veyne honourde deceyued.
Thou haft þe reverence weyued
Fro him whiche is by kynge aboue
That þou for drede ne for loue.

Wolte no þynge knowen of þy god [fo. 57, b, 1]
Whiche now þe þat had made ared
Thy vayne glory and þy folye
Wher gret þynnis to chaftye
And of þe voyce þou herdeft spèke.
Whiche bad þe bowis for to breke
And hewe and falle downs þe tre
That wrode bilonge vn þe þe
Þy regne schall ben oner prowæ
And þou despulled for a prowè
Bot þat þe rote schulde fonde
Be þat þou, schalt wæl vnridfonte
Ther schall abiden of þy regne
A tymne azen whan þou schalt regne

Whiche þou, schalte suffre pilke tyde
Is feshape all only for þy pryde
Of vayne glory and of þy fynne
Whiche þou, hafte longe flonden inne
So vp on þis condicioun
Þi fweuene hap exposicioun
But er þis þynge be falle in dede
Amende þe þis wolde y rede
Zif and diarte þyn almesse
Do mercy þy þat ryzziwitneffe
Befèche and preye þe hyzze grace.
For fo þou. myzte þe pees purchase
[fo. 57, b, 2]

With god and stonde in good acorde
But pride is loþ to leue his lorde
And wolde nowzt suffre humilite
With him to stonde in nodegre
And whanne a fchip haþ lofte his ftere
Is nouþ fo wis þat may him ftere

Conjectured Pronunciation.

"Soo doth, with vayn onurple deseaved,
"Dhou mast dhe rev-crensa waived
"Fran him, whish is dhiis kig abuve,
"Dhat dhuu for dreed-e nee for luve

"Wolt noothq knoouen of dhiis God,
"Whish nuu for dhee nath maad a rod,
"Dhiis vaine glooori and dhiis foliire
"With greet-e paines to thastiri.
"And of dhe vuis dhuu nert'est spek'e,
"Whish baad dhe booures for to brek'e,
"And neu and fel'e dun dhe tree,—
"Dhat word beloq'eth un to dhee.
"Dhiis reene shal been overthroue,
"And dhuu despuli'ed for a throore.
"But dhat dhe root-e shold-e stonde,
"Brii dhat dhuu stalt welt un'derstonde,
"Dher shal abiid'en of dhiis reene
"A tîm azain' whan dhuu shalt reene.

"And eek of dhat dhuu nert'dest saire,'
"To taak a man'ez hert awaite',
"And sete dheed a beeetaal',
"So dhat -e liik an okre shal
"Pastyyr', and dhat -e bee berain'ed
"Brii tîm'e seen'- and soo're pain'd'
"T'ld dhat -e knou -is God'es mikt'e,

"Dhan shold -e stond azain' uprikt'he's
"Al dhiis betook'neth dhiisin estat',
"Whish nuu with God is in debaet',
"Dhiis man'ez form'ez shal be lased
"T'll seevne seer been overpaesd,
"And in dhe liik'nes' of a bee'te
"Of gras shal bee dhiis ree'al feete
"Dhe wed'er shal upon' dhee rain'e.
"And un'derston'd' dhat al dhiis pain'ee

"Whish dhuu shalt sufer dhiis tiid'e,
"Js shaap al oon'lii for dhiis priid'e
"Of vaine glooori and of dhe sine
"Whish dhuu mast loq'e stond'en inre.
"Soo up'on' dhiis kondiis'sun
"Dhiis sweeven' -ath eksposizis'sun.
"But eer dhiis thiq befal'indec'd
"Amend'e dhee. Dhiis wold Ji'reed'e,
"Jyv, and depar'te dhiis almes'e
"Do mer'ssi forth with riicht'wisnes'e,
"Bessech', and prai dhe niik'h' graase.
"For soo dhuu mikt'h dhiis pees purthsaas'e

"With God, and stond in good akord:'
"But priid is looth to leev -is lord,
And wol noukacht sufr'- yymirli'nee'
With him to stond in noo deegree'
And when a ship hath lost -is steere
Is noon soo wis dhat mai -im steere
Harl. MS. 3869.

Ayein þo wawes in a rage
This proude king in his corage
Humilité hap to forlore
That for no fweuene he fih tofore
Ne sit for al þat Daniel
Him hap conseiled euereidell
He let it paffe out of his mynde
Thurgh veine gloire, and as þe blinde
He þe þe no weie. er him be wo
And fell wiþinne a time fo
As he in babiloine went
þe vanite of pride him hente

i 142

His herte aros of veine gloire
So þat he drowh into memoire
His lordeshippe and his regalie
Wíþ wordes of Surquierie
And whanne þat he him most auaunteþ
That lord which veine gloire daunteþ
Al fodeinliche as who feith treis [fo.
Wher þat he ftoed in his Paleis 51b]
He tok him fro þe mennes fihte
Was non of hem. fo war þat mihte
Sette yhe. wher þat he becom
And þus was he from his kingdon
Into þe wilde Forest drawe
Wher þat þe mihti goddes lawe
Thurgh þis pouver dede him transforme
Fro man into a beftes forme
And lich an. Oxe vnder þe fot
He grafe þas he nedes mot
To geten him his liues fode
Tho þeght him colde grafes goode
That whilom eet þe hote spices
Thus was he torned fro delices
The wyn whiche he was wont to drinke

He tok þanne of þe welles brinke
Or of þe pæt or of þe flowh
It þeght he þanne good ynowh
In fæde of chambers wel arraied
He was þanne of a buißh wel paiæd
The harde grounde he lay vpon
For ofre pilwes hap he non

i 143

The fторmes and þe Reines falle
The wyndes blowe vpon him alle
He was tormentæd day and nyht
Such was þe hihe goddes myht
Til feuene þer an ende toke
Vpon himself þo gan he loke
In fæde of mete gras and stres
In fæde of handes longe cles
In fæde of man a beftes lyke
He feih and þanne he gan to fyke
For cloþ for gold and for perrie
Which him was wonte to magnifie

Harl. MS. 7184.

Ayein the wawes in a rage
This proude king in his corage
Humilité hath so forlore
That for no fweuene he figh tofore
Ne yit for all that Daniell
Him hath counseiled euereidell
He let it passe out of his mynde
Throuþ veingloire and as the blinde
He feith no weie. er him be wo
And fel withinne a tyme fo
As he in Babiloine wente
The vanite of pride him hente

i 142

His herte aros of veingloire
So that he drawh into memoire
His lordship and his regalie [fo. 24,
With wordes of furquidele a, 1]
And whan that he him most auancteth
That lord which veingloire daunteeth
Al fodeinliche as who feith treis
Wher that he stood in his paleis
He took him fro the mennes fighete
Was non of hem so war that miyte
Sette yhe wher that he becom
And was he from his kingdom
In to the wilde forest drawe
Wher that the mighty goddes lawe
Throuþ his pouver dede him transforme
Fro man in to a beftes forme
And lich an. Oxe vnder the fote
He grafeþ as he nedes mote
To geten him his lyues fode
Thouþt him colde grafes goode
That whilom eet the hote spices
Thus was he torned fro delices
The wyn which he was wont to drinke

He took thanne of the welles brinke
Or of the pit or of the slough
It thouþt him thanne good Inouþ
In fæde of chambers well arraied
He was thanne of a buißh well paiæd
The harde grounde he lay vpon
For oþer pilwes had he non

i 143

The fторmes and the reines falle
The windes blowe vpon him alle
He was tormentæd day and nyht
Such was the high goddes myht
Til feuene yere. and ende took
Vpon him self tho gan he loke
In fæde of mete gras and tres
In fæde of handes longe cles
In fæde of man a beftes like
He figh and thanne he gan to fike
For cloth of gold and of perrie
Which him was wont to magnifie
Soc. Ant. MS. 134.

Azen þe wawis in a rage
This proude kyng in his corage
Humilite haþ fo for lore
That for no freues he fryze to fore
Ne zit for all þat daniell
Him haþ counseyld everd deell
He lete it paffe oute of his mynde
Thorowayne gloryye and as þe blynde
He feep no wele er him be woo
And fell withinne a tymo fue
As he in babiloyne wente
Þe vanite of pride him hente

Conjectured Pronunciation.

Aizen þe wan:es in a raadzh:e
Dhis pruden:kiq in his kooraadzh:e
Ym:milite: nath soo forloore:
Dhat for noo sweere: -e siðh to foore:
Ne zit for al dhat Daan:ne:el:
Him nth: kunsail:ed err:ri deel—
He let it pas out of -is mind:e
Thruke:he: vain:e: gloor:i, and, as dhe blinde: e
He seeth noo wai, eer him be woo.
And fel with:in: a tii:me soo,
As hee in Bab:lo:o:me went:
Dhe va:anit:e of prids: -im: nent.

His herte aros ofayne glorye
So þat he drow in to memorye
His lord:ships: and his regalye
With wordis of furquirdye
And whanne þat he him moft auauent: e
That lorde whicheayne gloriye daunte: þe
All dodye:nliche: as who: fayeth tereis
Where þet he ftood in his pales:
He toke him fro þemn: myzys:
Was nons: of hem fo war þat myzte
Sette: y þere þat he bicom:e
And þus: was he from his kingdowm
In to þe wilde forest drawe
Where þet þe myzyt goddis lawe
Thorow: his power did him transforme
Fro man in to abefis forme:
And liche an oxe vnd:re þet fote
He gra:pe: as he nedis mot
To geten: him his livis foode
Tho pouzte him colde grafis goode:
That whilom eet þe hoot: fycis
Thus: he was turid fro delicia.
The wyne: whiche: he was wonte to drynke
[i 142]

His hert: aeros of vain:e: gloor:i,
So: dhat ne droukkeh in:to: memoor:i,
His lord:shiip: and -is re:gaali:e
With: word:es of syyrki:der:i:e,
And: whan: dhat nee -im moost auau:nt:eth
Dhat: Lord, whith: vain:e: gloor:i daun:te:th,
Al sud:a:niit:sh: as: who: saith: Trais:
Wheer: dhat -e: stood in: his: palais,
Was: noon: of: hem: soo: war:
Dhat mi:kt:e
Set: ði: e: wheer: þat: nee: bekoom:
And: dhus: was: nee: from: his: kiq:doom:
In:too: dhe: wil:de: forest: drawe:
Thurke:he: his: pu:ne:er: ded: him: transforme:
He: gra:za:th: e, as: -e: nee:des: moote:
To: get:en: him: -is: li:ives: foode:
Dhus: was: -e: turn:ed: froo: deli:vis:e:
Dhe: wi:n, whis:th: -e: was: won:to: to: dri:k:e,

He: took: dhan: of: dhe: wel:es: bri:q:e,
In: steed: of: tahaun:ber:z: wel: ara:ied,
Dhe: hard:e: grund: -e: lai: upon:

The: stormes: and: dhe: rain:es: fal:e,
Dhe: wind:es: bloo:u: upon: -im: alte:
He: was: torment:ed: dai: and: nikt:h—
Suth: was: dhe: nikt:he: God:es: mikt:
In: steed: of: mee:te: gras: and: streec,
In: steed: of: hand:es: lo:q:e: kleez,
For: klooth: of: goold: and: for: pero:le,
Whis:th: him: was: won:to: to: man:ifir:e.
Harl. MS. 3869.

When he beheld his Cote of heres
He wepte. and with fulwoful teres
Vp to þe heuen he cafte his chiere
Wepende. and þoghite in þis manere
Thogh he no wordes mihte winne
Thus feide his herte and spak withinne
O myhti godd þat al haft wroght
And al myhte bringe aþein to noght
Now knowe'.I. wel. bot al of þee
This worlde haþ no prosperite.
In þin asþect ben alle liche
[fo. 52]
þe pouere man and ek þe riche
Wiþoute þee þer mai no wight
And pou a boue alle oþre miht
O miht lord toward my vice
Thi mercy medle wiþ iuſtice
And .I. wol make a couenant
That of my lif þe remenant

i 144

I schal it be þi grace amende
And in þi lawe so defpande
That veine golore I schal efchine
And bowe vnto þin hette and fiue
Humilite. and þat .I. vowe
And so þenkende he gan dounbowe
And þoghte him lacke vois and þpeche
He gan vp wiþ his feet a reche
And wailende in his beftly efeneue
He made his pleigntæ vnto þe heuen
He kneleþ in his wife and bræþ
To þeche merci and afliewþ
His god. whiche made him noþing
strange
When þat he ſhi his pride change
Anon as he was humble and tame
He fond toward his god þe famæ
And in a twinklinge of alok
His mannes forme aþein he tok
And was reformed to the regne
In which þat he was wont to regne
So þat þe Pride of veine golore
Euer afterward out of memoire
He let it paffe. and þus is fechewed
What is to ben of pride vnþewed
Aþein þe hihe goddes lawe
To whom nomæ may be felawe.

Harl. MS. 7184.

When he beheld his cote of heres
He wepte. and with woffull teres
Vp to the heuen he caſt his chiere
Wepend and thouȝt in this manere
Though he no wordes miȝte winne
Thus saide his hert and spak withinne
O miȝti god that haft all wrout
And al miȝt bringe aþein to nought
Now knowe. I. wel. but al of þee
This world hath no prosperite [fol. 24,]
In thine asþect ben alle liche
A, 2]
The pouer man and eke the riche
Withoute the theer may no wight
And thou abide all oþre miȝt
O miȝti lord toward my vice
Thi mercy medle with iuſtice
And I. wol make a couenant
That of my lif the remenant

i 144

I shall be thi grace amende
And in thi lawe so defpande
That veingloire I shall efcheue
And bowe vnto thine hette and fiue
Humilite. and that I vowe
And so thenkende he gan doun bowe
And thou him lacke vois and þpoche
He gan vp with his feet a reche
And weiland in his beftli þeuen
He made his pleinte vnto the heuen
He kneleth in his wife and bræþ
To þeche mercy and afliewþ
His god. whiche made him nothing
strange
When that he figh his pride change
Anon as he was humble and tame
He fond toward his god the famæ
And in a twinkeling of a look
His mannes forme aþein he took
And was reformed to the regne
In which that he was wont to reigne
So that the pride of veingloure
Euer afterward out of memoire
He let it paffle. and thus is fechewed
What is to ben of pride vnþewed
Aþein the high goddes lawe
To whom nomæ may befelawe.
Soc. Ant. MS. 134.

When he bhilde his cote of heris
He wepte and with fulfowfull teris
Up to be heuen so cast his chere
Wepende and pouzte in pis manere
Thouz he no words myzte wyzne
Thus seyde his herte and spak withinne
O myzty god bat all haft wrouzte
And all myzte bryage azen to noudt
Now knowe .I. well but all of seqe
This world hjn no prosperite
In hym afpet ben all liche
Pe pouere men and eek pe riche
With oute pe her may no wyzte
And .powne above all other myzte
O myzty lorde towarde my vice
Thy mercy medle with justice
And .I. wol make a couenaunte
That of my lyf pe remenaunte

1 144

I scall it be by grace amende
And in hy lawe so defende
That mayne glorie y.- scall ofscuine
And bowe vn to hyne hefte and fine

Humilite and bat y. voue
And fo jenkende he gan downe bowe
And pouz him lacke voys of speche
He gan vp with his feet areche
And waylende in his betely fleuen
He made his playnte vn to be heuen
He knelep in his wife and prayeb
To speche mercy and affayeth
His god whiche made him no hyunge

strange

When bat he fyze his pride chaunge
Annon as he was vmble and fame
He fonde towarde his god pe fame
And in a twynkelynge of a loke
His mannis forme azen he tok
And was reformid to the regne
In whiche bat he was wonte to regne
So bat pe pryde of mayne glorye
Euer afterwarde oute of memorye
He lete it passe and bus it schewid
What is to ben of pride vnshewid.
Azen .he hyze goddis lawe
To whom no man may be felawe.

Conjectured Pronunciation.

When mee benedel - is koost of mere-es,
He wept, and with ful woo-ful teere.
Up too dhe mee-ner - e kast -is tsherc-e,
Weep-ent, and thoukhet in dhis manerer.
Dhoukew ree noo word-es miht-e wner,
Dhus said - is hert, and spaak within-e.
"Oo miht'vi God! dhat al nast voukweht,
"And 'al miht briq aain' to noukseht!
"Nun knowu Ji wel, but uut of dhe.
"Dhs world -ath noo prosperitee.
"In dhin aspext' been al'o liishe',
"Dhe pover man, and eek dhe ritshe'.
"Wihout' e dheo dher -mai noo wikt,
"And dhuu abv- al udh-re miht.
"Oo miht'vi Lord, toward: mi vis'e,
"Dhii mers'si med'-i with dzhytise'e,
"And Ji wol maak a kuu' venaunt',
"Dhat of miu liif dhe rem-enaupt'.

i 144.

"Ji shal it bii dhii graas amende',
"And in dhii laur soo despend',
"Dhat vain'e gloori' Ji shal estabye',
"And buu unfoor' dhiin neest, and ayye'

"Ymiir'liise', and dhat Ji vuue'!

And soo thek'end' -e gan duun buue',
And dhoukweh -im lak'e vuys and speetsh-e,
He gan up with -is feet arech',
And wail'ent' in -is beest'lii steve',
He maad -is plaint untoor' dhe neevye',
He kneel'eth in -is wiss and brae-th',
To seets'he mers'si, and asai'eth
His God, whish maad -im noothiqu' 
strauandh-e,' 
Dhan dhat -e sikh -is pririd' e thauandzh-e.
Anoon as hee was um'bl- and taam'e
He fund toward' -is God dhe saum'e,
And, in a twiick'lii of a look,
His man'es form aain' -e took,
And was reformd too dhe reene',
In whisht dhat hee was woont to reene',
Soo dhat dhe prid of vain'e gloor'ie
Eer afterward' uit of memoor'ie
He let it pas. And dhus is sheer'd
What is to been of pririd untheurred
Aajain' dhe miht'he God'es lauer,
To whoom noo man mai bee se'-aure.'
MESSAGE FROM VENUS TO CHAUCER

_Harl. MS. 3490, fo. 214, b, 2._

iii 372

Myn holy Fader graunt mercy.
Quod I to hym. and to the qweene.
I felle on knees vppon the grene.
And toke my leue for to wende.
Bot the that wolde make an ende.
As therto with I was mofte able.
A peire of bedes blakke as fabile,
She toke and henge my nekke aboute.
Vppon the gaudes al withoute.

iii 373

Was write of golde pur repoir.
Lo thus the feide Johan Gower.
Now thou art at the late castte.
This haue I for thyn eafe castte.
That thou no more of loue feche.
Bot my wille is that thou befeth.
And prey here aftur for the pees.

For in the lawe of my comune.
We benot shapen to comune.

iii 374

Thi selfe and I neuer aftur this.
Nowe haue I feide althat ther is.
Of loue as for thy fynal ende.
A diu for I mote fro the wende.
And grete welle Chaucer whan ye mete.
As my disciple and my poete.
In fondry wife as he wel couthe.
Of dytees and of fonges glade.
The wich he for my fake made.
The londe fulfilled is ouer alle.
Wherof to hym in speciaile.
Above alle othir I am moft holde.
For thi nowe in his daies olde.
Thou thalle hym telle this meffage.
That he vppon his later age.
To sett an ende of alle his werke.
As he wich is myn owne clerke.
Do make his testament of loue.
As thou haft do thie shrifte aboue.
So that my court it may recorde.
Madame I can me wel acorde.
Quod I to telle as ye me bidde.
And with that worde it so bitidde.
Oute of my fisht alle fodeynly.
Enclofed in a sterrie fkye.

_Soc. of Antiquaries MS. 134. fo. 248, a.1._

iii 372

Myn holy fadir graunt mercy.
Quod I to him and to þe quene.
I fel on kneis vp on þe grene.
And took my leve for to wende.
But sche þat wolde make an ende
As pertie which I was most able.
A peyre of bedis blak as fabile.
Sche took and hinge my necke aboute.
Vp on þe gaudis all with outhe.

iii 373

Was write of golde pur repoir.
Lo þus sche feyde Johan Gower.
Now þou arte at þe latte castte.
This have I for þune efe castte.
That þou no more of loue feche.
But my wille is þat þou bifeche.
And praye here aftyr for þe pees.

For in þe lawe of my comune. [fo. 248,
We be not schapen to comune.  a, 2]

iii 374

Thi selfe and I neuer aftur þis.
Now haue I feyde all þat þer is:
Of loue as for þi final ende.
A diu for I mot fro þe wende.
And grete wel chaucer whan ze mete.
As my disciple and my poete.
For in þe fluoris of his zouþe
In fondry wife as he wel couþe
Of diteis and of fongs glade.
The which he for my fake made.
The londe fullidle is ouerall.
Whereof to him in speciaall.
A boue alle oþer I am most holde.
For þi noþ in his dayes olde.
Thou schalt him telle þis meffage.
That he vp on his litter age.
To fette an ende of all his werke.
As he which is myþn owne clerke.
Do make his testement of loue.
As þou hast do þi schryfte aboue.
So þat my courte it may recorde.
Madame I can me wel acorde.
Quod I to telle as ye me bidde.
And with þat world it so bitidde.
Oute of my fyste all fodenly. [fo. 248,
Enclofed in a sterred sky.
Vp to þe heuene venus frauht.
And I my ryt wey cauht.
Home fro the wode and forth I wente.
Where as with al myn hole entente.
Thus with my bedes vp on honde.
For hem þat trewe love fonde.
I thenke bidde while I lyue.
Vp on þe poynte which I am schryue.
SENT THROUGH GOWER AFTER HIS SHRIFT.

Systematic Orthography.

iii 372

"Myn holy Feder grawnd mercy!"
Quod I to him, and to the quene
I fel on knees upon the grene,
And took my leve for to wende.
But she, that wolde mak' an ende,
Ar theertowith I was most abel,
A pair of bedes blak' as sabel
She took, and eng my nekk' aboute.
Upon the gawdes al withoute

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Was writ of gold' Pour reposser.
"Lo!" thus she seyde, "John Gouer,
"Nou thou art at the laste caste,
"This have I for thyne ese caste,
"That thou no moor' of love seche,
"But my will' is that thou biseche,
"And prey' herafter for thy pees.
* * *
"For in the law' of my comune,
We be not shapen to comune,

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"Thyself and I, never after this,
"Nou have I seyd' al that ther is
"Of lov' as for thy fynal ende.
"Adien! for I moot fro the wende.
"And greet wel Chawcer, whan ye mete,
"As my discyp', and my poete.
"For in the flour of his youthe,
"In sondry wys', as he wel couthe,
"Of dytees and of songes glade,
"The which he for my sake made,
"The lond fulfild' is overal.
"Wherof to him, in special,
"Abov' all' oth' r' I am most holde.
"Forthy nou in his dayes oولدle
"Thou shalt him telle this message:
"That he upon his later age
"To sett' an end' of al his werk,
"As he which is myn ow'ne clerk,
"Do mak' his testament of love,
"As thou hast do thy schrift' above,
"So that my court it mai recorde.
"Madam', I can me wel acorde,
Quod I, "to tell' as ye me bidd'e
And with that word it so bitidd'e,
Out of my sight', al sodainly
Enclosed in a sterred sky
Up to the heven Venus strawghte.
And I my righte wery [then] cawghte
Hoom fro the woold', and forth I wente
Whoeras, with al myn hool entente,
Thus with my bedes upon honde,
For hem that trewe love fonde
I thinke bidde, whyll' I lyve,
Upon the poynf, which I am schryve.

Conjectured Pronunciation.

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"Miyn noo'li Faeder, graund mersii!"
Kwed Ii to mii, and too dhe kneen'e
I fel on kneez upon' dhe greene,
And took mii leeeve for to wende.
But shee, dat wold'e maak an end'e
As dheer-towith. Ii was most aa'b'l
A pair of bead'es blak as saa'b'l
She took, and meq mii nek aubu't'e.
Upon' dhe gaud'es al withut'e

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Was rewit of goold, Puur ree poor seer.
"Loo!" duhu she said'e, "Dshon Guuer',
"Nuu duuu at dhe laste kast'e
"Dhis maav Ii for dshin eeze kast'e,
"Dhat duhu mooor of luv'e seesth'e,
"But mii wil' is dat duhu biseetch'e,
"And prii -eerafter for dhiii pees.
* * *
"For in dhe lau of mii komyyne'
"We bee not shapern too komyyne',

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"Dhiiself' and Ii, neer after dhis.
"Nuu haav Ii said al dat dher is
"Of luv', as for dhiii fiin'al ende.
"Adeu' for Iii moot fro dhe wende.
"And greet weel Tshau'ree, whan je meetre,
"As mii disii'pl' and mii pooeete.
"For in dhe fluurcs of -is xuuthe,
"In sun'drii wiis', as nee wel kuuth'e,
"Of dii-tees and of soq'es glaad'e,
"Dhe whisht -e for mii saak'e maad'e,
"Dhe lond fulfild' is overal'.
"Wherof' to hkm, in spee'sial'
"Abu' al udhir' Ii am moot hold'e.
"Fordii' nuu in -is dai'es oold'e
"Dhuu shalt -im teel' dheis messa'dzhe:
"Dhat nee upon' -is laart'er ad'zhe
"To set an end' of al -is werk,
"As nee whisht' is miin ooune klerk,
"Doo maak' -is testament' of luv'e,
"As duhu hast doo duii shrift abu've,
"Soo dat mii kuurt' it mai rekord'e.
"Madaam, Ii kan me wel akord'e,
Kwed Ii, "to tel as jea me bide',
And with dat word it soo bii'd'e,
Uut of mii sikh', al sud'ainlii
Enkloo'ed in a sterc'd skii,
Up too dhe neuv'en Veeunus straukwehte.
And Ii miis rikhte wai [dhen] kaukwehte
Hoom froo dhe wood, and forth Ii wente,
Whoeras', with al miin hool entente,
Dhur with mii beed'es upon' hond'e,
For hem dat trewe luv'e fonde
Ii thiik'e bide, whitl Ii liiye,
Upon' dhe puint, which Ii am shrive.
§ 3. Wycliffe.

John Wycliffe born 1324, died 1384, is supposed to have commenced his version of the Scriptures in 1380, just as Chaucer was working at his Canterbury Tales. We are not sure how much of the versions which pass under his name, and which have been recently elaborately edited,\(^1\) are due to him, but the older form of the versions certainly represents the prose of the \textit{xivth} century, as spoken and understood by the people, on whose behalf the version was undertaken. Hence the present series of illustrations would not be complete without a short specimen of this venerable translation. The parable of the Prodigal Son is selected for comparison with the Anglosaxon, Icelandic, and Gothic versions already given (pp. 534, 550, 561), and the Authorized Version, with modern English pronunciation, inserted in Chap. XI., § 3.

The system of pronunciation here adopted is precisely the same as for Chaucer and Gower, and the termination of the imperfect of weak verbs, here \textit{-ide}, has been reduced to (\textit{id}), in accordance with the conclusions arrived at on p. 646-7.

**Older Wycliffite Version, Luke xv. 11-32.**

**Text.**

11. Forsothe he seith, Sum man hadde tweye sones; 12. and the jongere seide to the fadir, Fadir, juye to me the porcioun of substaunce, \textit{ethir catel}, that byfallith to me. And the fadir departide to him the substaunce.

13. And not aftir manye dayes, alle thingis gederid to gidre, the jongere sone wente in pilgryme\-age in to a fer cuntree; and there he wastide his substaunce in lyuynge leecherously.

14. And aftir that he hadde endid alle thingis, a strong hun-\-gir was maad in that cuntree, and he bigan to haue nede.

15. And he wente, and cleu\-yde to oon of the citeseys of that cuntree. And he sente him in

**Conjectured Pronunciation.**

11. Forsooth \textit{-e} saith, Sum man \textit{nad-e} twai\-e suu\-'nes;

12. and the juq\-'ere said\-'e to dhe faa\-'dir, Faa\-'dir, \textit{ji\-ive} to mee dhe por\-'sium of sub\-'staus, edh\-\-'ir kat\-\-'el', dhat be\-fal\-\-'eth to mee. And dhe faa\-'dir depar\-t\-\-'id to nim dhe sub\-'staus.

13. And not af\-t\-'ir man\-'e da\-'ires, alle thiq\-\-'is ged\-'erid to gid\-'re, dhe juq\-'ere suu\-'ne went in pil\-grimaadzh in to a fer kun\-\-'tree'; and dher \textit{-e} was\-'tid \-'is sub\-'staus in liv\-'i\-qe letsh\-\-'erusl\-\-'i.

14. And af\-\-'ir dhat \textit{-e} nad end\-'id al\-'e thiq\-\-'is, a stroq nuq\-\-'gir was maad in dhat kun\-\-'tree'; and \textit{-e} bigan \-' to naav need\-'e.

15. And \textit{-e} wente, and klee\-'vid to oon of dhe sit\-'izainz of dhat kun\-\-'tree'. And nee sent

to his toun, that he schulde feede hoggis.
16. And he coueteide to fille his wombe of the coddis whiche the hoggis eeten, and no man salf to him.
17. Sothli he, turned aæn in to him sylf, seyde, Hou many hirid men in my fadir hous, han plente of loues; forsothe I perishe here thur; hungir.

18. I schal ryse, and I schal go to my fadir, and I schal seie to him, Fadir I haue synned aæns heuene, and bifoare thee;

19. now I am not worthy to be clepid thi sone, make me as oon of thi hyrid men.
20. And he rysinge cam to his fadir. Sothli whanne he was þat fer, his fadir syþ him, and he was stirid by mercy. And he renynge to, felde on his necke, and kiste him.

21. And the sone seyde to him, Fadir, I haue synned aæns heuene, and bifoare thee; and now I am not worthy to be clepid thi sone.

22. Forsoth the fadir seyde to his seruauntis, Soone bringe þe forth the firste stoole, and clothe þe him, and þyue þe a ring in his hon'd, and schoon in to the feets;

23. and brynge þe a calf maad fat, and selle þe, and ete we, and plente Lously ete we.

24. For this my sone was deed, and hath lyued aæn; he perischide, and is founded. And alle bigunnen to eat plenteously.

25. Forsooth his eldeere sone was in the feeld; and whanne he cam, and neijede to the hous,
Text.

he herde a symphonye and a crowde.

26. And he clepide oon of the seruauntis, and axide, what thingis thes weren.

27. And he seide to him, Thi brodir is comen, and thi fadir hath slayn a fat calf, for he receyuede him saf.

28. Forsooth he was wroth, and wolde not entre. Therfore his fadir, gon out, began to preie him.

29. And he answeringe to his fadir, seide, Lo! so manye jeeris I serv to thee, and I brak neuere thi commaundement; thou hast neuere sounn a kyde to me, that I schulde ete largely with my frendis.

30. But aftir this thi sone, which devouride his substaunce with hooris, cam, thou hast slayn to him a fat calf.

31. And he seide to him, Sone, thou ert euere with me, and alle myne thingis ben thyne.

32. Forsothe it bihoftte to ete plenteuously, and for to ioye; for this thy brother was deed, and lyuede azerbai; he peryschide, and he is founden.

Conjectured Pronunciation.

he herd a sim·fonii·e and a kruud.

26. And -e klep·iid oon of dhe serv·vaunt·is, and ak·sid, what thiq·is dheez wee·ren.

27. And -e said·e to nim, Dhii broo·dir is kuum·en, and dhii faa·dir nath slayn a fat kalf, for nee resaiv·id·im saaf.

28. Forsooth née was rwooth, and wold·e not ent·re. Dheer·foore nis faa·dir, goon uut, bigan· to prai·im.

29. And née aun·sweriq to ·is faa·dir, said·e, Loo! soo man·ié ree·ris Ii serv to dheee, and I braak nev·re dhii komaun·de·ment; dhuu hast nev·re joo·ven a kid·e to mee, dhat Ii shuld·e ee·ete laa·rdzheii with mii freend·is.

30. But aft·ir dhis dhii suu·ne, whësh devuu·rid ·is sub·stauns with noo·ris, kaam, dhuu ·ast slayn to nim a fat kalf.

31. And -e said·e to nim, Suu·ne, dhuu ert ev·re with me, and ale mü·ne thiq·is been dhii·ne.

32. Forsooth· it bihoof·te to ee·ete plenteuslii, and for to dzhui·e; for dhis dhii broo·dir was deed, and liv·id azen·; he per·vish·id, and -e is fund·en.
CHAPTER VIII.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE PRONUNCIATION OF ENGLISH DURING THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

§ 1.

William Salesbury’s Account of Welsh Pronunciation, 1567.

The account which Salesbury furnished of the pronunciation of English in his time being the earliest which has been found, and, on account of the language in which it is written, almost unknown, the Philological and Early English Text Societies decided that it should be printed in extenso, in the original Welsh with a translation. This decision has been carried out in the next section, where Salesbury’s treatise appropriately forms the first illustration of the pronunciation of that period. But as it explains English sounds by means of Welsh letters, a previous acquaintance with the Welsh pronunciation of that period is necessary. Fortunately, the appearance of Salesbury’s dictionary created a demand to know the pronunciation of Welsh during the author’s lifetime, and we possess his own explanation, written twenty years later. The book containing it is so rare, that it is advisable to print it nearly in extenso, omitting only such parts as have no phonetic interest. Explanatory footnotes have been added, and the meaning of the introduced Welsh words when not given by Salesbury, has been annexed in Latin, for which I am chiefly indebted to Dr. Benjamin Davies of the Philological Society. It has not been considered necessary to add the pronunciation of the Welsh words as that is fully explained in the treatise, and the Welsh spelling is entirely phonetic. A list of all the English and Latin words, the pronunciation of which is indicated in this tract, will form part of the general index to Salesbury given at the end of the next section.

There are two copies of this tract in the British Museum, one in the general and the other in the Grenville library. The book is generally in black letter (here printed in Roman type,) with certain words and letters in Roman letters (here printed in italics). The Preface is Roman, the Introductory letter italic. It is a small quarto, the size of the printed matter, without the head line, being 5 3/4 by 3 1/2 inches, and including the margin of the cut copy in the general library, the pages measure 7 1/2 by 5 1/4 inches. It contains 6 3/4 sheets, being 27 leaves or 54 pages, which are unpaged and
unfolioed. In this transcript, however, the pages of the original are supposed to have been numbered, and the commencement of each page is duly marked by a bracketed number. The title is lengthy and variously displayed, but is here printed uniformly. In the Roman type (here the italic type) portion, VV, vv, are invariably used for W, w, and as there is curious reference to this under the letter W, this peculiarity has been retained in the following transcript. Long Ĩ is not preserved except in the title.

[1] A playne and a familiar Introductio, teaching how to pronounce the letters in the Brytishe tongue, now commonly called Welsh, whereby an English man shall not onely wyth ease reade the siday tonge rightly: but marking the same wel, it shall be a meane for hym wyth one labour to attayne to the true pronunciation of other expedient and most excellent languages. Set forth by VV. Salesbury, 1550. And now 1567, pervsed and augmőed by the same.

This Treatise is most requisit for any man, yea though he can indifferently well reade the tongue, who wyl be thorowly acquainted with anie piece of translation, wherein the siday Salesbury hath dealed. (*)

Imprinted at London by Henry Denham, for Humfrey Toy, dwelling at the sygne of the Helmet in Paules church yarde. The .xvij. of May. 1567.


[4] . . . Some exclaimed . . . that I had peruyerted the whole Orthographie of the [English] tounge. Wher in deede it is not so: but true it is that I altered it very little, and that in very few wordes, as shall manifestly appeare hereafter in the latter end of this booke. No, I altered it in no mo wordes, but in suche as I could not fynde in my hart to lende my hand, or abuse my penne to wryte them, otherwyse than I haue done. For who in the time of most barbarousnes, and greatest corruption, dyd euer wryte euer word as he souëd it: As for example, they than wryte, Ego dico tibi, and yet read the same, Ego deicu tebe, they wryte, Agnus Dei qui tollis, but pronounced Angnus Dei quei tovllys.¹ And to come to [5] the English tung. What yong Scoler did euer write Byr Lady, for by our Lady? or nunkle for vnkle? or mychgoditio for much good do it you? or sein for signe?²

¹ These Latin mispronunciations were therefore (egu dei'ku tei'bei, Aq'nuß Dei' kwej toou'l'is). Probably (Dei') should be (Dee'ei), but it is not so marked. The phonetisation is not entirely Welsh. The pronunciation (toou'l'is) was in accordance with the general sound of long o before ū, see supra p. 194.

² The English examples were probably pronounced (bei'raa'di, Nuuk-1, miš-gud-it-ū, sein). It seems scarcely probable that an (o) should have been used in a familiar pronunciation of
And thus for my good wil molested of such wranglers, shal I con-
discend to confirmre their vnskylful custome . . . . Or shall I pro
dislayne Dame Truth, appearing in hir owne lykenes can woorko against the wrynckled face neme¹ Custome? . . . . . . .
Soiurng at your house in Paulus Churchyarde, the 6, of Maj.
1567. Your, assuredly, welwyller W. Salesbury.


[These two pages have no interest. They are dated—] [7] At Thanies Inne in Holburne more hastily, then speedily. 1550.


[These two pages set forth that after the publication of his
dictionary persons wanting to know Welsh asked him whether his
dictionary would serve their purpose, and] [9] . . . amongst
other communication had, they asked, whither the pronounciation
of the Letters in Welsh, dyd dyffer from the Englysh sounding of
them: And I sayde very muche. And so they perceiuing that they
could not profite in buildynge any further on the Welsh, lackyng
the foundation and ground worke (whych was the Welsh pronoun-
ciation of the letters) desired me eftsoones to write vnto them (as
they had herd I had done in Welsh to my Country men, to intro-
duct them to pronounce the letters Englysh lyke) a fewe English
rules of the naturall power of the letters in our tongue.

And so than, in as much as I was not onelye induced wyth
the premises, but also further perswaded, that neither any inconveniencie
or mischiefe might ensue or grow thereof, but rather the encrease
of mutual amitie and brotherly loue, and continuall friendship (as
it ought to be) and some commodity at the least wyte, to suche as
be desirous to be occupied there aboutes. As for all other, euens as
it shall neuer woorko them pleasure, so shall it no displeasure.

Euen therefore at the last, I haue bene so bolde as to enterprise
(condescending to such mens honest request) to inuent and wryte
these playne, simple, and rude rudimentes of the Welsh pronouncia-
tion of the letters, most humbly desiring the Readers to accept them
with no lesse benovolent humanitie, then I hartily pretended to-
wardes them, when I went about to treate of the matter.

[10 Blank.]


The letters in the British tungue, have the same figure and
fashion as they haue in Englysh, and be in number as here vnder-
neath in the Alphabet appeareth.

¹ Thus printed in the original; the
word has not been identified. Wright
quotes William de Shoreham for kepe
nome, pay attention.—Dict. of Obs.
and Prov. English.
A. b. c. ch. d. dd. e. f. ff. g. h. i. k. l. ll. m. n. o. p. r. s. t. th. v. u. w. y.

1. w. in auncient bookes hath the figure of 6: and perhaps because it is the sixt vowell.

2. These be the vowels.
   a e i o u w y.

3. The dipthonges be these, and be pronounced wyth two soundes, after the verye Greeke pro-
   nounciation.
   Ae ai au aw ay
ei ew
ia ie io iw
oe ow oy
uw
wi
wy

4. These letters be called consonautes;
   b. c. ch. d. dd. f. g. ff. k. l. ll. m. n. o. p. r. s. t. th. v.

5. An aduertisment for Writers and Printers.

Ye that be young doers herein, ye must remember that in the lynes endes ye maye not deuide these letters ch, dd, ff, ll, th: for in this toungue euery one of them (though as yet they haue not proper figures) hath the nature of one entiere letter onely, and so as vn-
   naturall to be deuided, as b, c, d, f, or t, in Englysh.

6. The pronounciation of A.

A In the British in euerye word hath ye true pronounciation of a in Latine. And it is neuer sounded like the dipthong au, as

1. Here the modern Welsh alphabet introduces ng = (q).
2. Not used in Modern Welsh.
3. Here ph (f) is introduced in modern Welsh but only for proper names, and as a mutation of p.
4. Salesbury's explanations give the following values to these letters,—
   A aa a, B b, C k, CH kh, D d, DD dh, E ee e, F v, FF f, G g, NG q, H h, I ii i, K k, L l, LL lh, M m,
   N n, O oo o, P p, PH f, R r, S s, T t, TH th, V v, U y, W w, Y y. The pronunciation of the Welsh U and Y
   will be specially considered hereafter.
5. This is of course merely fanciful.
6. The vowel o is also mutable:
   "Compare the German Umlaut, thus bardd [sacerdos], pl. beirdd; corn [cornu], pl. cyrn; dyrnau.—B.D."

7. This is by no means a complete list of modern Welsh dipthongs, and no notice has been taken of the numerous Welsh triphthongs. The Welsh profess to pronounce their dipthongs with each vowel distinctly, but there is much difficulty in separating the sounds of ae at au ay from (ai), and iw from uw (iu, yu), oc, oy fall into (oi), and es sounds to me as (oi). In is is to initial, Welshmen conceive that they pronounce (a je jo), and similary in wi, wy they believe they say (wi, wy). This is doubtful to me, because of the difficulty all Welshmen experience, at first, in saying ye woo (ji wuu), which they generally reduce to (i uu).
7. That is the Welsh pronounce Latin a as their own a. Wallis evidently heard the Welsh a as (aee, aε), supra p. 66, l. 18. Compare p. 61, note.
the Frenchmen sounde it commyng before \textit{m} or \textit{n}, in theyr tounge,\footnote{Supra p. 143, 1. 1, and p. 190.} nor so fully in the mouth as the Germaynes sound it in this woorde \textit{wagen}: \footnote{Meant to be sounded as (\textit{vaag\textsuperscript{-}en}, \textit{vaehg\textsuperscript{-}en}, \textit{vaag\textsuperscript{-}en}?) The ordinary pronunciation of modern Saxony sounds to me (\textit{bhaag\textsuperscript{-}en}).} Neyther yet as it is pronounced in English, when it commeth before \textit{ge}, \textit{li}, \textit{sh}, \textit{tch}. For in these wordes and such other in Englyshe, domage, heritage, language, ashe, lashe, watch, calme, call, \textit{a} is thought to decline toward the sound of these diphonges \textit{ai}, \textit{au}, and the wordes to be read in this wyse, domaige, heritaige, langaige, ashe, waitche, caul, caulme.\footnote{Probably (\textit{dum\textsuperscript{-}aizdh}, \textit{her\textsuperscript{-}taizdh}, \textit{laq\textsuperscript{-}waizdh}, \textit{aish}, \textit{waitsh}, \textit{kaul}, \textit{kaulm}). For the change to \textit{ai} see pp. 120, 190; for that to \textit{au} see pp. 143, 194.} But as I sayd before \textit{a} in Welsh hath alwayes but one sound, what so euer letter it folow or go before, as in these wordes ap, cap, which haue the same prononciation and signification in both the tongues.\footnote{Probably \textit{ap} means \textit{ape}; it does not occur in Salesbury's own dictionary, but he has "\textit{ab ne siak ab An apes}," and "\textit{kayp a cappe}." The word \textit{siak} is meant for (\textit{shak}), and (\textit{shak}) for (\textit{dzak}).}

\textbf{[13] Much lesse hath \textit{a}, such varietie in Welshe, as hath \textit{Aleph} in Hebrue (which alone the poyns altered) hath the sound of euerye vowell.\footnote{The Welsh now sometimes pronounce \textit{si} as (\textit{sh}), as \textit{ceisio petero} (\textit{kaisho}), and they use it to represent English (\textit{sh}, \textit{tsh}; \textit{zh}, \textit{dzh}), which sounds are wanting in their language. Hence the passage means (\textit{ab ne dzak\text{-}ab}), an ape or a Jack-ape, as I learn from Dr. Davies.} Howbeit that composition, and deriuation, do oft tymes in the common Welsh speache chaunge \textit{a} into \textit{e}, as in these wordes, \textit{enweith} [\textit{semel}] \textit{seithed} [\textit{septimus}]. So they of oldie tyme turned \textit{a} into \textit{e} or \textit{ai} in making their plural number of some wordes reserving the same letter in the termination, and the woorde not made one sillable longer, as \textit{apostol} [\textit{apostolus}], \textit{epesty} [\textit{apostoli}]: \textit{caeth} [\textit{servus}], \textit{caith} [\textit{servi}]: \textit{dant} [\textit{dens}], \textit{daint} [\textit{dentes}], \textit{map} [\textit{filius}], \textit{maip} [\textit{filii}]; \textit{sant} [\textit{sanctus}], \textit{saunt} [\textit{sancti}]: \textit{tat} [\textit{pater}], \textit{tait} [\textit{patres}], etc., where in our tyme they extend them thus, \textit{apostolion}, or \textit{apostolievit}, \textit{caethion}: \textit{danneled} or \textit{danneedo}: \textit{matbion}, \textit{sanrie} or \textit{seinnie}: \textit{taidie} or \textit{tadeu}. But now in Northwales \textit{daint} & \textit{taid} are become of the singuler number, \textit{taid} [\textit{avus}] being also altered in signification Neuertheles \textit{e} then succeedeth, & is also wrytten in the steede of \textit{a}: so that the Reader shall neuer be troubled therewith.}

\textbf{\textit{The sound of B}.}

\textbf{B} in Welsh is vniuersally read and pronoïcde as it is in Englyshe. Albeit when a woorde begynneth wyth \textit{b}, and is ioyned wyth mou woordes commyng in a reason, the phrase and maner of the Welshe speach (muchie like after the Hebrue idiomne) shal alter the sound of that \textit{b}, into the sound of the Hebrue letter that they call \textit{Beth} not daggessed, or the Greek \textit{Veta},\footnote{As \textit{aleph} is only (\textit{i}) or (\textit{;) in point-ed Hebrew, (p. 10,) it has no relation to any vowel in particular.} either els of \textit{v} being consonant in Latine or English: as thus where as \textit{b}, in thys
So doe these welsh words cuvill, cuvill, eisses, which be derived of cubitus, cubiculum, bisextus.

Walshe [14] word bys a fynger, is the primitiue (or if I should bow the Hebrue term) the radical letter, which comming in the context of a reason, shall not than be calle d b, but v, as in thy text: ei vys his finger. And sometyme b shall be turned into m, as for an example: vynys my fynger: demglyvyydd for decblvyydd, ten yeare old. And yet for all the alteration of thyss letter b, and of diuers other (as ye shall perceyue hereafter) whych by their nature be changeable one for an other, it shall nothyng let nor hynder anye man, from the true and proper readynge of the letters so altered.

For as soone as the ydiome or proprietie of the tungue receyuth one letter for an other, the radicall is omitted and left away: and the accessorie or the letter that commeth in steede of the radical, is forthwith written, and so pronounced after his own nature and power, as it is playne enough by the former example. Whych rule, wrytyng to the learned and perfectly skylled in the idiome of the tongue, I do not always obserue, but not vnblamed of some, but how iustly, let other some iudge.

Prouided always that such transmutation of letters in speakyng (for therein consisteth all the difficultie) is most diligently to be marked, observed, and taken hede vnto, of him that shall delite to speake Welsh a right.1

How C. is pronounced.

C maketh k, for look what power hath c in Englishe or in Latine, when it commeth before a, o, u, that same shall it haue in Welshe [15] before any vowel, diphthong, or consonant, whatsoeuer it be. And as M. Melanchthon affirmeth, that c. k. q. had one sound in times past wyth the Latines: so do al such deduced wordes thereof into the Welsh, bare witnes, as, accen of accentu, Caisar Caesare, cicut of cicuta, cist of cista, croc of cruce, raddic of radice, Luc of Luca, lluc also of luce, Lluci of Lucia, llucern of lucerna, Mauric of Mauricio: natalic of nataliciis.

How be it some of our tyme doe vs to wryte k. rather than c. where Wryters in tymes past haue left c. wrytten in their auncient bookes, specially before a, o, u, and before all maner consonantes, and in the latter end of wordes. Also other some there be that

1 The initial permutations in the Welsh (and Celtic languages generally) are a great peculiarity. Some consonants have three, some two, and some only one mutation, and the occasions on which they have to be used do not seem capable of being reduced to a general principle. The mutations in Welsh are as follows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Radical</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>c</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>d</th>
<th>g</th>
<th>l</th>
<th>r</th>
<th>m</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vocal</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>f</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>gh</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ng</td>
<td>m</td>
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<td>ng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspirate</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>ch</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>ch</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>ch</td>
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</table>

The (-) indicates the entire loss of g as gaffr goat, dy afr thy goat; mh nh ngh are not (mh, nh, gh), but (mh nr (gu) and consequently if there is no preceding vowel, which can be run on to the (m, n, g), a murmur is inserted as ('mh, 'nh 'gh).
sound now c, as g, in the last termination of a word: Example, oe [juventus], coc [moles], lloc [agger]: which be most commonly read, og, cog, llog. 1

Furthermore, it is the nature of c. to be turned into ch, and other whyles into g. But I meantime thys, when a word that begynneth wyth c. commeth in construction as thus: Carwv a Hart, Evioc a' Charv, a Hynde and a Hart. Either els when c. or k. (for they be both one in effect) is the fyrst letter of a word that shall be compounded, as for an example, Angraff, angred, angrist, which be compouïed of an and of craff, cred, Christ. 2

1 The sound of Ch.

Ch doth wholly agree with the pronunciatiö of ch also in the Germayne 3 or *Scottyshe 4 toungue, of the Grecche Chy, 5 or the Hebrue [16] Cheth, 6 or of gh in English? And it hath no affinitie at all wyth ch in Englysh, except in these wordes, Mychael, Mychaelmas, 8 and a fewe such other. ch also when it is the radical letter in any Welsh woorde, remayneth immutable in every place. But note that their tongue of Southwales gineth them to sound in some wordes h onely for ch, 9 as hevech, for chevech [sex], hvevaer for cheveer [soror]. Further ch someytme sheweth the feminine gender, as well in Verbes as in Nownes, as ny thal hon y chodi [non digna illa quae levetur]: y char hi [amator illius mulieris]: for if the meanyng were of any other gender, it shuld haue been sayd i godi and not i chodi, i gar, and not i char. &c.

2 The sound of D.

D is read in Welshe none otherwyse then in Englyshe, sauyng onelye that oftentymes d in the fyrst syllables shalbe turned into dd, resembling much Daleth the Hebrue d. 10 And someytme

1 Mr. E. Jones observes that "this is in accordance with a general tendency in modern Welsh to use the medial for the tenuis." Dr. Davies doubts this tendency.

2 The modern Welsh forms are annghraff hebes, annghred infidelitas, annghrist anti-Christus.

3 Where it has really three sounds (kh, kh, kch) dependent on the preceding vowel (p. 63). Probably Salesbury only thought of (kh).

4 The Scotch words cited in the margin are pronounced (rêkht mokht).

5 The modern Greek χ, according to one account I received, is always (kh), never (kh), but Prof. Valetta (p. 517, n. 2) used both (kh, kh).

6 The Hebrew 𐤇 and 𐤈 are by Euro-

peans confounded as (kh); taking the Arabic pronunciation of the corresponding  MaterialApp: they are (h, krh).

9 This therefore confirms the existence of a sufficiently distinct (kh) in English, which may have been occasionally (kh).

10 Hebrew ד ד = (d, dh).
when a word beginnyng wyth $d$, is compounded wyth $an$: the $d$ shall slyp away, as anaven [in-domum] of an [in] and daven [donum]; anoeth [in-doctus] of an [in] and doeth [doctus].

$Dd$ is nothing lyke of pronounciation to $dd$ in Englysh or Latine. For the double $dd$ in Welsh hath the very same sound of $dhelt$ or $dhaleth$, dashed wyth $raphe$, or of $d$ betwyxt .ij. vowels in the Hispanish tongue, ekyther els of $th$, as they be conymounly sounded in these English wordes, the, that, thyse, thyne. Neither do I meano nothyng lesse then that $dd$ in Welshe is sounded at any tyme [17] after the sound of $th$ these wordes of Englishe, wyth thynne, thanke. But ye shall fynde in olde wrytten Englysh booke, a letter hauing the fygure of a Romayne $y$, that your auncestors calle adhorn, wythch was of one efficacie wyth the Welsh $dd$. And this letter $y$ I speake of, may you see in the booke of the Sermon in the Englyshe Saxons tongue, which the most reuerend father in God D. M. P. Archbishop of Canturbury hath lately set forth in prynt. And ther be now in some countreys in England, that pronounce $dd$ euyn in these wordes *addes, fedder*, according as they be pronouced in the Welsh. And ye must note that $dd$, in Welsh is not called double $dd$, neither is it a double letter (though it seemeth so to be) wherefore it doth not fortify nor harden the sillable that it is in, but causeth it to be a great deale more thycke, soft, and smoothe. For he that first added to, the second $d$, ment thereby to aspirate the $d$, and signifie that it should be more lyghtly sounded, and not the contrary.

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1 Modern Greek $\delta$ is ($dh$). This, and the sound given above to $\beta$ (p. 747 note 6), shews that the present modern Greek system of pronunciation (p. 523) was then prevalent in England, see pp. 629–630 and notes. Sir Thomas Smith's book, advocating the Erasmian system of pronouncing Greek, was not published till 1568, a year after this second edition of Salesbury's book.

2 "Formerly, when Dögesh was not found in any of the $\text{אָדָנִים}$ letters, a mark called $\text{שָׁמָּה}$, was placed above it, in order to shew that the point had not been omitted by mistake. With the ancient Syrians this was nothing more than a point made with red ink. The Hebrews probably wrote it in the same way: but, as this point might be mistaken for the vowel $\text{כֹּהֵלִים}$, when printed, or, for one of the accents, the form of it was altered for a short line thus (-), which is still found in the Hebrew manuscripts, though very rarely in printed books." S. Lee, Grammar of the Hebrew Language, 3rd edit. p. 21. Hence $\text{נ}$ with $\text{רָפָה}$ was equivalent to the ordinary $\text{נ}=($dh$).

3 If the Spanish $d$ in this place is not true ($dh$), it is so like it that Spaniards hear English ($dh$) as that sound, and English that sound as ($dh$). Don Mariano Cubí i Soler, a good linguist, who spoke English remarkably well, in his *Nuevo Sistema ... para aprender a leer i pronunciar ... la lengua inglesa*, Bath, 1851, gives (p. 8) the Spanish *deidad* deity, as a threefold example of ($dh$). Yet the Spanish sound may be ($e$), p. 4.

4 Pronounced ($dhe$, $dhat$, $dhès$, $dhèin$).

5 Pronounced (with, $\text{thin}$, $\text{thakq}$).

6 This alludes to the common practice of printing $y$ for $j$, which letter is usually called (thorn) not ($dhorn$), but see p. 541, note 2.

7 As this was first written in 1550, the Archbishop must have been Cranmer.

8 *Addis addic*, now written *adze*, is generally called (adźa). *Fedder* is perhaps meant for *feather* ($fədər$) but may be *father*, provincially (fědər).

9 The Welsh has $dd$, $f\acute{f}$, $ll$ ($dh$, $f$, $l\acute{h}$), all meant as so-called aspirations of their $d$, $f$, $l$ ($d$, $v$, $l$). Similarly Salesbury has $rr$ for modern $rh$ (infra.
But I thinke it had be easier, more meete, and lesse straunge to
the Reader, if he had put \( h \), after the former \( d \), in a signe
of asperation, than to add an other \( d \) thereto.

And as it semeth it is not passing three or foure C. yeares ago,
synce they began to double their \( d \), for before that tym by lykely-
hood they used one constant maner of pronounciation of their
letters euon as the Hebrues did at the beginning.

[18] \( dd \) also bygynning a word, sheweth that it commeth in
construction: for there is no woord commynge absolutely that his
fyrst syllable bygynneth wyth \( dd \).

Moreouer, \( dd \) relateth the masculyne gender, as (\( Ai \) \( ddewraich
ar ei \) \( ddwyron \)) [illius hominis brachia duo super illius hominis
pectora duo] for an other gender, it would be sayd, \( Ai \) \( dewraich
ar ei \) \( dwyron \) [illius mulieris, &c. ut suprâ].

How \( E \) ought to be sounded.

E without any exception hath one permanent pronounciation in
Welsh,}\(^1\) and that is the self pronunciation of \( \text{Epsilon} \) in Greke,}\(^2\)
or of \( e \) in Latine, being sounded aryght, or \( e \) in Englyshe, as it is
sounded in these woordes, a \( \text{evere} \), \( \text{vreke} \), \( \text{broke} \), \( \text{vvreste} \).\(^3\)

And the learner must take good hede that he neuer do reade the
said \( e \) as it is red in these English wordes, \( \text{eve} \), \( \text{belove} \):\(^4\) For than
by so doing shall he eyther alter the signification of the word
wherin the same \( e \) is so corruptly reade, either els cause it to
betoken nothing at all in that speche. Example: \( \text{pe} \) [\( \text{si} \)] signifieth
in English and if, now, ye rede it \( \text{pi} \), than wil it betoken this letter
\( p \), or the byrd that ye call in Englyshe a Pye. And so \( \text{gve} \) is, a
webbe: but if ye sound \( e \) as \( i \) reading it \( \text{gvi} \), then hath it no signifi-
cation in the Welshe.

And least peraduenture the foresayd example of the Welsh or
straunge tong be somewhat obscure, [19] then take this in your
own mother tong for an explanation of that other: whereby ye shall
perceive that the diversitie of pronounciation of \( e \) in these Englysh
woordes subscribed hereafter, wyll also make them to haue diuers
significatios, and they be these wordes, \( \text{bere} \), \( \text{pere} \), \( \text{hele} \), \( \text{mele} \).\(^5\)

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p. 758; and Dan Michel and others use \( \text{si} \) for (\( \text{sh} \)), (suprâ pp. 409, 441)
which many consider as an aspirate of \( s \). Of course there is no aspiration,
though the writing (\( dh \)), as Salesbury goes on to suggest, has arisen from
this old error. Compare the Icelandic
\( hj \), \( hl \), \( hn \), \( hr \), \( hv \), suprâ p. 544.
\( 1 \) The modern Welsh \( e \) is, and seems to have always been (\( ee \), \( e \) ) and never
(\( ee \), \( e \) ), and hence I so transcribe it.
\( 2 \) Meaning (\( e \)) of course.
\( 3 \) (\( \text{Weer} \), \( \text{wreek} \) \( \text{rweek} \), \( \text{breek} \), \( \text{wrest} \), \( \text{rwest} \)).
\( 4 \) (\( \text{Wii} \), \( \text{biliiv} \)) as appears from what
immediately follows.
\( 5 \) (\( \text{Biir} \) bier or beer, (\( \text{beer} \)) bear, (\( \text{piir} \)
peer, (\( \text{peer} \)) pear, (\( \text{miil} \) heal, (\( \text{meel} \)
heal, (\( \text{miil} \) meel = meddle?, (\( \text{meel} \)
meal, p. 79. Mr. Murray suggests
that \( \text{meat} \) in the sense of food consumed
at one time, German \( \text{mahl} \), ags. \( \text{meli} \),
Scotch (\( \text{mel} \) ) may have been (\( \text{meel} \)),
and \( \text{meat} \) in the sense of flour, German
\( \text{mehl} \), ags. \( \text{meul} \), Scotch (\( \text{mil} \) ) may have
been (\( \text{miil} \)) and that these were the
two sounds Salisbury meant to distin-
guish. This \( s \) a priori most likely,
but the orthographies leave the matter
in great perplexity. Promptorium;
\( \text{meel} \) of mete; \( \text{mele} \) or mete, \( \text{commestio}
\text{cibus} \); \( \text{meele} \) of corne growndyn',
\( \text{farina far} \). Palsgrave: \( \text{meale} \) of corne
\( \text{farine} \), \( \text{meale} \) repast. Levin:
\( \text{meale farina} \), by flock \( \text{meale minutim} \),
\( \text{meele cana} \) which would seem to indi-
Neither yet doe we vse in Welsh at any time to write e in the middle or last sillables, & to leaue it vnsoken in reading: as it is done by scheua in Hebrue, or as the maner of wrytynge and readynge of the same is accustomed in Englysh, as it shall be more manifest by these wordes that followe: goode, sylke, purenes, Chepesyde: wherein (as I suppose) e is not written to the entent it might be read or spoken, but to mollifie the syllable that it is put in.¹

But now I am occasioned to declyne and stray somewhat from my purpose, and to reuene my phantasie to yong wryters of Englishe, who (me thinketh) take ouer mucho paynes, and bestowe vnrequisite cost (haung no respect to the nature of the Englysh ending e) in doubllyng letters to harden the syllable, and immediatly they addde an e, which is a signe of mittigatyng and softning of the syllable, after the letters so doubled, as thus: manne, vworshippe, Godde, vvotte, vvyshhe, goodnesse, hemme, uette:² whych woordes wyth such other lyke, myght with lesse labour, and as well for the purpose, be wrytten on this wyse: man, vworshypp. Godd, vvott, vvysh, goodness, hemm, nett: or rather thus: man vworshyp, God, vvott, goodness, hem, net.

[20] And though thiss principle be most true Frustra id fit per piura, quod fieri potest per paucrior, that is done in vayne by the more, that maye be done by the lesse: yet the Printers in consideration for iustifying of the lynes, as it is sayde of the makers to make vp the ryme, must be borne wythall.³

How F. is commonly sounded.

F In Welsh being synge, and v when it is consonant in Welsh, English, or Latine, be so nygh of sounde, that they vse moste commonly to wryte in Welsh indifferently the one for the other. And I my selfe have heard Englysh men in some countries of England sound f, euен as we sound it in Welsh.⁴ For I haue marked their maner of pronounciation, and speciallye in soundyng these woordes:

cate the difference (meel, mill) in an exactly opposite direction, but as Levins has: eale eel anquilla, beale beel spe-lunca, deale deele portio, he may have meant to imply that these wordes were in a transition state. The meaning of the two wordes (mill, meel) then, intend-ed by Salesbury, must remain doubtful.

¹ The utter extinction of the feeling for the final e is here well shewn. How a syllable can be "mollified" without any utterance, is not apparent. The words are (goold, silk, pyyrene, Theepeyseid:).

² (Man, wurship, God, wot, wish, gudnes, hem, net), since uette must be a misprint for nette.

³ This may be partly an explanation of the varieties of orthography in the xviith century in printed books, but will not explain the nearly equal varieties in manuscript. I have noted at least ten ways of spelling tongue in in Salesbury's own book: tongue, tonge, tong, tonge, tonge, tongue, tungue, tunge, tunge, tung, tou; ags. tunge.

⁴ This is west country, still heard in Somersetshire and Devonshire. In early English books of the West of England v is constantly used for f. We also find it in Dan Michel's Kentish dialect 1340 (p. 409). The same places give also æ for ə.
voure, vfive, disfigure, vish, vox: where they would say, foure, five, disfigure, fysh, Fox, &c.  

But who seuer knoweth the sounde of the letter called Digamma
(whose figure is much lyke F, but ouerwhelmed Eolicum \(\digamma\) vyspedowne, as ye see here \(\gamma\)) he shall also know
thereby the very sounde of the syngle f in Welsh.  

The sound of ff.

ff In Welsh hath but the same sounde that the syngle f hath in
Englysh. And they are faine to vse the double ff for the
syngle f, because [21] they haue abused f in steede of v a conso-
nant. But in such worde as haue p for the fyrst letter of their
originall (for to keepe the orthographie) the Learned wryte ph, and
not ff, as thus, Petr a' Phavl, Peter and Paule.

The pronunciation of G.

G In evry word in Welsh soundeth as the Hebrue Gymel:  
or g in Dutche, or as g in Englyshe soundeth before a, o, u.  

And marke well that g neuer soundeth in Welshe as it doth in
Englysh in these worodes, George, gynger.  

G also in Welsh sometyme (when it commeth in a reason) shall be turned into ch, and somtyme
elided or left cleane out of the word as
thus, a chvedy hynny [ac postquam] 
tawn ne'v'vad [satisfactio vel sanguis]: koch
ne 'las [rufus vel viridis]: and not koch
ne glas: dulas [viridis nigrescens] of du [niger] and glas [viridis].

And otherwyse wordeis compounded shall put away y, as these
do, serloyv, dulas: whose symple be these, ser [aster], gloyv
[purus], du [niger] glas [viridis].

Also g is added to the beginning of such wordeis as be deriued
of the Latine, which begyn wyth v, as Gwvilim, gwv, gwvnt,
Gvent, gev, gooper of VVilicelmus, vicus, ventus, Venta, vinum, 
vesper.

Moreouer, g intrudeth wrongeously into many wordeis, namely
after n, as Llating for Llatin, Katering for Katherin, pring for
prin [vix].

Of the aspiration of H.

H In evry word that is wrytten in Welshe, hath hys aspiration
in speakyng also, and is read, euyn as in these worodeis of
Englysh, hard, heard, hart, hurt:  
And therefore wheresoeuer h
is wrytten in Welshe, let it be read wythall, and not holden styll,
as it is done in French and Englysh, in such wordes as be derived out of Latyne, as these: honest, habitation, humble, habite. Except when h is setled betwene two vowels in Welsh, wordes: for then it foreth not greatlye whether h be sounded or not, as in these wordes that followe: deheu [dexterior], kykyr [musculus] mohein [adep], gwcheu, heheu,2 gwvehydd [textor], gohir [mora].

Moreover, h sometime sheweth the gender; & somtyme the number of the word that it is set before, as in this word, Ar y hael: vpon her, or their brow. Further, h oftentimes is caused or engendred of the concourse of vowels, oi hervvydd, for oi ervvydd, and sometimes by accenting, as trugarha, for trugará. Then because eh is not of the essence of the word, I leane it for most part vnwrytten.

The sound of I.

I In Welsh hath the mere pronunciation of i in Latine, as learned men in our time use to sound it, and not as they y with their Iotacisme corrupting the pronunciation make a [23] diphthong of it, saying: veidei, teibei for vidi, tibi. But looke how i soundeth in Englysh, in these words, singing, ringing, drinking, evinking, nigh, sight, might, right.3 So then i in every syllable in Welsh hath even the same sounding as e hath in Englysh in these wordes, vvee, see, three, bee. And i is neuer sounded so broade in Welsh as it is in thys English word *I.4 And besyde that i is neuer consonant in Welsh,5 but euer remaining a vowel, as it doth in ye.

* Ego Germanye tonge, or as Iota in the Greke. And because they have not tasted of the precepts of Grammar do not lightly vnderstande what thyse terms consonant meaneth: I wyll speake herein as playne as I can, for to induce them to vnderstand my meanyng.

Therefore when we say in spellynge ma, ma: i e, ie: st e, ste: maieste: or I e, Ie: s u s, sus: Jesus: now in these two wordes, maieste, and Jesus, i is consonant. But when I spell on thyse wyse: i per se i, o r k, ork, and wyth doyng them toghter, reade iork: then i is not called consonant, but hath the name of a vowel.  

1 (On'est, abitee'shun, um'-bl, ab-it).
See above p. 220.

2 The words gwcheu, heheu, have not been identified.

3 (Siq'-i, riq'-i, driq'-i, wiq'-i, nk'h, srk'h, nsk'h, rsk'h, rsk'h). Salesbury here however means (i) not (i), which he generally marks by y Welsh. Yet Welshmen at present do not seem acute in distinguishing (i, e), but use sometimes one sound and sometimes the other, supra p. 112, note 1. The (nsk'h) and not (nei) or (neik'h) sound of nigh is here pointed out by the context.

4 Meaning (ei).

5 That is, never has the sound of i consonant or j in English, that is, (dzh). Salesbury never thinks of (i) as a consonant, but only as the vowel (i). This must be borne in mind in reading what follows, in which a curious example of the mode of spelling out words in old English is presented. Of course his argument is perfectly worthless. There is a dispute, as already mentioned, concerning the Welsh i preceding another vowel. Mr. E. Jones and Dr. Davies both consider Welsh i to be (a) in such words iawn each, Jesus. In English, Smith and Hart consider (i) and (a) to be the same sounds, supra p. 185.
And therefore if ye lyst to reade ryghtly Welshe woordes where-in i is wrytten, an other vowell immediatlye folowing (for therein else is there no hinderauce for the straunge Reader) than must you harken how i (whych I wryte for y) is sounded in these Englysh woordes: i-an, i-arde, ielde, i elk, i elle, ielov, iere, iok, iong, ioughth, Iorke, iou: And though thesse woordes bee wrytten here [24] now wyth i, in the first letter of every one, yet it is ment that you should reade them as the i were y, and as they had been wrytten on thys fashion: yane, yarde, yelde, yell, yelov, yere, yok, yong, youghth, yorke, you.

Now I trust that the dullest witted chylde that neuer read but two lynes, perceaueth so familiar a rudiment.

\[\text{The sound of } K.\]

K Followeth the rule of c in euer thy poyn, and therefore looke for the effect of k, where it is treated of the letter c.

\[\text{The sound of } L.\]

L Hath no nother differëce in souëd in Welsh than in Englysh. And note that it neyther causeth a, nor o, when they come before it, to sounde anye more fuller in the mouth, than they do else where sounde, commyng before anye other letter. And for the playner vnderstandyng therereof, looke in the rules that do treate of the sounde of a and o.

And marke whan socuer ye see l to be the fyrst letter of a worde, that eyther the same word commeth in construction, eyther else the woord is of an other language, and but vsurped in Welsh.

A worde beginning wyth l hauyng ll in hyys [25] radical, maketh relation of the masculin gender, as yn y luvw in his hand: for yny llawv is in her hand.

Item thys lysping letter l is now smotheley receyued in some wordes, contrary to their original nominations, as tementl for tempest; rriscel, triselyn, for rrise or rrisyn [cortex]: pymystl or pyynystl for pembllys [quinque digiti]: so named of the resemblëce that the rootes haue wyth mans fingers: which is now better knowen by a more vnpathe name euen Ceeut y dver, and in Englysh Water small-edge.

So lykewyse to this letter l a loytring place is lent to lurk in this English word syllable. And thus much, that the wryters hereafter maye be more precise and circumspect in accepting the vnlettereds pronunciation by the authority of theyr hand wryting.

1 I have not met with this form iye elsewhere, except in the Heng. MS. of C. T. v. 10. The sound seems to be (ii) as in the Scotch word ee for eye.
2 (Jaun, jard, jild, jel, jél-leoou, jir, jook, jug, juuth, Jork, juu). The orthography yourth for youth is peculiar.
3 This alludes to the old English pronunciation of tall, toll as (taul, tooul), supra p. 193-4.
4 Apparently cicta virosa, Water cowbane, Water Hemlock, now spelled cogid in in Welsh.
5 This, in conjunction with the preceding, is meant to point out the syllabic (')}, see p. 196.
Of the strange sound of double ll.

LL can not be declared anye thyng lyke to the purpose in wryting, but onely by mouth: if ye the wyll learne how it ought to be sounded: For (as it is sayd before of d) so the second l is added in stede of h: but looke how Lambda coming before Iota is sounded in the Greeke:

euen so pronounce we LL in the Welsh. And if ye could hyt kyndely on the right and iust pronounciation of ll thus aspirated: not leaung unsoided the entire energie, and the whole strength of the aspiration: than shoulde not you bee farre dissonant from the true [26] sound of our Welsh LL.

For the Welsh LL is spoken the tongue bowed by a llyttle to the roufe of the mouth, and with that somewhat extending it selfe betwyst the fore teeth the lyppes not all touching) but leaung open as it were for a wyndow) the right wyke of the mouth for to breathe out wyth a thycke aspirated spirite the same LL. But as I sayde before, and if ye wyll haue the very Welsh sounde of

1 Joannes Oecolampadius, the Latinized name of Johann Hausschein, the reformer, 1482-1531, who studied Greek under both Reuchlin and Erasmus, the teachers of the rival Greek Pronunciations.

2 The Welsh LL is not (lh) the whisper of (l), for in (lh) the breath escapes smoothly on both sides of the tongue, and the sound may be frequently heard, with very little escape of breath, in French, table (tablh) for (tabl') see p. 52, and in Icelandic, p. 545. But for the Welsh LL, one side (generally the left) of the tongue lies along the whole of the palate so as entirely to prevent the passage of air, just as for the English c'ek (l) p. 11, by which we excite horses, and the breath is forcibly ejected from the right side, making it vibrate, at the same time that there is a considerable rattle of saliva,thus much resembling (kh) or rather (krh), and the sound is, perhaps for this reason, conceived as a guttural aspirate by Welsh grammarians. The Welsh LL is a voiceless or whispered consonant which I represent by (lhh) p. 6, the second (h) to the right typifying the ejection of breath on the right side, and the initial (lh) the resemblance of the sound to (lh) which when energetic may be substituted for it without loss of intelligibility, although the Welsh ear immediately detects the difference. The lips may be fully open, or only opened on the right; the effect is entirely due to the action of the tongue and is very peculiar. At a distance llan (lhh) when shouted sounds like (lhan). There is no resemblance to (thlan) which Englishmen generally substitute for it. When the table of palaeotype was drawn up I had never heard the voiced form of (lhh), which for convenience, may be written (lhh). It is possible also to have palatalised varieties of both, which must then be written (ljhh, djjh). All these forms with (lh) are very awkward, but they are sufficiently distinctive, and the sounds are very rare. In: Il Vangelo di S. Matteo volgarizzato in dialetto Sardo Sassarese dal Can. G. Spano accompagnato da osservazioni sulla pronunzia di questo dialetto e su varj punti di rassomiglianza che il medesimo presenta con le lingue dette Celtiche, sia ne' cambiaamenti iniziali, sia nel suono della lettera L, del Principe Luigi-Luciano Bonaparte, Londra 1866, it is stated that (lhh, lhh, ljhh) occur in the Sardinian dialect of Sassari, and (lhh, dhh) in the dialect of the Isle of Man. The Prince pronounced all these sounds to me, but he laid no stress on their unilateral character, or rather disowned it. In this case (gh, dh) were really the sounds uttered for (lhh lhh), according to Mr. M. Bell's views, Visible Speech, p. 93, and Mr. Bell on hearing them, analyzed them thus.

3 Here Salesbury most probably elevated (li) first into (li) and then into (ljh). See also p. 546, n. 1.
The Welshman or the Hispanicarde compose their mouthes much after one fashion when they pronounce their *ll*,

did in auncient time aspirate *l*, but pronouncing it somewhat hardish in the throte. And in an other place he recordeth that in old Charters he findeth *l* aspirated, nameelye in proper names, and after thyss manner H L. Thus you see how tonges though far distant, haue som affinity in one thyng or other.

The sound of *M.*

M In Welsh hath such a sound as ye heare it haue in Englysh or Latine: but yet it is one of the letters that be changeable in construction as thus: *mvy*, moe, *llai ne vvy*, lesse ormore, *mvyvvyvvy*, more and more: *mal hyn*, or *val hyn*, as thus: *megis or vegis*, as.

The sound of *N.*

N Is none otherwyse sounded in Welshe then in Englyshe: but sometyme, after the Latine maner, when it commeth before *b* or *p* in composition, it is than turned into *m* as *ymblaen* [coram], which is compounded of *yn* and *blaen*: *amparch* [contumelia] of *an* [in] and *parch* [reverentia]: *ampveyll* [impatientia], or *an & pvvyll* [prudentia].

N also is often times accessory, I meane such as intrudeth into many wordes, namely beginning with *o* or *k*, as *vynca* [meus carus] *vy-car*, *vyndew* [meus deus], for *vy-devv*, or *vynyvve*.

And because in suche wordes it is nothyng of the essence thereof, I doe, but not without offence to some Readers, oftentimes omit the writing of it, thynckyng that it is not more meete to admyt *n* in our so sounded wordes, than in these Latine vocables *agnus*, *magnus*, *ignis*, at what tyme they were thus barbarously sounded, *angus*, *mangnus*, *ingis*. After this sort crept *n* into *messanger* coming of *message*. By *y* like analogie *potanger* (which I thinke no man doth so write) must be written for *potager*, and so corrupt *Portingal* for *Portugal*.

[28] But I will prescribe nothing herein, least of some Remissian I be termed a Precisian.

1 The Spanish *ll* is (lj), so that Salesbury has elevated it to (ljh), see preceding note. No doubt in attempting to imitate it he put his own tongue into the familiar Welsh position, and took it for the Spanish.

2 On the ags. and Icelandic *bl* see suprà pp. 513, 546.

The sound of O.

O In Welsh is sounded accordyng to the right sounding of it in Latin: eyther else as the sounde of o is in these Englyshe wordes: a Doe, a Roe, a Toe; and o neuer soundeth in Welsh as it doth in these words of Englysh: to, do, teve. But marke that o in Welshe going before ll, soundeth nothing more boystous, that is to say, that it inclineth to the sounde of the diphthong ou (as it doth in Englishe) no more than if it had gone before any other letter.

The sound of P.

P in Welsh differeth not from the Englysh sound of p, but p commyng in construction foloweth the rules of the Hebrue Phe, sauing that somtyme it is turned into b, as thus: pedvar neu bemp [quatuor vel quinque], for ymp. And somtyme p in composition is changed also into b, as when we say ymbell [longe], for ympell.

And one whyle it is left out of the compounde woordes: as when these wordes: kymell, kymorth, be wrytten for kympell [compello], kymport [comporto].

And an other whyle our tongue geueth vs to sound it as it were an h, as when we say: ymhlvvy, ymhlas for ymplo [?], ym-plevy [in plebe] ym-plas [in palatio].

But p turned into ph, maketh relation of the feminine gender, as O's phlant, of her children, gevise i phen, the attire of her head.

The sound of Q.

Q Is not receiued amog the number of the letters in Welshe as yet, but k supplyeth his rowme, and vsurpeth his office in every place. And the Greekes are fayne to practice the same feate, as ye may see done. Luc. ii and Ro. 16. where Kyriniou is written for Quirino, Kuartos for Quarto.

The sound of R.

R Is sounded a like in Welsh and Englysh, but r, in Welsh for the most part is pronounced wyth aspiration, especially being the first letter of the word. And for the aspiration h, they commonly

1 (Doo, roo, too). In my observations of Welsh, the long and short o were invariably (oo, o). The sounds (oo, o) seem practically unknown, and not appreciated by Welchmen. That these were also the English sounds in the xvi th century I infer as in p. 95.
2 (Tu, duu, tuu).
3 Boystous, probably (buistous) does not appear to be a misprint, but a more correct form than the modern boisterous. The Promptorium has boystous, the Catholicon buistus, the Ortus Voc. boystous, Chaucer boystously 8667 (Wright reads boystously incorrectly, the r not occurring in Harl, 7334, Cam. Univ. MS. Dd. 4. 24. has bois-
stously,) and in several other places, the Wycliffite version has boistous, Math. 9, 16, as pointed out by Mr. Way on the word in the Promptorium. The origin seems to be the Welsh buyst wilness, buyst savage, buystful wild beast, buystus brutal ferocious, which account properly for the diphthong in the first syllable. Mr. R. Morris refers the word to bost, Welsh bost.
4 This again refers to the English toll = (touil).
5 = (p), = (ph) not (f).
put to r,¹ as they play by d and and l, euin thus: rrygyvyd [fractus], rrrodes [vanitas], rringell [miles]. Rufain [Roma]. But the maner of some is to wryte one great capitall R (when it is the fyrst letter of a woord) for the twoo double rr. Also r serueth the terme that n doth in Englysh, that is to wyt, to be put betwene vowels meeting together in two sundrye wordes, for to stop the vnomeley gaping in spech, as ye shall perceyue by these wordes of both the [30] tongues: yr-aver: a-n houre: for mother nature wyll not admyt that we should pronounce y aver, or a hour. But stepmother Ignorance² receuyeth both r and n into some places where they are abused, as yr Latin g, for y Latin.

¶ The sound of S.

S Soundeth in Welsh as it doth in Latin: neither hath it two diuers soundes as it hath in Englishe or Frenche, for when it commeth betwene two vowelles in these two languages, it is so remissely and lithly sounded, as it were z, as by these two wordes of both the speaches it is manifestely proued, Feisant a Fesant.³

¶ The sound of T.

T Lykewyshe hath but one sounde, and that as the Latines sound it in these wordes: atat, tute, tegit: Nether do I meane that t in Welsh is sounded at any tyme lyke th, as some barbarous lypoers do, who depraye the true Latine pronounciation, reading amath, for amat, dederith, for dederit, &c.⁴

Now be it marke well thys exception, that t is neuer read lyke c thorowout the Welsh tongue, as it is commonly read of Englyshemen in Latine verbales ending in tio, as Exception pronunciatio, electio, subiectio.

[31] Marke also, that it is the nature of t to be turned into d, and sometyme into th, and some other tyme it is so lightly spoken, that the t is quite left away, and there remayneth but the h in steede of the t. But thyys is to be vnderstande when t is the fyrost letter of a word set in construction to be construed or buylt together on thyys fashion: Na thrie yuyh dvy aver ne dair [Ne mane in domu duas horas vel tres]. For before they be hewed, squared, and ioyned together wyth theyr tenants and mortesses, they lye in rude and vndressed timber after this maner of sort: Na tyrce yn ty dvy aver ne tair. Furthermore t in deriuation is left out of the deriued wordes or turned in n, that they myght sound more plaasant to the eare, as ye may take these for an example: chvanooc or chvva

¹ To r, that is, two r's, or rr. The modern form is rh, rather ('rh) than (rh), so that Rhys ('Rh'ys) sounds more like (rh's) than (vis).

² Of course "an hour" is the old form, and "a" comes from the omission of n before a consonant. The ignorarce is therefore rather in Salesbury.

³ This occasions difficulties in writ-
The sound of Th.

Th hath the semblable and lyke sound in Welsh as it hath in English in these wordes, thorovye, thycke, and thynne:¹ but it is neuer so lythly spoken as it is commonly sounded in these other wordes: that, thou, thine, this.²

Moreover th wrytten for the fyrst letter of any worde, sheweth the same worde to be than in construction. For there is no Welshe worde standing absoltelye that hath th for hys fyrst letter: but t is hys natuie and original letter, for the [32] which in construction th is commonly vsed. Neither yet do we vse to wryte th, in any worde, and to reade the same as t or d, as is commonely done in these English wordes: Thomas, throne, threasure, Thauies Inne:

Thauies In which be most universely spoken after this sorte: Tomas, trone, treasure, Daviies Inne.³

Item th sometyme signieth the word to perteyne to the feminine gender, as Oi thuy of her house, otherwyse said, oi duy, of hys house.

The sound of V being consonant.

V specially being wrytten in thyss maner of fashion v, soundeth in Welshe as in Englyshe or Latine, when it is a consonant.⁴ And it lightely neuer begynneth a worde, except the worde be constructed and ioyned wyth one or more wordes. For other b or m, being the original or radicall letter, is transmutted or chaude (according to the congruitie of the toungue into v a consonant.

But Latine wordes begynnynge with v, and vsurped in the Welsh, shall receyue g to their fyrst letter, as is declared more at large in the treatise of the letter G, and sometyme B, as bicar of vicarius.

The sound of u beyng a vowel.

But u written after this manner u, is a vowel, and soundeth as the vulgar English people sound it in these wordes of English: trust, bury, busie, Hu[33]berden.⁵ But know well that it is neuer sounded in Welsh, as it is done in any of these two Englyshe wordes (notwythstanding the diuersitie of their sound) sure, lucke.⁶ Also

¹ (Thuroou, thfk, thin).
² (Dhat, dou, dhein, dhis).
³ (Tom'as, truun), see next section under Th. (tree'zyyr, Daviiz In).
⁴ The use of v is quite discontinued in Welsh, and f is always used in its place.
⁵ No doubt that he meant the sound of (trist, brr, biz'i, Huberden). (Trist) still occurs in Scotland, (brr) was even then more usually (beri) but is the common Scotch now, and (biz'i) remains. Huberden is probably Hubberden, but I cannot find such place. There is a Hubberston in South Pembroke, which therefore may have the u pronounced in the Welsh manner and an Ibberton in North Dorset. These are the nearest names I can find.
⁶ (Syr, luk). Bullokar gives (syyer) and he is particular in identifying the sound with the French u. Hart has (siur) meaning (syyr), p. 167, and Salesbury writes suwr, with the
the sound of $n$, in French, or $u$, wyth two prickes over the head in
Duch, or the Scottish pronunciation of $u$\(^1\) alludeth somewhat
were vnto the sound of it in Welshe, though yet none of them all,
doeth so exactly (as I thynk) expresse it, as the Hebraick Kubuts
doe{th}.\(^2\)

For the Welsh $u$ is none other thing, but a meane sounde be-
twytte $u$ and $y$ byeng Latyne vowels.\(^3\) And therefore who so euct
wyll distinclye learne the Welsh sound of $u$ let hym once geue
care to a Northen Welsh man, whan he speacketh in Welsh, the
wordes that signifie in English obedient (or) * chaff singlerly:
whych be these in Welshe, $wrudd$, $ysun$.\(^4\) And this vowell $u$ alone
amonge all the letters in Welsh, swarueth in sound from the true
Latine pronunciation.

Thys $u$ is more in re wyth vs of Northwales than wyth theim
of the South parteis: whose wyrtyres abuse it, when they wyrte
thus, $un$ $yn$ for $yn$ $un$\(^5\)

The sound of $W$.

W In Welshe and Englyshe hath but one fygure and power,
thoogh it chaunceth to haue $ij$. diuers names: for in English
ye call it double $uu$ and in Welshe we geue it the [34] name of a

same meaning, pp. 165, 172, and in-
deed this passage is sufficient to shew
that he diid not mean ($spyr$). Smith
and Bullocke both give (luk).

\(^1\) All meant for the sound of ($yy$),
although at present there are occasional
faint differences of sound, but not ac-
nowledged, French ($yy$), German ($ii$),
Swedish ($uu$), Scotch ($w$).

\(^2\) This of course means that Sales-
bury pronounced the Hebrew $\gamma\stackrel{\circ}{\varepsilon}$
(kibbus), generally considered as ($u$)
in the same way as Welsh $u$; also he
shews by writing the name $kubuts$, that
he gave the same sound to the first
vowel in the name, generally identified
with (i). This serves to shew, in con-
junction with his opening sentence,
that his sound of Welsh $u$ did not much
differ from (i, i), and that where he
uses it for the representation of English
sounds, he certainly meant (i) or (i).

\(^3\) It is difficult to determine what
sounds the Welshman gave to Latin
$u$, $y$, because these are precisely the
Welsh vowels about which there is a
difficulty. The next sentence but one,
however, would lead us to suppose that
his Latin $u$ was ($u$), as it was different
from the Welsh; but what his Latin
$y$, properly ($y$), may have been, cannot
be said. Assuming, however, that it
was (i), then the mean sound ought to
be (i). By the kindness of Dr. Davies
I had an opportunity of consulting
three Welsh students at the Regent's
Park College about the Welsh $u$, $y$.

The sound of $u$ in $Dw$ appeared to
be (i), in $llewyrchu$ it was not distin-
guishable from (i), in $dechreuad$, go-
leuni, I could not distinguish the diph-
thong $eu$ from the English ($oi$), though
the sound of $ai$ in $gair$ was dis-

tinctly ($ai$) and occasionally ($aai$),
but $ai$, $ae$, $au$ were nearly if not
quite indistinguishable; at most ($ai$,
$ae$, $ai$) would mark the distinctions.
I understood from Dr. Davies that the
theoretical pronunciation of $u$ was ($y$),
and that in solemn declamation an at-
tempt was made to preserve the sound,
but that usually $u$ became ($ii$, $i$) or
even (i). This is perfectly similar to
the common German substitution of
($ii$) for ($yy$) in the pronunciation of
their $u$, an alteration never made in
French. In Danish and Swedish the
$y$, theoretically ($y$), becomes (i) or,
to my ear, practically (i, i).

\(^4\) Theoretically ($yw$-$yd$, $yy$-$syn$),
practically ($iv$-$yd$, $ir$-$sin$) or even
($iv$-$yd$, $ir$-$sin$) which latter sounds,
perfectly easy to English organs, would
be intelligible throughout Wales.

\(^5\) This refers only to the orthography.
See below under $y$. 

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syngle u but than soundyng it after the Latine pronuciatio or ells as you now sounde your oo.¹

But the lesser Greeke o iyoned togyther wyth the Greke y made a diphthong,² or Hebraic Tav cum puncto schurek in ventre,³ either oo in these English vocables: booke, looke, boorde, woorde,⁴ shall rather expresse hys name, than hys proper nature.

But hys owne power, and peculier office in Welshe, shall there no letter nor letters more preciselye set it forth than the vv it selfe, or oo wyth the Englysh pronunciation. For all though the Germanyes vse a vv yet in some wordes sounde they it (to my hearing) as the forther u were a vowel, and the latter o consonant,⁵ when we the Britons sounde both uu wholly togyther as one vowell, wythout anye seuerall distinction, but beynge alwayes eyther the forther or the latter parte of a diphthonge in Englyshe on thy wyse: wyth aw: and in Welshe as thns: vvth, avven.⁶

And though, as I sayde before, I fynde in som auncient writers 6 for vv, yet in other I find vv in words now usuallly written wᵗ v or f as eithavw, for eithav or eithaf. In which kynde of wordes, bycause they of Southwales vse yet to kepe ye⁷ pronuciatio of it, saying tavely where we saye tavlu or tatlu [jacio]), I doe rather vse for the more indifferencie to wryte v than f, evé that they may the more aptly resolue [35] it into their woonted vowell sv, and we maye sounde the same after our more consonaunt acceptation. But contrarily, we saye devnydd where they sound devnydd or defnydd [substantia], and some corrupters denwydd.

The sound of X.

X Is not founde as yet in the Welshe Alphabet: For the Welshe speache hath no neede of hys office: because that suche Walshe wordes as be deducted of the Latine, tume their x into s, as doe these: nos, estenna, escommun, estran, bices, escuso, esctio, Sas or Sais, which come of nox, extendo, excommunicatus, extraneus, bisex-tus, escuso, esctio, Saxo.

¹ Meaning (uu, u).
² Modern Greek pronunciation (uu) for ov.
³ Hebrew פַּעְנָי (shuurek'), meaning ṣ = (uu).
⁴ (Buuk, luuk, buurd, wuurd). Bulokar and Gill also give (luuk), the shortening of the vowell into (luk) or rather (luk) is quite modern. North country pronunciation is still (luuk), though Mr. Melville Bell and Mr. Murray consider the difference between the Scotch and south country sounds to be merely qualitative, the former (luk), the latter (luk). Gill has (wurd), Butler (wuurd, wurd). Boorde was the spelling at that time for board, as in the Promptorium, Levins has boord, and Butler pronounces (buurd).
⁵ The meaning of this is difficult to comprehend, and the difficulty is increased by the misprint o, for u or a. He divides w, as he prints it, into vv, which he immediately calls u u, but which of these two letters he considers "the forther" and which the "latter," is not plain. The best I can make out is, that he heard German w as (vu), thus wann = (vuan), nearly (vwan) or perhaps (vwan). The last is not a very inapt way of representing (bhan), and one which I have heard given by many persons, as the best means of indicating the sound of initial (bh) to English or French speakers.
⁶ Here, in vvth, vv is in the "forther" part, and in avven in the "latter" part of the diphthong, which ought to make Salesbury's German vw = (uv), as (uvan), which being disyllabic is im-
The sound of Y.

Y Is sounded in Welsh, as it is in these English words: yn, synne, ys, thynne, vwynne.1 Neyther yet as it is sounded of the commune people in anye of these two worordes followyng: vrynge, vwynge.2 Also y beyng a wororde, counteruyyleth the sygnification of the in Englysh, and of Le in Frenche, or of the Articles Ha, Ho, in Hebrue and Greeke, as thus: y dyn, whose proper sygnification in Englyshe is not communlye vsed, except a man shoulde saye, the person: [36] but Le homne shall well declare it to any that shall be skilled in the French: And by,meanes hereof we vse to expressse the excellentie that the Evangeliestes attribute to Jesus, when they adde the Greeke article thereto: which they seeme advisedly to do, omitting to write it when they speake in the name of the Iewes or Gentiles.

The sound of Z.

Z In Welsh is vnknowen, in so muche that it was never placed in possible. As Salesbury does not recognize (z) he also does not recognize (w), hence wyth aw = with awe, is to him (with an), not (with au). It is hopeless to look for agreement upon this point of theory. Suprà p. 513, n. 2. 1 (In, in, iz, thin, win). There can be little doubt as to the pronunciation of these words because sin, thin, win, also occur in Smith. Mr. E. Jones remarks: “Y has two sounds in Welsh, and it is the only letter that has two sounds. In monosyllables as dyn it is nearly =e Eng. as deem (duname), in polysyllables as dynion =n in but (d zamówienia).” On which Dr. Davies observes, “rather in hint” = (dynamion). In the examination of this sound as pronounced by the Welsh students at Regents Park College, (suprà p. 761, note 3,) the word dynamion seemed more like (dynamion) than (dynamo), but I noted the following pronunciations, gad (gad), yn y (an a), trywyl (truu-idho), yndol (on-dho) bywyd (bau-id), syd (siddh), lewyrchu (lheworkh-I), tywyllewch (tawligh-ukh) and (tawiligh-ukh) in North Wales; the words are all in John 1., 1-5. According to Dr. Davies the theoretical sound in all places is (z), which is aimed at in solemn or stately style, but in South Wales the universal sound is (i, i). In North Wales (a, i), or (a, i) are heard. The sound may be (y). The sound (a), or (a), is quite familiar. Salesbury evidently only knew one sound, and it is important with regard to his English to be sure that he did not know the sound (a), which we do not find recognized in English till the xvith century, see p. 174. The following are the rules usually accepted for the pronunciation of Welsh y. In the monosyllables dy, dyd, dyt, fy, myn, y, yo, ydd, ym, yn, yr, ys, it is pronounced (a), in all other monosyllables (y). In final syllables it is always (y). In the prefix cyd, and sometimes cyn, as cyiestaed, cynoesoed, and in adjectives and adverbs prefixed as cryf-arfog, it is also (y). After sc it is generally (y) as gwynfod, mwynhau, bicyta, but to this rule there are several exceptions especially if w is short or follows a vowel, as chwyru, chwysu, lewyrchu, tywylu, auyddu, cwyllys in which it is (a). In all other cases not specified in these rules it is (a).

2 (Weid, weind). The first word is clear, but the second is doubtful. Wynge should = wing, which was certainly called (wigi). There is a Norfolk word wings to shrivel, in Wright’s Dictionary of Obsolete and Provincial English, but that is probably (windghi). Most likely vynghe is a misprint for vynge, which, even as a substantive, is called (weind) by Bullock, and (weind) by Gill.

3 The Greek υ was originally (y), but was (i) at the time Salesbury wrote. What he alludes to in this marginal observation is not clear.
any Welshe word hytherto:1 Neither needed I once to speake of it, but because I would put the reader ytterly out of doubt in this behalf. How be it, z may conveniently hereafter be vsurped in woordes borowed of straunge tongues, even that they keeping their orthographie, maye the more apparantlye declare them selues, at the least, to the learned.

Of the Abbreviations.

[A briefe rehearsall of all the rules before, wth certayne other additions thereto pertayning.

A is most vnyke of pronounciation to the Hebraus Aleph.

B most entirely resembleth the nature of Beth.

C and K be not vnyke in sound vnto Caph and Koph.2

Ch, chi, cheth and caph wyth raphe,3 be of one sounde.

D soundeth as Daleth, Dagheseta.4

Dd contayneth the power but of one letter, and that of Dhelta, or of daleth not daggeset.5

E is much spoken after the sounde of the vowels Segol or Epsilon.6

F and Beth wyhout the poynt Dagges or the Grek Veta be as one in sounde.7

ff (or) ph agre in pronunciation with the Greke Phy or the Hebrack phe not poynted wyth Dages.8

G is sounde as Gimel or the Dutch g.9

H and th' aspiration He be equal in power.10

I in euerye poynt agreeth wyth the Greke Iota.11

L Lamedh, and Lambdha, disagre not in sound.12

Ll countreuyayleth Lambda comming before Iota.13

M N, Mem Nun and My Ny differ not in sound.14

1 Hence in his transcript of English words the sound of (z) must be given to his when necessary, as indicated by other authorities.

2 D = (k) in יפ (kaph), P = (k) in יפ (koph).

3 That is D without the dagesh point = (kh).

4 D = (d).

5 D = (dh), S = (dh).

6 נמש = (seeghol) is the short (e), e was the same.

7 D = (bh), B = (v) or (bh), supræ p. 518. E. A. Sophocles (Romaic Grammar accompanied by a Chrestomathy with a vocabulary, Hartford, U.S. 1842, and without the vocabulary, London, Trübner 1858) distinctly assigns (bh) as the modern pronunciation of B.

Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte says that this is a mistake, and that the Constantintopolitian Greeks invariably say (v). See remarks on Icelandie v. supræ p. 549.

8 φ = (f) or (ph) see supræ p. 513, note 2; B = (ph).

9 θ = (g), German g = (g) generally.

10 N = (n).

11 "Except in being occasionally a consonant as (z).—B.D."

12 Н, А = (l).

13 Λ = (li), see above p. 756, note 3, and p. 757, note 1.

14 б, μ ν = (m, n).
O and Omega shall sound as one.¹
P doth as well imitate Ph and Phy in sound as in other conditions.²
R hath a peculiar concinnitie with Rho.³
S Samech and Sigma may go togethier well enough for their tune.⁴
T soundeth as Teth or Tau dagesst in the Hebrew.⁵
Th hath the very sound of Theta or Tau hauing no Dages.⁶
V beyng consonante soundeth as Beth wythoute Dages or as Veta doeth.⁷
V beyng vowel is read as Kibuts and not much vnlyke vnto Ypsilon.⁸

Y hath the verye sound Ypsilon.⁹

What further concinnitie the Letters in Welsh chauue vvyth the
Greeke Letters.

[This only comes to dividing the consonants as follows:] [42]
The thynne letters be these, c or k, b p t l.
The thycke letters are these, ch ph ll.
The middle letters be these, g v dd.

Of the sounde of ch, g, i.
Ch in welsh is but one letter.

These thre letters ch, g, i haue more the like sounde in the Welshe tong, as they haue in these English wordes, chere, gentle, Iacke.⁹

Of contraction used in welche.
[This section possesses no interest].

Of accente.
The observation of accente is it that shall doe muche toward the
attaynyng of the natuie pronunciacion of any language, in so muche
that somtyme the alteration of accente shal altere also the signification
of the word, as in these wordes in Greke: Neos, Tomos, pharos. and these in Welshe: gwydd, gwyll, gwyv: and in English: these, differ, provide, denye. &c.¹⁰

¹ Ω = (ω) in modern English pronunciation of Greek, but (ο) in modern Greek, suprà p. 523, as in modern Welsh, where pob peth is called (poob peeth) not (poob peth), and the older English, p. 96.
² The means Ω = (p), but what does phy mean? It should be φ, but that has been already appropriated to θ = (f). Probably phy is a misprint for py = π.
³ The "peculiar concinnitie" refers perhaps to the aspirated form Ψ which Salesbury accepts as his rr, modern rh, now (rh) rather than (rh).
⁴ D, σ taken as (ς), as they were certainly then pronounced though the determination of the original sound of each letter presents difficulties.
⁵ D = (t), Ν = (t), they are generally confounded.
⁶ Θ, Ν = (θ).
⁷ Suprà p. 747, n. 6, and p. 764, n. 7.
⁸ Kibuts here is kibuts on p. 761, where see note 2. Greek ν = (t), formerly (γ).
⁹ (Tsheer, dzhent-l, Dzhak).
¹⁰ Neos young; νεύς fresh land, fawll and the Ionic gen. of νέυς a ship; τιθος a cut, a piece cut off, τυχος cutting; sharp; φαύς any large piece of cloth, a cloth, sheet, shroud, cloak, φάνος lighthouse from the island φάνος. In the first mark causes a difference in modern Greek pronunciation, (νεός, νέως, τομός, τομες) but both the latter words are (fa-ros). But the accent mark in Welsh is only used to indicate length, and is generally omitted both in printed books (even dictionaries) and writing. Gwydd (guv-ydh) pasture
Certayne English words wher of ye may gather the Welshe pronunciation of the letters.

Archangell, Beynge, Called, Michael, Discomfyted *Dde, Euer *Fillaynous. Fend, Get Him, Itch I-eldynge, Kest, Laye, Mellett, Murmurynge, Not Ouer, Preuayled, Rauenyng, Horrible, Satan, Tormented, Thorowe, Ualiant, Busines, Worthy, Yll.¹

Certaine worde wherein the letters be most unlike stounded to Welshe pronunciation of them.

[44] All, Combe, Dombe, Ceasse, Cyye, Checke, Adder, Ele, Fyshe, Gender, Engyn, Humour, Honour, In, Laundice, Fall, *Osyll, Reason, Season, Thomas, Thawies Inne, The blacke byrd That, Vncl, Ydle, Synging.²

The signification of A. in Welsh.
[This has no reference to pronunciation.]

The signification of Y.
[This has also no reference to pronunciation.]

ground that has been formerly ploughed; a weaver, gwýdd (gwyydh) wood, or a weaver’s loom; gwýll (guryllh) a hag, goblin, ghost; gwýl (gwolh) shade; gwy (gwyor) oblique, sloping, see supra p. 726; gwy (wyir) fresh vigorous verdant. The English examples are more difficult; differ is probably differ defér; provide is unintelligible for only provide occurs, not prévide, though we have prévident. Mr. Brock suggests that prévide may be meant for proved; denye only occurs as dény, but dényer is both dényer a French coin, accented déner (deneer) in Shakspeare, Richard III., act 1, sc. 2, last speech, v. 252 — the other two passages in which it occurs are in prose,—and dényer one who denies.

¹ These words seem to be, Archangel (ark-an’dzhel), being (bi’rrq), called (kaul’d), Michael (Meik’el?), discomfytèd (diskum-fitèd), the (die), ever (ever), villanous (vil’yanus), fiend (feend), get (get), him (him), itch (itch), yielding (jild’iq), best this is hardly likely to be Spenser’s word “which forth she kest,” F. Q. 6, 12, 15, it is more probably an error for kist=kissèd, but the word is doubtful; lay (lai), mellett has the second l battered and looks like melitt, but the l is plainer in the Grenville copy, it is possibly meant for millet (mil’et), murmuring (murmuriq), not (not), over (ovér, ovér), prevailed (prevail’d), ravening (raveniq), horrible, (hor’sb’l), Satan (saa-tan), tormented (tormentèd), thorough (thwr’u), valiant (val’xant), business (bix’ines), worthy (wurth’v), ill (il).

² Probably all (aul), comb (kuum) as a hill, dumb (dum), cease (sees), sieve? “as water in a sive” Much ado, act 5, sc. 1, v. 6, 1623 ed., (siv), check (tshek), adder (ad’cr), eel (ili), fish (fish), gender (dhend’er), engine (en’zhin), humour (huy’mur), honour (on’ur), in (in) ?, jaundice (dhaun’des), fall (faul); osyille is explained in the margin as the blackbird, which answers to the osyll of Levins, ovsyl of Huloet, the modern ouzel or ouzel (uuz’il) is sometimes used for a blackbird merula vulgaris, though more commonly for the water ouzel, dipper, water crow or pyet merula aquatica, cinclus aquaticus, reason (reece’un), season (seez’un), Thomas (Tom’as), Thawies Inne (Dav’iz inu), that (dhat), uncle (nuk’l) or perhaps (nuqk’l) see p. 744, and note 2; idle (eid’l), (sindzh’iq) singeing because (siq’iq) would be like the Welsh sound of the letters.
A generall rule for the readyng of WVelsh.

Though there be divers precepts here tofore wrytten of the Welsh pronunciation of the letters, I would thinke it not overmuch dissonant, nor yet to wyde from the purpose, to admonishe you in thythes behalfe, that is, that you ought not to reade the Welsh according as ye do the Englyshe or French, but euen after the reading of the latin. For in reading English or French, ye do not rede some wordes so fully as they be wrytten.

And in many other ye seme to sound the sillables more fully thâ the expressed wordes do giue. Which maner of reading is so vttelie eschewed in Welsh, as ye perceyue it to be exactly observed of them that perfitely reade the Lateine tonge: Neithe[46]ther do I meant here to cal them perfite and Latinelike Readers as many as do reade angnus, mâgnus, for agnus, magnus, ignnis, for ignis, santus, for sanctus, savel, for sal: sovel, for sol: and for mihi, meichei: and egovv, for ego: tuuv for tu: and quith ligith, in stede of quid legit. &c.1 Therefore ye must learn to forget such maner of pronunciation, agaynst ye prepare your selues to reade ye Welsh. Moreover, ye ought to know, that these wordes: dringo [scandre], gevving [calcitrare], kynqa [sermo], myngen [juba], anglod [reprehensio], angrod [infidelitas], and the most part of suche like Welsh wordes, hauing ng in them, and being of moe sillables then one, shal be red as these English wordes be (but ye must admit them to be red now as of two sillables euery word) Kynges, rynges, bryngeth, syngeth: For euuen as ye do not rede them Kyn-ges, ryng-ges, bryn-geth, syn-geth: but rather in thyse wyse, Kyng-es, ryng-es, bryngeth, syngeth:2 euuen so do we sound dringo, and not drin-go: gevving-o, not gevvin-go: myng-en and not myn-gen. Albeit, yet as ng may be seuered and parted in this English word syn-geth (but the signification altred)3 so haue we some wordes in Welsh (when they are spoken) in whom the sillables may be seuered in ng, as in these: an-gerth, Llan-gvvm, tringyrch, &c.

[Then follow seven entire pages and two portions of pages of a letter to Mr. Collingborn speaking of the advantages to Welshmen of learning English, the low state of Welsh literature, &c., with many wordy digressions, and ending thus:]

[54] But now M. Collingborne, least peraduenture, where I thinke my selfe but familiarlye to talke here wyth you, and other

1 *Agnus magnus* (aq-nus maqnus), *ignis* (iq-nis), *sanctus* (sant-us), *sal* (saul), *sol* (soul), mihi (mei-khei) compare to the present Scotch sound, ego (eg-gou, eg) see p. 744, tu (tyy), quid legit (kwith liidzith ?). "The Scandivians have lost the sound (ag), both medial and final ... Hence (q) is regularly represented by ng, or by n in nk, or by g in gn, according to the German school tradition (abbreviations like mang for magnus in the popular dialect). This gn forms a part of the received pronunciation in Swedish, where the frequent combination gn is always assimilated to (qn), forming an accidental analogy with the mn which arises from an original fn, bn gn?"—Rapp, Phys. der Spr. 3, 241.

2 (Kiuz, riqz, brigheht, sigheht),

3 (Sindzh-eth) = singes, most probably.
my familiars (as my meaning is none other in deed) some thank-
less taunter entermeddle and say vnto me, alluding to that mocke
of Diogenes, O viri Myndi portas occultare, ne quando vrbs vestra
egrediatur, meaning this therby, O my good friend haue
done with your Welsh confabulation, haue done:
for els your ioly proemion, and
your goodly pârergon shalbe
longer then all your
booke besyde.
Here
therefore at the
last I make
an end.

*FINIS*

[The colophon consists of three crescent moons interwoven, with the word יִלְאָּמַנְיָה in the central one of the four inner interstices, and the word נִלְאָּמַנְיָה in each of the three outer openings, between the horns of the crescent, evidently referring to Psalm 72, v. 7: המַנְיַנְיָה יִלְאָּמַנְיָה ( gad b’lî’i: jaree-aâ), so long as the moon endureth, literally, until failure-of moon.]

§ 2.

*William Salesbury’s Account of English Pronunciation, 1547.*

The Welsh text of the Introduction to Salesbury’s Dictionary
is here reproduced *literatim* with all the errors, misprints, false
collocations of letters, antique spelling, of the original, but without
the long ð, and in Roman type in lieu of black letter. Those who
are interested in antiquarian Welsh will prefer seeing it in this
form, and will be better pleased to set it right for themselves than
to have it reduced to form and order for them, while the English
translation will enable the English reader to dispense with the
Welsh. English and Foreign words are italicised.

There are two perfect copies of this work in the British Museum,
one in the general library (628, f, 25), and one in the Grenville
Library (7512). The volume is a small quarto, 7½ by 5½ inches,
including the margin; the letter-press, without the headline, mea-
suring 6½ by 3½ inches. It is in black letter, unpaged. The
signatures are: none to the first sheet, Bi. Bii. Biii. C.i. Cii, and
then, after a blank leaf, the signatures go from A to S, the last
letter having only 6 pages. The title occupies the first page, and
is in English only, as follows:

A Dictionary in Englyfhe and Welshe moche nece-
sary to all suche Wellhemen as wil spedly learne the
englyfhe tongue thought vnto the kynges majestie very
mete to be fette forthe to the vle of his graces sub-
jectes in Wales: wherevnto is prefixed a little treatyle of
the englyfhe pronunciacion of the letters, by Wylyam
Salesbury.
The colophon is

¶ Imprynted at London in Eosler lane, by me Iohn Waley (1547). Cum privilegio ad imprimendum.solum(.,)

Immediately after the title is a dedication in English only: "To the Moost Victorioufe & Redowbtede prince Henry theyght by the grace of God Kynge of Englande, Fraunce and Irelanfe de fender of the faythe And of the Churche of Englande and alfo of Irelanfe in erthe the suprema Hedde be al prosperitye in continuall honour." This dedication extends over three pages, and concludes: "Youre poore and humble subiecte Wylyam Salesburye."

Then follows the address to the reader, occupying five pages. The beginning of each page is marked in the following transcript by a black figure in brackets as [5], and in numbering the pages of the book I reckon the title as p. 1, and the back of it as p. 2. On p. 11 commences the actual treatise on the sounds of the letters, and, counting the two blank pages at the end of the third sheet, on p. 25 begins the dictionary itself of which the first page is annexed as a specimen, shewing the arrangement in four columns and the many Welsh words left untranslated. Indeed, as may be expected, it is extremely deficient, but it extends to 141 pages.

The English translation of the Welsh address to the reader and account of English Pronunciation was kindly made by Mr. E. Jones, of the Hibernian Schools, Liverpool, and obligingly revised by Dr. Benjamin Davies, of Regent's Park College, London, one of the Council of the Philological Society. No attempt has been made to imitate Salesbury's quaintness of language, but the meaning of the words is given as carefully as possible. In this English translation, where Salesbury cites an English word in the spelling of the time, it is printed in small capitals, his pronunciation in Welsh characters is subjoined in italics, and then the interpretation which I give to that phonetic transcript is added in palaeotype in a parenthesis, and when Salesbury gives no phonetic transcript, the conjectured palaeotypic form is given. If Salesbury adds the meaning in Welsh this is subjoined also in Italics, and a translation of it into Latin is annexed in brackets. When Salesbury gives no translation the Latin is still added. Thus: "LADDRE lad-dr (lad'er) yscol [scala]," give the old English spelling LADDRE, Salesbury's phonetic Welsh transcript lad-dr, the palaeotypic meaning of the same (lad'er), the Welsh translation of the original word yscol, and the Latin translation of the Welsh translation [scala]. References are added throughout to the page in which the passage is quoted or in which illustrative remarks occur, and these are inclosed in a parenthesis thus (p. 61), meaning, supra page 61. This will avoid the necessity of subjoining footnotes. After the specimen of the dictionary is added an alphabetical list of all the words of which Salesbury gives or indicates the pronunciation, in this or the foregoing tract, with a reference to the different pages in this book where it is to be found, supplementing the references in the text.

O nid odit ddarllleydd bonheddigaidd ni anghyssylltbell vyseui ddangos a datclario pa lesaad pa vudd a phwy broffit a ddelsai ir neb a dreulial ddim amser wrth ddallen a melyria a r y llyfer hwn. Oni vyseii ddarfod or blaen i oruwechel-dab awn harglywydd vrenhin a gyngcor edrych arnaw ai dderbyn eiisoes yn ynw lowedig gymradwy o help a chanhorthwy kychwyniad tywysogaeth at Iaith saesnaec A chan vod hefyd llywadraeth kalon brenhin (vegys y kyttystia rystrythur lan) drwy law ddew, yr hwn a gatwo eu ras yn ynhroedloc lwyddianus ffynadwy Amen. Onid bellach i nessau tu ar peth kyfretiaf a chyssonaf yngan a sonio am tanaw yn y vangre hon Sef er mwyn Kymbry o ni oed gantunt aguawne o ddyfynder atherwlythyr onid medry o vraid ddew, ddarllen iaith eu mameu i haid hynny yn ynic o chwenyhechant vegys y dylent vynny kyfrywyddyt i ddarllen a deall iaith Saesneoc iaith heddyw wrddcie o bob rhyw oreuddysy iaith gyffarwydd o ddawn a budygologiaeth a iaith ni ni chwaith anhawdd i dysey vegys y may pop nasiwn yn i ynfedwydd ddyseu ob edrych yn llygat y boen nar gost aoc yn angenrhiethi a ni r Kymbry no ni neb wrthei er esceuluset genym am y peth: Ir haid an ynysedd hynny meddafi yd yscrifenned yno wan[6]atra-weath ac ni r Rai tra chyffarwydd. Onid atolwg i chwi y Rei sydd a mowrddysse genwch ac a wyddoch Rae mor werthfawr yw Dysceymneuthir aoch hunain yn ol ddull saint Pawl ympop peth i pawp A moeswech hefyd (val y dywaid yr vnrhyw Pawl) modd yr abwydir rhai bychain a bara a llaeth borthi o hon-awch chwitheu yr anysedd a mwynion ych goruchelldysse ac ni r a godido wocrewyd athonrondysse. Ac velly os chwchiw ni chudddiwech drysor yr Arglwydd onid i gyfranny ynneg yffile i angenogion o ddysceidaetha doethineb ai gyfryw betheu ercill: Gobeitho i dyrry duv vath ysprydoldeb vddunt hwytheu aoc na sathrith val moch dim och gmeu nach main gwyrfawr ac na chodant ich erbyn vawt kwan ar vedyr aoch brathy/ Eithyr etto eilwaith i ymady a chyfteleormson /ac or diweddii ddechreu ar hysbysy a silltau hanes ac ystriaeth y llyfer yma Ac yn gymiect nad ynt y llythyrennew yn vn ddywedidt nac yn vn draythiad yn eassecc a ynhymrae: Yn gyntaf dim y ddyys yn datkan ac yn honny paddelwy darlleir ac y trayther hwy yn ol tafodiad y Sason ac yno esamleu o eiriou kychfaddas yn kynlyn/ A chwedy hynny y mae y Gairllyfyr ner Geiriawe saesnecc yn dechry yr hwn a elwir yn saesnecc an Englys dic-sionary ya es yw hyny kynulfa o eiriou seisinc/ achos kynulledfa o eiriou seisinc yd ywyvoll holl llyfer hayach/ Yn yr hwn os deliwch yn dda arnaw y ddyys yn kadw order a threfyn ynto: o bleit ni chymyseudd dim or eiriou Bendromwnwgyll ynto val y damwyniai vddunt syrthio ym meddwall or tro kyntaf: Eithyr ef adfeddylied vyth er
Possibly, gentle reader, it would not have been irrelevant to shew and declare what advantage, what gain and what profit, would result to any one, who should devote any time to reading and studying this book, but that his majesty, the king, together with his council has received it, as an acceptable and suitable help and aid for the induction of the principality into the English language, and because the inclining of the heart of the king (as shewn by the holy scripture) is from God, who I pray may preserve his grace in long life prosperity and success. Amen. But now to come to the most important and necessary subject to be treated of in this place, that is, for the sake of Welshmen who do not possess more learning than the bare ability to read their own tongue, and of those only who may, as they ought, desire instruction in reading and understanding the English language, a language at present renowned for all excellent learning, full of talent and victory, a language moreover not difficult to learn, which persons of every nation acquire fluently, without regarding trouble and expense, and to Welshmen more necessary than to any other people, however much we may neglect it. For these untaught persons, then, so much elementary teaching was written, and not for the well versed. But I desire of you who are possessed of higher attainments, and know how valuable is education, that you would after the manner of Saint Paul, make yourselves all things to all men, and condescend also (as the same Paul says,) since babes are fed with bread and milk, to feed the ignorant with the crumbs of your superior knowledge, and not with the excellency of high scholarship. And thus if you do not hide the treasure of the Lord, but dispense it as opportunity offers, by supplying it to those in need of learning and wisdom, and other like things, I trust God may grant to them such a spirit, that they may not like swine, trample your gems and precious stones under their feet, and that they may not rise like dogs against you, ready to bite you. But now again to leave all digression and to begin to set forth the object and import of this book. Inasmuch as all the letters are not said and sounded alike in English and in Welsh, first of all we declare and affirm the mode in which they are read and sounded according to the pronunciation of the English people, with examples of suitable words following. After which the English Wordbook or Dictionary begins, which means a collection of English words, for the whole book is, indeed, a collection of English words. In which if you carefully notice, order and arrangement are kept: for the words are not mixed helter skelter in it, as they might happen to tumble to my mind at first thought. But with constant reflection, for the sake of the [7] unlearned,
every word (so far as memory served) was chased to its own proper position. Thus all the words having \( a \) for the first letter were at the outset collected into the same place. Then all words beginning with \( b \) were placed apart. So with \( c \), \( d \), and \( e \). Thus also of all the rest, every word is ranged under the standard of its captain letter. Thus when you require the English for any Welsh word; First observe what is the first letter naturally; if it is \( a \) for example, look for the word under the series \( a \), and having found the word, in the opposite column for English you will get the English for it. But be very careful not to be misled, to seek amiss a word out of its own proper place. For example, if you trace the words in the form and aspect in which they lie in the following line

\[
\text{Mae i mi gan gen de o ved wen [Est mihi ramus pulcher betullae].}
\]

For it will not serve you to look for the English for \( gan gen \) among words which begin with \( g \), but under \( k \), because the pure radical word is \( kangen \) not \( gan gen \), and the English meaning will be found opposite the radical word. For it is a peculiarity of the Welsh to soften the initial consonant, as \( k \) to \( g \), \( t \) to \( d \), \( b \) to \( v \), in certain positions, as in the words \( deo o vedwen \) [ramus betullae]. Therefore you must always consider what is the initial letter when the word stands alone, out of connection, as I observed above. So it is in the normal natural utterance of the word that you are to seek, if you wish to find every word in this lexicon. For as none but an idiot would expect, [8] when going to gather osiers, to meet with rods growing in the form they are seen after being plaited round the frame-work of a basket, in the same manner none but an unskilful person will expect to find every word in the dictionary in the form and shape in which it is found when woven in the partition wall of a sentence. In addition to all I have already said observe this further direction, such of you, Welshmen, as desire to learn English at your own firesides. You cannot fail to know that in English they do not read and pronounce every word literally and fully as it is written. For example, God be wyth you, which the commonalty pronounce \( \text{Ged bivio} \) (God bi\'wiyo). And a heap of other words also are written, as to some of their syllables in the same way, but are not pronounced in the same way, as the following: bowe, crowe, trowe which are read \( bo \) (boo) \( beu \) [areus], \( kro \) (kroo) \( bran \) [cornix], \( tro \) (troo) \( tybyeid\) [opinor]. The following also have precisely the same termination as the above but are differently read, cowe, lowe, nowe, narowe, sparowe, which are usually spoken \( kow \) (kou) \( buwch \) [vacca], \( low \) (lou) \( luvio \) [mugire], \( nuw \) (now) \( ynv awr \) [nunc], narwe (nar\u2019u) \( kyfing \) [angustus], sparwe (spar\u2019u) \( ederyn y to \) [passer]. With regard to such cases as the reader may find too difficult to remember, much less write, the best advice I have for such as may not be able to go to England (as I have already said), where the
or ni edy anghaffaeth iddo vyned i loecr lle mae r iaith yn gynenid/ ymofyn o honaw ac yn a wypo Saesneg (o bleit o ddiw i blwyf ynkymbry eb Sasnigydion yntho) [9] paddelw y gelwir y peth ar peth yn sasnc. Ac yno dal a chharffy pa vodd y trathai ef y gair ne r geirieu hyn y sasncigadd / a chyd a hynu kymeryd y llyfer yma yn angwanc o goffaduriaeth yn absen athraron / ac yn diffie dyseyawdwyrr yr iaith. Dewch yn ech a Dysewch nes oesswch Saesneg
Doeth yw e dyse da iaith dec.

¶ Y gywddor o lythyrenneu bychain.

A a. b. c. ch. d. dd. e. f. ff. g. gh. h. i. k. l. ll. m. n. o. p. r. s. t. v. u. w. y.

¶ Egywddor o llythreneu kanolic o vaint.

+ a. b. c. d. e. f. g. gh. h. i. k. l. m. no. o. p. q. r. s. t. v. u. x. y. z. ff. ff. ft. w. &. z. 9.


¶ Gywddor o vath vwyaf ar lythyreu.

ABCDEFGHJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ.

[10] blank


A. Seisnic sydd yn natur ac (a) gymreic / val y may yn eglur yn y geirieu hyn o saesneg ale/ aal: ac ymhymraeck kwrw: pale paal: sale sal: O ddiethry Ryw amser y kaiff/ a/ sain y dipton (aw) yn enwedic pan ddel ef o vlayn l/ ne U/ val y may yn eglurach drwy y geirieu hynn: balde bawld moel ball bawl, pel: wall wawl gwal: Ond yn Ryw eirieu i dodant weithie (a) y nledsegur er a gyfrifwn y mafrerai oe nert huchun / namyn yn hydrach ymrthio yn Rith yn bocal (e) ni a wnae ir darllwydd, val hyn ease ics esmwythdra: leave lief kenad: see see mor: yea/ ie/ Ond nith rwystyr vath eirieu ahyn di ond yn anfynech.

B. yn saxonaece a/ b/ yn Camberaece ynt vnilais val yn y geirieu hynn: babe baab / baban: brede bred / bara. Ac ni newdir b, seisonic am lythyren aran val y gwnair a/ b/ gymbaraec.

C. wrth i darlenn yno sasonace a chambrae sydd yn yn llefin onid o vlayn e/ i/ y/ canys o vlayn y tair llythyren hyn val s/ vydd i son vegys hynn Face ffas wyneb gracyouse grasiws / raddlawn / codyceon condisywyn.

Ch. nid yw dim tebye yn saxonaece ac ymghamberace: Ac nid oes yngamraeck lythyren na llythyrenneu a kyflyva yn iawn / eithyr may sain / tsi / kyn gyfllypet iddi ar efydd i aur / val yn y gair hwn churcho tsurts ecleis.
language is native, is, let him inquire of one who knows English (for there is scarcely a parish without some person in it conversant with English), [9] and ask how such and such a thing is called in English. And observe carefully how he sounds the word or words in English, and, in the absence of masters, and lack of teachers of the language, take this book, as an additional reminder. Come then and

Learn English speech until you age!
Wise he, that learns a good language!

The Alphabet of small letters.
A. a. b. c. ch. d. dd. e. f. ft. g. gh. h. i. k. l. ll. m. n. nj. o. p. r. r. s. ss. st. t. th. v. u. w. y.

The alphabet of medium letters.
+ a. b. c. d. e. f. g. gh. h. i. k. l. m. n. o. p. q. r. s. t. v. u. x. y. z. ff. ft. w. & z. ??

The Alphabet of Capital letters.

A B C D E F G H I K L M N O P Q R S T U X :

A in English is of the same sound as a in Welsh, as is evident in these words of English, ALE AAL (aal) KERW [cerevisia]; PALE PAAL (paal) [pallidus], SALE SAL (saal) [venditio] (p. 61). Except sometimes A has the sound of the diphthong aw (au) especially when it precedes L or LL, as may be more clearly seen in these words: BALDE BAWLD (bauld) MOEL [calvus], BALL BAWL (bawl) PEL [pila], WALL WAWL (waull) GUAL [murus] (p. 143, 194). But in certain words they place A sometimes, as we should consider it, rather carelessly according to our custom, out of its own power and rather metamorphosed into the vowel e, as EASE EES (ees) ESMWYTHDRA [otium], LEABE LEAF (leev) KENAD [venia, licentia], SEA SEE (see) MOR [mare], YEA IE (jee) [etiam] (p. 80). But words of this kind will not often perplex thee, gentle reader.

B in English and b in Welsh have the same sound, as in these words: BABE BAAB (baab) BAN [infans], BREDE BRED (breed, bred) BARA [panis]. And B in English is not changed for another letter as is done with b in Welsh.

C in reading English, as in Welsh, has the same sound, except before E, I, Y, for before these three letters it is sounded as s (s). For example FACE FHAS (faas) WEYNEB [facies], GRACYouse GRASIWS (graa'si, us) RRADDLAWN [gratiosus], CONDICYON CONDISYWN [kondis'yun] [conditio].

CH is not at all like in English and in Welsh. And there are not in Welsh any letter or letters which correctly represent it, but the sound of TSI (tsi, ts) is as like it as brass is to gold, as in the following word CHURCHE TSURTS (tshirtsh) ECOLEIS [ecclesiea].

E. a ddarlleir yn sasnae gweith val / e / gymbereic gwaith val / i / gymbereic / a gweith the ereill yniwed gair i taw ac i bydd vut val scheua yn hebriw neu vegys y gwelwch / w / yn diwed’ y geirieu hynn o Camberae kynddelw / ardelw / kefnder / syberw / buddelw / marwnad / catwderw: yny rhain wrth eu darlairn ay traythy / w / a dawdd ymaith ac velly y dywedyt a wnair kyndell / ardel / kefnder / syber / budel / marnad / catnderw / Velly / e / yn diweddy geirieu saesne a dawdd ymaith a cham mwyaf o ddiwed pop gair wrth i draithy vegys o ddiwed y geirieu hynn emperoure emperwre a nic emperwre dreilir: yr hwn air sasne arwyddoka ymghymrae ymerawtr: Ac velly am ewermore efemwtron tragramwd. Ac yn y ddeuair saesne vchot may y ddwy (e / e) gyntaf o bob vn yn vn llais ac e / o gamberae / neu e / llatin neu epsylon o roe. Ac e / ddiwaethaf yn tewi / val y may / w / yny geirieu a soniais am tanun gynnef. Ond yn enwedig pan ddel / e / yn ol / 1 / ne / r / yniwed gair saesonac [13] ni chlywyth dim o ywrrthei ar daud o sais: ond o chlywth peth o ywrrthei / kyrnt y dyfalyt y bot hi o vlacn 1 / ne r / nag oe hol: val y trathanth hi ar y geirieu yma / able, sable. twynel, wrynel, thodre, wondre, yr hyn geirieu ac ereill a deruynant yw yn odyl a rai hyn ni chlywn i sais yni darllain onid vegys pe byddem ni yw sriueny drwy adael / e / heibo / val hynn / abl / sabl / twimk / wrimk / thwmdr / wndr: neu val pe byar / e / o vlayn yr 1 / ne yr r / val hyn saddell, thonder: Ond ni ddylic yv chwaith dieithyr vath ddarllehad a hwnnw i ni yr kambry paam onid ym nineu yn darlein drwy doddi ymaith dwy ne dair o amrafael lythrywegs y vawr yn egur yr y geirieu yma popl dros popol, kwbl dros kwbl: papr / ac eithir lle y dylem ddywedyt papyr / ac eythyr / Ond raif yw madde i bob tafawd i ledaf, a goddef i bob iaith i phriodoleb. Heuyd natur y vocal / e / pan orphenno air saesonace esmwythau u veddalhau y silla a ddel o vlayn val hynn hope hoop / gobeth: bake, baak / pob: chese / tsis caws. Eithyr dyl yw graf ar ddywedyt y gair aekw chese, o bleit yr e / gyntaf sydd yn llais ac, i, on hiaith ni: ar e, ddiwaythaf yw sefyll y u vut val y dywedais or blayn y damwyniai iddi vod ryw amser. E, hefyd o vlayn s, yniwedd enweu lliswreu, sef yw hynnny i r anysceidic geirieu a arwyddockaant vch pen rhifedi vn peth, a ddislanna wrth eu dywedyt val o ddiwedd yr enweu heur geirieu hynn kynes, brenhinedd: frendes, kereint: tentes, peypyll / yr hain a ddarlleir kings / frinds / tents. A gwybyddet y darlleydad nad
[12] D in Welsh and English do not disagree in their powers, as may be understood in these words from the two languages: duke duc\(^\text{t}\) (dyyk) duc [\(\text{dux}\)], dart dart (dart) dart [\(\text{jaculum}\)]. But note this well when you see two \(\dd\) coming together in English, they have not the power of \(\dd\) in Welsh (\(\text{dh}\)), but each retains its usual sound. And it does not soften, on the contrary it hardens the sound, as in the following words: laddre lad-dr (lad\-\text{er}) yscol [\(\text{scala}\)], blad\-der (blad\-\text{er}) chwysigen [\(\text{yesica}\)]. D also is the termination of the perfect, imperfect, and pluperfect tenses, as in the word loved (luvd) caw\(n\), kereis, carysson [amabam, amavii, amaverami].

E is pronounced in English sometimes as e Welsh (e), sometimes as i Welsh (i), and sometimes at the end of words, it is silent or mute as shevi in Hebrew, or as you see \(\text{u}\) at the end of these words in Welsh: kynddew, ardehw, kofndew syber, buddelo, marw\(a\)nd, cat\(d\)erw, in which the \(\text{u}\) is melted away in reading and speaking and so they are sounded kyndell, ardel, kofndew, syber, budel, marw\(a\)nd, cat\(d\)eru. Similarly e final in English words is melted away, for the most part, at the end of every word in pronunciation, as in the following words: emperou\(r\)e pronounced emper\(w\)re (emperuu\-\text{rei}) which word in Welsh signifies ymeraw\(t\)r [\(\text{imperator}\)]. And so ever\(m\)ore efem\(w\)oor (ev\-'ermoor\-, ever\(m\)uur\-, ever\(m\)w\(o\)r\-) tragowy\(d\)d [\(\text{semper}\)]. In the two English words above, the two first E, E, of each, has the same sound as the Welsh e or Latin e, or the Greek e\(p\)e\(y\)lon. And the final E is mute as \(\text{w}\) is in the words I have already mentioned. Moreover especially when E final follows L or R, [13] it is not heard from English tongues. But if it is heard at all, it is rather before the L or R than after, as they pronounce the following words: able, sable, twyncl, wryncl, thonde\(r\), wondere, which words, together with others of the same termination, in hearing an Englishman read them, seem as if written without the E, thus: abl, sabl, twincl, wrinkl, thond\(r\), (aa\-'b\-'l, saa\-'b\-'l, twi\(q\)k\-'l, wr\(i\)qk\-'l, thun\-'d\(r\), wun\-'d\(r\)), [\(\text{potens}, \text{niger}, \text{scintillare}, \text{ruga}, \text{tonitru}, \text{miraculum}\); or as if the E were written before the L or R: thus saddell, thonder (sad\-'el, thun\-'der), [\(\text{ephippium}, \text{tonitru}\). But such pronunciations ought not to be strange to us Welshmen, for do we not also in reading melt away two or three letters at times, as may be seen in the following: popol for popul [\(\text{populus}\)], kv\(b\)l for kv\(b\)ot [\(\text{totus}\)], pap\(r\) and e\(it\r\), where we should say papy\(r\) [\(\text{papyrus}\)] and e\(yth\r\) [\(\text{sed}\)]. But every tongue must be pardoned its peculiarities, and every language allowed its idioms. Further it is the nature of E final to soften and prolong the syllable which precedes it as: hop\(e\) hop (\(\text{hoop}\) gobe\(i\)th [\(\text{spe\(s\)}\)], bake baak (baak) p\(o\)by [\(\text{coquere panem ut pistor}\)], chese t\(e\)is (\(\text{shiz}\)) cases [\(\text{caseus}\)]. But observe carefully the word chese, for the first E has the sound of i in our tongue, and the E final is mute as before described. E also before s at the end of plural nouns,—that is, (for the sake of the unlearned,) names which signify a number of anything,—disappears in pronunciation, as in the following: kynges, brenhinedd [\(\text{reges}\)], fren\(d\)es kere\(i\)nt [\(\text{amici}\)], ten\(t\)es pepy\(l\) [\(\text{tentoria}\)],
yw [14] A gywybyddet y darlleydd nad yw y Ruwl yma yn gwasanatlyth i bob enw lllosawe o bleit pan ddel e, ch, g, neu e, arall o vlayn y ddwyedetic e, pally a wna y ruwl hon canys yna e, a draythir yn vungus neu yn y, ni: val yn y geirieu hynn dyches deitsys / flossydd: faces: ffaces / wynebeu: oranges, oreintsys / afale orayds: trees, triys prennu.

f, seicsonic ehun sydd gymeint o synnwywr ynthwei ac mewn dwy f, i, gambereic wedy gwasey eu penneu yngkyd val hyn: folo, ffwl, ffol ne ynuyd

ff, ac f, yn sasnee a dreythir yn vnmodd, eythyr ff, yn ddywescach, ac f, yn yscafnaech a gymerir: f, yn yscafu, val ymay chefe, tsiff pennaf/ ff, yn ddywse neu yn ynom val yn y gair hwn suffre, swffier diodddef:

G, seisnica a ch/ o saesnee ynt daran debye eu sain i e mor debyei son yw gilydd ac yd yscrinena sags ny bo dra dysesic yn aill yn llel llall vegys y damwain yn y gair hwn churge yn lle churche tsiurts eglwys. Eyythyr g/ yn sasnee o vlaen, a, o, u, a gweitho o vlayn e/ neu y, nid adweynir i llais rac g, gambereic, val hyn galyun galyun / gelding gelding / plage, plaag pla / God, dyw / gutte / gwt coluddyn / Gilbert / gilbert: Ond pan ddel g/ o vlaen / e / i / neu y/ val ch, seisnica neu tsadde o hebrew vyddi i llef or rhan vrnychaf vegys hyn gynger tsintsir / sinsir / Gwilja hyn etto yn yda pan ddelont dwy gg/ ynhhyd / kydleisio eulldywydd ac g/ gamraca a wnant val hyn beggyngos begging / yn cardota/ nagge nag keffyllyn / egge, eg wy.


Ae etwa ni an gwellaf ninneu yn mogeul tracyth ch, yn ymnych o amser vegys y may yn ddywisaeth genym ddywyedyt (chwegwaith) no (chwehgwraith) a (chwe vaing) na (chwehe vgain). Ac im tyb i nid hoffach gan y Groecwyr y llythyr ch, pan ymchweleinty or ebrwy Johannes yn lle Iochanna / ac Isaac dros Itschaek: A chyffelyd nad gwll gan y llatinwyr y llythyr vecho pryd bont yn dylyn yr vnwend ar groecwyr ar drossi yr hebrew ir llatin / ac yn dwyedyt mihi a nihil dros michi a nihil Ond i ddibenny yt/ kymer y chwrnolat hwnw yn yscafnaec ac y del erot wrth ddywedyd iath Saxonace.

H, sydd vnwend yn hollawl y gyd ar Sason a ninneu, val y may have haf, hwdhe / hart calon ne carw / holy holi santaid / ne kelyn. Onid yn rhyw cirieu llatin wedy saesmigo nid anedsir h, val yny
which are read kings (kiqz), friends (friindz), tents (tents). [14] And be it known to the reader obscurely or as our y (i), as in the following dyches deitsys (deitsh‘iz) fossydd [fossae], faces fases (faas‘ez) wynhebu [facies], oranges orentsyys (or‘eindzhiz) afale orayds [aurantia], trees triys (trii‘iz) prenneu [arbores].

F in English has singly as much power as two Welsh f, f, with their heads pressed together, thus: folc ffwol (fuul), ffot ne ynwyd [stultus].

FF and F in English are pronounced alike but FF harder than F, which has a lighter sound, as in chefe tsiff (tshiif) pennaft [princeps]; FF hard as in suffere suffifer (suffer) dioddef [pati].

G is sounded in English very similar to ch, so similar indeed that Englishmen not well educated write the one for the other, as in the word churge for churche tsiurs (tshirtsh) ogbeys [ecclesia]. But e in English before a, o, u, and sometimes before e or i is not distinguished from g Welsh (g), thus galant galavent (gal‘aunt) [fortis] (p. 143), gelding gelding (geld‘iq) [canterius], plage plaag (plaag) pla [pestis], God (god) dywe [deus], gutte got [gut] coluddyn [intestinum], gilbert gilbert (gil‘bert). But when e comes before e, i, or y, it is sounded as ch in English, or as tsadde y in Hebrew for the most part, as gynger tsintsir (dzhin‘dzher) sinsir [zinziber]. Note well this again when two ee come together, they are sounded as one, like g Welsh, thus: beggyne begging (beg‘iq) yn cardota [mendicans], nagge nag (nag) keffylyn [mannus], egge eg (eg) wy [ovum].

[15] Gh has the same sound as our ch, except that they sound gh softly, not in the neck, and we sound ch from the depth of our throats and more harshly (p. 210), and as it is disagreeable to the English to hear the grating sound of this letter so Welshmen in the South of Wales avoid it as much as possible. For you hear them say kweuer, and kwech (whair, whekh), where we in the North of Wales say chwaer, and chwech (khwair, kwhekh; kwhair, kwhekh?). And still I find that even we often avoid pronouncing ch, as we prefer saying chwegwaith (kwegwaith) for chwechgwaiith (kwhekhgwaiith) [sexies], and chweergain (kwhehi‘gain, kwehe‘igain?) for chwech egain (kwehekhh y‘gain) [centum et viginti]. And in my opinion the Greeks were not overfond of this sound when they transferred from the Hebrew, Iohannes instead of Iochanna, and Isaac for Itschach. And in a similar manner the Latins had no great liking for the above letter, for they follow the Greeks in transferring from Hebrew, and say mihi and nihil for michi and nichil (mi‘ni ni‘nil, mikh‘i nikh‘il). But to conclude you may take this guttural as light in speaking English as you can.

H is precisely the same in English as in Welsh, as we see in hawe haf (hav) hude [accipe], hart hart (hart) calon ne carw [cor vel cervus], holy holy (hoool‘i, hol‘i) santaidd ne kelyn [sanctus vel aquifolium]. But in some anglicized Latin words h is not sounded
rhaín honeste onest / honoure onor / anrhydedd / exhibition ecsbiswiwn / kynheilaeth / prohibition proibisiwn / gwahardd. Nid ynganaf vi yn bot ni y to yr o wrhon mor ddiddarwybot a dywedyt gwydd dros gwehydd.

[16] I, oe hiaith hwy sydd gymeint ar ddwy lythyren yma ei, on iai th ni / od gwesicr y gyd ai dywedyt ym yn vn sillaf neu dypth- thong, val yny gair hwn, i, ei / mi ne myfi. Euythr pan gydseimio i, a bocal arall yn sain vydd hi yna a, g, seisnic, ac achos eu bot hwy mor gyffelypson mi weleis ðei ympedruster a dowt pa vn ai ac, i, aî ynte a, g, yd scuineynyt ryw eiriw ar rain maiestie, gentyll, getousye: a rhai yn scerfenny habreionue ac ercill hebogywn, lluric: Ae velly mi welaif yngylech yr yn gyffeybrwydd rwng y tair llythyren seisnic hynn ch, g, i, a rhwng y plwm pewter ar arian, sef yw hynny, bod yn gynhebyc yw gylydd ar y golwe kytntac ac yn amrafael ero hynywr wrth graffy armnnt. Esampl o, i, yn gyd-sain Iesu, tsiesuw, Iesu: John tsion a sion o lediaith: ac leuan ynghamroce lowy: ioyn, tsiyon kymal.

K, y nghymraec a saesnee vn gynedd yw/ ond yn saesne an- uynychach o beth y dechh air val y gwelwch yma, boke bwk llyfyr bucke bweck bwch: k, yn dechh gair kynge king / brenhin: knot kwllwm: kent.

L, yny ddwyaih ddwywedidied nie amgena ond yn anamylair i llais val hyn lyly lili / lady ladi arglwyddes lad bachken.

LL, yn saesnee nid ynt dim tebyc eu hansawd in ll. ni: an ll, ni ny dydyse byth yn iawn dyn arallia ith i thrathy o ddierth yny vebyd.

Ll, hefyd yn saesnee nid yw ym dyn dwyyn enw vn lly thyren eithyr dwbyl l, neu l, ddyplyc i gelwir: a llais l, sydd ynthun yn wastat, neu lais lambda pan ddel [17] o vlayn iota / Ond yn rhyw wledwyd yn lloecer val w, y trathyant l / ac ll / mewn rhyw eiriw val hyn bowd yn lle bold: bow dros bull / caw dros cal. Ond nid yw vath ddwyediad onid llediaith / ac nid peth yw ddylyn oni vynny vloyesi y gyd a blosycon.

M, ac n / kynggany awnant yny ddwyaih einom / ie ac ympop iai th ac i gwn ni ddim o ywrthyn / yn Saxonae a dwyts val hyn man gwr men gwy.

O, kymyscelf an o / ac an w / ni vydd / ac nid ar vnzaiacth nae yn yr vn sillaf onid mewn vn sillaf yn o / mewn arall yn w / y treththir val hynn to to / bys troet: so so velly two tw / dau / to tw / ar at / i / schoolac swel / yseol.

O, hefyd o vlaen ld / neu ll / a ddarlleir vegys pe bay w / ryngeto ac wynt / mal hyn colde, cowld oer bolle, bowl / tolle towll toll. Eithyr dwy oo ynghyd yn saesne a soniant val w / y nghymraec val hyn good, gwd da: poore pwr / llawd:

P, yn saesnee nid yw vn ddddf af phi yn hebrw yngrooc neu
as honeste onest (on'est) [honestus], honoure onor (on'or) anrhydedd [honos], exhibition ecscibision (eksibis'i,un) kynheilaeth [expositio], prohibition probision (proo,ibis'i,un) gwaahardd [prohibitio]. I will not mention that we are at present so negligent as to say gwydd (gwyddh) for gwheydd (gree'nydh) [textor].

[16] I in their language is equivalent to the following two letters in ours ei (ei), but they are compressed so as to be pronounced in one sound or a diphthong, as in that word of theirs I ei (ei, ai) mi [ego] or myrk [egomet]. But when it is joined to another vowel it has the sound of a English, and as they are so near alike, I have met with some in hesitation and doubt, whether they should write certain words with I or with e, as the following: MAEISTIE, GENTYLL, GELOUSTE, and some writing HABREIOUINE and others HEBERGYN lluryg [lorica]. Thus I observe the same likeness between these three English letters ch, e, and i, as exists between pewter and silver, that at first sight they appear very like each other, but on close examination they differ. For example, Iesu tsiesuw (Dzhee'zyy) Iesu [Jesus], Iohn tsiwn (Dzhom) and sion [Shon] by corrupt pronuncation, and Ienan [Johannes] in pure Welsh, xoyn tsioynt (dzhoint) kymal [junctura] (p. 131).

K has the same power in Welsh as in English, but it is not so frequent at the commencement of words as may be seen in the following: boke buck (buuk) llyfyrr [liber], bucke buck (buk) buch [dama mas]: k at the beginning of words KYNGE king (kiq) brenhinn [rex], knot (knot) kwolwm [nodus]; KENT.

L in the two languages does not differ in sound, as lylly lili (lil'i) [liliun], lady ladi (laa'di) argluwyddes [domina], lad (lad) bachken [juvenis].

Li in English is nothing like in sound to our ll (lhh), and our LL will no foreigner ever learn to pronounce properly except in youth.

Ll in English has no distinct name, it is simply called dwbyl l (dub'ril cl) or twofold l, and it has always the sound of l, or of lambda [17] before iota. But in some districts of England it is sounded like w (u), thus bowd (bould) for bold [audax], bw (bnu) for bull [taurus]; caw (kau) for call [voco]. (p. 194.) But this pronunciation is merely a provincialism, and not to be imitated unless you wish to lip like these lispers.

M and N are of the same sound in the two languages (and indeed in every other language I know). In English they are spoken thus man (man) gwrr [vir], men (men) gwyr [viri].

O takes the sound of o (o) in some words, and in others the sound of u (u); Thus to to (too) bys troet [digitus pedis], so so (soo) velly [sic], two to (tuu) dau [duo], to tw (tu) ar, at, i [ad], schole scoel (skuul) yscol [schola]. (p. 93.)

O also before le or ll is pronounced as though w were inserted between them, thus colde could (kould) oer [frigidus], bolle boul (bouol) [crater], tolle toul (tooul) toll [vectigal] (p. 194). But two oo together are sounded like w in Welsh (u), as soon qued (gud, guud) da [bonus], poore pur (puur) tlaewd [pauper] (p. 93).

P in English has not the same rule as phi in Hebrew, Greek, or
yngamroec achos yny teircieth hyn y try wechthie yn rhyw eirieu yn ph:

Eithyr sain sauadwy sydd iddi yn sasnece ympop gair val: papyr papyr / pappe / papp bron gwraic ne ywd: penne ydyw pinn yscerffeny: Ac y val hyyn y traytha Sais y llyther p / mewn ymadrodd / and wyth a penne: ae a phinn: ac ni wyth a phenne neu ffenne y dywaid ef.

Q, llythyr dieythyr ymgamraec yw ac ni mawr gartrefigach yn sasnece vn gyfraith a cha k / [18] y keffir q / val hyyn quene kwin brenhines: quarter kwarter neu pedwerydd ran: quayle sofyliar: A gywynhydd may u / yw kydymeith q / can ni welyr byth q / eb u / yw chymlyn mwy nar goe heb i gwichell.

R / sydd anian yny ddwyiaith hyn eythyr ni ddychblir ac ni handdlyr R / vyth yn dechreu gair sasnece val y gwnair yngroec ac yncamroec modd hyn

Rhoma rrufain ne rhufain: Ond val hyn yd yserifenir ac y treithir geirie seisnice ac ynynt hyn thw tiffic hawn rent rent ros ro res no resin,

S / y rieithoedd yma a syrth yn vn sain val hyn syr syr/ seasg seeisy amser amserawl ne amser kyfaddas: Eythyr pan ddel s / vn sasnece rhwng dwy vocal lleddfy neu vloesey a wna yn wynech o amser val hyn: muse muwws meuyrion: mase maas madrondot.

S / o dodir hi o cwhanec at diwed enw vnNic / yr enw vnNic / neur gair vnNic hwnw a liosocka ne arwyddocka chwanec rae vn peth vegys hyyn badde hand yw llaw: handes hands ynt llawhe ne ddwylo: nayle nayl ewin ne hoyl hayarn nayles nayls ewinedd ne hoylion heyrn: rayle rayl canllaw: rayles rayls canllaweu / ne ederin regen yr yd.

Sh / pan ddel o vlayan vn vocal vn vraint ar sillaft hwn (ssi) vydd val hyyn shappe siapp gwedd ne lun: shepe ssiip dauad ne ddeucid.

Sh / yn dyfod ar ol bocal yn (iss) y galwant: vegys hyyn asshe aiss/ onnen: wasshe waiss / golch. Ac ym pa ryw van bynae ac air i del / ssio val neidyr gy[19]ffrous a wna / nid yn anghyssyllpello y wrth swn y llythyr hebrew a elwir schin: Ac o mynny chwanec o hyspyswydd ynkylich i llais gwrando ar byscoat kregyn yn dechreu berwi o damwain vnwaith vddunt leisio. Kymerwch hyn o athro wlythyr kartrefic rae ofyn na chyrawydd pawp o honawch gaffael wrth i law tafodioc seisnice yw haddysce.

T / hefyd a wna yr vn.wyneb i Sais a chymro val hyn tresure tresuwr trysor toure towr twr: top top nen.

Th / o sasnece a chymraec a vydd gyfodyl ac vn nerth ond yn rhyw eirieu hi a ddarleil kyn yseafned ar d/ einom ni: Eglurdeb am gyfio wnnlais th/ eiddunt hwy: through thrwch trywodd: thystle
Welsh, for in these languages it is sometimes changed in words to \( ph \).

But in English it has a permanent sound in every word as \( papyr (paa*p*ri) [papyrus], pappe papp (pap) \) \( bron gwraie ne ywd [mamma vel infantium cibus], penne pinn yscrifenny [calamus] \). And an Englishman pronounces the letter \( p \) thus, in the phrase \( and wylh a penne (and with a pen) ac a phinn [et cum calamo], and not wylh a phennh or ffenne with double ef (with a fen) \).

\( Q \) is a strange letter in Welsh, and scarcely more at home in English. It is the same in sound as \( k \), \( [18] \) as \( quene kwin (kwiin) \) \( brehnines [regina], quarter kwarter (kwarter) chwarter [quarta pars]; quayle (kwail) sofylvar [coturnix]. \) And bear in mind that \( v \) is the companion of \( q \), for \( q \) is never seen without \( v \) following it, as the cuckoo without her screecher.

\( R \) is of the same nature in the two languages except that \( r \) is never doubled or aspirated at the beginning of words as in Greek and Welsh.

\( Rhoma, rruñain or rhuñain [Roma], but English words beginning with \( r \) are thus pronounced: \( right \) \( (riikht) iawn [rectus], rent rent (rent) [scissura], ros (rooz) ros ne rosuin [rosa]. \)

\( S \) in these languages is of the same sound, thus \( syr syr (sir) [dominus], season seeyn (seez'in) amser amseravol ne amser kyfaddas [tempestas, tempestivus vel occasio]. \) But when \( s \) comes between two vowels it has the flat sound, or it is lisped, thus \( muse muwvos (myyz) menyrio [meditari], mase maas (maaz) madronot [stupor]. \)

\( S \) when added to the end of a word in the singular, makes it plural, or to signify more than one, as \( hande hand (hand) is llaw [una manus], handes hands (handz) are llawe ne ddwylo [plures vel due manus], nayle nayl (nail) econ ne hoyl hayrn [unguis vel ferreus clavus], nayles nayls (nailz) ecwinedd ne hoylton heyrn [ungues vel ferre clavi], rayle rayl (rail) cañlaw [cancellus], rayles rayls (railz) cañlawcen ne cederin regen yr yd [cancelli vel creces pratenses] (p. 119).

\( Sh \) when coming before a vowel is equivalent to this combination \( ssi \), thus \( shappe ssiapp (shap) gwedd ne lun [species vel forma], shepe ssiyp (shiip) dauad ne ddweid [ovis vel ovés]. \)

\( Sh \) coming after a vowel is pronounced \( iss \), thus \( aesse aiss (ash, aish?) onnen [fraxinus]; wasshe waiss (wash, waish?) golchi [lavare]. \) And wherever it is met with it hisses, like a roused serpent, \( [19] \) not unlike the Hebrew letter called \( schin \). And if you wish further information respecting this sound, you should listen to the hissing voice of shellfish when they begin to boil. Take this as an homely illustration lest you may not all be able to find an English tongue at hand to instruct you.

\( T \) also shews the same face to an Englishman as to a Welshman, as \( tresuer (trez-yyr) tryyor [thesaurus], toure tour (tour) tuer [turris], rox top (top) nen [vertex]. \)

\( Th \) in English rhymes with the same combination in Welsh (th), but in some words it reads flat like our \( dd \) (dh). Examples of the Welsh sound of \( th \); through \( thruch (thruukh) trywodd [per], \)
thystl yscall: Eglurwch am th/ val awn dd/ ni this ddys hwn/ hon/ ne hyn. velly ddym nine yn cam arfer yn sathredic o dd/ dros th/ yny gair yma (ddialaydd) ynn lle (dialayth) Nota hyn hefyd / y darlleant th/ val t / yny geiriu hynn Thomas tomas: thrones trwn pall-

U/ yn gydson nid amrafaillia i rhinwedd yn lloer mwy nac yngymru val hyn vyne vein gwin wydden: vayne vyyn gwythen ne wac: veluet velfet melfet. Eithyr u/ yn vocal a ettyl bwer y ddwy lythyren gamberaechyn, u, w, ai henw kyffredin vydd yn, uw, vegys y tystolaytha y geiriu hyn true truw kywir: vertue vertuw rhinwedd A rhyw amser y kaiff hiawn enw gantunt ac y darlleir yn ol y llatinwyr sef y galwant yn vn llais an w/ ni: val yny [20] geiriu hyny/ bucke bwck bwch/ lust lwst chwant Eithyr anuynech y kyssona eu bocal u/ hwyn an bocal, u, ni/ eisoes yn y gair hwn busy busi prysur ne ymyrus.

W, seisnie ac w/ gymreic nid amgenant i gallu val hyn/ waws waw tonn ar vor/ wyne wein gwin: wynnyn wynn ennill. Eithyr henw y llythyren w/ o saesnec vydd dowbyl uw/ sef yw hyny u dduplic/ Ar sason wrth ddyscy i blant sillafy ne spelio ai kymerant hi val kydson ac nid yn vocal ne yn w, _per se_ val y ddym ni yw chymryd: Ond y ddym ni ar hynny yw harfer hi or modd hawsaf i ieuuktit ddyfod y ddarllyn yn ddeallus.

Hefyd distewi a wna w/ wrth ddiweddy llawer gair saesnec val yn diweddy y rai hynn / awce, bovec wowe / y rhain a ddarlleant modd hynn: a/ ofyn bo 'bwa: w/ kary

x, nid yw chwaith rhy gartrefol yn saesonyneu mwy nac yn Camberaeac a llais cs/ neu gs/ a glywir yntei vegys yny/ geiriu hynn flaxe fliacs llin axo ags/ bwyll. Geiriu llatin a ledicithantir saesonaeu neu ir Gamberaec a newidend x/ am s/ val y geiriu hyn/ crnx crosso croes ne crws/ exemplum esampyl/ extendo estennaf: excommunicatus escomyn

Y, a gaiff yn amyl/ enw y dyphthong (ei) val hynn thynne ddein tan ne eiddot: ai enw ehun val yny gair hwn thynne thynn teneu.

Ye, a thityl val, e, vach vch i phen a wna _the_ o saesnec val hyn ye man dde man, y gwr: ye oxe dde ocs / yr ych

Yt, a chroes vechan val t, vch i ffen sydd gymeint [21] yn lla wnlllythyr a that ddan, hynn ne yr hwn.

Yu, ac u, uwch i phen a wna _thow_ ddow, ti ne tydi
thystle thyll (this-tl) yscall [carduus]. Examples of th like our dd; this ddys (this) hven hon ne hyn [hie haec vel hoc]. So also in familiar conversation we mispronounce dd for th in the word dialaydd for dialayth [sine tristitia]. Observe also that they read th as t in these words: Thomas tomas (Tom)as, throne trwn (truu) pall [solium].

U consonant is not distinguished in power in Welsh and English, thus: vyne vein (vein) gwyn wydden [vitis], vayne vayn (vain) gwythen ne wac [vena vel vanus] (p. 119), veluet velfet (vel-vet) melfet [holosericum]. But u vowel answers to the power of the two Welsh letters u, w, and its usual power is uw, as shown in the following words true truow (trwy) kywir [verus], vertue vertuow (vertyy) rhinuodd [virtus]. And sometimes they give it its own proper sound and pronounce it like the Latins, or like our v, as [20] in the words bucke buck (buk) buch [dama mas], lust lust (lust) chwant [libido]. But it is seldom this vowel sound corresponds with the sound we give the same letter, but it does in some cases as in busy busi (biz-i) prysur ne ymrus [occupatus vel se immiscens] (p. 164).

W English and w Welsh do not differ in sound, as wawe waw w (wan) tonn ar vor [unda maris] (p. 143), wyne wein (wein) gwyn [vinum], wynne wynn (win) enmill [pretium ferre]. But the English name of this letter is dowbyl uw (dou-bil yy), that is double u. And the English in teaching children to spell, take it as a consonant, and not as a vowel, or w per se (u per see) as we take it. But still we use it in the most easy mode for youth learning to read intelligently.

Also w is mute at the end of words in English, as in the following awe, bowe, wowe, which we pronounce thus: a (aa) ofyn [terror] (p. 143), bo (boo) bwa [arcus] (p. 150), w (uu, wu?) kary [amare, ut procus petere].

X Neither is x much at home in English any more than in Welsh, and the sound is cs (ks) or gs (gz) as in the words flaxe flacs (flaks) ilin [linum], axe ags (agz) buyll [securus]. Latin words in their passage into English or Welsh exchange x for s, as in the words erux crosse croes, or crws, exemplum exampyl, extendo estennaf, excommunicatus escomyn.

Y often has the sound of the diphthong ei (ei, oi), as thynne ddein (dhein) tau ne eiddot [tuus vel tibi], and its own sound as in the word thynne thynn (thin) teneu [gracilis] (p. 111).

Ye with a tittle like a small e above makes the English, as y\=e man dde man (dhe man) y gwir [vir ille], y\=e oxe dde oes (dhe oks) yr ych [bos ille].

Yt with a small cross above it, is equal [21] at full to that ddat (dhat) hyny ne yr hun [ille vel qui].

Yu with u above it, signifies thou ddow (thou) ti ne tydi [tu].
Y, ddoedd gan yr hen scrifennyddion sasneol lythyren taran debyc i, y, ond nad oedd i throed yn gwyro i vywy i wyny val pladur val y may troet, y, ac nid antebic i llun yr rhwun, y, neu i ypsylon groec ne ghaen yn hebrew ac hyd y daw im kof ddorn i klywais wnwaith hen ddarlleydd o sais yn y he nwi vn allu an dd ni neu ar ddelta roec y doedd. Ond nid yw hi arferedig ymplith Sason er pan ddoeth kelfyddyd print yw myse onit kymeryd tan vn (y) drostei: ar (th) weithie yny lle: Ac aros hynny may yn anhaws i ddyn arallwd dreuthy eu (th) hwy yn seisnigadd o achos i bot ryw amser yn gwasa nathyyn hy y lle yr hen llythyren a elwynt dorn val y gwelsoch yn eglur yny geirieu or blayn. Ac vely pan aeth y vlosclythyr wrecigaid hwnno ar gy feilorn ouyse Sason y derby-nassom niner Kymbry hihi ac aethom i vloyscy val mamachod ac y ddywedyt dd dros d, th dros t, a d dros t, b ac ph, dros p, &c. Ond maddeuwch yr rhac hyyd y trawschwedyl yma a mi a dalwyraf yn gynt am y sydd yn ol orlythyren ercill.

Z, hefyd o yddynt yn aruer yn vawr o honei, yn lle s/yn diwedd gair val: kyngez kings, brenhinedd. A rhai yw dodri dros m, ac eraill (peth'edodd vwy yn erbyn i natur) dros gh, yn y chymeryd: val hyn ryst richt kyflawn knyzt knicht marchawg vrddol.

^, nid llythyren yw namyn gair kyfan wedy ddefesio yn yrrh, val y gwelwch yma/ rhac mor [22] vynehc y damwain ympop ymadrodd o bob ryw iaith yr hwn pan yscrifeneryn llawlythyr yn llatin (et) vydd and yn saesneol: ac (ac) yn Camberac a arwy-ddocka.

¶ yn y Gwydhor hon o ddisot y kynwyssir sum a chrynoded yr holl rwuls vehot: Ac am hyn y tybeid nad rhaith angwane a addyse na mwy o eglurdeb arnei/ir neb a chwennych ddarllein y llyfer or pen bwy gylydd.

a, ai c, k, tsi d e f ff g c i l
¥a b c ch d e f ff g gh h i k l,
aw s d i f ph tsi h ei w
l o k ssi th uw fi cs ei, y s and
ll, m, n, o, p, q, r, s, ssi, t, th, u, v, w, x, y, z, t
l w iss dd/t/ u/ v/ gs i ch/m

¶ Neu val hynn

ai c k tsi e f tsi ch ei l l w k
¥a, b, c, ch, d, e, f, g, gh, i, k, l, ll, m, n, o, p, q,
aw s i f i w l o
iss th, t u v cs ei, y s and
r, s, sh, t, th u, v, w, x, y, z, t
ssi dd uw f gs i ch m
Y, The old English writers had a letter ɔ very much like y, only that the stem was not curved upward as a scythe like the stem of the y, and it is not unlike in shape to the Roman χ or the Greek upsilon Υ, or the Hebrew ghayn ʒ, and as near as I can remember, an old English reader once called the name of it ddorn (dhorn), and he pronounced it like our ɔ (dh) or like the Greek δέλτα δ (dh). But it is not in use among the English since the art of printing was introduced, but χ is sometimes used for it, and sometimes θω. And on this account it is more difficult for a stranger to pronounce their θ in English, because it serves sometimes the place of the letter they call ddorn (dhorn), as may be noticed in the foregoing remarks. So that when that effeminate lisping letter was lost from the English, it was introduced to us the Welsh, and we commenced lisping like nursing women, and to say dd (dh) for d (d), th (th) for t (t), and d for t, b and ph (f) for p &c. But pardon the length of this digression of speech, and I will bring my remarks respecting the other letters sooner to a close.

Z was also frequently used instead of s at the end of words as κύνζες kings (kiqz) brenhinedd [reges]. Some also used it for m, and others (which was more contrary to nature) for h in the words εξίτην richt (rikht) κυνζών [rectus], κυνζίτ θέλχ (θικθ) marchawg ερδολ [eques].

&. This is not a letter but an abbreviation for a whole word as may be seen from the following [22] how frequently it is used in every language. When written in full it is et in Latin, and in English, aο in Welsh.

¶ The Table below gives a summary and the substance of all the above rules: and therefore it was not considered necessary to give more explanation or instruction respecting it to any one desirous to read the book from beginning to end.

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SALESBURY'S ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION.  Chap. VIII. § 2.

FIRST PAGE OF SALESBURY'S WELSH AND ENGLISH DICTIONARY.

[23] [24] blank. [25]—

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<td>Ab ne siak ab</td>
<td>Sonne</td>
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<td>A ryuer</td>
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<td>Abe ne afon</td>
<td>Hauen</td>
<td>A. o vlaen d.</td>
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<td>Adwy bwlch</td>
<td>A gappe</td>
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<td>Addaw</td>
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<td>Act</td>
<td>An acte</td>
<td>Addwyn</td>
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<td>Hole, founde</td>
<td>Addfedy</td>
<td>Rype</td>
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<td>Addunet</td>
<td>A vowe</td>
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</table>

INDEX TO THE ENGLISH AND LATIN WORDS OF WHICH THE PRONUNCIATION IS GIVEN OR INDICATED IN SALESBURY'S TWO TRACTS.

In the following list the words quoted from the Treatise on Welsh pronunciation are given in italics, followed by the old spelling there used by Salesbury in small capitals, and the pronunciation indicated. In that treatise the pronunciation is seldom or ever explained in Welsh letters, but some important part of it is indicated, and the rest has been added from conjecture. The numbers which follow give the pages in this work where the word is referred to, (the small upper figure being the number of the footnote,) the bracketed numbers the page of the tract as here printed, and the capitals the letters under which the words occur.
The words quoted from the Treatise on English pronunciation are in Roman letters, followed by the old spelling in small capitals, the Welsh transliteration in italics, the palaeotypic pronunciation in ( ), the Welsh interpretation in italics, and its translation into Latin in [ ], and finally references as before.

Latin words are distinguished by a prefixed ♦.

honest honest (on'cest). 220, 754, [22, H]. honest honeste onest (on'cest) [honestus]. 99, 781, [15, H],
honour honour (on'or) 220, 766, [44]. honour honourne onor (onor) aur-hydedd [honos]. 99, 150, 199, 781, [16, H],
hope hope hoop (hoop) gobeith [spes]. 99, 777, [13, E], horrible horrible (hor'phbl). 766, [43],
hour hour (our), 759, [30, R], hubberden (Hubberden) vulgar. 111, 164, 760, [32, 33, U],
humble humble (um'bl). 220, 754, [22, H],
humour humour (huy'tmur). 766, [44], hurt hurt (hurt). 758, [22, H],
I (ei). 754, [23, I]. I ei (ei, ei) mi [ego]. 111, 781, [16, I],
'idle ydele (eid'-l). 766, [44],
'tignis (tq'nis) bad. 767, [46], ill YL (il). 766, [43],
in YN (in). 763, 766, [35, Y. 44],
is YS (ys). 763, [35, Y],
itch itch (itsh). 766, [43],

jauwride laundice (dzhamu'dis). 766, [44],
jealousy geloustie. 781, [16, I],
Jesus, Jesus ts viêm (Dzech'zy). Jesus [Jesus]. 80, 165, 781, [16, I].
Jesus Jesus (Dzech'sus). 754, [23, I],
John John tsinion sion (Dzhon Shhon) (Johannes). 99, 781, [16, I],
joint jownt ts ioynt (dzhoim't) kymal [junctura]. 131, 781, [16, I],

Kent Kent. 781, [16, K],
king kynge king (kig) brenhin [rex]. 781, [16, K].
kings kynges (kig'as) not (kig'as). 767, [46], kings, kynge kings (kigz) brenhineidd
[reges]. 112, 777, 779, [13, E],
kinege. 787, [21, Z],
kissed kest (kst'?), 766, [43],

knight knyzt kyncht (knycht) mark'yng brvddol [eques]. 112, 787, [21, Z],

knot knot (knot) kowhim [nodus]. 781, [16, K],

lad lad (lad) baekhen [juvenis]. 781, [16, L],
ladder laddre lad-dr (lad'ver) yscol [scala]. 62, 79, 199, 777, [12, D],
lady lady lad'i (lar'di) argygydyes [domina]. 62, 112, 781, [16 L],
language language (laug'gcaidz). 120, 747, [12, A],
lash lashe (laish). 747, [12 A],
lay layb (lai). 766, [43],
leave leava leif. leef? (leev, leev?)
kenad [venia, licentia]. 80, 775, [11, A],
'tegit (liidz'deth) bad. 767, [46],
lily lyly lili (lii'l) [lilium]. 112, 781, [16, L],
loved loved (luwd) earun [amavi]. 777, [12, D],
low lowe low (lou, loo?) lowio
[mugire]. 150, 773, [8],
luck lucke (luk). 766, [33, U],
lust lust lust (lust) chwvnt [libido]. 165, 785, [20, U],

't magnus (maq'tmus) bad. 767, [46],
majesty maieste (madzh'cest). 754, [23, I].
majesty, maiestie. 781, [16, I],
man manne (man). 753, [19, E]. man
man (man) gwr [vir]. 62, 781, [17, M, N],
maze mase maas (maaz) madrondot
[stupor]. 62, 783, [18, S],
meal mble (meel). 79, 751, [19, E],
meet? mble (mil). 79, 751, [19, E],
men men (men) gwyr [virii]. 781, [17, M, N],

Michael Mycael (mei'kel?). 749, 766, [16, CH, 43],
Michaelmas Michaelmas (Mik'elmas?). 749, [16, CH],
might mycht (mikht) Scottish. 749, [15, CH],

'michi (michi) correctly. 779, [15, GH],
much good do it you MUCH DOO DO IT
you mychydidoit (mitsh'good'i). 165, 744, [5],
murmuuring murmuurynge (mur'mura) 766, [43],
muse muse musuc (myyzy) menyvrio
[meditari]. 165, 783, [18, S],

nag nagge nag (nag) keffylun [man-
nus]. 62, 779, [14, G],
nail naille nayl (nail) evin ne hoyl
hayyarn [unguis vel ferreus clavus]. 119, 783, [18, S]. nails, Nayles nail
(nailz) evinend ne hoylin hoyryn
[ungues vel ferrei clavi]. 783, [18, S],
not uette (not). 752, [19, E],

nigh nigh (nikh). 754, [23, I],

'nchil (nikh'il) correctly. 779, [15, GH],

narow narrow narw (naru) kyfing
[angustus]. 61, 62, 150, 779, [8],
not not (not). 786, [43],
now nowe now (nou) yn awr [nunc].
150, 775, [8],

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oranges oranges orcitaeys (or'eindzhiz)
afale arayds [aurantium]. 99, 190, 779, [14, E]
ousel osyll (uuze'el?). 7663, [44]
over ower (over). 7669, [43]
ox oxe ocs (oks) yeh [bos]. 99, 785, [20, Yv]
pale, pale paal (paal) [pallidus]. 61, 62, 775, [11, A]
pap pappe papp (pap) bron graicne ywd [mamma vel infantium cibus].
62, 783, [17, P]
paper paper paper (pap-pir) [papyrus]. 62, 112, 199, 783, [17, P]
pen penne, 783, [17, P]
peir peere (peccr). 79, 7518, [19, E]
peir peere (pir). 79, 7512, [19, E]
plague plaage plaag (plaag) pla [pestis].
62, 779, [14, G]
poore poore puer (puur)技术人员 [pauper].
93, 99, 781, [17, O]
Portugal portugal (Portyqgal), corrupted. 757, [27, N]
potager potager (pot-andzher?).
corrupted. 7573, [27, N]
prevailed prevauld (prevaild). 7661, [43]
prohibition prohibition prohibisien
proved proveide (pruved?) 76519, [43]
provide proveide (proveid?) 76510, [43]
pureness purenes (pyytres). 752, [19, E]
qual quayle sofylar [coturnix]. 119, 783, [18, Q]
quarter quarter kwarter (kwart'er)
chwater [quarta pars]. 62, 165, 199, 783, [18, Q]
queen queen kwin (kwim) brunhines
[regina]. 80, 165, 783, [18, Q]
qui (kweil). 111, 7441, [4]
quiincludes (kwayth) bad. 767, [46]
raill rayle rayl (raill) canlaw [cancel-
lus]. 119, 783, [18, S]. rails rayles rays (raill) canlawen ne ederin regen yr yd [canocli vel creces praten-
tenses]. 119, 783, [18, S]
rauening rauenying (rav'reaq). 7661, [43]
reason reason (reece'un). 7662, [44]
rent rent rent (rent) [scissura]. 80, 783, [18, R]
right night (rikht). 7543, [23, I]
right night (rikht) savon [rectus].
703, [18, R]. rytz rycht (rikht)
kyflawen [rectus]. 112, 787, [21, Z]
ringing ringing (riq'iq). 7542, [23, I]
rings rynges (riq'es) not (riq'ges).
767, [46]
roe roe roe (too). 93, 7581, [28, O]
rose ros ros ne rosin [rosa]. 99, 783, [18, R]
sable sable sibli (saa'b'il) [niger]. 62, 196, 777, [13, E]
saddle saddell ephippium. 777, [13, E]
sal sal (saal) bad. 767, [46]
sale sale sal saal [venditio]. 61, 62, 775, [11, A]
sanctus (san'tus) bad. 767, [46]
Satan satan (Sa'ab'tun). 7663, [43]
school schoole seoul (skuul) yscoll
[schola]. 93, 99, 781, [17, O]
sea sea see (see) mor [mare]. 80, 775, [11, A]
season season (seez'yun). 7663, [44]
season season seesyn (seezin) amser
amservel ne amser kyfiledas [tempes-
tas, tempestivus vel occasio]. 80, 99, 783, [18, S]
see see (sii). 754, [23, I]
shape shape ssiopp (shap) gwedd
leum [species vel forma]. 62, 783, [18, SII]
shape sheep ssiip (ship) dauned ne
daeued [avis vel oves]. 783, [18, SH]
sieve ctue (siv). 7663, [44]
sight sight (sikht). 7542, [23, I]
sign signe (sein). 111, 7442, [5]
silk sylke (silk). 7521, [19, E]
sin synne (sinn). 753, [35, Y]
singeth syngeith (siiq'eth) not (siiq'geth)
767, [46]
singing singing (siiq'a). 754, [23, I]
sir syny syr (sir) [dominus]. 199, 783, [18, S]
si so so (s00) velly (sic). 93, 781, [17, O]
sol (souul) bad. 767, [46]
sparrow, sparrowo sparrowo (sparu)
ederyn y to [passer]. 61, 62, 150, 773, [8]
suffer, suffer sufferer (suffer) diodeef
[pati]. 80, 165, 199, 779, [14, F]
sure sure (syyr). 164, 7606, [33, U]
syllable syllable (syl'ab'). 7558, [26, L]
tents tentes tents (tents) pepyll [ten-
toria]. 777, 779, [13, E]
thank thankne (thaqk). 219, 7504, [17, D]
that (that) 219, 7504, 7603, 7663, [16, D. 31, TH. 44]. that, that y' diad
(dhat hyne ne yr hwen [ille vel qui].
62, 219, 783, [21, Yv]
Thavies Inn Thavies Inne (Daviz
In). 219, 7603, 7663, [32, TH. 44]
the the (dhe) 750, 763, [16, D. 43]
the, the ye dat (dhe) y [ille]. 80, 219, 783, [20, Y]
thick thyncke (thik). 219, 760, [31, TH]
thin thynne (thin) 750, 760, 763, [16, D. 31, TH. 33, Y] thin, thynn
thynn (thin) teneu [gracillis]. 111, 219, 785, [20, Y]
thine thynne (dhein). 750, 760, [16, D. 31, TH] thine, thynne adeine
(dhein) tau ne eiddot [tuus vel tibi]. 111, 219, 785, [20, Y]
this thys (dhis). 219, 750, 760, [16, D. 31, TH]. this thiis adys (dhis)
how, hon ne hym [hic haec vel hoc]. 112, 219, 785, [19, TH]
Thistle thistle thyself (th's'll) yscall [carduus]. 112, 219, 785, [19, TH]
Thomas Thomas (Tom'as). 760, 763, [32, TH. 44]. Thomas Thomas tomas
(Tom'as). 99, 219, 785, [19, TH]
through thorough (thurr'lu). 219, 760, 766, [31, TH. 43]
though thou (dhou). 219, 760, 763, [31, TH. 43]. thou this y's dow
(dhou) ti ne tydi, [tu]. 150, 219, 785, [21, Y]
three threes (thrii). 754, [23, I]
throne (trum'). 760, [32, TH]. throne
thronne trun (trum) pull [solium]. 99, 219, 785, [19, TH]
through thorough through (thruukh) treycwedd [per]. 219, 783, [19, TH]
thudder thonder thundr (thun d'r)
[tornu]. 79, 99, 199, 777, [13, E]
†tibi (tei-bei). 111, 744, 754, [4, 23, 1]
to to (tou). 758, [28, O]. to to tw
(tu) ar, at, i, [ad]. 93, 99, 781, [17, O]
toe toe (too). 758, [28, O]. toe, to
too (too) bya troct [digitus pedis]. 93, 99, 781, [17, O]
toll tolle tolle (toul) toll [vectigal].
194, 781, [17, O]
tollis (toul'i-s). bad. 744, [4]
top, top top (top) nen [vertex]. 99, 783, [19, T]
tormentor tormented (tormented). 766, [43]
tower toure tower (tour) tour [curris].
783, [19, F]
treasure the treasure (tree-zyyr). 760,
[32, TH]. treasure treasure tresuor
(trezyyr) tresor [thesaurus]. 80, 165, 199, 215, 219, 783, [19, T]
trees trees triys (tri'is) prrenneu
[arbores]. 80, 779, [14, E]
trow trowe trow (troo) tybyeit [opinor].
150, 773, [8]
true true true true (tryy) kywir [verus].
165, 785, [19, U]
trust trust (trist) vulgar. 111, 164,
760, [32, U]
†tu (tty) bad. 767, [46]
twinkle twyncke twinkle (twi'k-l) [scintillare]. 112, 195, 777, [13, E]
two two two (tuo). 755, [28, O]. two two
tw (tuo) dau [duo]. 93, 99, 781,
[17, O]
uncle vnkle (nuqk-l). 744, 766, [5, 44]

vain see vein
valiant ualiant (val'jant) 760, [43]
vein vein vyne vein' (vain) gwynthen ne wae [vena vel vanus]. 119, 785,
[19, U]
velvet veltet velvet (vel-vet) melfet
[holosericum]. 80, 785, [19, U]
†vidi (vei-dei). 754, [23, I]
villanus fillaynous (vil'anus). 766, [43]
vine vyne vein (vein) gwin wydden
[vitius]. 111, 119, 785, [19, U]
virtue vertue vertuu (ver-tyy) rhin-
weed [virtus]. 80, 163, 199, 785, [19, U]

wall wall wawel (waul) gwal [murus].
143, 194, 775, [11, A]
wash wasshe wass (wash, wash?)
golchi [lavare]. 783, [18, SH]
watch (waitsh). 120, 747, [12, A]
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waw washe waw (wau) tomm ar vor
[unda maris]. 143, 785, [20, W]
we we we (wii). 754, [18, E. 23, I]
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wide wyde (weid). 763, [35, Y]
win wynne (win). 763, [35, Y]. win
wynne wynne (win) ennill [pretium
ferre]. 112, 785, [20, W]
wind wynge? (weind). 763, [35, Y]
wine wynne wein (wein) gewin [vinum].
111, 785, [20, W]
winking winking (wiqk-iq). 763,
[23, I]
wish wyshe (wish). 752, [19, E]
with wyth (with). 143, 219, 750,
762, [17, D. 34, W]
wonder wonde wunder (wun-d'r) [mi-
raculum]. 79, 99, 185, 199, 777,
[13, E]
woo wowe w (un, wun?) kary [amare,
ut procus petere]. 93, 150, 185, 785,
[20, W]
worship worshippe (wur'ship). 752,
[19, E]
worthy wortyze (worthye). 766, [43]
§ 3. **John Hart’s Phonetic Writing, 1569, and the Pronunciation of French in XVIth Century.**

Since the account of John Hart’s Orthographie (p. 35) was in type, the original manuscript of his “former treatise,” bearing date 1551, has been identified in the British Museum, and some account of it is given in the annexed footnote. 1 It may be observed that

1 Mr. Brock, who is ever on the look out for unpublished treatises interesting to the Early English Text Society, called my attention, through Mr. Furnivall, to the MS. Reg. 17. C. vii., which was described in the printed catalogue of those MSS. as “John Hare’s Censure of the English Language. A.D. 1551, paper.” It is a small thin quarto of 117 folios, the first two pages not numbered, and the others paged from 1 to 230, 19 lines in a page, about 7 words in a line, in a fine English hand of the XVIth century, carefully but peculiarly spelled, by no means according to Hart’s recommendations. The Latin quotations are in an Italian hand. It was labelled on the back “Hare on the English Language.” Being desirous of getting at the author’s account of our sounds, when I examined the MS. on 28 Oct. 1868, I skipped the preliminary matter and at once attacked the 6th and 8th chapters; “Of the powers and shaping of letters, and first of the voels,” and “of the affinities of consonants.” I was immediately struck with many peculiarities of expression and opinion which I was familiar with in Hart’s Orthographie, and no other book. On turning to the dedication to Edward VI., I found (p. 4, 1. 8) the name of the author distinctly as John Hart, not Hare, although the t was written so as to mislead a cursory reader, but not one familiar with the handwriting. Then, similarly, in Hart’s Orthographie the author’s name is mentioned in the dedication: “To the doubtfull of the English Orthographie John Hart Chester heralt wisheth all health and prosperity,” which had not been observed when p. 35, 1, 20, was printed, and not on the title. On comparing this printed book with the MS. I found many passages and quotations verbatim the same; see especially the first chapters of the MS. and printed book “what letters are, and of their right use,” where right is not in the MS. The identity was thus securely established, and the MS. has consequently been re-lettered: “Hart on English Orthography, 1551.”

The title of the MS. is: “The Opening of the unreasonable writing of our inglish toung: wherein is shewid what necessarili is to be left, and what followed for the perfect writing thereof.” And the following lines, on the fly leaf, in the author’s hand-writing, seem to shew that this first draught, thus curiously brought to light after 317 years’ repose, was never intended for publication, but was perhaps to be followed by another treatise, which was of course the printed book.

“‘The Booke to the Author.

“Father, keep me still with the, I the pray

least Abuse shuld me furiously de-voure:
his pronunciation remained practically constant during these eighteen years, and the chief difference of the treatises is the greater extent of the second, and the important introduction of a phonetic alphabet, followed by a full example.

or shut me up from the lyght of the day:
whom to resist I doubt to have the power.

"The Author to the Booke.

"Fear not my sonne, though he doo on the lower,
for Reason doth the everywhere de-fend:
But yt thou maist not now the thing amend
I shal send this brother soom luk-kier howere,
yf Atropos doo not hast my lyves end,
to confound Abuses loothsom lokes sower."

"Abuse," meaning the wrongful use of letters, that is applying them to sounds for which they were not intended in the Latin alphabet, is a favourite term of Hart's, and with the curious orthography voel for vowel, led me to suspect the real author from the first. The following description of the vowels is slightly different from, and must be considered as supplementary to those given above in the pages hereafter cited; the bracket figures give the pages of the MS. A few remarks are also inserted in brackets.

"[77] Lett us begin then with an opened mouth so mouch as a man may (though lesse wold serve) therwith sounding from the breast, and he shall of force bring forth one simple sound which we mark with the a (p. 63): and making your mouth lesse so as the inner part of your tong may touch the lyke inner part of your [78] upper iyowes you shall with your voice from your brest make that sound wherfore we doo often (and shuld alwaies) writ the o (p. 93); and last of all holding so stil his tonge and teeth untouched shrinking his lippes to so litell a hole as the breath may issue, with the sound from [79] the breast he shal of force make that simple voice wherfore we doo sometimes rightly (and shuld alwaies) write the u [certainly (u) here]. . . . [81]. Now as for the a, we use in his proper power as we ought, and as other nations have alwaies doone (p. 63). But I find that we abuse all the others, and first of the e, which most communely we use properly: as in their words better and ever: but often we change his sound making yt to usurp the power of the i, as in we, be & he (p. 80), in which sound we use the i properly: as in their words sinne, in and him. Wherefore this letter e, should have his auncient sound as other nations use yt, and which is as we sound yt in better and ever. The profit thereof shulde, that [83] we shuld not feare the mystasting of his sound in i: as we have longe doone: and therefore (and partly for lak of a note for time) we have communely abused the diphthongs ey or ei, ay or ai and ea: to the great increase of our labour, confusion of the letters, in depriving them of their right powers, and uncertainte to the reader. [In this book Hart proposes either the circumflex or reduplication as the mark of quantity]. For the voel e, doeth of voice import so moche in better and ever and in mani other words and syllables, as we do communely use to pronounce the diphthongs ey or ei, ai, or ay, or the ea, except yt be when they are seperate and fire from diph-thong whiche to signifie we ought to use an accent as shalbe said. [He proposes the hyphen.] Then the i, we abuse two wais: the first is in that we gave it a brode sound (contrary to all peoples but the Scotts: as in this sentence, [83] he borrowed a swerd from bi a mans side to save thi life: where we sound the i in bi, side, this and life as we shuld doo the ei diph-thong . . . The other ab-[84]-use of the i, is that we make yt a consonant
This pronunciation cannot have been in all respects the prevalent and received pronunciation of his time, for Hart frequently disagrees with Palsgrave, Salesbury, Smith, and Bullokar, and Dr. Gill without any diversifying of his shape from the voell ... [86] The forth now is the o, whose abuse (for that it cometh onli by leaving the proper use of the u) causeth me to speak upon the u. We abuse [87] the u, two waies the one is in consonant indifferentli with both his figures u and v ... [88]. The other abuse of the u, is that we sound yt as the Skottes and French men doo, in their wordes gud and fist [89]: Wheras most communely we our selves (which the Grekes, Latines, the vulgar Italianis, and Germaines with others doo alwaies) kepe his true sound: as in their wordes, but, unto, and further. [This thoroughly excludes all suspicion of an (a) sound.] Yf you marke well his uzurped sound in gud and fist (and others of the Skottish and french abuse) you shall find the sound of the diphthong iu, keping both the i and u, in their proper vertu, both in sound and voel, as afore is said we ought: sounding yt in that voice wherefore we now abuse to write, you." The identification with the French and Scotch sounds ought to imply that that long u was (yy), but his denticulation with you makes it (yu); Hart however, in his orthographie also rises (iu) for both sounds, as in the passage reproubated by Gill, suprà p. 122, where he writes you use as (iu iuz); yet if any value is to be attributed to his description of long u, suprà p. 167, he certainly meant (ju yyz) and it was only his notation which led him into an ambiguity which also deceived Gill. But here it is evident that he had not yet heard the difference between yeow, you, which Sir T. Smith writes (yy, iu), p. 166. This therefore may be a case of education of the ear. He asks now: "What difference find you betwixt the sound of you, and u in gud and fist? Wherefore yt our predecessors have thought it necessari to take three voels for that voice, which in another place [90] they (observing derivations) writ with one, there appeareth to be a confusion and uncertaintie of the powers of letters, as they used them. Lett us then receive the perfet meane betwixt their two doubtfull extremities; and use the diphthong iu alwaies for the sound of you, and of u in suer, shut & bruer, and souch lyke, writing them thus shut, siuer, 'bruer':" does the word shut shut mean suit or shoot? see suprà p. 216, n. 1, with wherefore in our writings, we need carefulli to put a sufficient difference, betwixt the u and n: as theirs and the printes give sufficient example. Now see you whether we doo well to writ the o in their wordes do, to & other (signifying in latine alius) when yt ys the proper sound of the u: or for [91] the lyke sound to dooble the o: as in poore, good, root, and souch like of that sound: but I find the same double o, written with reason in some wordes, when yt signieth the longer time: as in moost, goost and geo. ... [95] Then the nombre of our voels is five as the Grekes (concerning voice) the Latines, the Germaines, the Italiens, the Spayneyards and others have alwaies had, declared in sauch their singuler power, as they have and doe, use theim. ... [96] a diphthong is a loynynge of two voels in one syllable keeping their proper sound, onli somewhat shortening the quantite of the first to the longer quantite of the last (p. 132): which is the onli diversite that a diphthong hath, from two voels commynyn together yet serving for two syllables, and therfore ought to be marked with the figure διαφωνει, as shalbe said." Among the diphthongs he places first y considered as Greek u, and recommends its disuse, and then w considered as uu, for which he would write u. [101] "Wherefore we take the u single to have so much power as the w: for this figure u, shall not (or ought not) henceforth be abused in consonant, nor in the skottish and french sound. Then may we well writ for when, writ and what, thus buen, urit and huat: and so if their lyke, cleane forsaking the w. Now the es, so often as I see yt abused in diphthong, it is for the sound of the long e: wherein is the necessite spoken of, for the use of a mark, for the accident of longer time (as hereafter shalbe said) for that the sound e length-[102]-ned wil serve for the common abuse diphthongs ea. aï or ay and ei or ey (p. 122): the powers of which voels we now myx together con-
especially reprouces his pronunciation in many particulars (p. 122). Still we can hardly refuse to believe that Hart tried to exhibit that pronunciation of which he himself made use, and which he conceived to be that which others either did or should employ. Moreover his work contains the earliest connected specimen of phonetic English writing which I have met with, as Palsgrave, Salesbury, and Smith only gave isolated words or phrases. Although Hart’s book has been reproduced by Mr. Isaac Pitman, the ordinary spelling in phonetic shorthand, and the phonetic portion in facsimile writing (with tolerable but not perfect accuracy), yet as many persons would be unable to read the shorthand, and would not therefore obtain a proper knowledge of the meaning of the other portion, and as it is desirable, also, to reduce all these phonetic accounts of English spelling to one standard of palaeotype for the purposes of comparison, I have thought it best to annex the whole of the last Chapter of Hart’s book, according to my own interpretation. This Chapter gives Hart’s notions of contemporary French pronunciation, a subject which has been already so much alluded to in Chap. III., that the remainder of this section will be devoted to it. Hart does not admit of (w, j) but uses (u, i) for them, even in such words as which, write, which he exhibits as (uitsh, ureit). I have elsewhere restored the (w, j) which were certainly pronounced, but in this transliteration it seemed best to follow him exactly in the

fuzibli making the sound of the same long e, and not of any parfait diphthong: as in these examples of the ea in fear which we pronounce sounding no part of the a. And for the ai or ay, as in this word faire pronouncing neither the a, or i, or y: also yn saieth where we abuse a thirphthong. Also ei or ey we pronounce not in theis wordes theine and theym, and souch lyke: where we sound the e long as in all the others. Now for the ee, we abuse in the sound of [103] the i long: as in this sentence, Take heed the birdes doo not feod on our seed: also for the ie in thie and priest: in likewise for the eo, as in people, we onli sound the i long. We also abuse the eo in the sound of the u voel as in ieperdi, which we pronounce iuperdie. The oo we have abused as afoe is said . . . . Now lett us understand how part of this fore-said and others shall serve us, and doo [104]us great pleasure: even as roules necessari for us lykely to contrefait the image of our pronunciation. First the au is rightly used (p. 144), as in paul and lau, but not law. Then the ua, is wel used in waarre, for warre: and in huat for what. Further the ei, is wel and properli used in bei for by: in leif, for lyfe: and in seid, for syde

(p. 113). Also eu, we use properli in feu for few: in deu, for dew, and souch lyke (p. 138). The ue, as in question: in huen, for when: in uel, for well. Also the iu as in trith, for trouth: in rebiuk, for rebuke: and in riule for rule. And the ui alone for our [105] false sounding of we; and as in huich for which: witniss for witnesse, and souch like: [this he identifies with Greek ω] . . . . [106] writ for young, yoke and beyond, iong, ioke, and beyond. Then the oi is wel used in ap-point, enjoi, poison, and a hoi barke, [here there is a difference from his later orthography (nuei) (p. 132)]. And not to be over tedious, we use aright this diphthong ou in house, out, our and about (p. 152): wherein we may perceive how we have kept the auncient power of the u: the same diphthong ou, being sounded farre otherwise then in bloud, souch and should, as some ignorantli writ them, when we pronounce but the u, in hyr proper sound.” This use of ou for (u) is frequent in this MS. souch, towng, mouch, being common forms. The above extracts seem to possess sufficient interest to admit of reproduction, but the work itself is entirely superseded by the later edition.
use of (u, i). Hart also systematically employs (iu) for long u, but, as I have already pointed out (p. 167) and as will appear in the course of this example, he meant the French u=(yy), and I have therefore restored that orthography, to prevent ambiguity. Where however iu clearly meant (ju, iu), the latter forms are used. Hart does not mark the place of the accent, but uses an acute accent over a vowel occasionally to mark that it was followed by a doubled consonant in the old orthography. This acute accent is retained, but the position of the accent is marked conjecturally as usual. Hart uses a dash preceding a word to indicate capitals, thus /italian/; I give the indicated capital. His diaeresis is represented by (') as usual. There are, no doubt, many errors in the marking of long vowels, which were indicated by underlining, but I have left the quantity as I found it. The (s, z) are also left in Hart's confused state. As I can find no reason for supposing short i to have been (i) in Hart, although I believe that that was his real pronunciation, I employ (i) throughout. The frequent foreign words, and all others in the usual spelling, are printed in italics. The foreign words serve partly to fix the value of Hart's symbols.

Exampl's nou ser'ten udh'er nasions du sound dheer lêters, both in Latin, and in dheer mudh'er tuq, dherbei tu know dhe beet'er nou tu pronouns' dheer spitiitshed, and so tu riid them as dhee du. Kap. viij.

For dhee konfirmas'ion ov dhat nuitsh is seed, for dhe sounds az-uel ov vo'els az of kon'sonants: auldhorn ei naav in divers plas'es nier-befoor sheu';éd in, nou ser'ten udh'er nasions du sound part ov dheer lêters: ei thont it gud nier, not oon'li to rekapit'ulat and short'li remers', part ov dhee befoor'misioned, but aul'so tu giv in' terstand: nou dhee du sound suth dheer lêters, az dh- ignorant dher-of shuld áprootsh: noth'iq neer tu dheer pronunsias'ion bei riid'iq dhee ureitiqs or prints. Huer-for, huo so-iz dezeirrous tu riid dh- Itali'jan and dhee Lat'in az dhee du, nä must sound dhe vo'elz az ei naav süfis'ientli seed treat'iq ov dhem, and az ei naav yyzd dhem in aul dhis nyy man'er, on'li eksept'iq dhat dhee maak dhis fig'yyr u, kon'sonant az-uel az dhis v. Dheer c, dhee yzz aft'er aul vo'elz az wi dhe k, (as dheer prodhzhen'itors dhee Lat'ins did) and yzz not k at aul: but dheee-abyyz' dhe c, bifoor' e, and i, in dhee sound ov our ch or tsh, az ecce and accioche, dhee sound ek-tshe, akshioke', francesco frantshes'ko, fece, facendo, amici, te-tshe, fatshed'oi, ami-tshe: and for the sound ov dhe k, dhee yzz ch. Dheer g, dhee kiip az ei naav dun aft'er vo'elz, and befoor a, o, and u: but befoor' e and i, dhee naav

1 He says: "I leave also all double consonants: having a mark for the long vowel, there is therby sufficient knowledge given that every vmarked vowel is short: yet wheras by custome of double consonants there may be doubt of the length, we may vse the mark ouer it, of the acute tone or tune, thus ('')." What the meaning of this acute accent is on final vowels, as in French words, is not apparent.
abyzd’ it with us, for whisth ei naav yyzd dzh, and tu kiip dhat sound befoor’ a, o, and u, dheer uzurp’ gi, as hath bin seed, and dheerfoor’ dheer nevr’ maak dheer i, kon’sonant, for dheer see not agiuto but aiuto, as mee bi dhus ai-uto. Dhe t, dheer nevr’ sound in s, az in protection, satisfaction, dhee sound dhe t, nard, and dheerfoor’ dub’l it in dhooz uurdz and man’i-ud’h’ers: but in giurisdictions, militia, sententia, intentione, and man’i-ud’h’ers dheer du not dub’l it, iet dheer sound it as it iz, and nevr’ turn it in’tu dhe sound ov s, but iv iz mark it uel, dheer breth ov dhe t, pâsiq thrum dhe tiith, and turn’iq tu dhe-i, dutth maak it siim as it uceer neer dhe sound ov dhe, s, but iz not dheerfoor’ so in efekt’. For dheer glì, dheer du not sound g, so nard az ui uul, but so soft’l az it iz oft’n urit’n and print’ed uidhout’ dhe g. Dheeer zz dhee sound most kó-m’oli dheer first z, in t, as in fortezza, grandezza, destrezza, but at sum teimz dhee sound dheer az dheer du cc, as for dhiz naam dheeer uireit indifferendli Eccellino, or Ezellino. Dhee naav aul’so dhe sound ov our sh or sh, nuitsh dheer-uireit ze, befoor’, e, or i: dheeryyz tu-ureit dhe th, but not for our th, or th: for dheer naav not dheer sound dherof’ in aul dheer spiitsh, nor ov dh, and sound it in Matthio, az mee bi matrio, as of th, iz seed in Thomas and Thanes. And for lak ov a knol’edzh for dheer kuan’titiz ov dheer vo’elz dheer-ar kuan’titiz tu dub’l dheer kon’sonants oft’n and mutsh: and for dheer loq’er teim ov dheer vo’eis, dheer naav no mark: nuert’ nuo so’-iz dezei’ruz tu riid dheer ureit’iq uel, and im’itaat dheeer pronunnis’ion nad niit tu naav sum instruks’ion bei dhe leiv’li vo’is. And muen dheer du reez dheer tynn ov dheer urds (nuert’ iz oft’n) dheer noot it uidh dhe Latin graav tynn, dhus andò, parò, e mostrò la novitd, al podestà de la città. And in riid’iq dhe Lat’in, an dheer du dheer feind urit’n, dheer du pronouns’, iti’n as dhee du dheer mudh’er tuq, in dhe ver’i sounds befoor’-seed.¹

¹ As the pronunciation of Italian has been often referred to, and as H. I. H. Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte has lately given me his views upon some points of interest in Italian pronunciation, it seems convenient to make a note of them in this place. The medial quantity of Italian vowels has already been noticed (p. 518 and n. 1). The vowel e has two sounds (ε) close and (ε) open, the intermediate (ε) being un-known, whereas it is the only ε in Spanish. The vowel o has also two sounds, which have in this work been hitherto assumed as (ωh) close and (o) open. The prince does not allow this; to him (ωh) is Swedish o long, and (o) is Spanish o. His Italian close o does not differ from (o), and his open o is (o) or (λ), probably the former. His theory is that when a language has only one e, o, as in Spanish and modern Greek (suprà p. 523, l. 6 from bottom), Welch, and therefore in Latin and early English, it is (ε, o); when it has two ε, and two o, they are (ε, i) and (o, o) respectively. Again in the pronunciation of the consonants in Italian, the Prince distinguishes, an emphatic and a weak utterance. The former is usually written double, but, he insists, is not pronounced double, in the sense of p. 55, but only emphatic, as if preceded by the sign (') p. 10.—which has been wrongly used (p. 4, 9) in the combinations (t, d) in place of (t', d'), or “outer” (t, d). The following are the rules he lays down in his Sardo Sassarese example (suprà p. 756, n. 2, col. 2), which it is best to give in his own words (ib. p. xxxv). “Si dice spesso, poiché le consonanti sempie si pronunziano, tanto in italiano quanto in sassarese, come se fossero scritte doppie, in forza delle seguenti regole generali:
For dhe min dutsh dhee sound aul dheer vo'elz in dhe ver'i saam sort: and nev'er maak dhe 'i, kon'sonant, nor abyyz: dhe g, befoor dhe e, and i, az dh-Italian duth, but kiip it aul-'uez befoor' dhem, az

1) Allorchè, essendo iniziali, vengono in un periodo o di una clausola benchè breve, sia dopo una virgola. 2) Allorchè, cominciando la sillaba, sono precedute da altra consonante. 3) Allorchè occorrono in fine di voce, come ne' monosillabi il, del, &c. 4) Quando la voce precedente, benchè terminata in voce, sia un ossiton oppure un monosillabo derivato da voce latina terminata in consonante, la qual consonante poi venne soppressa nel farsi italiana o sassarese detta voce latina. Così la preposizione a derivata dalla latina ad, la congiunzione e corrispondente ad et, il si derivato dal sie, il "né" nec, le parole tronche come "amò" amavit, "potè" potuit hanno tutte la proprietà di dar pronunzia forte alla consonante iniziale della voce seguente; ed avvegnachè si vegga scritto: a Pietro, e voi, si grande, nè questo nè quello, amò molto, potè poco, non si ode altrimenti che: appietro, evoit, siggenda necquesto necquello, amommolto, poteppoco. Il suono debole delle consonanti, all'incontro, avrà luogo quando la voce che le precede si termina in vocale, eccettuati i casi notati nelle regole che precedono. Così in: di Maria, i doni, la mente, le donne, mi dice, ti lascia, si gode, ama molto potè poco, molto largo, le consonanti iniziali della seconda voce si pronunziano deboi quali si veggono scritte, per essere le parole latine corrispondenti alla prima voce: de, illi, illa, illae, me, te, se, potui terminate in vocale, oppure perché, come in ama molto e molto largo, le voci ama e molto non ricevon l'accento tonico in sull' ultima sillaba." Compare the double Spanish sound of r, suprà p. 198, n. 2. This emphatic pronunciation, in the case of (p b, t d, k g) consists in a firmer contact and consequently a more explosive utterance of the following vowel; in the case of (f v, s) &c., in a closer approximation of the organs and a sharper hiss or buzz. But in Sardo Sassarese, the weak pronunciation generates new sounds, weak (p, k, v) becoming (b, d, g, bh). The Prince was also very particular respecting the pronunciation o, g, z in or, gia, sio, zero, which have been assumed in this work to be (tsh, dhz, ts, dz) respectively, forming true consonantal diphthongs, the initial (t, d) having an initial effect only (suprà p. 54, l. 20). The Prince considers them all to be simple sounds, capable of prolongation and doubling, and he certainly so pronounced them. Sir T. Smith, and Hart both used simple signs for (tsh, dhz), Gill used a simple sign for (dz) but analyzed it into (dz). Hart, however, seems to have considered (tsh) as simple, but his words are not clear. The effect of the simple sound used by the Prince, was that of (t'sh, d*zh, t's, d*zh), that is an attempt to make both pairs of effects at once. This results in a closer and more forward contact, nearly (sh t, zh t, s f, z f) but the (t's, d*zh) did not resemble (th, dh). This effect may be conveniently written (sh, zh sh, Zh zh). The effect of (sh, zhsh) on English ears is ambiguous. At one time it sounds (sh, zh) and at another (tsh, dzh), with a decided initial (t, d) contact as we pronounce in English, and the Prince again hears my (tsh, dzh) as his (jsh, dzh). It would almost seem that (jsh, dzh) were the true intermediate sounds between (kj, gj) and (tsh, dzh). But a Picard variety of (kJ, gj) which may for distinctness be written (kj, gj) is a still more unstable sound to foreign ears. In precisely the same way (k'sh, k'sh) may be produced, the tongue being more retracted and the tongue closer to the palate than for (s, sh). In the Sardo Tempiese dialect (k'sh) occurs and is written kc. These sounds may be written (ksh, ksh) in imitation of (ksh, ksh). Was the Attic initial k, replacing s, really (ks), and the original Sanscrit k(ks)? The double contact of tongue and lips, which probably occurs in African dialects may be (kp, ksp), as slightly different from (kwe, twe). The sibilants may now be greatly multiplied. The prince pronounced the following: (s z, sh zh; sj zj, shzh; sh zzh; sh zsh; shj zj; shzh zshj) all as simple sounds. Emphatic pronunciation, simultaneous pronunciation, and successive pronunciation still require much consideration and practical
of the utmost importance to comparative philoloogists, and almost totally unknown to comparative philologists.

1 The passage referred to is as follows: "The Dutch does vse also au, ei, and ie, rightly as I do hereafter, and e, in the founde of a, or (e) long: e, in the sound of (y), or the French and Scottissh u; u for (eu), and u for (un), long, or French ou." Fo. 35 b. misprinted fo. 31, p. 2, in the original reference.

2 The Spanish has only five vowels (a, e, i, o, u) of medial length (p. 518, n. 1). The Spanish ch is our (tsh) or (sh). Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte
And now last ov aul, dhe Frensh, uidh dh-abyyss ov dhe u, in dhe skót-ìsh leik sound ov dhe íu diphthog, muitsh, nor Ital ian, nor Dutsh did ev'ër giv tu u, and yyy'-ìq dhe g, and j, kon'sonant in dhe sound nuer-of, our sh, iz dhe breqd'h kon'sonant: and turn'-ìq dhe s, in-tu z, nuen ui, uidh aul dhe rest, du sound the z, (eksept' dhe Spaníard, az u ñaav aul'so yyyz betuikst' tuu vo'elz) and kiìp'-ìq an udh'-er teim in dher vo',clz dhen ui du, and yyy'-ìq dheer e, in dei-vers sounds, and dhe o sum'muat aul'so: bei not sound'-ìq dhe u, in qui, and que, but az uii mee kii and kee, uidh lee-ìq man'i ov dheer lèters unsound'ed, duth kauz dheer spiitsh veri'ard tu bi lernd bei art, and not eezi bei dhe leiv'li vo',is, az it iz notori'uzli knoon. So az if ei shuld ureit Frensh, in dhe lèters and or'der muitsh ei du nou-yyyy, ei-am ser-ten dhat iu shuld mutsh suun'er kum tu dheer pronunsiasion, dher-bei, dhen bei ureit'-ìq az dheer du. And tu eksperyment dhe mát'er, and tu maak suth'z ah understand' Frensh, dzhudh'z es dher-of, ei uil ureit dhe Lords preer az dheer du, muitsh shuld be prezent'ed tu suth'z an oon, az kan riid dhis man'er, and iet understand'eth not dhe Frensh, and pruuuv nou ni kan riid and pronouns' it: and dhen present' it nim in dhis man'er ov ureit'-ìq, az nìer-after: and kompaar' niss pronunsiasion tu dhe form'er, and iu shuld pruuuv dhat őfekt', muitsh kan not bi bront tu pás bei our form'er man'er. And dheer-foor nier fol'oth dhe lords preer first in Frensh in dheer man'er ov ureit'-ìq: Nostre pere qui es ès cieux, Ton nom soiz sanctifié. Ton Regne aduivienne. Tu volonte soit faite en la terre comme au ciel. Donne-nous au-iourd'huy nostre pain quotid'ian: Et nous pardonne nous ofenses, comme nous pardonnonez a ceux qui nous ont ofenses. Et ne nous indui point en tentat'ion: mais nous delivrez du mal. Car à toy est le regne, la puissance, et la gloire és siecles, des siecles. Amen. Nou in dhis nyy man'er az fol'u,eth. Nootran peeran ki-ez eez sieuz, tun Num soiz sanctifié. Tun Rénah avíénañ. Ta voluné soiz fétan, an la táráh kúman oo sie. Dúne-nuuz ozdzhuurdui nootran peen kotidian. E nuu pardúnan noz ófances kúman nuu pardúnuunz a seuz ki nuuz unt ófansëz. E ne nuu indui point an tantas'ion: meez nuu delivran dyy ma'ã. Kar a toe eet le reen'an, la ppy,isánse e la gloeran eez siekles dez sickles Aman. Nou kon-trarioez uil ei ureit nier-un'der in dheez nyy lèters (and kiìp'-ìq dheer sound az befoor') nou dhe Frensh du pronouns' dheer

denies that (v, dh, z) occur in Spanish, but admits (f, th, s), as sounds of ji, z, (or e before a, i) and s. This pronunciation of c, s is doubtful. It may be (s?), and certainly by some a is pronounced either (dh) or (z f), especially when final. In the common termination -ado, the a is often quite lost, but the vowels are kept distinct in two syllables, and do not form a diphthong. In the termination -ido, the a is never lost. The (s) sound of c, z, is not acknowledged in Madrid. The letters ð, v are pronounced alike and as (bh). The j is by some said to be a peculiar guttural, but the Prince identifies it with (kh). Lf, ñ are (lj, nj). Hart confuses ël with Welsh ël, as does Salesbury, (supra p. 757), but Hart also confuses the sound with (I), or le in able (supra p. 195); which he probably called (aa-blh) as in French (supra p. 52). There seems to be no foundation for supposing that Spanish u was ever (y), as stated by Hart.
Lat-in: and dhat aul'so in dhe Lords preer, nuitsh iz az dhus. Paater noster ki ez in selizi, santifiedyyr nomen tyy,yyym, atveniat reinyym tyy,yyym flat voluntaaz tyya sikyeyt et selo e in tara panem nostryym kotidianzym da nobiz odie et dimiite nobii debita nostra, sikyeyt et noz dimiitimmuyz debitorisbysz nostriiz. Et ne noz indykaaz in tentasionem: Set libera noz a malo. And ei remem'ber ov a mer'i dzhest ei naav nerd ov a buce nuitsh did help a Frensh priest at mas, nuo see'iq dominnuy voblikyym, dhe buce neer'iq it sound strandzhli-in niz eer, aun'sured, eth kum tirleri tiikyym, and so uent laurn'iq nis uue. And so per-advent'yyr in-ail at dhe riid'iq, az in mee billion: me-ei did at dhe ureit'iq nier-of. Ei kuld ureit aul'so nou dhe frensh and udh'er forens du spek Iq'lish, but dheer man'er is so plentiful in man'i-of our eerz, az ei thiik it super'fli,uz. Dhe rez'on huei dheen kann not sound our spiitsh, iz (az in mee perseev be dhat is seed) bikauz: ui naav and yyyz ser'teen sounds and breethz nuitsh dheen naav not, and du-aul'so yyyz tu sound sum of dhooz lét'erz nuitsh dheen-yzz uithd us, udh'erueiz dhen dheee duu: and dheer for revendzh' sum ov ourz udh'erueiz dhen ei duu. nuitsh iz dhe dheau aul'so dhat dheer spiitsh'ez ar nard for us tu riid, but dhe sound oons knoon, ui kan eez'ili pronouus dheri bei dhe rez'on abu'veed. And dhus tu-end if ui thiik lit'il prof-it tu bi in dhis hu'er-in ei naav kauss'ed ei tu pas iur teim, ei uil iet distshardzh' mee self dhat ei-am äsyv-red it kan du-iiu no narm, and so dhe aulmint'i God, giver ov aul gud thiqs, blisi uz aul, and send us nis graas in dhis trans'ctori leif, and in dhe uorld tu kum, leif ever-last'iq. So bi-it. FINIS. Sat citto si sat bene.

Alexander Barclay's French Pronunciation, 1521.

In the introductory Authors Epistell to the Kynges Grace, prefixed to Palsgrave's Esclarisissiment, he says: "Onely of this thynge, puttyng your highnesse in remembranchce, that where as besydes the great nombre of clerkes, whiche before season of this mater have written nowe sithe the beginnyng of your most fortunate and most prosperous raigne," that is, between 22 April 1509 and 18 July 1530, "the right vertuous and excellent prince Thomas late Duke of Northfolke, hath commanded the studious clerke\(^2\) Alexandre

\(^1\) Further on he is not so complimentary, as he remarks: "Where as there is a boke, that goeth about in this realme, intitled the Introductory to write and pronounce frenche, compiled by Alexander Barley, in whiche k is moche vseyd, and many other thynges also by hym affirmed, contrariy to my sayenges in this boke, and specially in my seconde, where I shall assaye to expresse the declinations and coniugatynges; with the other congrultes observed in the frenche tonge, I suppose it sufficent to warne the lernar, that I haue red over that boke at length: and what myn opinion is therin, it shall well inough aper in my bokes selfe, though I make therof no further expresse mention: suue that I haue sene an olde boke written in parchement in maner in all thynges like to his sayd Introductory: whiche, by conjecture, was nat vnwritten this hundred yeres. I wot nat if he happened to fortune upon suche an other: for when it was commanded that the grammar maisters shulde teche te youth of Englande ioynytly latin with frenche, there were diuere suche bokes diuyed: wherupon, as I suppose began one great
Barkelay, to embusy hym selfe about this excercyse, and that my sayd synguler good lorde Charles duke of Suffolke, by cause that my poore labours required a longre tracte of tyme, hath also in the meane season encouraged maister Petrus Uallensys, scole maister to his excellent yong sonne the Erle of Lyncolne, to shewe his lernynge and opinion in this behalfe, and that the synguler clerke, maister Gyles Dewes somtyme instructour to your noble grace in this selfe tong, at the especiall instance and request of dyuers of your highe estates and noble men, hath also for his partye written in this matter." For the last treatise, see supra p. 31. The second I have not seen.¹ A copy of the first, which is extremely rare and does not seem to have been known to A. Didot, as it is not found in his catalogue, (see p. 589, n. 1), exists in the Douce Collection at Oxford (B 507) and the following are all the parts in it relating to French pronunciation, according to the transcription of Mr. G. Parker, of Oxford, who has also collated the proof with the original. The whole is in black letter; size of the paper 10½ in. × 7 in., of the printed text 8¼ in. × 5½ in.; 32 pages, neither folioed nor paged, the register at bottom of recto folio is: A 1-6, B 1-6, C 1-4. In this reprint the pages are counted and referred to, as in the editions of Salesbury. The pages are indicated by thick numbers in brackets. Remarks are also inserted in brackets. The / point is represented by a comma. Contractions are extended in italics.

[1] ¶ Here begynneth the introductory to wryte, and to pronounce Frenche compyled by Alexander Barkley compendiously at the commauedement of the ryght hye excellent and myghty prynce Thomas duke of Northfolke.

[Plate representing a lion rampant supporting a shield containing a white lion in a border. Then follows a French ballad of 16 lines in two columns, the first headed "R. Coplande to the whyte lyon," and the second " ¶ Ballade."]


occasion why we of England sounde the latyn tong so corruptly, which haue as good a tonge to sounde all maner speches parfetely as any other nacyon in Europa."—Book I, ch. xxxv. According to this, 1) there ought to be many old MS. treatises on French Grammar, and 2) the English pronunciation of Latin was moulded on the French, supra p. 246.

¹ There is also an older treatise "Here begynneth a lytell Treatise for to learan the Englyshe and Frensshe. Empyrented at Westminster by my Winken de Worde. Quarto," as cited in Dibdin's edition of Ames Typ. Ant. 1812, vol, 2, p. 328. The copy he refers to belonged to Mr. Reed of Staple's Inn, then to the Marquis of Blandford (Catalogus librorum qui in Bibliothecâ Blandfordiensis reperiuntur, 1812, fasc. 2, p. 8) and was sold by auction at Evans's sale of White Knights Library 1819, to Rodd the bookseller, for 9l. 15s., after which I have not been able to trace it, but Mr. Bradshaw says it is only a reprint of a work of Caxton's (The Book of Travellers, Dibdins Ames, I, 315. 316), containing French phrases, but no information on pronunciation. A mutilated copy of Caxton's book is in the Douce Collection.

[4] [Do. joined with Verbs. On this page occurs the following, beginning at line 6:—]

[1] Also whan these wordes. nous. vous. and ilz, be set before verbs begynnynge with ony consonant, than amonge comon people of fraunce the ,s, and ,z, at ende of the sayd wordes. nous. vous. and ilz, leseth the sounde in pronouncynge though they be wryten. But whan they are ioyned with verbs begynnynge with ony vowell than the .s. and .z. kepeth theyr full sounds in pronouncynge.

[5-8] [On Verbs. At p. 8, l. 21, we read]

Here after foloweth a smale treatysse or introductory of ortography or true wrytynge, wherby the dyligent reder may be informed truly, and perflytely to wryte and pronounce the frencye tynge after the dyuers customes of many countrees of fraunce. For lykewyse as our englysshe tynge is dyuersly spoken and varyeth in certayne countrees and shyres of Englyonde, so in many countrees of frauncye varyeth theyr langage as by this treatysse evidently shall appere to the reder.

[1] First how the. lettres of the A. b. c. are pronounced or sounded in frencye.

[1] Lettres in the. A. b. c. be. xxii. whiche in frencye ought thus to be sounded.

a b c d e f g h i k l m n o p q
A boy1 coy doy e af goy ashe ü ka el am an oo poy cu
r s t v x y z & parle 9 parse.
ar ees toy v yeux ygregois zedes et parlui. 9 parlui. or, parsoy.

[1] And albeit that this lettre .h. be put amongs the lettres of the alphabete, yet it is no lettre, but a note of asperacyon, or token of sharpe pronouncyng of a worde.3 Also .&. and .g. are not counted amongs the lettres: and so remaineth. xxii. lettres in the alphabete besyde .h. and .g. as sayd is.

1 Compare Palsgrave's Introduction to his second Book: "In the namyng of the sayd consonantes the frencye-men diffre from the latyn tong, for where as the latines in soundynge of the mutes begun with the letters selyf and ende in E, sayng BE, CE, DE. &c. the frencye men in the stede of E sound Oy and name them Boy, Coy, Doy;" etc. Hence the oy in these words was not (oe) as it has now become. Palsgrave adds: "and where as the latines in soundynge of theyr liquides or semi vowels begun with E, and ende with them, saynge El, Em, En, the frencye men double the liquide or semi vocale, and adde also an other E and name them Elle, Emme, Emne, geyung the accent upon the fyrst E, and at the last E depressyng theyr voyce." This is different from Barcley.

2 This must surely be a misprint. The dots are faint. The vowel ü does not occur in this alphabet.

3 This explanation of aspiration, renders the real sound of h doubtful; as to whether it was (h) or (h) as at present. The following quotations from a French newspaper, contained in the Daily News, 14 Sept. 1869, illustrates this modern use. "L'H est-il aspiré dans Hugo? Faut il dire Vico Ringo ou Victor Ugo? Il me semble, moi, que l'aspiration serait plus respectueuse." Observe that no H is written in either case, but that the running on of the R, or the hiatus before U alone mark the absence and
These sayd: xxii. letters be deuyded all into vowels and consonantes. V. of them be called vowels, which be these. A. E. I. O. U. these fyue be called vowels for ech of them by themself ioyyned with none other lettre maketh a full and perfect worde. Y. is a greke vowell and is not wryten in latyn worde, but in greke worde.

[9] ¶ And worde of other langages without one of these vowels: no lytteral voyce may be pronounced of these. V. vowels .II. leseth their strength somtyme: and become consonantis whiche .II. be these. I. and v. which are consonantis when they are put in the begynnynge of a syllable ioyyned with another vowel and syllablyd or spellid with the same, as in these worde in frenche Iouer to play vanter, to boste: and so in other lyke.2

¶ The other .xvi. letters called be consonantis: for they be soundyd with the vowels and make no syllable nor worde by them selfe excepte they be ioyyned with some vowel. consonantis be these. B. C. D. F. G. K. L. M. N. P. Q. R. S. T. X. Z.

¶ These consonantis be deuydyd agayne into mutes liquides and semy vowels of whom nedyth not to speke for our purpose. A dyptonge is a ioyynge to gyther of .II. vowels kepyng ech of them his strength in one self syllable: of them be .III., that is to say, au, eu, ei, oy. In latyn tunge, au, and eu be bothe wryten and sounded .ay, and oy, be wryten but not sounded. But in frenche and englysshe tunge bothe ay oy au and eu be wryten and sounded, as in these examples in frenche of au. voyce vng beau filz, here is a fayre sone. of eu, deu homes font plus que vng: two men dooth more than one. of ay, ie ne diray point ma pencee a toutz gentz. I shall not tell my thought to all folkes. Of oy as, toy meimes ma fuit le le tort. thy self hast none me the wronge. That the same dyptonges be both wryten and sounded in englysshe it appereth by the examples. As a maw, strawe, tawe, dewe, sewe, fewe. fray, say, may, pay. noy, boy, toy, ioy. And thus haue we more lyberte bothe in frenche and englysshe in presence of aspiration. And this may have been Barcleys meaning. But see infrà p. 809, l. 4.

1 The pointing is evidently wrong. There should be a period here, and the colon after "vowels" seems incorrect. The expression "lytteral voyce" is, even then, rather obscure.

2 Compare Salesbury's explanation of the consonantal value of i, u, suprà p. 754.

3 This ought to mean that the sound of each is heard, and ought to distinguish real diphthongs from digraphs. But the author so little understands the nature of speech that he may merely mean that the two letters being juxtaposed modify each others signification, producing a tertium quid. The Lambeth fragment (suprà p. 226, n. 1), gives 3 syllables to aider, aucun, 5 to meilleur, 4 to eureux, which would all agree with a real diphthongal pronunciation, but then it proceeds to give 3 syllables to ouir, in which there can be no doubt that au was a digraph.

4 The omission of ai is very remarkable. But from what follows it can hardly be doubted that ai was included under ei, or that ei was a misprint for ai.

5 This ought to imply that Latin au, eu, were then called (au, eu), and this would agree with other indications of English contemporary pronunciation.

6 As we know from Salesbury that about 30 years later English oy, oy, au, were called (ai, oi, au) at least in some cases, these words ought to imply that they had the same sound in French. This would agree at any rate with Palgrave.
wrytynge and soundynghe than in latyn as touchynghe the .iii. dyptonges.

Also here is to be noted that of lettres we make syllabes: of syllabes we frame wordes, and of wordes we combyne reasons, and by reasons all scyences and spechys be vttred. thus resteth the grounde of all scyences in lettres, syllabes, wordes, and reasons. Wherfore (as of the fyrst foundacyon of frenche tunge and also of al other langages) fyrst I intende by the aye and socour of the holy goost to treate how the lettres be wrytyn and sounded in frenche.

Of the soundynghe of this lettre .A. in frenche.

This lettre .A. in frenche somtyme is put onely for a lettre. And somtyme it is put for this englysshe worde, hath. Whan it is put but for a lettre it is often sounded as this lettre e. as in this frenche worde, stanes1 vous: in englysshe, can ye. In whiche wordes and many other as, barbe, and rayre. with other lyke this lettre. A. hath his sounde of this lettre e. But in some countriee .A. is sounded with full sounde in lyke maner as it is wrytyn as, rayre, and suche other whan this lettre .A. is put for a worde it bcotkeneth as moche in englysshe as this worde hath. But some frenche men than adnex .d. withall as, ad. as il ad, he hath. But suche maner of wrytynge is false. for this lettre. d. is not sounded nor pronouced in frenche, nor founde often wrytyn in the ende of ony worde. And though some wolde say in these frenche worde, viande, meate. demande, enquyre or aske. and that .d. is sounded in ende of the worde, it is not so. for in these wordes and other lyke, suche as truly pronounce frenche resteth the sounde on the last letter of the worde which is .e.2 and not .d.

Also in true frenche these wordes, auray, I shal haue. and, auroy, I had: be wrytyn without e in myddes of the worde, and in lykewyse be they sounded without, e but in certayne countrees of fraunce in suche maner of wordes this lettre e is sounded and wrytyn in the myddes as thus, aucrey, aucreio: which is contrary bothe in the true wrytynge, and also to the true pronunacyacion of perfyte frenche.3

How this lettre b ought to be wrytyn and sounded in frenche themperour for the emperoure, and so of other lyke.

Also this worde auce may be wrytyn in dyuers maners after the custome and vsage of dyuers countrees of fraunce as thus. aucequcs: aucequcs. And some without reason or ortography wryte it with s. in the myddes as aucequcs. but how so euer aucequcs be wrytyn in frenche it soundeth as moche in englysshe as this preposycyon with. And also this worde solonc may be wrytyn with c, or els without c

1 The words staves vous are not clear. The use of a in the sound e seems to be dialectic in barbe, see the quotation from Chevallet, p. 75, at bottom. But in rayre, (which ought not to be rare, but the book is so full of errors that it may be,) to scrape or shave, the remark seems to imply ay = (ee).

2 Implying, of course, that the final e, now mute, was then audible, but only faintly audible, or else the error which he combats, could not have arisen.

3 In this case probably u preserved its consonantal power, the remnant of the Latin b.
at the ende as solonc or salon, but than o ought not to be sounded, yf a consonant immedyatly folowe.

[Then follow the headings, Of Nombres, in one paragraph, and Of Gendres, in four paragraphs, the last of which is:]

¶ Many mo rules be concernyng wrytynge and spekyng of frenche, which were to longe to expres in this small treatyse: but the moste perfytenes of this langage is had by custome and vse of redynge and spekyng by often enquyrnyng: and frequentynge of company of frenchemen and of suche as haue perfytenes: in spekyng the sayd langage.

[11] [Treatye of dynyse frenche wordes after order of the Alphabete .A. B., and then on l. 8 from bottom the author proceeds thus]

¶ This lettre. B. set in the myddes of a frenche worde ought to be soundyd in maner as it is wryten, as debriser. to bruse, troubler. to trouble, but in these wordes folowyng .b. is wryten in the myddes and not soundyd as, debte. dette, endebter. desoubz. vnder- neth, desubz. aboue, coublte. a ribbe, vng subget. Also these verbes doubter. to dout, tresdoubter. greatly to dout, substiner with all theyr modes and tensys as well synguler as plurell with all nowynes and partyciples descedenyng of them, must haue .b. wryten in the myddes of them and not soundyd, as wryten doubtre tres- doubte. and soundyd doute, and tresdoute.

[12] Of. C. ¶ This letter .C. wryten in myddes of a worde hathe somtyme the sonnde of this letter .s. or .z. as these wordes. ca. on this half. pieca. a whyle agone. ranceon a ranson. francois. frenche. and in many other lyke wordes whiche soundyth thus with .s. sa piesa ranson francois. Also this letter .c. somtyme hath the sounde of .k. as in these wordes in frenche crou. cru. cause, and car. Also these wordes done and iouc are wryten with .c. in the ende in synguler nombre, but in the plurell nombre the .c. in them is tournyd in to .x. as doux ioux.

Of. E. ¶ E. for the moste parte is soundyd almost lyke .a. and that namely in the ende of a worde. as in this example. A mon premier commencement soit dieu le pere omnipotent. At my fyreste begynnyng be god the father almyghty. Il a vng bon entendement. these wordes commencement omnipotent entendement vent with other lyke. be soundyd with a. as commencemant. omnipotant. antandemant vant and other lyke. and all suche wordes must haue a short and sharpe attent or pronunciacion at the ende.

¶ And here is to be notyd that al maner nownes of the mascu- lyne gender endyngke in the syngyng nombre in .c. g. or .f. as blanc. whyt. yyf. quicke. long. longe. shall be wryten in the plurell nombre with .s. hauynge .c. g. or .f. put awaye from them. as blans. vis. lons.

Of. G. ¶ When this letter .g. is wryten in frenche in myddes of

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1 Though expressed generally, this remark evidently refers exclusively to the syllable en where it is now pronounced (aa), which we have seen Hart also pronounced (an), supra p. 802. See also infra in this § for all the French nasals during the xviith century.
a worde bytwene a vowell and a consonant, than shal it be soundyd lyke .n. and .g. As compaignon, compaigne. How be it some wryte suche wordes as they muste be soundyd with .g. and .n.¹ as compaignon, a felawe. compaigne. a company.

Of. H. ¶ H. is no letter but a tokyn of asperacion or sharpynge of a worde, as in these wordes, hors. out, dehors. without, honte. shame, haut. hye, and in other lyke in whiche wordes and lyke .h. is sounded, other wordes be in whiche. h. is wryten and not soundyd as heure. an houre, helas. alas, homme, a man, with other lyke.

Of. I & E. ¶ I. and. E. or any other two vowels ioyned togyder in myddes or in the ende of a worde, whan they are put bytwene two consonants, or bytwene a vowell and a consonant. than eyther of them shall haue his founde as in these wordes biens. goodes, riens. no thynge, Ioie. Ioy, voie. a way. And suche lyke wordes. yet some holde oppynyon that in these wordes, and in suche other .I. or E shall not be soundyd.

¶ Also in true frencfe these wordes. Ie. ce. are. wryten without o. in theyr ende but in pycard, or gascoygne, they are wryten with o. at the ende, as thus ic eeo

Of. K. ¶ This letter .K. in dyneres speches is put for ch. As kinal. kien. vak. but in true frencfe it is not, but these wordes and suche lyke be wryten with ch. as cheual. a hors, chien. a dogge, vache. a cowe, Also in certaynes countres of Fraunce for c. is wryten ch. as piecha. for a pieca, a whyle ago, tresdoulche for tresdoulye. ryght swete. And so of other lyke.²

[13] ¶ In lykewyse in some countres of Fraunce names of dygnyte and office whiche are the synguler nombre are wryten plurell with s, at the ende, as luy papes de Rome, luy roys de france, luy sains esperis: but in true frenche these names be wryten without. s. as le pape de rome, the pope of rome. le roy de france, the kyenge of fraunce. le saint esperit, the holy goost. and so of lyke.

Of. L. ¶ This lettre .L. set in myddes of a worde immedyatly before a vowell shall kepe his full sonde, as nouvellement, newly. annulement, yerey. continuellemt contynuallly parlant, spckeunge. egallement, egally. But yf a consonant folowe. I immedyatly than .l. shall be sounded as .u, as loyalment, principalment, whiche are sounded thus. loyament, faithfully. principaument, pryncipally.³

Except this worde, ilz. in whiche worde .l. and .z, hath no sonde somtyme. as ilz vont ensemble, they go togyder. and somtyme .l, hath his sounde and .z, leseth the sonde whan .ilz, cometh before a worde begynnynge with a vowell, as ilz out faiy: they haue done.

¹ The reversal of the order in the description of the pronunciation may be accidental. This loose writing, however, gives no reason to suppose that the sound of this gn was either (ng) or (gn).

² These remarks must refer to provincial pronunciations, and indicate an interchange of (k, sh) in French answering to that of (k, tsh) in English.

³ The general observation evidently refers to the particular case, at pronounced as aut, but whether as (au) or (oo) cannot be deduced from such loose writing.
Whan, l, is wryten in the ende of a worde, and that the worde folowyng begin with a consonant than shall l, in suche wordes lese his owne sounde and be sounded lyke an .u. as ladmiral dengle-terre, the admryall of englande, but yt the worde folowyng, l, begin with a vowell than l, shall kepe his owne sounde: as nul home, no man. nul aultre, none other, nul vsage, no vsage. Also l, put in the ende of a worde of one syllable shal haue no sounde at all as il sen est ale, he is gone. ie le veul bien, I wyll it well. In suche wordes il and veul, and other lyke, l, leseth his sounde, l, double in myddes of a worde must be sounded with hole and full voyce. ¹ as fille, a daughter. fillette, a lytell mayde. oraille, an eere. and so other lyke.

Of N. ¹ This lettre. N. put betwene a vowell and a consonant in ende of ony worde whiche is a verbe of the thyrde persone plurell, and the indycatif, or optatyf mode what tens so euer it be, it shall not be sounded in true pronouncynge of frenche, as ilz ayment, they loue. ilz lisent, they rede. whiche words and all other lyke must be sounded thus without ,n. ilz aymet. ilz liset. ¹ Out of this rule be excepte verbes of one syllable in whiche ,n, must haue the sounde. as ilz vont, they go: ilz ont, they haue: ilz sont, they are: ilz font, they make, with all theyr modes: tens: and compounds. in whiche, n shall kepe his ryght sounde.

Of P. ¹ When ,p, is wryten in the ende of a worde in frenche, and the next worde immedyatly folowyng begynnynge with a consonant than shall it lese the sounde, as thus, il a trop grant auoir, he hath to grete goodes. il vient trop tard, he cometh to late. trop hault, to hye. trop bas, to lowe. in whiche worde trop ,p, hath not his sounde, but it must be sounded thus. tro hault. tro bas. tro tard.

¹ Of this rule be except proper names endynge in ,p, in whiche ,p, must haue his full sounde, as philip. But yt a worde ende in ,p, and the worde nexte folowyng begin with a vowell than ,p, shall haue his full sounde. as mieulx vault assez que trop auoir, better is ynough than to haue to moche. Also these words sepmaine, a weke. temps. tyme. corps, a body. and this verbe escripre, to wryte, with [14] all nownes and participles commynge therof, indifferently may be wryten with p. or without p. but though p. be wryten in them it shall nat be soundyd: as semaine, tems, cors escrire.

Of Q. ¹ Q. in pronounsynge muste haue a softe and lyght sounde.² And it shall nat be wryten in any frenche worde, without two vowels, immedyatly folowyng: of whiche two vowels the fyrste shalbe .u. as qui que, the whiche, quar, for. querir, to seke, quant, whan, and suche other, but some be whiche wryte q. in suche wordes without this vowell .u. folowyng as qi. qe. &c. whiche maner of wrytyng is vnsemely: And also it is contrary to all rules of ortography or true wryting aswell in frenche, as in

¹ The mouillé sound of l in French (lj) is certainly very badly expressed by these meaningless words.
² The writer probably only means that it is to be (k) and not (kw).
other languages and no reason have they whiche wryte suche wordes without u. to assyst them saue theyr vnreasonoble vse agaynst all rules, and good custome. More ouer these wordes quar, querir, quant. &c. maye be wryten indifferently: with, q. k. or c, as quar, or ear, or els kar. &c.

Of. R. ¶ This letter. R. put in the ende of a worde shall kepe his owne full sounde, as cueur, as thus lay grant mal au cuer; I haue graet dysease at my herte: Ie vous prie pour me consailler, I pray you counsell me: but in some countres r. is soundyd, as this letter, z. as compere, a gossyp, is somtyme soundyd thus compez,1 and so of other wordes endynge in this letter. R.

Of. s. syngle. ¶ A syngle s. in mydles of a worde ought nat to be soundyd if a consonant folowe immediatly: as tresdoule, ryght swete: tresnoble, ryght noble: tresgracious, ryght gracyous: but s. in mydles of these wordes folowyng hath his full sounde: as thus: prosperite, chestien, substance, esperance, meschant, Institut, escharuir, transglouter, Augustynes, Inspirer, descharger, estaincher, estandre, peschies, constrayndre, despenser, escuser, with al nownes, and aduerbes commynge of them. In whiche s. must be soundyd, if2 a consonant immediatly folowe s. But if a vowel folowe this letter, s. in the mydles of a worde and no letter betwene s. and the vowel, than shall s. haue his full sounde, as it is wryten, tresexcellent, ryght excellent: treshault, ryght hye: treshonom, ryght honoured: treshumble, ryght humble.

Of double ss. ¶ When this letter ss. double is wryten in mydles of a worde it must alway be soundyd: as poussant, myghty with such lyke. More ouer if this letter s. syngle, be wryten in the ende of a worde, which is a pronowne coniunction verbe or preposicion, if the worde folowyng s. begyn with a consonant, than s. shal nat be soundyd: as dieu vous sauue, god saue you. dieu vous gard, god kepe you. voules vous boire, Wyl ye drynke. nous sommes beaucoup des gens, we be moche folke, in which wordes s. shal nat be soundyd. But when this letter s. is wryten in the ende of a worde in frenche and that the next worde folowyng begyn with a vowel than must s. haue his full sounde. As Ie vous ayme, I love you. Ie vous emprie, I pray you. estes vous icy, be ye here, and in suche other wordes. But in these wordes folowyngs. s. shal haue no sounde, all if the wor[15]de folowyng begins with a vowel. vous ditez vray, ye say trouth. vous ditez vrayment, ye say truely. In whiche wordes s. shall lese his sounde: Also in this worde dis, when it is a nowne of nombre and taken for ten. if there folowe a consonant s. shall not be soundyd, as to say dis liures. x. fi. it muste be soundyd di. fi. But this nombre ten in frenche moost usuallly is spelled with. x. as. dix. and not with s. as dis. But when ditz is a participle, and betokeneth asmoche as sayd than in the same worde s. or z. shall kepe his sounde, as les heures sont ditez the hours be sayde

1 See the extract from Palsgrave, exceptions to the rule. See “all if” = suprâ p. 198.

2 Meaning although, as these are the
Of. T. ¶ This letter T. put in the ende of a worde beyng a verbe of the thirde persone synguler and present or preteryt tens of the indicatyr mode if the worde folowyng begyn with a vowell, it shall be soundyd. as est il prest, is he redy. Il estoit alostel, he was at home. But if the worde folowyng begyn with a consonant, than T. shal nat be soundyd. as quest ce quil dist, what is that he sayth Il est prest, he is redy. Il fist tout esbahy. he was al abasshed. Il ny a que vanite en cest monde. There is nought but vanyte in this worlde. Also all nownes and participles, whiche ende in the synguler nombre in t, in the plurell nombre muste be wryten with s. or with z. the samet. [=same t] put away from the ende of the word as thus worde, saynt, holy. is wryten in the synguler nombre with t. in the plurell nombre it is thus wryten. as sainz. or sains without t. but in some places of fraunce they wryte suche wordes in the plurell nombre with t. e. and z. or s. at the ende after the moste vsed Ortography of frenche. For amonge frenche men this is a general rule. that as ofte as t. is put in myndes of a worde beyng a nowne of the femynyne gender it shall not be wryten without a vowell immediatly folowynge, as les saintez vierges du ciel ne cessent de louer dieu, the holy virgyns of heuen cesseth not to laude god. Il ya des femmes que sont bien riches marchandes, there be women whiche be well ryche marchandes. And so may other frenche wordes endynge in tes. be wryten with t. and es. or with z. or s. without t. but it accordeth not to reason to wryte these wordes thus saintz toutz marchantz in the plurell nombre. all if they be wryten with t. in the synguler nombre. for in the plurell nombre they ought nat to be writen with t. for ony of these two letters s. or z. in frenche stande for as moche as ts. or tz. But for a conclusion though suche wordes in in certayne countres of Fraunce be wryten with ts. or with tz. in the ende. as thus mon amy sont nous litz faitz, my frende are our beddes made. Beau sir sont mez pourpointz faitz, faire sir be my doullettes made. yet after true ortography of frenche these wordes and other suche muste be bothe wryten and soundyd without t. as lis fais pourpoinz ¶ Also these wordes filz, a sone. mieulz better. fois one tyme. assez, ynounge. vous pous, ye may, vous prenes, ye take, vous enseignes, ye teche. vous lisez. And suche other ought to be wryten without t. but some be whiche wrongely wryte these wordes with t. As filtz, mieulztz, foitz, assetz, pouetz, prenetz. &c. whiche wordes in ryght frenche haue no t. neyther in soundyng nor in wrytyng. ¶ Also this coniuncion. betokeneth the same thynge in frenche that it doth in latyn. that is to say, and, in englysshe in whiche coniuncion t. is neuer soundyd though it be wryten with et. as et Ie vous fais a scauoir, And I make you to wytte or knoye. ¶ Of. U. ¶ U. Wryten in myndes of a worde shall-often haue no sounde, bothe in latyn frenche and other langages. And that when it is wryten immediatly after ony of these thre letters, that is to say. q. g. or. s. As qui que, language, langue, a tonge. querir, to seke: guerre, warre, and suche other. In whiche wordes u. is wryten but not soundyd. Neuertherles in dyuers Countres after
the foresayd letters they sounde w, doubled as quater, quare, quaysy. Englyssh men, and Scottes alway sounde u. after the letters both in Latyn and in theyr Uulgyre or commone languagge. In lyke wyse do dutche men, and almayns. As quare, quatuor quart, quayre, qwade. and suche lyke.

Of. X. ¶ This letter X. put in thende of a worde. may eyther kepe his owne sounde, or els it may be soundyd as z. as cheuallx, or cheuallz. hors, doulx, or doulz. swete mieulx, or mieulz. better which wordes may indifferently be wryten with. x. or with z. Also this worde dieulz, ought not to be wryten with x. in the ende except it be in the nominatyf, or vocatye case. but by cause of ryme somtyme it hath x. in other cases. And whan x. is wryten in suche cases somtyme it is soundyd and somtyme not. As if dieux be wryten in the nominatyf case and a consonant foloweth immediatly than x. shal not be soundyd. as dieux vous saune, god sauue you. dieux vous garde, god kepe you. but if this worde dieux be set in the vocatye case: than shall x. kepe his sounde. As benoit dieux ais pitie de moy, O blessyd god haue pyte on me.

Of. Y. ¶ This letter y. hath the sounde of this letter I and in many wordes of Frenche it ought to be wryten in stede of I by cause of comelynes of wrytynge. In latyn wordis y. ought not to be wryten, but whan ony greke worde is myngled with latyn wordes for curysote of the wryter or diffyculte of interpretacion in suche greke wordes y. muste be wryten in stede of I. in Englysshe wordes y. is moste commonly wryten in stede of I, soo that the englysshe worde be not deducte of ony latyn worde: but specially y: muste be wryten for I, in the ende of englysshe wrodes, and whan n: m, or u, is wryten before, or behynde it.

Of. z. ¶ z. Put in the ende of a worde muste be soundyd lyke s. as querez, seke ye. auz haue ye. lisez, rede ye. And lyke wyse as s. in the ende of a frenche worde is somtyme pronounced, and somtyme not, ryght so, z. put in the ende of a worde foloweth the same rule: somtyme to be soundyd, and somtyme not as aperyth in the rule of s.

¶ Here is also to be noted for a generall rule, that if a worde of one syllabe ende in a vowell, and the worde folowyng begynne also with another vowell, thay both these wordes shalbe ioyned to gyther, as one worde:1 both in wrytynge and soundynge. As dargent: for de argent. ladmiral, for le admiral, whiche rule also is obserued in englysshe, as thexchetour, for the exchetour: thexpereyne, the experience.

[Here ends p. 16.]

[17-28] [Nouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, in alphabetical order.]

[29-30] [Numbers, Days of the Week, Months, Feasts.]

[30] [Lyfe of the graynes, French and English; the English

1 Another general rule applicable only to a particular case, as shewn by the following examples.
part begins:—God save the plouthe And he the whiche it ledeth Firste ere the grounde After sow the white, or barly.]  

[30-31] [Fishes. Proceed at p. 31, l. 14 as follows.]

¶ And also here is to be notyd that many wordes be which sounde vnto latyn and be vsed in bothe the langages of Fresche and Englysshe amonge eloquent men, as termes indifferently be-longynge to both frenche and englysshe. So that the same sygny-ffyceyon, which is gyuen to them, in frenche is also gyuen to them in englysshe,¹ as thus.


¶ These wordes with other lyke betoken all one thynge in englysshe as in frenche. And who so desyreth to knowe more of the sayd langage must prouyde for mo bokes made for the same intent, wherby they shall the soner come to the parfyte knowlege of the same.

¶ Here endeth the introductory to wryte and to pronounce frenche compiled by Alexander barclay.

[The above ends at p. 31, col. 2, l. 9; after which: ¶ Here foloweth the maner of dauncynge of bace dauncces after the vse of fraunce and other places translated out of frenche in englysshe by Robert coplande. Then follow on p. 32, col. 1, l. 4 from bottom: ¶ Bace dauncces; at the end of which come the two concluding paragraphs in the book.]

¶ These dauncces have I set at the ende of this boke to thatent that every lerner of the sayd boke after theyr dylygent study may reioyce somwhat theyr spyrytes honestly in eschewaynge of ydelnesse the portresse of vyces.

¶ Imprynted at London in the Flestestrete at the sygne of the rose Garlande by Robert coplande. the yere of our lorde. M.CCCCC.xxi. the. xxii. day of Marche.

THE LAMBETH FRAGMENT ON FRENCH PRONUNCIATION, 1528.

This has already been described (supra p. 226, note 1), but the following extracts relating to the pronunciation, being part of those

¹ This probably does not imply that the sound was the same in both languages.
reprinted by Mr. Maitland, should be here reproduced, as the treatise was unknown to A. Didot.

"De la prosodie, ou, accent, comme on doibt pronsteer. briefue admonition

A aa (q) voelles
b be a. c. i. o. u.
c ce Toultes aultres lettres sont
d d cösonätes, deuisees en mutes
e e tes et demy voelles.
effe (q) mutes
g g b. c. d. f. g. k. p. q. t
h hache (q) Demy voelles
i ii f. l. m. n. r. s.

kaa

l elle Sur toultes choses doibuit no-
m eme ter gentz Englois, quil leur
n enne fault acustumer de pronü-
o oo cer la derniere lettre du mot
p pe fräcois, quelq; mot que ce soit
q qu (rime exceptee) ce que la
r erre langue englesche ne permet.
s esse Car la ou Lenglois dit.
t te goode breade, Le francois
v ou droit go o de .iii. sillebes
x ex et breade .iii sillebes
z zedes et &. q con

Ces diptongues sone aïsi pronücees.

Ai aider, iii.
au aucun. iii.
ie faict meillieur, v. sillebes
eu enreux iiiii
ou ouir iii

B 1

A. ought to be pronounced from the bottom of the stomak and all openly. E. a lytell hyer in the throte there proprely where the englysshe man soundeth his a

i more hyer than the e within the mouthe

o in the roundenesse of the lyppes

v in puttynge a lytell of wynde out of the mouthe thus, ou, and not you. And ye must also gyve hed fro pronounyenge e for i, nor ay, for i, as do some that for miserere say maysiriri. 1

A. also betokeneth, hawe or hat, whá it cometh of this verb in latin, habeo, as here after ye may se.

Of two consonantes at the ende of a word often the fyrst is left, and is not pronounced, as in this worde, perds, the d, is not pronounced. Et ie faizg g is not pronouced. Je consentz, t is not pronounced, but thus ben they wryte bycause if ye orthography, and to gyve knowledge, ye' perds cometh of this uerbe in latin,

1 This probably indicates an English Salesbury's (tei-bei) with the modern pronunciation (mai'sirir'i). Compare (tib'i), for Lat. tibi.
perdo, and not of pers that is a coulour. And thus may ye ymagyn of the others How-be it, I am of opynyon y\textsuperscript{e} better sholde be to pronouce every lettre and say. . . . [the examples are taken from the French side]. Ie perdis vostre accountace en pronouc\^eant le d) que Ie pers. Pronouc\^e vng chacun côme il luy plaiera, car trop est difficille a corriger vielles erreurs.

S. in the myydele of a worde leseth a lytell his sowne, and is not so moche whysteled, as at y\textsuperscript{e} ende of y\textsuperscript{e} worde, as tournours, desioyndre, despryuer, estre, despryser Deux, ss, togyder ben moche pronounced, as essayer, assembler, assurier, assieger.

S. betwene two vowelles, pronouceth by .z. as aize. aise, mizericorde mizericorde, vsage. and I beleue that by suche pronuntiacyon, is the latyn tongue corrupte for presently yet some say mizerere for miserere.

Sp, st, et, ought not to be deuyd asonder, but we ought to say, e sperance, not es perance, and e spaigne, not es paigne. And e spirit not es perit. e striuer, not es triuer, e stoint, not es toint. Satisfsa c\^tion, non satisfac tion. Corre c\^tion. &c.

C. the moost often is pronounced by s, as. france pieca, ca. And yf a consonante, or other letters is ioyned with the vocale that is after the c, y\textsuperscript{e} e shall be pronounced by q, as Cardynal, concordance, casser Combyen, coura\^ige, cuider.

G. somtyme is pronounced by i, as, bourgois bourgeois, gregois, what so euer it be, I conceille, y\textsuperscript{e} they folowe some good autour, w\^out to gyue or to make so many rules, that ne do but trouble and marre the vnderstandyngge of people

1528.”

Palsgrave on French Pronunciation, 1530.

In addition to the many quotations from Palsgrave’s First Book, scattered through the above pages, the following extract from the “Breue Introduction of the authour for the more parfyte understandyng of his fyrst and seconde bokes,” ought to find a place here:

“The frenche men in theyr pronunciation do cheffy regarde and couet thre thynge. To be armonious in theyr speking. To be brefe and sodayne in soundyng of theyr worde, auoydyng all maner of harshenesse in theyr pronu\c{c}iation, and thirdly to gyue euer ye\"oryde that they abyde and reste vpen, theyr most audibile sounde. To be armonousy in theyr spekyng, they vse one thynge which none other nation dothe,\textsuperscript{1} but onely they, that is to say, they make a maner of modulation inwardly, for they forme certayne of theyr vowelles in theyr brest, and suffre nat the sounde of them to passe out by the mouthe, but to assende from the brest straight up to the palate of the mouth, and so by reflexion yssueth the sounde of them by the nose. To be brefe and sodayne, and to auoyde all maner harshenesse, whiche myght happen whan many consonantes

\textsuperscript{1} Did Palsgrave know anything of Portuguese? If he did, this might be an argument for the recent introduction of nasality into Portugal.
come betwene the vowelles, if they all shulde haue theyr distyncte sounde. Most commonly they neuer vse to sounde past one onely consonant betwene two vowelles, though for kepyng of trewe orthographie, they vse to write as many consonantes, as the latine wordes haue, whiche theyr frenche wordes come out of, and for the same cause, they gyue somtyme unto theyr consonantes but a sleight and remisshe sounde, and farre more dyuersely pronounce them, than the latines do. To gyue every word that they abyde vpon his most audible sound, .... the frenche men iudgyng a worde to be most parfaytly herde, whan his last end is sounded hyghest, vse generally to gyue theyr accent vpon the last syllable onely, except when they make modulation inwardly, for than gyueng theyr accent vpon the last syllable saue one, and at the last syllable of suche wordes, they sodayly depresse theyr voyce agayne, forming the vowell in the brest: ....

"Where as I haue sayd that to be the more armonius they make a maner of modulation inwardly, that thyng happeneth in the soundyng of thre of theyr vowelles onely A, E, and O, and that nat vniuersally, but onely so often as they come before M, or N, in one syllable, or whan E, is in the last syllable, the worde nat hauyng his accent vpon hym ... so that these thre letters M, N, or E, fynall, nat hauyng the accent vpon hym, be the very and onely causes why these thre vowelles A, E, O, be formed in the brest and sounded by the nose. And for so moche as of necessyte, to forme the different sounde of those thre vowelles they must nedes at theyr first formyng open theyr mowth more or lesse, yet whan the vowell ones formed in the brest, ascendeth vpwardes and must hau M, or N, sounded with hym, they bryng theyr chawes to gether-wardes agayne, and in so doyng they seme to sound an v, and make in maner of A, and O, diphthonges, which happeneth by rayson of closyng of theyr mowth agayne, to come to the places where M, and N, be formed, but chefely bycause no parte of the vowell at his expressyng shulde passe forth by the mowth, where as els the frenchemen sounde the same thre vowelles, in all thynges lyke as the Italiens do, or we of our nation, which sounde our vowelles aryght, and, as in theyr vowell I, is no diffyculty nor difference from the Italiens sounde, sauyng that so often as these thre letters

1 This passage, which had not been noted when the observations supra p. 119 were written, seems to confirm the conclusions there drawn respecting Palsgrave's pronunciation of English long i, which he here identifies, when sounded "aryght" with the French and Italian i. Concerning the Italian sound there was never any doubt. Concerning the French there is also perfect unanimity, except in the one passage from Palsgrave himself, cited supra p. 109. The limitation "aryght," applied to English sounds, implies that the general pronunciation was different from Palsgrave's, but that he disapproved of that general usage, which we know must have been (ci), and practically identified the "right" sound, that is, his own sound of long i, with (ii). Yet that it was not quite the same is shown by the passage on p. 109. Hence the conclusion that it was (ii) appears inevitable. And as this conclusion is drawn from premises altogether different from those which led to the same result for Chaucer's pronunciation (p. 282), it is a singular corroboration of the hypothesis there started for the first time.
I, L, L, or I, G, N, come before any of the fyrst the vowels A, E, or O, they sound an I, brefely and confusely betwene the last consonant and the vowell folowyng, where as in dide none is written . . . . whiche soundynge of I, where he is nat written, they recompence in theyr v, for thoughe they wryte hym after these three consonantes F, G and Q, yet do they onely sounde the vowell next following v . . . . So that, for the most generalte, the frenche men sounde all theyr fyue vowelles lyke as the Italiens do, except onely theyr v, whiche euer so often as they use for a vowel alone, hath with them suche a sounde as we gyue this diphthong ew, in our tong in these wordes, rewe an herbe, a mewe for a hawke, a clewe of threde.

"And as touchyng theyr diphthonges, besydes the sixe, whiche be formed by addyng of the two last vowelles vnto the thre fyrst, as ai, ei, oi, au, ev, ov, they make also a seuynty th by addyng of the two last vowelles together vi, vnto whiche they gyue suche a sounde as we do vnto wy in these wordes, a swyne, I twyne, I dwyne, soundyng v, and y, together, and nat distynctly, and as for the other sixe haue suche sounde with them as they haue in latin, except thre, for in stede of ai, they sounde most commonly ei, and fo oi, they sounde oe, and for av, they sounde most commonley ow, as we do in these wordes, a bowe, a crowe, a snowe,\(^1\) . . . .

"What consonantes so euer they write in any worde for kepyng of trewe orthographie, yet so moche couyt they in redyng or spekyng to haue all theyr vowelles and diphthonges clerly herde, that betwene two vowelles, whether they chaunce in one worde alone, or as one worde fortuneth to folowe after an other, they neuer sounde but one consonant atones, in so moche that if two different consonantes, that is to say, nat byng both of one sorte come together betwene two vowelles, they leue the fyrst of them vnsounded, and if thre consonantes come together, they euer leue two of the fyrst vnsounded, puttyng here in as I haue sayd, no difference whether the consonantes thus come together in one worde alone, or as the wordes do folowe one another, for many tymes theyr worde ende in two consonantes, bycause they take awaye the last vowell of the latin worde, as Corps commeth of Corpus, Temps, of Tempus, and suche lyke, whiche two consonantes shalbe lëfte vnsounded, if the next worde folowyng begyn with a consonant, as well as if thre consonantes shuld fortune to come together in a worde by hym selfe. But yet in this thyng to shewe also that they forget nat theyr ternarius numerus all theyr consonantes, they haue from this rule priuyledged onely thre, M, N, and R, whiche neuer lese theyr sounde where so euer they be founde written, except onely N, whan he commeth in the thyrde parson plurell of verbs after E . . . .

"The hole reason of theyr accent is grounded chefely vpon thre poynettes, fyrst there is no worde of one syllable whiche with them

\(^1\) This gives the following usual, as correct pronunciations: \(ai = (\text{ei})\), \(oi = (\text{oe})\), \(au = (\text{ou})\), meaning, perhaps, \((oo)\).
hath any accent, or that they vs e to pause vpon, and that is one great cause why theyr tong semeth to vs so brefe and sodayn and so harde to be vnderstanded when it is spoken, especially of theyr paysantes or common people, for thoughg there come neuer so many wordes of one syllable together, they pronounce them nat distinctly a sonder as the latines do, but sounde them all vnder one voyce and tenour, and neuer rest nor pause upon any of them, except the commyng next vnto a poynyt be the cause thereof. Seconde, euery wordes of many syllables hath his accent vpon the last syllable, but yet that nat withstandynge they vs e vpon no suche wordes to pause, except the commyng next vnto a poynyt be the causer thereof, and this is one great thynge which inclineth the frenchemen so moche to pronounce the latin tong amysse, whiche contrary neuer gyue theyr accent on the last syllable. The thynde poynete is but an exception from the seconde, for, when the last syllable of a frenche wordes endeth in E, the syllable next afor him must haue the accent, and yet is nat this rule euere generall, for if a frenche wordes ende in Te, or have z, after E, or be a preterit partyciple of the fyrst coniugation, he shall haue his accent vpon the last syllable, accordyng to the seconde rule.

"When they leue any consonant or consonantes vnsounded, whiche folowe a vowell that shulde haue the accent, if they pause vpon hym by reason of commyng next vnto a poynyt, he shalbe long in pronounciation, So that there is no vowell with them, whiche of hymselfe is long in theyr tong. . . . As for Encleatica I note no mo but onely the primatime pronounes of the fyrst and seconde parsones syngular, when they folowe the verbe that they do goure."
author's name refer to the page of this work in which the required quotation will be found; if p. is prefixed, the reference is to the page of the author's own work, of which the title is given in the passages just referred to. No pretension is made to completeness.

In order not to use new types, the three varieties of e are represented by e, , and , in all the authorities (except Sylvius, where they could not be clearly distinguished, and where his own signs are , , , therefore employed), and A, are used for Meigret's forms for n, l, mouillés. In Ramus certain combinations of letters, as au, eu, ou, ch, are formed into new letters, and are here printed in small capitals thus Au, Eu, Ou, Ch. Sylvius employs at, ot, &c., as diphthongs, where the circumflex properly extends over both letters, but the modern form has been used for convenience.

The Vowels and Diphthongs.

\[ A = (a) \] L. 815, \[ A = (a, e, o) \] P. 59, \[ A = (a) \] “ore largiter diduco profertur” S. 2.

\[ A = (a) \] G. 61, uncertain (a, a) M., Pel., R. \[ A = (a) \] B. \[ A = (a) \] E. 226, n. Afterwards English writers identify it with (Aa). In this uncertainty it is best taken to be a full (a), but not (ah), as B. warns, saying “Hæc vocalis, sono in radice linguae solis faucibus formato, ore hiatæ clari et sonoræ à Francisc effertur, quam illam Germani obscurus et quodam ad quartam vocalem o accedente pronuntiat.” B. p. 12. In the termination -age = (ai) P. 120.

“You must note that a is not pronounced in these words, Aoust, saoul, orner, aoriste, which wordes must bee pronounced as if they were written thus, oot, soo, orner, ooriste.” E.


This should mean, “not (e), nor (ai), but (ai),” especially as (ai) is a common foreign groan answering to the English (ou). But the following passages render this conclusion doubtful: “aë diphthongum Graecum ut sepe dividunt Latinis, dicentes pro ἰ παίνα Mai-a, Æ Æis Ai-ax, & Aulâï, aquâï, pietâï, terrâï pro aule, aque, terre. Sic nos eandem modo conjunctam servamus, modo dividimus ad significandum diversa, ut G-ê trâi (g- is the consonant zh), èis is the mutu-guttural] id est traho et sagittam emitto, quam ob id træat à tractus vocamus. G-ê trâi, id est prode et in fraudem traho, licet hoc à trado videri quæat. G'-hãi, id est habes et teneo: infinitivo haúoir. G-ê hai et g-ê hê, id est, habeo odio et odi. infinitivo háir, ut à trai trâi træat : à trâi træir infinitivos habemus?” S. p. 14. “Diareesis, id est divisio unius syllabæ in duas, ut Albâi, longâï, sylèï trissyl laba; pro Albe, longa, sylèï dis syllabæ. Eadem modo et Galli Bîrâkov boïs, id est lignum et sylva boïs, id est buxus. Habeo g'-hâi, id est teneo, et g-ê hâi, id est odi.” S. p. 56. Hence perhaps Sylvius's diphthong was really (e) although he disclaims it. \[ A = (ai, ci, e) \] the last two more frequently, M. 118, Pell., R. 119, B. \[ A = (i) \] in s'ay, te feray, = (ai) in ësa-y-e, abbo-y-e, = (i) in ains, aiçois, ainz, E. nearly the same H. 227 note. The usage of M., Pell, R., B. seems to be as follows.

(ai)—aymant, aydant, hair, payant, gayant, ayant, ayans, aye, ayet, ayons, vraye, nayf, M.—pais, payer, naïue, Pell.—piaint, gaiant, aidant,
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paï, aïeu, hair, R.—aimer, in Picardy, B. 583, note 4.

(\textit{e}, \textit{æ})—soùdein, vrey, vreyes (fo. 121) ecruineis, einsi, certein, mar- rein, eyt, seint, retrécitif, mein, symé, et throughout the verb fo. 109b–111b, je repordrey, je le ferey, eyder, j'y, j'ayre, q'il eyt, &c. M.—cinçes, con- trein, certeinemant, creinte, de- deigner, eyant, einsi, eide, eidant, eyous, vreï, vreye, Romeine, mainte- nant, proechiote, je crein con- uneï, &c. Pell.—fontine, creindres seretine, ximer, ximant, xtein, mein, putien, eict = ayent, einsi, proechiï, kreïnt = eraint, xime, xime, demein, &c. R.—gueï = gaine, B.

\[(\text{e}, \text{æ})\]—grammere, fêt, rezons, tret- ter, mes, fere, derieuzon, mezon, ses = saïs, nyes = niais, niéze, eze, n' et = ëit, lesse, contrere, lizion, maouez', trece, fézant, treze = 13, seze = 16, dizeset = 17, deplict, oculeir &c. M.—sez, fêt, aferes, james, cleremant, mes, fere, malleses = maïlées, netre, neces- sere, "les uns disent eimer, les autres emer", "les uns disent plesir, les autres plesier par un e clos", reson, vulgueur = volgueïre, &c., Pell.—vremente, terminézon, konkre, pale, pe, mes, parfet, parfes, vulgeur, vescau, ser = serei, aure = auvaï, vre, partes, fes = faïs, &c. R.—After the passage quoted supra p. 583, note 4, B. says, "sicut autem posteriores Latinii Aulae et Pictiae dissyllaba que poete per \textit{didassé} trisyllabica fecerunt, muta- runt in Aulae et Pictae, ita etiam Franci, licet servata vetere scriptura, coeperunt hanc diphthongum per ae pronuntiare; sice tamen vt in eius prololatione, neque a neque e audiatur, sed mixtus ex hac vrâque vocali tertius sonus, is videlicet quem e aperto attribui- mus. Quum enim vocalis e pro- prie pene conjunctis dentibus enunitetur, (qui sonus est e quem clausum vocavimus) in hac diph- thongo adjectum a prohibit dentes occulti, et vicissim e vetat ne a claro illo et sonoro sono profera- tur." B., p. 41.

\(\text{AOU} = \text{au}\) M. 142.—"Nous auons vne diphthonge de \textit{a} et ou que nous escripuons par \textit{ou}, comme en ce mot \textit{Aoust}, qui est en Latin \textit{Mensis Au-}

gustus. Mais cest en ce seul mot, qui se prononce toutfois auiourd'hui presques par la simple voyelle com- me oust; et nest la besoin pour vng mot de faire vne regle: Ceste diph- thongue est fort vsetee en Latin, comme en ces mots, \textit{Author, Audio, Augue} ; ou la premiere syllabe doit estre prononcee comme en \textit{Aoust}." R. p. 36.

\(\text{AU} = \text{au}\) ? Bar. 806. \(\text{AU} = \text{au, ou}\) P. 141, 817, n. "Super haec, au \textit{eu}, cum Græcis: au, eu, cum Latinis pronun- tiamus, ut \textit{aithrous} autonæ, \textit{eavry}l- \textit{nov} euangile (in quibus tamen \textit{v} seu u consonantem sonat, non vocalem Græcis, Latinis, Gallis) audire aúr, neutre notitur" S. p. 8., this is quite unintelligible. \(\text{AU} = \text{oo}\) M. 141. \(\text{AU} = \text{o}\) ? Pell. \(\text{AU} = \text{oo}\) ? "vne voyelle indiuisible; ... ceste voyelle nest ny Grecque ny Latine, elle est toutallement Francoys." R. p. 6 meaning perhaps that \textit{au} is not pronounced in this way in Latin or Greek, but only French, R. 143, note. \(\text{AU} = \text{o}\) "sic vt vel parum vel nihil admodum differat ab \textit{o} vocali," B. p. 43, see 143, note. "Pronounce au almost like ô long, as autre d'autant, auoune, almost, but not altogether, as if it were written \textit{otre}, òtante, omone," E. That is (oo) instead of (oo)? Was the change (au, ao, o) ?

\(E = (e), L. 816, 226, note, G. 61 ; E = (e, e), F, and, when now mute and final = (e, ?) P. 77, 181 n. 5, and 818.

"Literae omnes vt apud Greecos & Latinos, ita quoque apud Gallos sonum in pronuntiando triciplem ex- primunt, plenum, exilium, medium. Plenum quidem, exempli gratia, vocales, quando aut pure sunt, aut syllabas finiunt, vt ago, egi, ibo, oua, vnus. Exilium quando ipsae \textit{m} vel \textit{n}, in cadem syllaba antecedunt, vt am, em, im, vm, an, en, in, on. Medium, quando consonantes alias, vt, al, ol, il, ol, ul... E Gallis tam frequens quâm a Italics et Nar- bonensisibus, sonum plenum obtinens, (id est quotes aut parum est, aut syllabam finit) à Gallis trifariam pronuntiatur, plene silicet, qualiter Latinii pronuntiant in verbo legere; tuncque ipsum velut aecut accentus virgula signamus, ob id quod voce magis estra profertur. vt amat amè, bonitas, boute; et ita in cæteris fermé nominibus in as, et in partici-
pūs præteriti temporis prÆma. Sed excommuniem, sacrificiæm et similia, quando scilicet i præcedit, fer e Galli pronuntiant. Deinde exileret, et voce propemodum muta; quod tum, grauis accentus virgula notamus, quoniam vox in eo languescens velut intermitterit, vt ama αίμης, Petrus Petre. Media denique modo, quod lincola à sinistra in dextram partem æqualiter & recte ducta ostendimus vt amate αίμης. Adde quod syllabam el, nonnunquam voce Latinorum proferimus, vt crudelis cruel, quo modo Gabriel, aliquando autem ore magis hiatû : vt tell eill. E etiam ante r, s, t, x, & quasdam alias consonantes, in omnibus apud Latinos vocem non habet eandem. Natiuim enim sonum in pater, es à sum, et textus pronuntiatione quo-rundam retinet. In erro autem, gentes, docet, ex, nîmis exercitum, et, vt sic dicam, dilutum. Sic apud Gallos sono genuino profertur in pér, à par paras ; et à sum ; et, con-junctione : in qua t omnino supprim-munt Galli contra rationem. Alieno autem et lingua in palpam magis reducta, diductisque dentibus in erra-cer pro eracer, id est, eradicare : es, id est assis ; escriît [s means s mute], id est scribere ettonê, id est attonitus ; à pedo pet : eppellet, id est appel-lare, extrairê : id est extrahere. — S. p. 2. The passage is very difficult to understand. His e seems to be (e), his è (u), his ē (e), and his exce-ptional e to be (b). E= (e, y ?) M. 119, note, = (e, v, v') Pell. R. 119, n. “Tertius huius vocalis sonus Graecis et Latinis ignotus, is ipse est qui ab Hebreis puncto quod Seva raptum vocant, Galli vero e foemineo propter imbecillam et vix sonoram voce, appellant.” B. p. 13.—“e Feminine hath no accent, and is sometimes in the beginning or midst of a word, as mesurer, mener, tacite-men, but moste commonly at the ende of wordes, as belle fille, bonne Dame, hauing but halfe the sound of the e masculine, and is pronounced as the second syllable of these latine wordes facere, legere, or as the second syllable of namely, in English, and like these english wordes Madame, table, sauing that in the first, the english maketh but too sillables, and we make three, as if it were written Ma-da-me and in table the english pronounceth it as if the e were betweene the b and the t thus, table, and the French doe sound it thus, ta-ble; you must take heede not to lift vp your voice at the last e but rather depresse it. e Feminine in these wordes, Le lisoye, I'escrîpoye, and such like, is not sounded, and serveth there for no other vse then to make the word long: doe not sound e in this word dea, as, ouy dea Monsieur, say ouy da : sound this word Jehan as if it were written Ian,” E. And, similarly: “We do not call, e, masculine for the respect of any gender, but be-cause that it is sounded luly: as dote, lapide, me, te in Latine: . . . and by adding another, e, it shall be called e, feminine, because that it hath but halfe the sound of the other, e : as tangë, fouëtëe, &c. where the first is sharpe, but the other goeth slowly, and as it were deadly . . . . VWTheresoeter you find this, e, at the words end, it is an, e, feminine . . . . pronounce it as the second syllable of bodely in English, or the second of facere in Latin,” H. p. 156. The transition in case of the present e must seems to have been (e, v, e) in French, and in German to have stopped generally at (u), though (e) is still occasionally heard, 195, n. 2. EAU=(eao) M. 137. EAU=(va?) Pel. who notes the Parisian error en sio d’io for un sio d’eau, p. 17, shewing only a variety in the initial letter. EAU=(va), as chapeau, manteau, R. p. 37.—“In hae trithengo auditur e clausum eum diphthongo au, quasi scribas ee, vt eau aqua (quam vocem maiiores nostri scribant et profere-bant addito e feminino eau).” B. p. 62. “Prounce these wordes beau, beau, almoste as if there were no o,” E. EI=(ei, eci) P. 118, “ei quoque [see Sylvius remarks on ai], seu e, non : tantum cum Graecis, neque nunc, i nuuc e cum Latinis, hanc in hei inter-nectione servantibus, in voce autem Graeca in i, aliquando in e permutan-tibus et pronuntiantibus ; nec ei dis-usas vocales efferimus, sed ei mo-nosyllabum, voce scilicet ipsa ex vtraque in unam concreta, ut ingen-iium engin, non engin, nec engin.” S. p. 8. This ought to mean “ not (i), nor (e), nor (e1), but (ei),” yet the description cannot be trusted, see AI. We find: peine, peintres, çeinture, s’emrueillat, &c. M. —
Meignet, meilleures, peine, pareilhe, Pel.—peine, psindre, seindre, reine, Seine, cleine = Héline, R.—"Hæc
diphthongus [et] non profertur nisi
mox sequente n_, et ita pronuntiatric
ut paululum prorsus ab i simplici
differat, vt guine vagina = [galune],
plein plural; ejus tamen feminim-
num pleine, usus obtinuit ut absque
scribatur et efferatur, Picardis ex-
ceptis, qui ut sunt vetustatis tenaciss,
scribunt et integro sono pronuntiant
pleine," B. p. 45.—" Pronounce these
words neige, seigne, or any words
where e hath i or y, after it like é
masculine, as though there were no
i at all." E.

EU = (eu, ey ?) Barc. 806, L. 815, EU =
(eu,y)P.137.—"Eu sonum habet vari-
um, aliquando eundem cum Latinis,
hoc est plenum, ut cos cotis éœût,
securus seûr, maturus meûr, quals
in euge, Tydeus [this should be (eu)].
aliquando exiemi et proprius acced-
dentem ad sonum diphthongi Gaeceo
eu, ut ceûr [in Sylvius the sign is eu
with a circumflex over both letters,
and a bar at the top of the circum-
flex, thus indicated for convenience],
soror seûr, morior g-e-meûr: nisi
quod u in his, non velut f sonat
(quomodo in au et eu) sed magis in
sonum u vocalis inclinat (can this
mean (ey) f?): id scribendo ad plen-
num exprimi non potest, pronunti-
ando potest. Sed in his forte et in
quisibdam alis, hac vocis eu varie-
tas propter dictionum differentiam
inuenta et recepta est. Illam eu,
hane eü lincola in longum superna
producta, sonum diphthongi minus
compactum et magis dilutum signifi-
canentes notamus." S. p. 9. The
difficulty of distinguishing "round"
vowels, that is those for which the
lips are rounded, from diphthongs,
especially in the case of (y, a),—see
Hart, supra p. 167, p. 796, n. col. 1,
and B.'s remark below, makes all
such descriptions extremely doubtful.
S. may have meant (y, o) or (y, ò)
by these descriptions, and these are
the modern sounds. EU = (ey) M.
137, see note on that page for G. des
autels, Pel. B.—"La sixiesme voyelle
cest vng son que nous escirpons
par deux voyelles e et u, comme en
ces mots, Peur, Meur, Seur, qui
semble aussi auoir est quelque diph-
thongue, que nos ancistes ayent
prononcee et escripte, et puis apres,
comme nous anons dict de Au
que ceste diphonugue ayt est
reducte en vne simple voyelle; ou
bien que lon aye pris a peu pres ce
que lon pouvoit." R. p. 9.—"In haec
diphthongo neutra vocalis distinctè
sed sonus quidem [quidam?] ex e et
u temperatur auditur, quem et Græcis
et Latinis ignotum vix liceat uela de-
scrip[io] peregrinis exprimere." B.
p. 46.—"e In these words, du feu
which signifieth fire, en peu a little,
demeurer to dwell or tarry, en Ieu a
Playe or game, tu veuls thou will,
are not pronounced like these: Ie
feu I was, Iay peu I have bene able,
I eu I had, Ie Iay ay Ieuus I have
seen them: for these last and such
like, ought to be pronounced in this
wise Ie fu, Iay pu, Iu, vus, as
though there were no e at all, but u,
and in the former worde, e is pro-
nounced and ioyned with u." E. As
eu is frequently interchangeable with
or derived from o, ou, the probability
is that the transition was (u, eu, ò,
0) both the sounds (ò ò) being now
prevalent, but not well distinguished,
see 162, note 3, and 173, note 1.
It will be seen by referring to this
last place that I had great difficulty
in determining what sounds M.
Féline intended by "Ie soud" and
eu in modern French. I there de-
cided that the former was (ò) and
the latter (oe). M. Féline has been
dead several years, but Prince Louis
Lucien Bonaparte, who conversed
with him on the subject, says that I
have just reversed the values of
Féline's letters, and that Féline's
e ò are my (ò, ò) respectively.
Hence wherever I have hitherto cited
Féline's pronunciations this correc-
tion must be made, and especially
on 327, the signs (ò, ò) must be in-
terchanged throughout, as (kœ le
siel kelkœ zhur) for (ks la siel kel-
shur). It will be seen in the same
place, supra 173, note 1, that M.
Tarver made no distinction between
the two sounds. M. Edouard Paris,
in the introduction to his translation
of St. Matthew into the Picard
dialect of Amiens, brought out by
the Prince, makes e "sourd" in le,
peu, de, Ieu, meaning, as the Prince
informed me (lœ, pœ de, zhu), and
eu "ouvert" in veud people, mean-
ing, on the same authority, (vaët,
pœphl). On turning to M. Féline's
Dictionary I find, as interpreted by the Prince, (loc. p. 4, dec. zh; etc., p. 3), so that in the two words le, de, Féline differs from E. Paris, and the latter agrees with me in the sound I have assigned to these words. According to the Prince, half France says (lb, db), and the other half (le, de). In Germany also the sounds (o, ae) are confused, and have no difference of meaning. In Icelandic they are kept distinct by the different orthographies *v = (o), ð = (e), 546, 548. Compare also the mutation or umlaut, (o . . i = zh, e, i), 557.

I = (i, ii) P. 815. P. G. 100, 110, occasionally (ii?) P. 109, 817, n. I = (i) S. M. Pel. R. B.—"Our i is sounded as i, in these English words, it, ts, or as the English double, ee as if vous avez tire, sound as if it were written see vous avez tire." E.

O = (o) P. 93. "A, i, o, Latinorum pronuntiationem, quod sciam, apud Gallos non mutat." S. p. 2. The traditional pronunciation of Latin 0 in Italy is (o); and (o), as distinguished from (o) which must be attributed to au, seems to be the sound accepted for French o, by the other authorities. See also B. 131, note col. 2.—"o Is sounded as in English, and in the same vse, as pot, sot, opprobre, sauing that in these words following, o is sounded like the English double oo, as poil, fol, sol, col, which must be pronounced, leaving i, thus: foo, moo, soo, coo, except this word Sol, as en escu Sol, a Crowne of the Sun: where euyer letter is pronounced." E.


OJ = (oi, oe ?) Bare. 806, OJ = (oi, oe, oo ?) P. 130. "o, non i, cum Graecis, nec a cum Latinis, sed vi vittirusque vocalis serrata, ut monachus moitne: datuio muo, id est mihi moj. Eodem sono oy pronuntiatum ut genitivo muo, id est mihi moj." S. p. 8. This ought to mean oi = (oi), and the last remark may refer only to the use of moj in French for both moj, muo in Greek. Again he says: "Quid quod hae diphthongus pro e supposita Parrhissiimbus adeo plaucuit, vt isparum quoque mutarum voces in e desinentes, per oj Parrhisi-
The Nasal Consonants and their effect on the Vowels.

M, "in the frenche tong hath thre dyuers soundes, the soundyng of m, that is most generall, is suche as he hath in the latyn tong or in our tong. If m folowe any of these thre vowelles a, e, or o, all in one syllable, he shalbe sounded somthing in the nose, as I haue before declared, where I have shewed the soundyng of the sayd thre vowelles [143, 150. and also: "if m or n folowe neste after e, all in one syllable, than e shall be sounded lyke an Italian e, and some thynge in the nose." If m, folowing a vowell, come before b, p, or sp, he shalbe sounded in the nose and almost lyke an n, as in these wordes plomb, colomb, champ, domptor, circumspexion, and suchlike." P. 30, see also supra 817. — "M, est ferme au commencement de la syllabe: en fin elle est liquee, comme Marie, Martyr, Nom, Bam, Arrierebas: qui a este cause a nos Grammairiens densigerer que m doyant p, estait presques supprimee, comme en Camp, champ. N est volontiers ferme au commencement du mot, et en la fin: comme Nanin, non, mais au milieu elle est quelque-fois liquide, comme en Compaignon,

Espaignol," R. p. 24. Here the "liquid" n appears to be (nj), and n final is "firm" as well as n initial, but a difference between m final and m initial is found, the latter only being "firm" and the former "liquid," and this liquidity, which is otherwise incomprehensible, would seem to imply the modern nasality of the previous vowel, were not final n, the modern pronunciation of which is identical, reckoned "firm." The two passages are therefore mutually destructive of each other's meaning. In his phonetic writing R. makes no distinction between firm and liquid m, but writes liquid n (nj) by an n with a tail below like that of ç.

N=(n) only, Bar. 810. N "in the frenche tong, hath two dyuers soundes. The soundyng of n, than is most generall, is suche as is in latyne or in our tonge. If n folowe any of these thre vowelles a, e, or o, all in one syllable, he shalbe sounded somthing in the nose, as I have before declared, where I have spoken of the sayd thre vowelles. That n leseth never his sounde, nother in the first nor meane syllables, nor in the last syllables, I have afore declared in the generall
rules. But it is not to be forgotten, that n, in the last syllable of the third pars pro pluribus of verbs endyng in ent, is ever lefte vn sounded.

P. fol. 13.—In the phrase en allant, M. heard en nallant, with the same n at the end of the first word as at the beginning of the second, 189.—"Francisci sic recte scripsers Pierre s'en est alle, quod tamen sic efferendum est, Pierre s'en nest alle. Sic on m'en a parle ac si scriptum esset, on m'en na parle, illo videlicet pri oris dictionis n daghessato, et cum vocali sequentem vocem incipienti coniuncta, pro eo quod Parisieasium vulgus pronuntiat: il se nest alle, om me na parle, per e feminum vt in pronominibus se et me. Sed hoc in primis curandum est peregrinis omnibus quod ante in literam m monui [ita videlicet vt non modò labia non occludantur, sed etiam linguae macro dentium radicem non feriat p. 30], nempe hanc literam quoties syllabam finit, quasi dimi diato sono pronuntiantad esse, mu-crone videlicet lingue minimè illiso superiorum dentium radici, aliqui futura molestissima pronuntiatione: quo vito inter Francos laborant etiamnum hodie Norvammi. Grecos autem haud alter hanc literam ante κ, γ, χ, pronuntiare consueuisse an notat ex Nigidio Figulo Agellius." B. p. 32. This description seems to indicate the modern pronunciation nearly. E. and H. have no remarks on M. N.

AM, AN=(au,m, au,n) P. 143, 190, but this nasalisation is rendered doubtful by his treatment of final e as (o) 181, note 5, and 817.—For S. see under E, suprâ p. 822, col. 1. "Vrexi xt qu'an Normandie, e ancora sa Bretagne an Anjou e an. . . . Meine . . . iz prononct la dauant n un peu bien grosseant, e quasi comme s'il avoet aun par ditongue [which according to his value of au should = (oon), but he probably meant (aun)] quand iz deset Nor maund, Nauntes, Aungers, le Mauns: graund chere, e les autres. Mes tele maniere de prononcer sant son terroe d'une lieue." Pell. p. 125. "Pronounce alwayes an or ans, as if it were written aun, aunns," E. that is, in 1609, (AAB, AAN). "Also in these words following, o is not sounded, en paun, vn faun, vn tahon . . . all which must be pronounced leaving o thus: paun, faun, vn taun," E.

AI= (in), see under AI, for numerous examples. AI= (in), "Also in these wordes, ains, aincois, ains, or any other word where a is toynd with vn, a looth his sound and is pronounced as english men doe pronounce their I, as if it were ins, inse, insos. Also pain, vilain, hau tin, remain, are to bee pronounced as the english i." E.—AI= (in p)? "We sound, ain, as, in: so in steed of main, maintenent, demain, saint . . . say, min, minenten, demin, sint: but when e, followeth , the vowel , goeth more toward , as balaine a whale, sep'maine a weeke, . . . . and to make it more plaine, romain, certain, vilain, souerain, are pro nounced as romin, certin, evilin: but add, e, to it, and the pronunciation is clean altered, so that, romaine, is as you sound, vaine, in English and such like, but more shorter." H. p. 186.

EM, EN=(em, en ?) except in -ent of the 3rd person plural = (-et)? Bar. 810.; EM, EN=(a m, a n) when not before a vowel, P. 189, "Quid quod Farrhisienses e pro a, et contrà, pres- serit m vel n sequente, etiam in Latinis dictiobus, Censorini exemplo, et scribunt et pronuntiant, mag na sepe infamia, dum amentes pro amantes, et contrà amantes pro amantes, alliique id genus ratione confundunt." S. p. 11. It is not quite certain whether S. is referring to the Parisian pronunciation of Latin or French, as the example is only Latin, but probably, both are meant. Ob serv his remarks under E, suprâ p. 821, col. 2. EM, EN=(em, en), Coll. M. 189. EM, EN=(am, an), Pell. who objects to the pronunciation (em, en) of M., and says: "mon auis et de deuer ecrire toutes teles diccions plus tot par a que par e. Car de dire qu'il est diference en la prolongation des deux dernieres silabes de amant et firmant, c'est a faire a cens qui regardent de trop pres, ou qui veulet parler trop mignonement: Samblablement antres les penultimes de conscience e alliance. E le peut on auncor plus cterminent connoistre, quand on prononce ces deux proposicions qui sont de meme ouye, mes de diuers sans, Il ne
m'an m'ant de mot: e, Il ne m'an m'ande mot. Combien que propremant a la rigueur ce ne soit ni a ni e. E. confesse que les silabes éques nous metons e auant n, me samblet autant malesses a respresanter par lettres Latines, que nules autres que nous eyons en notre Françoys. Brief, l'e qu'on m'ert vulgueremant an science sonne autrement que l'e de scientia Latin: la ou propremant il se prononce comme an Françoys celui de ancien, sien, bien." Pel. p. 25. "Toutefois pour con-fesser verite, an toutes teles diecions, le son n'est pleinemant e ni a (antre lequé i à divers sons, comme diverses misions de deus couleurs selon le plus e le moins de chacune) toutefois le son participe plus d'a que d'e. E par ce que bonnemant il i faudroit une nouuelle letre, ce que je n'intro-duis pas bien hardiament, comme j'eja dit quelque foës; pour le moins an atendant, il me semble meilleur d'istre un a. E sans doute, il i à plus grande distinction an l'Italien, e mesmo an notre Prouancaill, an prononçant la voyzle e auant n. Car nous, e eus la prononçons cleremant. Comme au lieu que vous ditez santir e muntir deuers l'a, nous prono-nçons s'entier e menier deuers l' e: e si font quasi toutes autres nacions fors les Françoys." Pel. p. 125.—R. writes phonetically: en, differens, envoier, enfans, &c like M.—"Coaleseens e in eadem syllabam cum m, vt temporel tempora-lis, vel n, sive sola et sonora vt s'enten ego intelligo: sive aduenu te d'vt entendt intelligi; vel vt content contentus; pronunciatur ut a. Itaque in his vocibus constant constans: et content contentus, An annus, and en in, diversa est scriptura, pronunciatio verò recta, vel eadem, vel tenuissimis discriminis, et quod vix auribus percipi possit. Excipe quatur has voculas, ancien trissylla-bum, antiquus; bien vinculum, et mojen medium, fem finus, disylla-ba; et quotidiem quotidians, quatur syllabrum: demique omnia gentilia nomina, vt Parisien, Parisien-sis, Sauoien Sabaudiensis; in quiibus e clausum scribitur et distincte auditur, i and e nequaquam in diph-thongum comuenientibus. . . . Alter huius littera sonus adulterinus est idem atque litera i; geminate duplicis, in unam tamen syllabam coalescentis, quamvis scribatur ie, litera n sequente atque dictionem finiente. Sic in his monosyllabis recte pronuntiatis ac-dicit, bien bonum, vel bené, chien eanus: Christen Christianum dissyl-labum, mien meus, rien nihil: sien suus; tien tuus vel tene, cum com-positis; vien venio, vel veni cum compositis: que omnia vocabula sic à purè pronuntiantibus effurrentur ac si scriptum esset i duplici bien chien &c." B. p. 15.—"When e feminine maketh one sillable with m or n, it is sounded almost like a, as enfantement, emmailloter, pronon- cise almost as anfauntement, ammailloter, except when i or y commeth before en as moyen, douen, ancien, or in wordes of one sillable, as mien, tien, chien, rien, sien, which be all pronounced by e and not by a. Also, the all the verbs of the third per-son plural that doe end in en, as Ils dirent, Ils vissent, Ils faisoient, Ils chantoyent, there e is sounded as hauing no n at all, but rather as if it were written thus: ce dit, ce riet, ce foizoyet, ce shantoyet." E.

EN=(ein, ain), see under AI for numerious examples, and the quota-tion from B. under EL. It seems impossible to suppose that in the xvi th century it had already reached its modern form (ëa), into which modern in has also fallen.

ON=(on) No authority notices any difference in the vowel, as M., Pell, R. all write in in their phonetic spelling, and it is not one of the three vowels, a, e, o, stated by P., under M, N, to be affected by the following m or n. See the quota-tions from E. and H. under AI.

E. gives the pronunciation of hono-rez les princes as ônôr le prêrences, which seems decisive.

ON=(on?) Bar. 810. (u n) P. 149.—M. Pell. R. write simply on=(on). E. gives the pronunciation of nous en parlerons après elles que dira on, as noun-zan-parloron-sapré-zelles, ke deera toon.

UN=(yn). "V vocalis apud Latinos non minus quàm apud Gallos, sonum duplicem quibusdam exprimit sequente n, in eadem syllaba. Vt enim illorum quidam cunctus, percuter, punctus, functus, hunc, et alia qua-dam natuño u vocalis sono man[...]le pronuntiant, ita idem cum aliis,
pungo, fungor, tanquam per o scripta, pongo, fongor, proferunt, adulterata u vocalis voce genuina. Id quod sequente m, in eadem syllaba omnes Latini vbique faciunt, scannum, dominum, musarum, et caetera pronuntiantes perinde ac si per o scriberentur: ita vt alii non sonet o, in tondere, sonetes, rhombus, quam u in tuncere, sunto, tumba. Atqui o diductiore rictu pronuntiandum est quam u." S. p. 3. This seems to refer to the French pronunciation of Latin, rather than of French, and it agrees with the modern practice. S. proceeds thus: "Ita Galli vnus vn communis commun, defunctus de-funct, et alia quedam, sono vocalis seruato pronuntiant, [that is, as (yn)]. Contra vnde similis uno nec, uncia uno nec, trucus trucnc, et pleraque alia, non aliter pronuntiant quam si per o scriberenter." S. p. 4. No other authority mentions or gives the slightest reason for supposing that either u or n differ in this combination from the usual value. P. writes vn for his ung, and M. has un, vne. Pell. has un. E. pronounces il est vn honorabile personnage as oe-le-tun-nonorable personnage.

The conclusion¹ from these rather conflicting statements seems to be, that sometime before the xvth century ain, en, ein, ien, in, un were pronounced (ain ean, en, ein, ien, in, yn) without a trace of nasality; that during the xvth century a certain nasality, not the same as at present, pervaded an, on, changing them to (an, o,n), and perhaps (a,n, o,n), so that, as explained by P. 817, foreigners heard a kind of (u) sound developed, and English people confused the sounds with (au,n, u,n).

¹ This conclusion was the best I could draw from the authorities cited, but since the passage was written I have seen M. Paul Meyer's elaborate inquiry into the ancient sounds of an and en. (Phonétique Française: An et En toniques. Mémo. de la Société de Linguistique de Paris, vol. 1, pp. 244-276). Having first drawn attention to the occasional derivation of Fr. an, en from Latin in, he says: "Notons ici que le passage d'ain à en et celui d' en à an sont deux phénomènes phonétiques d'ordre fort différents. Dans le premier cas l' n est encore assez détachée de la voyelle et l' i s'étient en e, ce dont on a de nombreux exemples dès le temps des Romains. Le passage de l' e à l' a ne pourrait se justifier de même. Aussi est-il nécessaire de supposer qu'au temps où le son en s'est confondu avec le son an, l' n faisait déjà corps avec la voyelle. Ce n'est pas e pur qui est devenu a pur, mais e nasalisé qui est devenu a nasalisé." p. 246.

But this is theoretical. We have the fact that femme has become (fam) in speech, constantly so rhyming in French classics, and that solemnct is (solanel) and a large class of words like événement (evidadaa) change en into am without the least trace of a nasal vowel having interposed. Hence the proof that M. Meyer gives of the early date at which en an were confused in French, which is most complete, exhaustive and interesting, does not establish their pronunciation as the modern nasal vowels. M. Meyer gives as the result of his investigation: "En Normandie, et, selon toute probabilité, dans les pays romans situés sous la même latitude, en était encore distinct de an au moment de la conquête de l'Angleterre (1066), mais l'assimilation était complète environ un siècle plus tard." P. 252. He adds: "en Anglo-normand en et an sont toujours restés distincts, et ils le sont encore aujourd'hui dans les mots romans, qui ont passé dans l'anglais," and says we must acknowledge "qu'en ce point comme en plusieurs autres, le normand transporté en Angleterre a suivi une direction à lui, une voie indépendante de celle où s'engageait le normand indigène." After M. Meyer's acute and laborious proof of the confusion of en, an in France, and their distinction in England, we need not be astonished if ai, ei in England also retained the sound (ai) long after it had generally sunk to (ee) in France. These are only additional instances of the persistence of old pronunciations among an emigrating or expatriated people.
century these sounds, or else (a,n, u,n) were adopted by the Frenchman E., in explaining sounds to Englishmen. As to en, it became (an) or perhaps (a,n), even in xvi th century probably not before, but it must have differed from an, because Englishmen did not confuse it with (aun), many Frenchmen wrote (en), and P. 817, does not allow it to be nasal. The complete fusion of an, en, into one nasal probably took place in xvii th century, except in the connection ien, where en either remained (en) or was confused with in. The combinations ain, in, seem to have been quite confused, and we have no reason to suppose that they were pronounced differently from (in). Whether ein followed their example it is difficult to say. Probably it did, as it is now identical in sound. But un remained purely (yn).

We had then at the close of the xvi th century an, on, in, un=(a,n, o,n, in, yn). Now in the xvii th or xviii th century a great change took place in French; the final e became absolutely mute. Simultaneously with this change must have occurred the disuse of the final consonants, so that words like regard regarde, which had been distinguished as (regard regards), were still distinguished as (regar, regard). It then became necessary to distinguish un, une, which would have become confused. About this time, therefore, I am inclined to place the degradation of (in, yn) into (e,n, s,n). We should then have the four forms (a,n, o,n, e,n, s,n), which by the rejection of n after a nasalized vowel, a phenomenon with which we are familiar in Bavarian German, would become (a, o, e, s). The change thence to (as, os, ea, sa) or (aA, oA, eA, sA) the modern forms is very slight. The subject is a very difficult one, but there seems to be every reason to suppose that there was scarcely a shade of nasality in Chaucer's time, except perhaps in an, on, which generated his (aun, uum), and that the complete change had not taken place till the end of the xvii th or beginning of the xviii th century. One important philological conclusion would result from this, namely that the modern French nasalisation offers no ground for the hypothesis of a Latin nasalisation. If this last existed, it must be otherwise traced. The history of Portuguese nasalisation now becomes interesting, but I am as yet unable to contribute anything towards it. The fact however that only two romance languages nasalise, while the Indian languages have a distinct system of nasalisation, and nasality is accomplished in Southern Germany, and is incipient, without loss of the n, in parts of the United States, is against the inference for Latin nasalisation from the existent nasalisation of French and Portuguese.

Other Consonants.

L mauillé. The nature of the sound cannot be inferred from Bar. 810, though it seems to be acknowledged. — Whan soeuer the iii. letters illa, ille, or illo come to gither in a newne substantuee or in a verbe, the i nat hauyng an o, commynge next before hym, they vse to sounde an i shortly and confusedly, betwene the last l and the vowel folowyng: albe it that in writyng they expresse none suche, as these wordes, ribaudaille, faille,
bailér, gaillé, weilé, billé, feuille, fille, cheville, guocoqüille, ar-
dillón, bastillon, covillon, and suche like, in redyngy or spekyng they
souende thus: ribudailile, saillle, baillier, gaillart, weillart, billiart,
feuille, fille, cheville, guocoqüille, ar迭illón bastilllon, covilllon: but,
as I haue sayd, if the i have an o
commyn next before hym, in all
s suche wordes they souende none i after
the letter l, so that these nownes
substanoyes mouille, voille, tille, and
suche lyke be except from this
rule. . . Except also from this rule
villé which souendeth none i after
his latter I" P. I. 7.—"There is two
maner of wordes harde for to be
pronounced in french. The fyrst is
written with a double l which must
be souended togider, as lla, lle, lly, llo,
llu, as in these wordes, bailla gave,
taille cutte, ceullle gader, feuille lefe,
bally bayly, fallly fayle, mouilte
white, engonoulett knele, mallot a
tymer hamer, feuille full of leaves,
houille." G.—M. and R. have new
characters for this sound; Pell.
adopts the Portuguse form Ch. E.
talks of l which "must be souended
liquid" in some words and "with
the ende of the tongue" in others.
But H. explains well; "when two,
l, follow, ai, ei, oi, or ui, they be
pronounced with the flat of the
tongue, touching smoothely the roofe
of the mouth: yong boyes here in
England do express it verie well
when they pronounce luco or saluto :
and Englishmen in sounding Collier,
and Scollion; likewise the Italian
pronouncing voglio, duolico: for they
do not souend them with the end, but
with the flat of the tongue, as tailler
to cut, treillis a grate, guenoillum a
distaffe, bouillir to seethe; where
you must note that, i, [which he
prints with a cross under it to shew
that it is mute,] serueth for nothing
in words of all and ouill, but to
cause the two, l, to be pronounced
as liquides." H. p. 174. The
transition from (li) through (la) to
(lj) was therefore complete in H.'s
time. The sound has now fallen
generally to (i, j, jh).
N' mouillé, or G.N. Bar. 809 and note,
is indistinct.—" Also whan so ever
these iii.letters gna, gne, or gno come
to gyther, eyther in a nowne sub-
stantiue or in a verbe, the redor shall
sounde an i shortly and confusely,
betwene the n and the vowel folow-
ynge, as for: gaigná, seigneur,
mignon, champignon, ueragoine,
mainténue, charogné, he shall
souande, gaignia, seigneuer, mignon,
champion, ueroguine, charogné,
mainténue, nat chaungyne therefore
the accent, no more than though
the sayd i were vsounded. But
from this rule be excepted these two
substantyues signe and régne, with
their verbes signé and reigné, which
with all that be formed of them
the reader shall souande as they be
wrytten onely." P.—"The second
maner harde to pronounce ben
written with gn, before a uowall, as
gna, gne, gni, gna, gnu. As in these
wordes gapna wan, signa dyd blede,
ligne lyne, pigne combe, signe vyne,
tigne scabbé, compagne felowe, laigne
swell, mignon wanton, mignarde
wanton, ye shal except many wordes
that be so written and nat so
pronounced, endyng specially in e, as
digne worthy, cigne swanne, magni-
nime hyghe corage, etc. They that
can pronounce these wordes in latyn
after the Italians maner, as (agnus,
dignus, magnus, magnanimus,) have
bothe the understandyng and the
pronouncynge of the sayde rule and
of the wordes." G.—M. & R. have dis-
lict signs for this sound; see R. 826
under N. Pell retains gn.—"When
you meete gn, melt the g with the n,
as qgonon mignon, pronounce it thus,
inion, mignon." E.—"We pro-
nounce gn, almost as Englishmen do
sound, minion; so melting, g, and
touching the roofe of the mouth with
the flat of the tongue, we say mignon,
compagnon: say then compa gne, and
not compag-ne. When the Italian
saith guadagno, bisogno, he express-
heth our gn, verie well." H. p. 198.
It is not possible to say whether the
original sound was (ni, n) or (qi, qi),
but from H. it is clear that at
the beginning of the xviiith century
it was (nj), as now.

Final consonants were usually pro-
nounced, L. 816, and all authorities
write them, although we find in P. i.
27, "When so euere a frenche worde
hath but one consonant onely after
his last vowel, the consonant shalbe
but remissely sounded, as auéé, soyf,
fil, beaucou, mot, shalbe sounded in
maner aué, soy, f, beaucou, no. how
be it the consonant shall have some lyttell sounde: but if t. or p folowe a or e, they shall have their distinct sounde, as chat, debat, ducat, combat, hanap, decrat, regret, entremet; and so of all suche other.” These examples cross the modern practice of omission and sounding in several places.

H is a very doubtful letter, B. 805 and note 3. The question is not whether in certain French words H was aspirated, but whether the meaning attached to “aspiration” in old French was the same as that in modern French or in English. P. gives a list of 100 “aspirated” words. B. 67 says: “Aspirationis nota in vocibus Greciis et Latinis aspiratis, et in Franciis in manum traductis, scribitur quidem sed quiescit,” except hache, hareng, Hector, Henri, harpe.

The other consonants present no difficulty. We may safely assume B = (b), C (k, s), Ch (sh), D (d), F (f), G (g, zh), J (zh), suprâ p. 207, K (k), L (l), P (p), Qu (k), R (r), S (s), T (t), V (v), X (s, z), Z (z).

The rules for the omission of consonants when not final, seem to agree entirely with modern usage, and hence need not be collected.

Sufficient examples of French phonetic spelling according to M., Pell., and R. have been given in the above extracts. But it is interesting to see the perfectly different systems of accentuation pursued by P. and M., and for this purpose a few lines of each may be transcribed.

From P. 1, 63. “Example how the same boke [the Romant of the Rose] is nowe tourned into the newe Frenche tong.

Maintes gentes dient que en songes
Né sovent que fables et mensonges
Maison peult tels songes songier
Que ne sont nuy mensongier
Ayns sont aprez bien apparent, &c.

In M. the accent is illustrated by musical notes; each accented syllable corresponds to F of the bass, and each unaccented syllable to the G below, so that accentuation is held to be equivalent to ascending a whole tone. So far P. agrees with M., for he says (book 1, ch. 56) “Accent in the frenche tonge is a luytinge vp of the voyce, vpon some wordes or syllables in a sentence, aboue the residue of the other wordes or syllables in the same sentence, so that what soeuer worde or syllable as they come toguyder in any sentence, be sowned higher than the other wordes or syllables in the same sentence vpon them, is the accent.” The following are some of M.’s examples, the accented syllable being pointed out by an acute: “c’et mon mäleur, c’et mon frere, c’et mon am’ & mon éspoir, c’et ma grän’mere, c’et mon bán compànon, ór et fl bon ámy, jé
voes á toe, é toe á moe, il n’est pas fôrt bon, ç’èt vn bién bon bátou, món compañon, à vizión, mon cónfrere, vit sájemem.”

P. constantly admits the accent on the last syllable, M. says it is a Norman pecularity, which is very disagreeable, and proceeds thus: “il fait premiérement entendre ce James l’acczent elevé, ne se rencontr’ en la derniere syllabe des dissyllabiqes, ne polysyllabiqes. è ce le ton declinant ou circonfexe, ne se treuue point q’en la penultime syllabe, si ell’ est long” è la derniere bricue, pourvu q’ elle ne sort point terminé’ en e brief: car allors il y peut auenir diversité de ton, selon la divers’ assiete du vocable. . . . car il fait entendre ce le’ monosyllables en notre lange, font varier le’ tons d’ aucuns vocables dissyllabiqes, ny n’ont eu’ memes aucun ton stable.” fo. 133 a.

Palsgrave says: “Generally all the wordes of many sillables in the frenche tong, haue theyr accent eyther on theyr last sillable, that is to say, sounde the laste vowel’ or diphthong that they be written with, hygher than the other vowels or diphthongues comeynyng before them in the same worde. Orels they haue theyr accent on the last sillable save one, that is to say, sounde that vowel or diphthong, that is the last saue one hygher than any other in the same worde comeynyng before hym: and when the redar hath lyftyp his voyce at the soundyng of the said vowel or diphthong, he shal when he commeth to the last sillable, depresso his voyce agayne [compare supr à p. 181, note. col. 2], so that there is no worde through out all the frenche tonge, that hath his accent eyther, on the thyrde sillable, or on the forth syllable from the last, like as diuerse wordes haue in other tonges: but as I haue sayd, eyther on the very last sillable, orels on the next sillable onely. And note that there is no worde in the fexche tong, but he hath his place of accent certaine, and hath it nat nowe vpon one sillable, nowe vpon another. Except diuersite in signification causeth it, where the worde in wrryttyng is alone.” Book I. chap. lviii.

B. is very peculiar; he begins by saying: “Sunt qui contendant in Francica lingua nullum esse accentibus locum,” which shews, in connection with the diversity of opinion between P. and M., that the modern practice must have begun to prevail. Then he proceeds thus: “Sunt contrà qui in Francica lingua tonos perinde vt in Graeca lingua constituent. Magnus est vtrorumque error: quod mihi facilè concessuros arbitror quicunque aures suas attentè converserint. Dico igitur Francicæ linguae, vt & Graecæ & Latinæ, duo esse temporæ, longum vnnum, alterum breue: itidemque tres tonos, nemo, acutum, græum, circumflexum, non ita tamen ut in illis linguïs observatos. Acuunt enim Graecï syllabas tum longas tum breues, & Latinos idem facere magno consensu volunt Grammatici, quibus planè non assentior. Sed hac de re aliás. Illud autem certè dixerim, sic occurrere in Francica lingua tum acutum tum tempore longo, vt nulla syllaba producatur quæ itidem non attollatur: nec attollatur vlla quæ non itidem acutur, ac proinde sit eadem syllaba acuta quæ producta & eadem grauis quæ correpta. Sed tonus vocis intentionem, tempus productionem vocalis indicat . . .
Illa verò productio in Francica lingua etiam in monosyllabis animadueritur, quae est propria vis accentus circumflexis." B. therefore seems to confuse accent and quantity, as is the case with so many writers, although he once apparently distinguishes an accented from an unaccented long syllable, thus in entendement, he says that although the two first are naturally long, the acute accent is on the second; whereas it would be on the last in entendement bon, on account of the added enclitic. He lays down important rules for quantity, and without repeating them here, it will be interesting to give these examples, marking those which he objects to. Wrong mēstrēssē mēssē fēstē prōphēstē mīsērīcōrdē pārōlē. Right mais-trēssē mēssē fāltē prōphētē mīsērīcōrdē pārōlē; ie vēu, tu vēux, il vēt; veu vōtum, veux vota; beūf beūfs, neūf neūfs, ēulx, ceulx; fit fecet, fist faceret, fūt fuit, fūst esset, eūt habuit eūst haberet, ēst, rōst, tōst, plaist placet, plūst pluceret, et et, plaid contentio iudicalis, pleut placuit, plūt pluit; meūr morior, tu meūrs moreris, meūr maturus, meūrs maturi, meūr matura, si iē dī, quī ēst cē. Rule 1, misērīcōrdē, ēntendēment, ēnvīē=ēn viē, ēnvīēēx. Rule 2, ēn-dōrīrī, feindrī, teindrī, bōntē, tēmpōrēlō, bōn pālis, sōmmē cōmmē doñnē bōnē sōnnē tōnnē, cōnssōmmē ordōnē rēsōnnē ēstōnnē, sōnger bēsonγne; ēnnēmī. Rule 3, almēcē fōndūē vēlūē; mūcē nūē, dūē fiē liē āmē jōuē louē mōūē nōjē, plajē iojē vōjē, ēnvojē; mūcē nūērī fier liēr iōuer loūēr noūēr, ēnvojērē. Rule 4, aūlīrē, aūtāntē, haultainē, haultāntē, haultētē, haultēt drolīct. Rule 5, 3= (z), iāsēr braisē saison plaśēr caūsē bīsē misē prīsē osēr chōsē pōsēr choīsēr loīsēr noiśē tōisē ˌūsēr rūsē mūsē friśē caūsērā ēsērā ebrāsērā repōsērā choīsērā prisērā, cuīsīnē, ēsērā, accūsērā, excūsērā, usāgē, visāgē, cāmīsē; prīsēcē accūsēcē excūsēcē [the last cē should evidently be ē]; pēsēr gēsēr gēsēnē; trēzē quātōrzē, moǐsī, crāmoǐsī, vořěsī coũsīn, vořěsīnē coũsīnē. Rule 5 bis, ailtē bāilī caūlē caillē maillēcē paillē saillē taillē vaillē. Rule 6, pāsē, airmāsē, ouissē. Rule 7, (s mute) hāstē islē, blāsmē, airmasē, ęsmēūtē, ęsmōvuŕē, blēsmē mēsmē, cārēsmē bāptēsmē, ęscrīvīsmē, seulīsmēs, rēcēūmēs, vīsmēs, fīsmēs, ēntēndīsmēs, Ľōsmē; āsmē ālēsmē [ erroneous in original], Rōsmē; ēspērōn ēspērōnnē, [ erroneous in original], ēspīčr; ēst rōst tōst fūt fūst eūst, hāstē tāstē tēstē ēstē ēstē maistē maistē maistē rēstē vīstē vīsētē vōustē; dōsnolōjēr; ēstē "pro verbo esse et pro astate," rōstī rōstē; nōstē maioșnē, vōstē raișōnē, iē suis vōstē, pātēnōstē. Rule 8, catairrē, cātairrēux; ferēr guērē ferē puōrīrē, ēntêrrērē. Finally B. notices the absence of accent in enclitics, and the final rising inflection in questions, observing, in accord with Meigret, "cuius pronunciationis vsque adeò sunt obseruantes Normanni, vt etiam si nihil interrogent, sed duntaxat negent aut affirmant aliquid, ser-monis finem acute, non sine aurium offensive pronuntient."  

P.'s rules amount to placing the accent on the penultim when the
last contains what is now mute ə, and on the last in all other cases. Both M. and P., make accent to be a rising inflexion of the voice. The French still generally use such an intonation, but it does not seem to be fixed in position, or constant in occurrence upon the same word, but rather to depend upon the position of the word in a sentence, and the meaning of the speaker. In modern French, and apparently in older French (supra p. 331) there is nothing approaching to the regular fixed stress upon one syllable of every word, which is so marked in English, the Teutonic languages, and Slavonic languages, in Italian, Spanish and Modern Greek. The nature of the stress and the effect on unaccented syllables differ also materially in different languages. In English the syllables following the principal stress are always much more obscure than those preceding it. This is not the case at all in Italian. In Modern Greek, the stress, though marked, is nothing like so strong as in English. Mr. Payne considers that the ancient Normans had a very strong stress, and that the syllables without the stress, and which generally preceded it, became in all cases obscure. With the extremely lax notions which we find in all ancient and most modern especially English writers, on the questions of accent, vocal inflexion, and stress, with its effect on quantity, it is very difficult to draw any conclusions respecting ancient practice. A thorough study of modern practice in the principal literary languages of the world, and their dialects, seems to be an essential preliminary to an investigation of ancient usage.

E. gives 12 dialogues in French and English with the pronunciation of such French words as he considers would occasion difficulty, indicated in the margin. The following list contains all the most important words thus phoneticised. The orthography both ordinary and phonetic is that used by E.

Achepté asheté, accoustremens aco-tremans, advancez aauamseré, aiguillon égeelieequon, ainsy inse, m'ameine ma-méne, d'Anglois daungléz, au 6, aucaun ókun, aucune ókune, au-tour-d'hay oioordwee, l'aime lône, aulltre ôtre, aultrement ôtrman, d'aultruy dôrwee, l'auzomies lémónier, aussi ûsesee, autan ottau.

Baillez ballie balizze, baptizes bateezé, besognes bezoonies, blancs blauns, boeuf beuf, boiste boite, bordeuere, bordure, bouche booshe, bouillt bollee, bouillié boollie, bracelets braselé, brillands brillias, brusler brûler.

Caillette kalliette, centure sinture, cecte ste, chair sher, chaud shu, chenneye shénéye, cheaulx shenós, cheuclerue sheuclure, cheuille sheuelle, christiens kretiens, cignet signet, cieus seeus cieus, coeur keur, coifeure coofure, col coo, commandé commandeé, compagnie companie, concepuoir coonscour, con-

noissance koonéassence, corps cór, costé kóte, cousteau kootéo, cousterou cootera, cresse crépé, crexpelus krépelu, euro-orelle eurelle.

Debuons deuoons, demanderons de-maunderoons, deméster démeler, do-sienner déumer, deosouént dénoeoot, despouillez depoolliez, diect deect, disner deener, doigts do, double doucte, doux doé.

Enfans anfauns, enseignant ansé-
neant, enseignent ansénet, l'entends fantan, m'entortillter mantorteelier, eschourche écorshée, escondre aucon-
dweere, d'escarlate dekarlate, l'escrivray léereeré, escuter équier, d'esgard dégar, dégart (before a vowel), esgard égaré m'esgratignez mégratingiez, esguiere éguiere, l'esguieré légu-yzer, esquilles egullies, l'esquitelleté léguelleté, estez deez, esloingez élonié, l'esmeraude léme-
rôde, d'espargner déparnier, espuelles épôlle, esplinge épeangle, l'espingleray

ORTHOEPISTS OF XVI TH CENTURY. CHAP. VIII. § 3.
lepeengleré, esprit espreet, est è, qu'es-
tant ketaun, estés éte, estez étiéz,
I'estomach lestomak, estriller etrellicer,
I'esturgeon léturgeon, l'estuy letwee,
estoellée éuellée, essentuull évantail,
meuzzueres meuzzueré.

Fagots fagos, faillent falliet, fait
fét, faite fét, faudra fôdra, faut-il
fôt-tee, fenestres fenetres, ferets fèrèz,
felle feellie, fillieu feellieiu, fiileu
feillieu, fîz feez, fondements foon-
demans, François Franquez, fruit
fweet, fustaine fütine.

Gaillard galliard, gands gauns, gauche
goshe, gentilhomme ianteelliomme
genouix, genoos, goust goot.

Habille abeleel, m'habiller mabeiller,
hastez hâte, hautez hôt, heure eur,
hieroir eroir, homme eome, honnere
onner, houpppe hoope, huiet weet,
I'huiu luce, humains vmins, humbles
vmble, humilité vmceleeti.

D'iceluy deceelwee, qu'ils kee.
Jesus Christ Iesu-kreet, ioyaux ioyós.
Lict lect, longs loon.

Madamoiselle madmoyzelle, main min,
maistresse, métreese, maluaise mœüze,
mancheno maunshoon, manarest maratree,
meilleur mellicier, mettires mette, melan-
cholie malankolie, mervelle meruellie,
nemes meême, mets meéz, monstrez moncree,
merfonds merfooms, moucheoir mooshoier,
mouiller moolier, mout, moo.

Neantmoings neaunmoins, nepeu
neueu, n'est né, niepez nieue, noewn neu,
non noon, nostre notre, nouvellee noo-
veété, nuict nweet, n'out nüont.

Obmetons ometoons, oeiladées cul-
liadé, œuvres euere, estes cété.

Parapets parapêz, pareure parure,
paste pâte, peignee pinée, peignes pinies,
peignoir pinoir, peignez péniez, pieds,
pie, plait plêt, pleu plu, plustost plutó,
poitriene poitreeene, poignards poniais,
poignet poniet, poudreux poodreus,
pour poor, prestes prêtes, prests prés,
prochains proshins, propiciation pro-
pesseeaseecen, peuulmes ñéomes, puis-
sant puessuaut.

Quatrains kadrins.

Raccoustres racootrez, receu resu,
rends ran, reconsórm récomfòr, reponsé
reponse, resposta reproduënt, rheume
rume, rideaulx reeedé, roquez roonié,
roons roons, rosmarin roomarin, roynaux
royés, rubends ruban.

Sans sauns, sainet sint, sainte sinte,
saints sîza, saise sîâle, sauegarden sou-
garde, saizs sé, secondes segoón, seiche
sêshe, sept set, soer seur, solz soo,
spirituels speerectué.

Tailleur tailleur, tant taunt, tantost
tauntot temps, tân tans, tente téte, tós
tôt, touche tooshe, tousiers tooioor,
tout too, toutes toote.

Vynze ounce.

Veoer voir, veoy voy, verdes vers, vestir
véeteer, vestu vétu, euv vu, veulkx vekz,
vey vee, vice veese, viste vette [veete ?],
vistemant veeetman, vous vou.

At the close of the xviii\th century Sir William Jones (Works
1799, 4to, i, 176) supposes an Englishman of the time to represent
"his pronunciation, good or bad," of French, in the following
manner, which he says is "more resembling the dialect of savages
than that of a polished nation." It is from an imitation of Horace
by Malherbe.

Law more aw day reegyews aw nool otruh parelluyh,
Onne aw bo law preeay:
Law croellyuy kelly suh boshuh lays orelluyh,
Ay noo laysuuh creany.
Luh povre ong saw cawbawn oo luh chomuh luh couvruh
Ay soozyet aw say lwaw,
Ay law gawrdruh kee velly ò bawryayruh dyoo Loovruh
Nong dayfong paw no rwaw!

The interpretation may be left to the ingenuity of the reader, and
the orthography may be compared to the following English-French

M ay oon Mossoo kee ponx lwemaym tray
Bowkoo ploo bong-regardong ker vrayment ilay!
N iz é Ninglechman! Rosbif!! Olraí!
Milor! Dam! Comme il tourne up son Nose! O maïe aie!!
Since the above pages were in type, I have been favoured by Mr. Payne with a full transcript of that part of the Mag. Coll. Oxford MS. No. 188, (supra p. 309, n. 1), which contains the 98 rules for French spelling, partially cited by M. F. Génin in his Preface to the French Government reprint of Falsgrave. This MS. is of the xvth century, but the rules appear to have been much older. They incidentally touch upon pronunciation, and it is only those portions of them which need here be cited. The numbers refer to the rules.

E.

"1. Dicció gallica dictata habens primam sillabam vel medium in E. stricto ore pronunciata, requirit hanc litteram I. ante E. verbi gratia bien. chien. rien. pierre. miere. et similis." Here is a distinct recognition of a "close e," and the examples identify the sounds in père, mére, now open, but close according to the orthoepists of the xvth century, with the vowel in bien, chien, rien, which therefore tends to confirm the opinion expressed above p. 829, that en was not then nasalized in the modern sense. "2. Quando-cumque hec vocales. E. pronunciatur acute per se stare debet sine huius I. processione verbi gratia beuez, tenez, lessez." As each example has two syllables in e, it is difficult to say whether the rule applies to one or both and hence to understand the meaning of "acute e." The last e in each is generally regarded as "masculine," but the first in "beuez, tenez," was the "feminine" and in "lessez" the "open" according to other writers. Nor is this obscurity much lightened by the following rules: "3. Quamvis E. in principio alcuius sillabe acute pronunciatur in fine anterioris sillabe I. bene potest preponi vt bies, priez. lez. affiez &c." Here if bies = biais, we have the same mixture of masculine and open e as before. The two next rules seem to call the "feminine e," that is, the modern e mute, a "full e." "4. Quandocumque adiectium fem-inini generis terminat in E. plene pronunciata geminabit ee. vt tres honourue dame. 5. Quamvis adiectium masculini generis terminet [in?] E. plene pronunciata non geminabit. E. vt tres honoure sire nisi ad differenciam vae Comitee anglicè a shire. Vu comite anglice a counte . . . . . 6. Quamvis adiectium masculini generis non terminet in E. Vt vn homme vient. homme adiectium tamen femini-i generis terminabit in simplici cum se implore [?] pronunciatur vt meinte femme vne femme." There can be no doubt that e feminine was fully pronounced, but how far it differed from the "stricto ore," and e "acute pronunciation," it is not possible to elicit from these curt remarks. It is observable that e and e are noted as indifferent spellings in certain words now having the "muto-guttural e." "8. Item ille sillabe. ie, oe. iœ. iœ. indifferenter possunt scribi cum ceo vel ce sine o." S.

"12. Omnia substantiá terminancia per sonum. S. debent scribi cum S. vt signiurs lordes. dames ladies." This plural s was therefore audible, but the writer immediately proceeds to point out numerous exceptions where z was written for s, as 13. in gent, plural gentis or genz, 14. in filz, 15. or x for s in deux loialz, 16. or the common contraction 9 for us in nos9 = nous, 17. in nos vos from noster vester, either s or z may be used. In all these cases it would however appear that (s) was actually heard, and if any meaning is to be attached to "aspiration" we must suppose that (s) was sounded in the following case: "18. Item quandocumque aliqua sillabá pronunciatur cum aspiratione illa sillabae debet scribi cum s. et t. loco aspiratione verbi gratia est fest pleist." The next is obscure. "19. Item si .d. scribitur post. E. et M. immediate sequitur d. potest mutari in s." In 21. 93. and 94. we find s mute in fishes, duresme, mandames, and probably by 96. in feast toust, and possibly also in: "73. Item in verbis presentis et pretériti temporum scribatur. st. a pres t.e. o. v. com bap-tiste fist est test lust &c.," though this partially clashes with 18.

U after I, M, N.

"23. Item quandocumque hic litera l. ponitur post A. E. et O. si aliquod consonans post l. sequitur i. quasi v. debet pronunciari verbi gratia. malme
mi soule, loialment bel compaigneoun." This does not mean that al, was pronounced (ay), but that it was pronounced as au was pronounced, and this may have been (ao) as in Meigret or (oo) as in other orthoepists of the sixteenth century. With this rule, and not with S, we must connect: "67. Item aliquando s. scribitur et vs nonabitur cum ascum sonabitur ascum," aucun? as M. Génin transcribes. "36. Item iste sillabe seu diciones quant grant Dem- mandant sachant et huiusmodi debent scribi cum simplicit \_. sine v. sed in pronunciatio debet \_. proferri &c." This can scarcely mean that an was pronounced as if written aun with au in the same sense as in the last rule cited. It must allude to that pronunciation of an as (aun) to which Palsgrave refers and which introduced an English (aun), suprâ p. 826, col. 1, and therefore confirms the older Eng- lish accounts.

Oy and E. "26. Item moy. toy. soy. possunt scribi cum e. vel o. per y. vel I in indifferenter. — 58. Item in accusatiuo singulari scribent me in reliquis casibus moy." This, together with Barcleys's names of the letters, p. 805, is well illustrated by the curious passage from Sylvius, p. 824.

Final Consonants. "27 Item quandocomque aliqua dictio incipiens a consonante sequitur aliqua diccionum terminantem in consonante in racionibus pendentibus [in connected phrases] consonans interioris diccionis postest scribi. Sed in pronunciacione non proferri vt a pres manger debet sonari a pre manger. — 29. Item I. M. N. T. C. K. quamvis consonans subsequetur bene possunt sonari per se vel per mutationem literae." Does this mutation refer to the following? "51. Item scias quod hoc littere C. D. E. F. G. N. P. S. et T. Debent mutari in sono in strictura c. ante vocalem ut clerici clers et debet in gallico cleris rudi homines ruds hommes et debet sonari ruz homemes. bones dames debent bon dames et tunc u. sonari solempne vsis hounte [homme?] loget vis homme et sic De alij.-52. Item quando ista dictio graunt sight magnitudem adjungitur cum feminino genere ita vt e sit sequens t. mutatur in D. vt grande dame grande charge." Observe this xvi th century use of English sight for great, as an adjective.—"53. Item quando grant adungitour masculino generi vt grant seignour vt quando signat confessionem non mutabitur t. in D. quamuis E. sequitur vt iay grante."

GN. "39. Item quandocomque hee litera .n. scribitur immediate post g. quamuis sonet ante g. non debet immediate prescriber vt significat &c.—40. Item si .n. sonat g. et non subsequitur bene potest A immediate prescriber.—41. Item seignour ton seignour son seignour. —92. Item quandocomque .n. sequitur I in media diccione in diuersis sillabis g debet interponi vt certaignement be- nignement &c. sed g non debet sonari. All these seem to refer awkwardly and obscurely to (nj).

GU, QU. "46. Item qi eo quant consueuerunt scriber per k sed apud modernos mutatur k. in q. concordent cum latino I k. non reperitur in qo qud quis sed I.— 54. Item posr G. vel E. quamuis v scribatur non debet sonari vt quatre guerre. Debent sonari qatre genre."

Words Like and Unlike. "50. Item diuersitas stricture facit Differentiam aliquam quamuis in voce sint consimiles verbi gratia ciel seel seal celec eelee ooy quoy moael cerf serf teindre. tenir attendre [Génin has: teindre tendre tenir attendre] esteant esteyant aymer amer foail fel stal [Génin: feal] veelle viel veile ville ville [Génin; veelle viel veile ville] brahel brefal erde herde cuerdre essil huissel assel nief neif suf suf noef [Génin: sooef] boale. baile balee litter liret fornier forer forier rastel rastuer mesure meseire piel peal berziz berzi grisil grele grele tone tone neyng neyng. The transcript was made by Mr. Parker of Oxford, but the proof has not been read by the original; Génin certainly often corrected as he edited; here the transcript is strictly followed.—"86. Item habetur diuersitas inter apparende prendre et reprendre oez oeps vys et huys kunyl et kenil. —90. Item habetur diuersitas inter estreym strawe et estreym hansel.—91. Item inter daym et daym."

These seem to be all the passages bearing upon the present dis-
cussion. They are not numerous, nor very important, nor always very intelligible, but they seem all to point to such a previous state of pronunciation of French, as our English experience would lead us to suppose might have preceded that of the xvth century so imperfectly colligible from the writings of contemporary orthoepists.

It should also be mentioned that the Claudius Holyband whose French Littelton is described on p. 227, note, under date 1609, is called Holliband in a previous edition of the same book, dated 1566, in the British Museum. This is 3 years before Hart's book, and as this older edition also contains the passage cited supra p. 228, note, saying that the English seem to Frenchmen to call their u like you, and to name q kion, whereas the Frenchmen pronounce like the Scotch u in gud, while Hart gives iu as the English sound, and identifies it with the Scotch and French vowels (see especially p. 796, note, col. 1, [88])—we are again led into uncertainty as to the sound that Hart really meant, and to consider that the (iu) sound, though acknowledged by no orthoepist before Wilkins, may have penetrated into good society at a much earlier period. Again, the confusion of spelling in Holyband and Holliband, reminds us of Salesbury's identification of holy and holly (supra p. 779, l. 2 from bottom). And lastly it should be mentioned that this name is but a translation, and that the author's real name, as he writes it elsewhere, is Desainliens (under which his works are entered in the British Museum Catalogue) being the same as Livet's de Saint-Lien, or à Santo Vinculosupra p. 33, l. 8 from bottom). The Latin work there cited is not in the British Museum, but as its date is 1580, and the 1566 edition of the French Littelton there preserved does not differ sensibly from that of 1609 here quoted, this occasions no incompleteness in the present collections from French Orthoepists of the xvth century.


Bullokar concludes his Book at Large with a prose chapter between two poetical ones. The poetry is so bad that the reader will be glad to pass it over. The prose contains a little information amidst an overpowering cloud of words; and as a lengthened specimen of this important contribution to the phonetic writing of the xvi th century is indispensable, I shall transliterate his Chapter 12. There is some difficulty in doing so. Long a, e, y, o are lengthened by accents thus ā, ē, ĕ, ō when they apparently mean (aa, ee, ii, oo), and i is said to be lengthened by doubling as iy, yi, when it would also be (ii) according to the only legitimate conclusion at which I could arrive in treating of Bullokar's pronunciation of this sound, pp. 114, 817, note. The mention of this combination iy, yi, which amounts to a reduplication of i, although I have not found any instance in which it had been used by Bullokar, and the constant omission of any distinction between long and short i, confirm the
former theory that he called long \( i (ii) \). In the present transcript only such vowels are marked long as Bullokar has actually so marked, or indicated by rule, as \( uu, yy \). Bullokar's doubled consonants, though certainly pronounced single, have also been retained. Bullokar has also a sign like Greek \( \zeta \) which he uses for both \( s \) and \( z \), but which he identifies with \( s \). It will be transliterated \((s)\) or \( (z)\) according to circumstances. Bullokar's grammatical "pricks and strikes" are entirely omitted. They have no relation to the sound, and are quite valueless in themselves, although he laid great store by them. On the other hand I have introduced the accent mark, for which he has no sign. The title of the chapter is left in ordinary spelling.

\[ \text{¶ The 12. Chapter.} \]

Sheweth the use of this amendment, by matter in prose with the same orthography, containing arguments for the premisses.

Hii-r-in \( iz \) sheu\'ed an ek'sersiiz of dhe amend\'ed ortog-rafi biisfoor-sheu\'ed, and dhe yys of dhe priks, stri\'iks, and noots, for de\'viid\'iq of sil\'lab\'iz akord\'iq tuu dhe ryylz biisfoor sheu\'ed. Wheer-in \( iz \) tuu bii noot\'ed, dhat no art, ek'sersiiz, miks\'tyyr, si\'ens, or okky-pas\'ion, what-soever, \( iz \) inklyyd\'ed in oon thiq oon\'li: but nath in \( it \) sever\'al disti\'q-sionz el\'ements, prin\'sip\'lz, or deviz\'ionz, bi dhe whit\sh dhe saam kum\'eth tuu niz per\'fet yys. And bikauz-dhe siq\'g'l deviz\'ionz for ii\'q\'ish spiitsh, aar at dheis dai so unper\'fetl\'i pri\'tyyred, bi dhe el\'ements (whit\sh wii ka\'l let\'terz) pro\'viid\'ed for dhe saam (az mai appli\'r plain\'li in dheis fo\'mer treet\'is) \( Il \) nay set furth dhis wurk for dhe amend\'ed of dhe saam: whit\sh \( Ii \) noop wwl bii ta\'k\'n in gud part akkord\'iq tuu mi meen\'iq: for dhat, dhat it sha\'l sav tshardz\'h\'ez in dhe elder sort, and sav greet tiiim in dhe ruth, tuu dhe greet komod\'ti of a\'l estaats, un\'tuu whuum \( it \) iz nes\'esar\', dhat dheer bii a knou\'ledzh of dhereh dyy\'ti, un\'tuu God tshii\'f\'li, and dhen dhereh dyy\'ti oon tuu an udh\'er: in knou\'iq of whit\sh dyy\'ti kon\'si\'st\'eth dhe nap\'i estaat\' of manz lii\'f: for ig\'norans kauz\'c\'h\'e man\'i tuu gooo utt of dhe wai, and dhat of a\'l estaats, \( in \) whuum ig\'norans duuth rest: wheer-bi God iz greet\'li dis\'pleez\'ed, dhe kom\'on kw\'ietnes of men mind\'ered: greet komon welths de\'viid\'ed, madzh\'istraats dis\'obei\'d, and infere\'orz des\'pie\iz\'ed: priv\'at gain and eez sowht and dheer-br a kom\'on wo wrowht.

And az dhe dzhudzh\'ment of dhe kom\'on welth and wo, duuth not li in priv\'at per\'sonz, (and spe\'si\'lli of dhe infere\'or sort,) jet owht dheer tuu bii in ew\'eri oon a kaar of niz dyy\'ti, dhat niz priv\'at li\'f bii not kon\'tara\'i tuu dhe kom\'on kw\'ietnes, and welth of a\'l men dzhen\'era\'lli, (and spe\'si\'lli of dhe wel mind\'ed sort, whu waa tuu bii boor\'n widha\'l: \( in \) sum respekts: for dheir ig\'norans, when it ree\'t\'eth not tuu dhe giiv\'iq okkar\'ion of liik offens in udh\'er: for whuu kan wash niz nandz kleen of a\'l fa\lts?

And syy\'erli (in mi opin\'ion) az fa\lts nav dheer biig\'in\'iq of dhe
first fa'l of Ad'am, so iz dhe saam enkrees'ed bi i'g-norans: dhohw sum wuuld ter'm it tuu bii dhe mudh'er of god'lines: for if men we'er not i'g-norant, but did knoou wheer-in trry felis'iti did konsist, dhei wuuld not fa'l in'tuoo soo man'i e'orz, tuu dis-kve'et dheir miin'dz, and enda'n-dzher dheir bod'iiz for tran'storn thiqz, and sum'tiizm for ver'i trif'lz. But sum wii saii, a'li thiqz in dhis wor'dd aar tran'storn, whith h'I wii konfes', az tuutsh'iq a'li kree'tyyrz and ek'sersiizzez in dhe saam.

Jet dhe gift of spitsh and wriit'iq iz liik'liest tuu kontin'yy with dhe last, az loq az dheer iz an'i bi'i'iq of man: and for dhat, it iz dhe spes'ia'l gift of God, wheer-bi wii bii instrukt'ed of uur dyy'tiz from tiim tuu tiim, booth nuu, nav biin, and sha'll bii az loq az dheer iz an'i bi'i'iq of man, let us yyy dhe saam in dhe perf'estest yys, for eez, prof'it, and kontin'yyans, whiths dh's amend'ment wii perf'oo'r'm in iiq'lish spitsh, and niin'dereth not dhe reed'iq and wrriit'iq of udh'er laq'gadzh: for h'I nav left uut no let'er biiform in yys. And dhohw wii duu sum-what var'i from udh'er nas'ionz in dhe naam'iq of sum let'terz, (spes'ia'lli wheer wii nav dif'feriq suund'z in vois,) jet dheer iz no fa'l't in it, as loq az wii yyy naamz agrii'iq tuu uur oon laq'gadzh: and in udh'er laq'gadzh, let us yyy naamz akkord'iq tuu dhe suund of dhe saam laq'gadzh, dhe wii wuuld leer'n, if dhe bii provi'ded of suf'si'ent let'terz: and if dhe ortog'rafi for dheir laq'gadzh bi unper'fet, whuu niid tuu bii offend'ed, if wii (for spii'di lee'r'niiq) yyy fig'yyrz and naamz of let'terz, akkord'iq tuu dhe suundz of dheir spitsh.

Dhe Lat'in mai remai'n az it duuth, bikauz: it iz yyy'ed in so man'i kun'triiz, and dhat buuks print'ed in iiq'land mai bii yyy'ed in udh'er kun'triiz, and liik-wiiiz dhe print'iq in udh'er kun'triiz, mai bii yyy'ed mir: but if a teets'h or (for dhe eez of a juq iiq'lish leer'nor of dhe Lat'in) duu ad dhe struik tuu c. g. i. v.1 bikauz' of dheir dii-ver'z sev'er'al suundz, and naam th as it wii but oon let'er, az th: and sai dhat: u: after q iz syypper'flyyus:2 and tsha'ndzh z: for z: so suund'ed biitwiin twuu vuu'elz, whuu kuul'd dzhust'li siind fa'l't with-a'l? when dhe Lat'in iz so suund'ed bi us iiq'lish: whiths unper'fetnes must bii maad plain bi oon wai or udh'er tuu a leer'r'nor and must bii duunn eihd'er bii per'fet fig'yyr of per'fet namagrii'iq tu niiz suund in a word, or bi dub'1 naam'iq of letterz dub'1 suund'ed: udh'erwiiiz, dhe leer'r'nor must of neses'siti leer'n bi root, ges, and loq yys: az uur nas'ion waz driv'en tu duu in leer'r'niq of iiq'lish spitsh whiths waz nard'er tuu bii leer'ned (dhohw miw nad dhe suund and yys dheer-of from niiz in fansi) dhan dhe Lat'in, wheer-of mi'n der'stud nev'er a word, nor skant mi'i ardd an'i word dheer-of, suund'ed in a'l niiz liit biiform; dhe rez'n meer-of waz, bikauz: dhe let'terz in yys for Lat'in, did a'llmost furniish ev'er i sev'er'al diviz'ion in dhe saam spitsh: eksept'iq dhe dub'1 suund'ed lett'erz afoor'said:

1 Bullokar uses e', g', v' for (a, dzh, v), and i, for (dzh). Italics here in-dicate ordinary spelling.
2 Bullokar writes g alone for qu in the sense of (kw) or rather (kw).
whitsh dub'1l and treb'1l suund'iq (no duut) gryy1 bi' korrup'tiq
dhe saam from tîim tuu tîim, bi udher nas'ionz, or bi dhe Lat'în
dhemselyz: miq'g'led with uth'er nas'ionz: for (îe suppooz') dhe
Ital'îan duuth not at dhis dai maak: i: a kon'sonant biifoor' an'i
vuu-el, and giiv un'tuu it dhe suund of: dzh: az wii iiq'lish duu
a'l'waiz in dhat plas; but maak'eth it a sil'lab'l of it'self, az in
dhis word: iacob: of thrii sil'lab'lz in Lat'în: iacobus of fou'îr
sil'lab'lz; and wii iiq'lish sai, dzhak'ob: of twuu sil'lab'lz,
dzhakob'us of thrii sil'lab'lz; and in miir iiq'lish: Dzhamaaz: of
oon ool'sil'lab'l; dhe Ital'îan a'l'so for dhe suund of uur: dzh: writ'eth
gi: whitsh iz not yzz'ed in dhe Lat'în but: g: oon'î for douoz
twuu suundz of ,g, and, dzh: or, i, biifoor' a, o, u, and sum'tîim
biifoor' ,e, in Lat'în: bi' whitsh wii mai a'l'so ges, dhat ,c, in Lat'în
at dhe big'in'iq mad dhe suund of ,k, oon'î, for dhat, dhe
Lat'în nath dhe suund of :k: and noo udh'er let'ter jild'ed dhat
suund, but ,c, oon'î in dhe Lat'în: eksscept': qu: suplîved dhe ruum
sum tîim: for dhe Lat'în receiv2 not ,k, in'tuu dhe num'ber of dheid
let'zerz. And for dhe nis'iq suund of ,c, (thownt radh'ër tuu bii
krept in bi' lit'1l and let'1l) dhe Lat'în was sufis'iem'tli proviîed bi
dheid let'er ,s, whuu suund wii iiq'lish duu moost tiiimz in dhe
Lat'în, and in uur o'ld ortd'graft, yzz in yz suund of ,z, when ,s,
kum'eth biitwiin: twuu vuu'elz: whitsh ,s, iz thowht tu bii no
Lat'în let'er: and dheer-foor it mai bii thowht dhat dhe Lat'în
rint'lî suund'ed did not jild so groon'iq a suund in dheir his'iq
suund of :s.

And for uur thrii suundz yzz'ed in ,v, dhe Frentsh duu at dhe's
dai yzz oon'î twuu un'tuu it: dhat iz, dhe suund agrii'iq tuu uiz
o'ld and kon'tin'yyed naam, and dhe suund of dhe kon'sonant ,v,
wheer-bî wii mai a'l'so ges, dhat dhe Lat'în at dhe big'in'iq yzz'ed ,v,
for dhe suund of dhe kon'sonant: and yzz'ed :u: for dhe suund of dhe
vuu'el.

But nuu-soeuer dub'1l or treb'1l suund'iq of let'erz kaam in:
whî iz it not lau'ful tuu enkrees' let'erz and fig.yyyrz, when suundz
in spittsh arri enkrees'ed ? for spittsh was kaz of let'erz: dhe
whitsh whuu-soeuer first invent'ed, nii nad a regard tuu dhat
diviz'ionz dhat mint bii maad in dhe vois, and waz wîl'iq tuu
proviîd: for e'v'er of dhem, az wel az for oon, or sum of dhem:
and if (sîns dhat tîim) dhe suundz in vois nuv bîn fuund tuu bii
man'î moo and div'erz, amoq' sum udh'er pii'p', whî should not
let'erz bii aksept'ed, tuu fur'nîsh dhat laq'gadh whitsh iz prop'r
tuu a god'îs and siv'rî nas'ion of kon'tin'yya'î guv'er'nment, az
dhis uur nas'ion iz? and dhe bet'er iz, and e'v'er shâl bii if leere'n'iq
(with Godz gras) flur'ish in dhe saam: dhe grund of whitsh
leer'niq, and dhe yys and kon'tin'yyans dheer-of iz let'erz, dhe

1 Bullokar writes "gre'w, thre'w." He represents (ii) by e', and (u) by
v or u with a small semicircle below which may be indicated by Italics.
Then after distinctly referring his simple v or u to French (yy), in his
11th Chap. he marks as synonymous the signs: e'v, e'v, v, u, e'w. Hence
his gre'w, thre'w'=(gryy, thrry) and have been so transcribed.

2 Misprinted (reseui).
un-perfetnes wheer-of ov'er-thryy man'i gud wits at dheir biig'in'q
and waz kauz of loq tium lost in dhem dhat spiidd best.

Dhe Lat'in waz moost-eez'i tuu us iiq'lish tuu bi Lee'ned first,
bikauz' of xxj. let-terz, xiij. or xiij. weer per-felt'per-fet, agrii'q
in naam and suund, and no letter mispla'sed, sypperflyus, or
suund-ed, and not writ'n, eksept: in abrevias'ionz, and eksept: bi
mis-yys (az ti taak it) wii iiq'lish suund'ed ignaru's az iqcar'us:
* magnus * az maqnu's. A'l'so lignum az lignum, and so of udh'er
wordz, wheer a vu'el kaam nekt bifoorr: g: in oon sil'lab'1, and
n: biigan' an udh'er sil'lab'1 fol'ouqi: a'l-so dhe un-per-fet
let-terz of dub'-1 or treb'-1 suund in Lat'in, had oon of dhooz
suundz, agrii'q tuu dhe naam ov dhem, so dheer want'ed but fiv
or siks fig'yyrz or let-terz tuu fur'nish 'everi severa'l divizi'onz of
dhe vois in dhe Lat'in, az wii iiq'lish suund dhe saam: whits'h bi
dheez, o' g' i' e' (tuu biu suppooz'ed radh'er ab-yyz'ed bi
tshaa'ndzh of trism, dhan so un-ser'tein at dhe biig'in'q,) bisiw'dz-
dhie, dhe Lat'in nath dhe aspiras'ion or let-ter (k) ver'i siil'dum
after an'i kon'sonant in oon sil'lab'1, and dhat after :t in dhe
suund of :th: ooni'i and after :z: in dhe suund of :k: ooni'i, and
after :r: in dhe suund of :r: ooni'i, in a few wordz deriv'ed from
dhe griik; neid'h'er nath dhe Lat'in dhe suund of, tsh. ii. uu. sh.
dh. w. wh. j, (nor dhe suund of the thrii half vuu'elz, 'l. 'm. 'n.
in dhe per-fet suund of iiq'lish spiits'h) neid'h'er in siq'g.11 let'ter,
sil'lab'1, nor suund in word: a'l whits'h aar ver'i kom'on in iiq'lish
spiits'h.

Whee'er-for dhe Lat'in teetch'orw, with Lat'in ortog'rafi, did not
(nor kuuld) suffis'entli fur'nish iiq'lish spiits'h with let'terz, but
patsh'ed it up az wel az dhei kuuld (or at dhe least, az wel az dhei
wuuld) but nothi'q per-fet for iiq'lish spiits'h, az appiir'eth bi dhe
foor'mer trec'tis, so dhat of, xxxvij. severa'1 divizi'onz in vois
for iiq'lish spiits'h,1 ooni'i dheez siks, a. b. d. f. k. x. weer per-felt'
per-fet, and dheer-bi xxxi divizi'onz in vois unper-felt'fur'nished:
 whee'er-of sum aar ut'er'i want'iq, sum dub'-1 or treb'-1 suund'ed,
and sum mis-naam'ed, biisid'd sum mis-plas'ed, sum writ't'n, and
not suund'ed, and sum suund'ed dhat aar nor writ't'n. Whits'h
un-per-fetnes maad dhe nat'iv iiq'lish tuu spend loq tium in lee'niq
tuu reed and writ dhe saam (and dhat tshii'li bi root) nolyp'n bi
konti'nya'el ek'sersiz' bifoorr nad in wiz eerz, bi mi'ariq
udh'er, and bi wiz oon yus of speek'qiq whits'h wii waz fain
tuu leen moor un'tuun; dhan tu dhe giid'qf of dhe o'ld ortog'rafi,
so far un-per-fet for iiq'lish spiits'h: whits'h nelp of ek'sersiz
bifoorr. sheu'ed in dhe nat'iv iiq'lish, dhe stran'dzher was
ut'ter'l1 void of, biisid'd sum stran'dzh divizi'onz of suundz in
vois in iiq'lish spiits'h, amoq'. stran'dzherz, ut'ter'l1 un-yyz'ed:

1 Bullokars 37 letters as given in his
eleventh chapter will be found supr' p.
37, l. 19 from bottom. Several of his
letters are in duplicate, for the purpose
of keeping his spelling like the old, and
making changes chiefly by points. In
a second enumeration he adds k, ph, r'
= (k, f, r').

2 Bullokars signs for (s, dzh, dzh,
u, y) respectively, the second and third
being the same.
wh'lish kauz'ed dhem at dhe first sii't, not oon'li tuu kast dhe buuk awai', but a'l'so tuu thiqk and sai, dhat uur spiitsh was so ryyd and bar'barus, dhat it was not tuu bii lee'rned, bi wrït'iq or prïnt'iq: wh'lish dispaïr' man'i of uur oon nasi'on (wil'iq tuu lee'n) did fa'l in tuu: for dhe moor wil'iq nii was tuu fol'ceu dhe naam of dhe let'ter, dhe fard'er-of nii waz, from dhe tryy sound of dhe word: and ad'i q niir-untuu: an un-pas'ient and un-diskreet- tectsh'or, man'i gud wits weer o'er-throuou'n in dhe biig'in'iq, whuu (udh'erwiiz mïnt nav gon foo'r-ward, not oon-lik reed'iq and wrït'iq dheir nat'iv laq'gadzh, but a'll'so (bi dhe abil'iti of dheir friindz) prosïd'ed in greet'er duu'iqz, tuu dheir oon prof'it and stei in dhe kom'on welth a'l'so: of wh'lish sort, weer dhe juth of noo'bl blud, and sutsh az nad par'ents of greet abil'iti: whuuu par'ents (throwh tend'er luiv) kuul'd not hard'li enfor's dhem tuu treed dhat pain'ful mauaz: and dhe juth fiïnd'iq it nard, and dheer-bi nad noo del'int dheer-in, took an'i dhe leest okkaz'ion tuu bii ok'kyypiied udh'erwiiz wheer-bri knou'ledzh waz lak'iq in sutsh, in whuum dhe kom'on welth (for dheir abil'iti and kred'iq) re- kwiiz'ed, and sutsh az bi a'll ree'n mïnt bii liüts tuu giid udh'er, and steiz tu up-no'ld udh'er, nav biin driv'n man'i tuu tuu bi gïd'ed bi udh'er dheir far-infer'sorz: whuu (for nes'si'i or udher okkaz'ion) man'i tiëmz ab-yzz' duu'iqz priv'at, and sum-tiim pertain'iq tuu dhe kom'on welth, whïsh iz tshiif'li mainteïn'ed bi lee'riiq (Godz gras biïfoor a'li thiqz prefer'ed): whïsh lee'rniq in dhe infer'sorz, kauz'eth dyy obé'ëns toward dhe syyper'sorz, and bii'iq in dhe syyper'sorz teecheth dyy guver'nm't, and fest'ël' teetch'eth a'll estaats: tu liv in oon yu'niq of dhe estan't of dhe kom'on welth, ever'i estaat: en dheir degrïi and ka'l'iq, not without' dhe parti'kkylar prof'it, kov'ëtines, and saaf-gard of ever'i estaat': wheer-untuu: if li' nave aded an'i thiq bi dhis mi' amend-ment-of ortog'rafi, for dhe yys and prof'it of lee'riqz and dhe saam aksept'ed akkord'iqli, li' wil not oon'li spiid'vli imprint. dhe Gram'ar, but a'll'so put mi nelp'iq nand untuu. a nes'cessari Dik'si'onari agrii'iq tuu dhe saam, if God lend me liïf, and dhat li' mai bii ee'zed in dhe bur'd'n, dhe dyy'ti bi nat'yyr kompe'l'eth mii spes'ël'li tuu taak kaar of.

**English Pronunciation of Latin in the XVIIIth Century.**

Information respecting this subject is given incidentally by Palsgrave, Salesbury, Smith, Bullokar and Gill. Palsgrave generally illustrates the French sounds by the Latin, “when pronounced aight” (supra p. 59), implying that there was a wrong, and therefor perhaps a usual pronunciation, which is the one we most desire to learn. By combining these authorities the result seems to be as follows.

A aa, a, Æ ee, B b, C k, s, CH k, D d, dh, th, E ee, e, F, f, G g, dzh, GN qn, H u, I ei, i, J dzh, K k, L l, M m, N n, NG qg, O oo o, u, Û e e, P p, QU kw, R r, S s, z, T t, th, TH th, U, yy, u, V v, X ks, Y = I, Z z.

1 By omission of the diacritics, this word is misprinted (lou).
A may have been (a, a, æ), but probably (a) only.

Æ, Æ Palsgrave says (i, 10) "be written in latine and nat sounded," i.e. I suppose, not sounded as diphthongs. It seems clear from Smith (supra p. 121) that the real sound of Æ, and therefore probably of Æ, was (ee).

C was (k) before a, o, u and (s) before e, i according to present custom, and probably (s) before æ, œ.

CH=(k) according to Bullokar, supra p. 842, l. 19.

D. The only proper sound was (d), but we find Palsgrave saying of French D (i, 30): "D in all maner thynges confermeth hym to the general rules aboue rehearsed, so that I se no particular thyng wherof to warne the lernar, save that they sounde nat d of ad in these wordes, adultere, adoption, adoulcer, like th, as we of our tongue do in these wordes of latine ath athjuandum for ad adjuan-dum corruptly." I have assumed this th to mean (dh) as being derived from d. But Salesbury writes (kwith) for quid.

E. Besides the regular sound of (ee, e), Salesbury shews that (ii) had crept in occasionally, compare (hidz· it)=legit, p. 767. I do not find this mentioned by any other authority.

G=(g) before a, o, u and (dzh) before e, i, as at present. Both Salesbury and Bullokar note and stigmatisse the use of (qn) for GN, which seems to have been in general use.

I short = (i) throughout. I long = (ei) in Salesbury, (ei) in Gill most probably. Whether Bullokar said (ii) or (ei) depends on his English pronunciation of long I. It is to be observed that he as well as Smith (p. 112), does not admit the sound of (ii) in Latin. Hence Bullokar's sound of long i must have been quite distinct from (ii), as (ii, 1) are at this day kept quite distinct in Iceland and Teviotdale, in both cases perhaps by inclining (ii) towards (ee), p. 544.

T, usually (t), but when final often (th) as (am·ath) amat, according to Salesbury, see D. Palsgrave also finds it necessary to say, in reference to the French word est: "if the next worde folowyng begyn with a vowel, it shall be sounded et : but neuer est sounding s, nor eth, soundynge t like th, for t hath neuer no suche sounde in the frenche toung," (i, 44), which seems to be directed against this Latin usage.

TH=(th) see supra p. 842, l. 19.

U vowel, when long seems to have been generally (yy) supra p. 841. But Palsgrave seems to consider this wrong, and to prefer (uu), supra p. 149. The short vowel could have been nothing but (u, u).

Examples.—Latin spelling in Italics, pronunciation in Roman letters.

Salesbury gives: agnus a·q·nus, amat am·ath, dederi·t ded·erith, dei de·ce·i, di·co de·i·ku, ego eg·u, i·gnis i·q·nis, Jesu Dzhee·zyy, legit lii·dz·ith, magnus maq·nus, qui kwei, quid kwith, sal saul, sanctus san·tus, sol soul, tibi tei·bei, tollis tou·lis, tu tyy, vidi vei·dei, but objects to every one of these pronunciations.

Bullokar writes, translating his symbols literatum: Cicero rheto-
Chap. VIII. § 5. GILL'S PHONETIC WRITING.

rīca singulos vīcit, Sīz'ero rethor'ska siq gyyllooz vi'sit, corvus non vocē coccullum kor'vus non vō'se kyykul'um, p. 4. Georgius Gigas et Gilber'tus gerunt gladium ad extinguendum gibbum germini'ntem in gula Dzheor'dzhius Dzh'gas et Gilber'tus dzherunt glad'i'um ad exstiqguen'dum grib'bum dzhermīnantem' in gyy'la, p. 5. Injustus jejunat jactu'sē non juxta juramentum Johannis indzhū's'tus dhez'dhy'nat dzha'ktyyo'ze non dzu'kst'a dzhyramen'tum Dzho'man'tis p. 5. Invisus miser non delectatur placidis musis invi'zus mi'zer non delecta'tur plas'idis myy'zis, p. 6. Vitiōsi judicium fugiunt ob punitionem stultitia sua visio'zi dzhy'dhiunt ob pyynisio' nem stultis'ce syy'vee. Unus vestrum cumulavit hunc acerum yyn'us vestrum kyyymylyavět nuqk aserv'vum, p. 7. Thraso, Tha'les, Thesse'alía, Thra'so, Tha'les, Thessa'alía. Ignarus, magnus, līgnum, ignar'us, maq'nus, liqnum. Bullokar in these examples has neglected to use his accents which mark length.


The use of (ei) for long I, seems to guarantee the old use of (ii), which may have been Bullokar's pronunciation. And the use of (yy) for long U, seems to confirm the conjecture of its old use in the same sound, suprā p. 246, rather than (uu), because as (ii) changed into (ei), so would (uu) have changed into (ou), whereas (yy) is naturally preserved. This confirms to some extent the remark on p. 583, note 8. The only other important point is the non-development of si-, ti- before a vowel, into (shr-), hereby confirming the absence of this development in English, suprā p. 214.

§ 5. Alexander Gill's Phonetic Writing, 1621, with an examination of Spenser's and Sidney's Rhymes.

Dr. Gill, born in the same year as Shakspere, and occupying the high literary position of head master of St. Paul's School, London, at the time of Shakspere's death, must obviously be considered as the best single authority for the pronunciation of the more educated classes in Shakspere's lifetime. Hence it is necessary in these examples to give prominence to what has fallen from his pen. We have had frequent occasion to lament that Dr. Gill has not explained the value of all his signs with sufficient clearness. The reasons why I suppose his j to have been (oi), and his d and au to have been (AA) will be found on pp. 115, 145.

The greatest difficulty in transcribing Dr. Gill's phonetic passages arises from the carelessness of the printing. Dr. Gill has furnished a list of Errata, which he requests may be corrected before reading, but in some instances these contain no corrections at all, and they
are exceedingly deficient. The commencing and concluding observa-
tions create difficulties:

"Syllabae quæ naturâ suæ communes sunt, possunt etiam in diffé-
terter per vocales longas aut breves describi, vt (shal) aut (shaal),
(dans) aut (daans), (bi bii, ded deed, whom whuum, modher,
mudher, sai saai, mai maaai, &c.) Quaedam accentu variant, vt ibi
dictum est: itaque in his nil titubabis. Errata leuiora præteribis:
cognita et agnita sic restitues. . . . . Quinetiam characterum
penuriam in I, pro J, quoties opus refarcies. Denique capite 25 et
deinceps, accentuum notatio, longarum vocalium quantitati veniam
inveniet."

It is evident that owing to these errors much doubt must be felt
by a reader of the xixth century on many of the very points
respecting which precise information is desirable. I had en-
deavoured to correct errors by a reference to other occurrences of
the same word. But after much consideration I determined to
give a literal transcript of the text as it stands, as I have done
for Hart and Bullokar, correcting only the errors marked in the
errata and supplying the accent mark ( '), so that the reader will
be able to form his own opinion. I have used (i) for the short i,
believing it to have been the sound intended by Dr. Gill. See also
§ 7 of this Chapter. But I have let (i) stand for short i when it
appeared to be a misprint for ì=(ii).

Almost the only examples of phonetic writing as such, given by
Dr. Gill, are Psalms 62, 67, 96, 97, 104 according to the Authorized
Version, and as that version had only been published ten years
when his book appeared, these transcripts possess a peculiar interest
and are given at length.

The poetical examples are chiefly adduced to give instances of
rhetorical figures, and are principally taken from Spenser and
Sidney,—not one line from Shakspere being quoted throughout the
book, which need not excite surprise, as the first folio edition of
Shakspere's plays did not appear till two years after the publication
of Gill's second edition. There are a few epigrams from Harrington,
a poem of Withers, a song of Ben Jonson, and one or two
other songs cited. I have thought it best to give all the longer
quotations from Spenser's Faerie Queen in the order in which they
occur in the poem, and to collect the other quotations according to
the authors. We have thus a very tolerable collection of literary
examples differing materially from the dry sticks furnished by
Hart and Bullokar. Their main interest, however, consists in their
being written phonetically by a man who was contemporary with
nearly all the writers, and who therefore was able to furnish us
with the pronunciation of English current in their time. We shall
not go far wrong if we read like Dr. Gill. At the same time he
clung to the older form of pronunciation, not admitting Harts (ee)
for at, although he does allow (deseev', konseev') which were the
current pronunciations of the xvii th century, and apparently ad-
mitted (oi, AA) which properly also belong to that period. It will
be found that his quotations from Spenser often differ from Mr. Morris's (Globe) edition, sometimes designedly, sometimes perhaps from carelessness.

How far Dr. Gill's pronunciation represented that of Spenser, Sidney, and the other authors themselves, is an interesting question; but there is no direct means of answering it. The only path open is an examination of their rhymes. Accordingly Spenser's and Sidney's rhymes will be considered immediately after the specimens which Gill has given. And in the last section of this chapter not only Shakspeare's rhymes, but also his puns will be examined for the purpose of determining his individual pronunciation.

Extracts from Spenser's Faerie Queen.

The references are to the book, canto, and stanza of the F. Q., and to the page of Gill's Logonomia.

Mutsh gan dhei praaiz dhe triiz so straikht and nei
Dhe sail'q pain' dhe see'dar proud and taal,
Dhe veinprop elm' dhe pop'lar nev'er dre'i,
Dhe biild'er ook' sooq k'iq of for'ests aal,
Dhe as'pin gud for staavz' dhe sei'pres fyy'neral.

1, 1, 8, p. 105.

Dhe laa'di sad tu sii niz soor konstraint',
Kraid out' Nou nou' sii rni eikht' shu' what ruu bii.

1, 1, 19, p. 108.

Nou', when dhe rooz'f'iq' gred morn'iq' faier
Wee'ri of aadzhe'd T'ai'thoonz safer'n bed,
Had spred mer pur'pl roob thrukh deu's aier,
And dhe naikh uelz Ti'tan diskuvered.

1, 2, 7, p. 106.

Az when tuu ramz' stird with amb's'sus proid,
Faikht for dhe ryyl of dhe fair fliss'ed flok;
Dheir morn'ed fronts so feers on eidh'er said
Du miit' dhat with dhe ter'or of dhe shok
Aston'ed booth stand sens'les as a blok,
Forget'ful of dhe naq'iq' vktoroai:'
So stuud dheez twain unmuu'ed az a rok.

1, 2, 16, p. 99.

... Mer'si' mersi' (Sir) voutsaaft' tu sheu
On sil's daam subdzhek't' tu hard mistshans'.'

1, 2, 21, p. 116.

Hiz dierest Laa'di deed with feer nii found,
1, 2, 44, p. 111.

Her siim'iq' deed nii found' with fain'ed feer.

1, 2, 45, p. 111.

ri moi frail eiz dheez leinz with teerz du stiip,
Tu thayk nou shii' thrukh gail'ful' han'diq
Dhokh tryy az tutsh' dhokh daukh'ter of a k'iq,
Dhokh faair az ever liv'iq' woikht waz fair,
Dhokh not in word nor did il mer'itiq,
Iz from mer knaikht divers'ed in dispair'.

1, 3, 2. p. 114.
Of grace li Plu to shii dhe daakht'er waz,
And sad Proser'pina dhe kwiin of hel:
Jet shii did thiq her pii'erles wurth tu pas
Dhat par'entadzh, with preid shii so did swel:
And thin'drij Dzhoov dhat noikh in nev'n duth dwel
And wild dhe world, shii klaim'ed for her soir;
Or if dhat an'i els did Dzhoov eksel';
For tu dhee no'i'est shii did stl aspoir
Or if oukht no'i'er weer dhen dhat, did it deezair'.

Ful man'i mis'tshiifs fol'ou kryy'el wrath;
Abhor'ed blud-shed, and tyymul'tyyus strowf,
Unman'li mur'dher, and unthri'fts skath,
Bot'er dsoapit, with raq'erus rust'i kneif,
Dhe swel'iq spliin, and fren'zi radzh'iq roif.

With mid'eus nor'er booth togeedh'er smaiz,
And sous so soor, dhat dheeei dhe nev'n afrai'.

Hii dzhent'lai askt, wheer aal dhe piip'li bii,
Whitsh in dhat staat'li biild'iq wunt tu dwel?
Whuu an'swereed nim ful soft, nii kuuld not tel.
Hii askt again'; wheer dhat saam knoikht was laid,
Whoom greet Orgo'lio with pyyis'ans fel
Had maad niz kai'tv thral? again' nii said,
Hii kuuld not tel. Hii asked dhen, whitsh wai
Hii in moikht pas? Ignaa'ro kuuld not tel.

But, neidh'er dark'nes foul, nor fil'thi bandz
Nor no'i'us smel, niz pur'pooz kuuld withnoold'.

But no'i'us smel niz pur'pooz kuuld not noould
But dhat with kon'stant zeel and kour'adzh bouuld,
Aft'er loq painz and laa'ores man'i'foould;
Hii found dhe meenz dhat priz'ner up tu reer.

Dhen shal ei juu rekount; a ryy'ful kaas
(Said nii) dhe whitsh with dhis unluk'ei
qi laat biimeld'; and nad not greet'er graas
Mii reft from it', had biin partaak'er of dhe plaas.

Wii met dhat vil'an, dhat veil mis'kreant,
Dhat kurs'ed woikht, from whoom ei skaapt wholeer',
A man of hel, dhat kaalz himselt' Despair'.

For what nath loif, dhat mai it luv'ed maak?
And givz not raadh'er kaaz it dai'loi tu forsaak?
Feer, siknes, aadzh, los, laa'bor, sor'ouou, straij,
Pain, ruq'ger, koold, dhat maaks dhe nart tu kwaak;
And ever fik'l fort'yyn radzh'iq raif;
:AAl wh'tsh, and thouz'andz moo, duu mak a loth'sum laif.

Hii dhat dhe blud-red bul'ououz, leik a waal
On eidi'er said dispart'ed with niz rod;
Tel AAl niz arm'oi drai-fuut thruhk dhem rod.

Dhis said, adoun: nii luuk'ed tu dhe ground
Tu naav returnd; but daazed weer niz ein
Thruhk pas'iq braikht'nes wh'tsh did kwet konfound.
Hiz fiib'l sens, and tuu eksii'd'iq shein.
So dark aar th'qz on eerth kompaard tu th'qz di'vein.'

So doun nii fel, and fuurth niz loif did breeth
Dhat van'isht in'tu smook, and kloud'ez swift:
So doun nii fel, dhat dh'erth n'um underneeth.
Did groon, az fiib'l so greet lood tu lift:
So doun nii fel, az a nyydzh rok'i kliff
Whuuz faals foundaa'sion waavz hav washt awai,
And rouul'iqg doun greet Nep't'yyn duth dismai;
So doun nii fel, and laik a heep'ed moun'tain lai.

So doun mi fel, and laik a nyydzh rok'" kliff
"Whailz dhe are week, bitaimz* with dhem kontend,
For when dhe eins tu per'fekt streqth dh groou,
Stroq warz dhei maak, and kryy'el bat'r* bend
Gainst fort of Reez'n, it tu overthroom.
Wraith dzhel'osi, griif, luv, dhis skweir nav laid thus loou.

Wraith dzhel'osi, griif, luv, du dhus ekspel'
Wraith is a fair, and dzhel'osi a wiid:
Griif iz a fluid, and luv a mon'ster fel:
Dhe fair of sparks, dhe wiid of ist'i siid;
Dhe fluid of drops, dhe mon'ster filth did briid:
But sparks, siid, drops, and filth du thus delai:
Dhe sparks suun kwentsh, dhe spriq'iq siid outwiid;
Dhe drops drii up, and filth woip kleen awai,
So shal wrath, dzhel'osi, griif, luv, daii and dekai.'

Wraith, dzhel'osi, griif, luv, du dhus ekspel,
Wraith is a fair, and dzhel'osi a wiid;
Griif iz a fluid, and luv a mon'ster fel:
Dhe fair of sparks, dhe wiid of ist'i siid;
Dhe fluid of drops, dhe mon'ster filth did briid:
But sparks, siid, drops, and filth du thus delai:
Dhe sparks suun kwentsh, dhe spriq'iq siid outwiid;
Dhe drops drii up, and filth woip kleen awai,
So shal wrath, dzhel'osi, griif, luv, daii and dekai.'

No trii, whuuz bran'tshez did not braavy'ls spriq;
No bran'tsh, wheron' a fein burd did not sit;
No burd, but did mis shril noot suwit'laei siq;
No soq, but did kontain' a luv'le'i dit,
Trijz, bran'tshez, burdz, and soqz, weer fraam'ed fit
For to alyyr' frail moindz tu kaar'les eez:
Kaar'les dhe man suun woks, and niz week wir
850  Gill's Pronunciation of Spenser.  Chap. VIII. § 5.

Waz ov'er kum of thiq dhat did him pleez.
So pleez'ed, did his wrath'ful kuur'adzh fair speez'.
2, 6, 13.  p. 123.

And is dher kaar in neev'n? and is dher luv
In neev'n loi spir'its tu dheez kreet'tyrz baas,
Dhat mai kompa'sion of dher iiv'iz muuv?
2, 8, 1.  p. 118.

... Aal dhat plees'iq is tu liv'iq eer,
Waz dheer konsort'ed in oon nar'monii.
Burdz, vois'ez, in'stryyments, waa'lerz, weindz, aal agrii.

Dhe dzhoi'i us burdz shroud'ed in tsheer'ful shaad
Dheir noots un'tu dhe vois attem'pred swii:
Dh- andzheel'ikal soft trem'blq vois'ez maad
Tu dh- in'stryyments d'vo'in respon'dens miit:
Dhe sil'ver sound'iq in'stryyments did miit
With dhe bazz mur'mur of dhe waa'terz faal:
Dhe waa'terz faal with dif'rens d'kskrii:
Nou soft, nou loud, un'tu dhe weind did kaal,
Dhe dhent'1 war'blq weind loou an'swered un'tu aal.
2, 12, 70, 71.  p. 118.

Ne let niz faair'cst Sín'thai refyyz
In mir'orz moor dhen oon nerself' tu sii,
But eigh' er Gloor'aa'na let nír tshyyz
Or in Belfee'be fash'ioned tu bii:
In dh- oon ner ryyl, in dh- odh'er ner raar tshast'iitii.
Pref. to 3. st. 5.  p. 101.

Hyydzh see of sor'oou, and tempest'eus griif,
Wheer'in moi fiib'1 bark iz tos'ed loq,
Far from dhe noop'ed naavn of reliif':
Whai du dhoi kryy'el b'l'ooz beet so stroq,
And dhai moist mount'ainz eetsh on oother throq,
Threet'iq tu swal'oou up moi' feer'ful loif?
O du dhoi kryy'el wrath and spoit'ful wroq
At leqth alai', and stint dhoi storm'z stroif,
Whitsh in dhheez trub'led bou'elz rainz and raadzh'eth roif.
For els moi fiib'1 ves'el, kraazd and kraakt,
Kan'ot endyyr'.
3, 4, 8,  p. 99.

Fordhoi' shii gaav núm warn'iq ev'eri daai
Dhe luv of wím'en not tu entertain';
A lesn tuu tu hard for liv'iq klaai.
3, 4, 26.  p. 100.

So t'k'1 bii dhe termz of mortaal staat,
And ful of sut'1 sof'zmz whitsh du plai
With dub'1 sens'ez, and with faal's debaat.'
3, 4, 28.  p. 97.

Unthaq'ful wretsh (said nii), iz dhis dhe miid
With whitsh her soverain mer'si dhou dust kwoit?
Dhoi leif shii saav'ed bei her graa'ssus diid:
But dhou dust meen with vel'enus dispait:
Tu blot her on'or and her heev'nli loikht.
Dai, radh'er dei, dhen so disloi' aloi
Diim of her noikh dezert', or siim so loikht,
Faair deeth it iz tu shun moor shaam, dhen dai;
Dai, radh'er dai, dhen ev'er luv disloi' aloi.

But if tu luv disloi' aloi it bii,
Shal ei dhen naat her [dhat] from deeth'ez door
Mii broukht? an, far bii sush reprootsh' from mii.
What kan ei les du dhen her luv dherfoor',
Sith ei her dyy reward' kannot' restoor'? 
Dai, raadh'er dai, and doi'q duu her serv,
Dai'q her serv, and liv'iq her adoor'.
Dhai loif shii gaav, dhai loif shii duth dezerv'.
Dai, raadh'er dai, dhen ev'er from her serv's swerv.

Diskurt'eus, disloi' aal Brit'omart;
What ven'dzhans dyy can ek'wal dhei dezart;
Dhat nast with shaam'ful spot of sin'ful lust,
Defaild' dhe pledzh komit'ed tu dhai trust?
Let ug' loi shaam and end' les in' famai
Kul' er dhai naam with foul reproo'tshez rust.

Amoq' dheez knoikhts dheer weer thrii bredh'ern boould,
Thrii booulder bredh'ern nover wer iborn',
Born of oon mudh'er in oon nap'i mquold,
Born at oon birdh'en in oon nap'i morn,
Throiz nap'i mudh'er, and thrais nap'i morn,
Dhat boor thrii suth, thrii suth not tu bii fond.
Her naam waz Ag'ape, whuuz tshiltr'dren weern
: Aal thrii az oon; dhe first noikht Prai'amond,
Dhe sek'ond Dai'amond, dhe ruq'gest Trai'amond.

Stout Prai'amond, but not so stroq tu stroik;
Stroq Dai'amond, but not so stout a knaikht;
But Trai'amond, waz stout and stroq aloik'.
On nors'bak yy'zed Trai'amond tu foikht,
And Prai'amond on fuut nad moor delait';
But nors and fuut kny'y Dai'amond tu wild,
With kurt'aks yy'zed Dai'amond tu smaıt;
And Trai'amond tu mand'l speer and shiild,
But speer and kurt'aks both, yyzd Prai'amond in fiild.

... Doun on dhe blud'i plain
Herself' shii thryy, and teerz gan shed amain',
Amoqst' her teerz imm'ks'iq prai'erz miik,
And with her prai'erz, reez'nu tu restrain'.
From blud'i stroif.

4, 3, 47.  p. 110.
Shii held 'hir wrath'ful hand from ven'dzhans soor. But draa'iq neer, eer mii 'hir wel bheld:
Iz dhis dhe faith (shii said?) and said no moor,
But turnd 'hir fast, and fled awair for evermoor.

Fresh shad'oouz, fit tu shroud from sun'i rai;
Fair landz, tu taak dhe sun in seez'n dry;
Swiit spriqz, in whitsh a thouz'and niim's did plai;
Soft rum'bliq bruunks, dhat dzhent'l slumb'er dryy;
Heikh reer'ed mounts, dhe landz about tu vvy;
Loou luuk'iq daalz, disloind' from kom'on gaaz;
Delait-ful bourz, tu sol'as lu'verz tryy;
Fair lab'erinths, fond nurerz eiz tu daaz:

Extracts from Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia.

. . . Reez'n tu mi pas'ion iild'ed
Pas'ion un'tu mi raadzh, raadzh tu a nast' i revendzh.
And naav'iq plaast mai thoukhts, maithoukhts dhus plaas'ed mii,
Mii thoukht; na'i, syyr oi waz, oi waz in faair'est Wud
Of Samothe' a land, a land dhat whail'um stund
An on'or tu dhe world, wheil on'or waz dheiirend.

Dhe feir tu sii mii wroqd for aq'ger burn'eth,
Dhe aai'er in teerz for mien afl'sk'sion wiip'eth,
Dhe see for griif tu eb niz floou'iq turn'eth,
Dhe eerth with piti' dul ner sen'ter kiip'eth,
Faam iz with wund'er blaaz'ed,
Teim fiiz awai' for sor'ouu,
Plaas stand'eth stil amaaaz'ed,
Tu sii mai naikht of iiv'lz whitsh nath no mor'ouu.
Alas, aal oon'loi shii no piti' taak'eth
Tu knouu mai miz'eraiz, but tshaast and kryyel
Mai faal 'hir gloo'ri maak'eth.
Jit stil niz eiz giv tu mai flaamz dheir fyyel.
Fair, burn mii kwoit tel sens of burn'iq lee mii:
Aier, let me draa dhis breth no moor in aq'guish:
See, dround in dhii of vital breth bireev' mii:
Erth, taak dhis eerth wheerin' moi spir'its laq'guish:
Faam, sai oi waz not born,
Teim, nast mai dai'iq ou'er:
Plaas, sii mai graav uptorn:
Fair, aier, see, eerth, faam, teim, plaas, sheu ruur pour.
Alas', from Aal dheir helps am oi eksaild',
For herz am oi, and deeth feerz nir displeez'yyr;
Fei deeth, dhou art bigail'ed,
Dhokh oi bii herz, shii sets bei mii no treez'yyr.

Extracts from Sir John Harrington's Epigrams (A.D. 1561-1612).
Fei but a mans disgraast', noo'ted a nov'is.
Yee but a mans moor graast, noo'ted of no vais.
Dhe miid of dhem dhat luv, and du not liv amis'.

Markus neer seest tu ven' ter Aal on proim,
Til of niz adzh kwet waast'ed waz dhe proim.

Wheer dwelz Mister Kaar'les?
Dzhest'erz nav no dwel'iq.
Wheer leiz ni?
In niz tuq bei moost menz tel'iq.
Wheer boordz ni?
Dheer wheer feests aar found bei smel'iq.
Wheer baits ni?
AAl behaind', gainst Aal men jel'iq.

Konsern'iq weizv noould dhis a ser'tain ryyl,
Dhat if at first juu let dhem naav dhe ryyl,
Juursel'f at last with dhem shal naav no ryyl,
Eksept' juu let dhem ev'er-moor tu ryyl.

Songs and Miscellaneous Extracts.

Kroun dhoi dezairz' with a thou'zand wisht konten'tiqz?
Kannot dhe tshauns of a naikt or an ouer
Kros dhoi deloats' with a thou'zand sad tormen'tiqz?
Fortyyn, on'or, beu'ti, jyyth,
Aar but blos'umz di'iq [doi'iq]:
Wanton pleez'yyr, doot'iq luv,
Aar but shad'douz floi'iq.
AAl our dzhoiz, aar but toiz
qid'1 thoughts deeseev'iq.
Noon nath pow-er of an ou-er
In dheir loiz bireev-iq.

*Thomas Campian.* p. 144, with the music.

Faaier boi na-tyyr bi-’iq born,
Bor‘ooud beu‘ti shii duth skorn.
Hii dhat kis‘eth ner, niid feer
Noo unnool’sum ver‘nish dheer;
For from dhens, nii oon’lei sip’s
Dhe pyyr nek‘tar of ner lips:
And with dhez at oons nii klooz‘ez,
Melt‘iq ryy‘biz, tsher‘iz, rooz‘ez.

*George Withers.* p. 98.

Nou dhat dhe nerth iz kround with smoil‘iq foier
And sum du driq, and sum du daans,
Sum riq
Sum siq,
And aal du stroiv t- advaans:
Dhe myyz‘ik nei‘er:
Wheerfoor shuuld ai
Stand si‘lent bei?
Whuu not dhe leest
Booth luv dhe kaaz and aa’torz of dhe feest.

*Ben Jonson, ode 14.* p. 143.

Main eiz, no eiz, but foun‘tainz of maiz teerz:
Mai teerz, no teerz, but fludz tu moist maiz hart:
Moi hart, no hart, but nar‘bour of moai feerz:
Moi feerz, no feerz, but fiil‘i’q of moai smart.
Mai smart, mai feerz, mai hart, mai teerz, mai eiz,
Ar blaind, droid, spent, past, waast‘ed with maiz kroiz.
And sät moim eiz dhokh blaind, sii kaaz of grif:
And sät mai teerz, dhokh droid, run doun amaain‘:
And sät mai hart, dhokh spent, atendz‘ reliif‘:
And sät mai feerz, dhokh past, ñkrees‘ moi paain:
And sät øi liv, and liv‘i’q fiil moor smart:
And smart‘i’q, kroij in vain, Breek hev‘i’i hart.

*Song, “Break Heavy Heart.”* p. 119.

Swiit thoukhts, dhe fuud on whitsi ñi fiid‘i’q starv;
Swiit teerz, dhe driqk dhat moor aagament‘ moai thrist;
Swiit eiz, dhe starz boi whitsi moai kours duth swarv;
Swiit noop, moai deeth whitsi wast maiz laif at first;
Swiit thoukhts, swiit teerz, swiit noop, swiit eiz,
Hou tshaanst dhat deeth in swiit‘nes loiz?

*Song, “Deadly Sweetness.”* p. 119.

Maar‘shil iz naq‘ed,
And bren‘ed iz ñiiz byyks.
Dhokh Maar‘shil iz naq‘ed
Jit nii iz not wraq‘ed.

*Dhe diil ñaz -im faq‘ed
In ñiiz kryyk‘ed klyyks.
Maa’tshil iz naq‘ed
Anb [and] bren‘ed iz ñiiz byyks.

*Reus Macchiavelius, Northern Dialect.* p. 122.

Raaz‘i’q mai noops, on ñiiz of neikh dezoiz‘;
Thriq‘i’q tu skaal dhe neev‘n of mir hart,
Mai slend‘er meenz prezumd‘ [prezyymd‘] tuu noi a part.
Her thund' rer of disdain; forst mii retain',
And thryy mii doun &e.


Content whuu livz with troiz estaat,
Niid feer no tshandzh of froun'q faat:
But mii dhat siiks, for un'knooun' gain,
Oft livz boi los, and leevz with pain.

Accentual Hexameters. Stanishwrl's Translation of

Specimen of Phonetic Spelling. p. 20.

Dhe loq ar laa'-zi, dhe lit'-l ar loud:
Dhe fair ar slut'-ish, dhe foul ar proud.

p. 76.

Praiz of an noikh rek'niq', an a trik tu bii greeet'-lii renoun'ed
Ju with juur prik'-et pur'-tshast. Lo dhe vik'-tori faa'-mus
With tuu godz pak'q oon wum'an si'l'-li tu kuz'n.

Psalm 62. p. 20.

1 Tryy'-lo i moi sooul wait' eth upon' God: from nim kum'-eth moi
salu'[y]aa's'ion. 2 Hii oon'-lo iiz mii rok and moi salva'-s'ion: Hii iz
mii 'defens', oi shall not bi greeet'-loi muuv'ed. 3 Hou loq wil jii
madzh'-in mits'-shiif against' a man? jii shall bi slain aal of juu:
az a bou'-q waal shall ji bi: and az a tot'-eriq fens. 4 Dheei
oon'-lo konsult' tu kast nim doun from nis ek'-selensei, dheei delai-t
in laiz: dheei bles with dheei mouth, but dheei kurs in'-wardloi
Sel'-an. 5 Moi sooul wait dhou oon'-lo upon' God: for moi ekpek-
tas'ion iz from nim. 6 Hii oon'-lo iiz mii rok and moi salva'-s'ion;
Hii iz mii 'defens'; ai shall not bi muuv'ed. 7 In God iz moi sal-
va'-s'ion and Godz and gloo'-ri; dhe rok of moi streqth and moi ref'-yypad
iz in God. 8 Trust in nim at aal tai'mz ji piip'1; pour out juur hart
bifoor' nim; God iz a ref'-ypadz for us. Sel'-an. 9 Syyr'-lo men
of loou degriir' ar van'-toi, and men of moi degriir' ar a lei: tu bi
laid in dhe bal'ans, dheei ar aaltogedh'er loikht'er dhen van'-toi.
10 Trust not in opres'ion, bikum' not vain in rob'erai; ef rivs'-ez
inkrees', set not juur hart upon' dhem. 11 God hath spook'n
oons; twois naav ei naard dhs, dat pour biloq'eth un'-to God. 12
Aal'so un'-to dhii, oo Lord, biloq'eth mer'-si: for dhou ren'-derest
tu ev'-erai man akkor'd'iq' tu niiz wurk.

Psalm 67. p. 21.

1 God bi mer'-siiful yy[u]n'tu us and bles us: and kaaz niiz faas tu
sho'in upon' us. Sel'-an. 2 Dhat dhoi waaai maa bi knooun upon
eerth, dhoi saav'q neelth amoq' aal naa's'ionz. 3 Let dhe piip'1
praiz dhi, oo God; let aal dhe piip'1 prais dhii. 4 O let dhe
naa'zionz bi glad, and siq for dzhoi; for dhou shalt dzhudhuz dhe
piip'1 raiikt'eursloi, and gov'-ern dhe naa's'ionz upon' eerth. Sel'-an.
5 Let dhe piip'1 praiz dhii oo God; let aal dhe piip'1 praiz dhii.
6 Dhen shall dhe eerth jiild hir' in'krees; and God, iv'n our ooun
God, shall bles us. 7 God shall bles us, and aal dhe endz of dhe
eerth shall feer nim.
Psalm 97, p. 22.

1. The Lord reigneth; let the earth rejoice: let the many islands be glad.
2. Clouds and darkness are round about Him; righteousness and judgement are the habitation of His throne.
3. A fire goes before Him, and burns His secret places.
4. He walks upon the sea, and stirs up the winds of the sea.
5. The Lord, in His glory, is in the sight of His people.
6. The Lord is mighty in battle, and a mighty salvation is His.
7. The Lord is exalted over all nations, and is worshiped in the farthest parts of the earth.
8. The Lord is the King of glory; bless His holy name.
9. The Lord is King; let the earth be glad; let the farthest parts of the world be glad.
10. The Lord is exalted in the sight of all nations, and in the farthest parts of the earth.

Psalm 96, p. 22.

1. O sing unto the Lord a new song; sing unto the Lord, all the earth.
2. Sing unto the Lord, bless His name; let the sound of praise be in all the earth.
3. The Lord reigneth, let the peoples tremble; He is exalted over all nations.
4. The Lord is King; let the peoples tremble; He is exalted over all nations.
5. The Lord is King; let the peoples tremble; He is exalted over all nations.
6. The Lord is King; let the peoples tremble; He is exalted over all nations.
7. The Lord is King; let the peoples tremble; He is exalted over all nations.
8. The Lord is King; let the peoples tremble; He is exalted over all nations.
9. The Lord is King; let the peoples tremble; He is exalted over all nations.
maak-eth niz an'gelz spir'vts: niz min'isterz a flaam'iq foi'er.
5 Whuu laid dhe founda'asionz of dhe eerth; dhe it shoul'd not bi remuu'ved for eve'vr.
6 Dhou kuu'verest it with dhe dii'p az with a garm-ent: dhe waa'rer'z stuu'd abuv dhe moun'tainz. 7 At dhe rebyyk' dheeli feld: at dhe vois of dohi thun'der dheei naast-ed awai.
8 Dheei go up bai dhe moun'tainz, dheei go doun bai dhe val'leiz un'tu dhe plaas whitsk dheou nash found'ed for dheum. 9 Dhou nash set a bound dat dheei mai not pas over: dat dheei turn not again tu kuu'ver dhe eerth.
10 Hii sendeth dhe spriqz entu dhe val'leiz; whitsk run amoq dhe hilz. 11 Dheei giv drii'k tu ev'rai beest of dhe fiild; dhe wail'd as'es kwesthns dheei thirst.
12 Bai dheem shal dhe foulz of dhe hev'n naav dheecir nabitaa'sion, whitsk siq amoq dhe bran'shez.
13 Hii waa't-crest dhe heiz from niz tash'm-berrz: dhe eerth iz sat-isf'sied with dhe fryyt of dohi wurzk. 14 Hii kaa'z'eth dhe gras tu groon for dhe kat'-el, and nerm for dhe serv'is of man: dat nii mai briq fuurth fuud out of dhe eerth. 15 And wo'in dat maak'eth glad dhe mar't of man, and oil tu maak niz faas tu shain, and breed whitsk streqth'neth mans mar't.
16 Dhe triiz of dhe Lord ar ful of sap: dhe see'darz of Leb'anon whitsk Hii nath plant'ed. 17 Wheer dhe birdz maak dheecir nests: az for dhe stork dhe fur' triiz are nir nouz. 18 Dhe noik'h heiz ar a ref'yrdzh for dhe woild goots: dhe roks for dhe kun'uz. 19 Hii apuun'ted dhe muan for seez'uz; dhe sun knoow'eth niz goo'iq doun.
20 Dhou maak'est dark'nes, and it iz noikht: wheerin' aal dhe beest of dhe for'est du krii' fuurth.
21 Dhe juq lo'i-onz roor affer dheecir prai, and siik dheecir meet from God.
22 Dhe sun araiz'eth, dheecir gadh'er dhemselv tu-gedh'er, and lai dheem doun in dheecir denz.
23 Man go'eth fuurth un'tu niz wurk; and tu niz laa'bor, until dhe iiv'niq. 24 O Lord nou man'foould ar dohi wurks? in wiz'num nash dhou maad dheem aal: dhe eerth iz ful of dohi rit'hez. 25 So iz dheis greet and weid see, wheerin' ar thizz kriip'iq innun'erabl, booth smaal and greet beest.
26 Dheer go dhe ships; dhe iz dat Levi'athan [Levi'athan?] whuum dhou nash maad tu plai dheecir.
27 Dheez wait aal upon dhi dat dhou maist griw dheem greet meet in dyy seez'n. 28 Dhat dhou gi'v'est dhem dheecir gadh'er: dhou oop'nest dheei nand, dheei ar fi'led with gud.
29 Dhou reid'est dheii faas, dheii ar trub'ded: dhou taak'est awai dheecir breth dheei dai, and return tu dheecir dust.
30 Dhou send'est forth [fuurth'] dheii spir'v, dheii ar kreaat'ed: and dhour eny'nest dhe faas of dhe eerth.
31 Dhe gloo'ri of dhe Lord shal indyyr for eve'er: dhe Lord shal redzhois' in niz wurks. 32 Hii luuk'eth on dhe eerth, and it trem'bleth: nii toutsh'reth [tutshez'reth?] dhe niz and dheem smook.
33 gi wil siq un'tu dhe Lord az loq as ai liv: ai wi'l praiz mai God whail ai naav mai bi'i'iq. 34 Ma'i medita'a'sion of nizm shal bi swiit: ai wi'l be glad in dhe Lord. 35 Let dhe sin'ierz bi konsum'ed [konssyym'ed?] out of dhe eerth, let dhe wick'ed bii no moor: bles dhou dhe Lord, oo mai sooul. Praiz jii dhe Lord. Amen.
An Examination of Spenser's Rhymes.

An inspection of the examples of Spenser's pronunciation as given by Dr. Gill, pp. 847-852, shews that as Dr. Gill read them the rhymes were not unfrequently faulty. If then this authority is to be trusted we have entirely left the region of perfect rhymes, and have entered one where occasional rhymes are no guide at all to the pronunciation, and very frequent rhymes are but of slight value. Still it seemed worth while to extend the comparison further, and see how far Spenser in his rhymes conformed to the rules of pronunciation which we gathered from contemporary authorities in Chap. III. Before, however, giving the results of an examination of all the rhymes in the Faerie Queen, I shall examine the bad rhymes in contemporary poems of considerable reputation, in order that we may see and understand what limits of approximation in the sound of rhyming vowels and even consonants, some of our best versifiers deem to be occasionally or even generally sufficient, that is, how closely they approach to final or consonantal rhyme (p. 245) on the one side, and assonance on the other. For this purpose I have selected Thomas Moore and Alfred Tennyson. Every one admits that Moore was at least a master of the mechanical part of his art. His lines are generally rhythmical, and his rhymes good, as might be expected from a song writer with a delicate perception of music. Of his writings I choose the most elaborate, the Loves of the Angels, and Lalla Rookh, and note all the rhymes which are false according to my own pronunciation. Of Tennyson, who is also a master of his art, I select the In Memoriam, as his most careful production in regular rhymed verse, and do the like with it. The following are the results.

Mode of Reference.

FW 1, 2 Fireworshippers, part 1, paragraph 2.
LH 6, Light of the Harem, paragraph 6.
PP 24, Paradise and the Peri, paragraph 24.
VP 3, 17, Veiled Prophet, part 3, paragraph 17.
The examples are arranged according to the sounds, which, according to my pronunciation, are different, but must have been identical, according to the pronunciation of the poets, if the rhymes are perfect.

Faulty Rhymes observed in Moore and Tennyson.

I. Both rhyming syllables accented.

\[(aa) = (\omega)\]
command brand VP 1 2
command hand VP 3 5—T ep.
glance expanse LA 1, 20. PP 5.

last hast VP 2, 24

[in all these cases the first word is occasionally pronounced with (\omega), more frequently with (ah).]

1 In the few extracts that are given we find: (aal fy-yneral 1, 1, 8. waz pas 1, 4, 11. whoisleer despari 1, 9, 28. luv muuv 2, 8, 1. morn weern 4, 2, 41. sikht smoit 4, 2, 42.) And the following seem to be forced, a double value to -er, and -y being assumed, (Britomart: dezart 4, 1, 53. har-monii agril 2, 12, 70. tshas-titli bli 3, intr., 5. dislo-alai dai 3, 5, 45.) The spelling here used is the preceding transliteration of Dr. Gill’s, the references are to book, canto, stanza, of the Faerie Queen.
(aa)=(A, AA, ɔ, ɔɔ)
bar war VP 3, 14
guard lord T 124
haunts wants T 96 [the first word has
sometimes (AA), and the second either
(A) or (ɔ).]

(aa, AA)=(ee)
hearth T 30, 76

(aa, AA)=(ee)
vase grace VP 2, 5. [the first word is
very rarely called (vees), or (veez)
generally (væəz, vaæz).]

(A)=(aa), see (aa)=A)
( AA )=(aa), see (aa)=(AA)
( AA )=(ee), see (ee)= (AA)
(æ)=(aa), see (aa)=(æ)
(æ)=(ee)

amber chamber FW 4, 37 [the second
word in these cases is usually
(tsheem-bi), occasionally (tshaem-bi);
I do not know (tshaem-bi).]
clamber chamber FW 1, 8
have grave T 54

(e)=(ee)
death faith T 80, 106, 112.
said maid VP 1, 28 [the word said is
perhaps occasionally called (seed).]
unsaid maid T 72

(e)=(i)
heaven driven FW 1, 1, 1, 15, 2, 11,
4, 3, LA 2, 42. VP 1, 33, 2, 33.
heaven forgiven LA 1, 14, 2, 13, 2, 65.
FW 4, 1. PP 32.

heaven given FW 1, 2, 4, 4, 4, 7, 4,
24. LA 1, 9, 2, 8, 2, 37, 2, 46, 3, 1,
3, 5, LH 23. VP 1, 3, 1, 19, 1, 25,
2, 8, 2, 24, 2, 27,—T 16. 39

heaven o'driven T 61
heaven riven FW 3, 1. LH 6
heaven unriiven VP 3, 11
[any attempt to say (hɪv-n) would
no doubt have been scouted by any
poet, but all poets allow the
rhyme.]
inherit spirit PP 14 [(spə-rɪt) is now
thought vulgar]
yes this FW 3, 2 [compare Sir T.
Smith, super p. 80].

(e)=(ii)
breath beneath LA 1, 15, 2, 2, VP 2, 31
breath underneath T 98
breath wreath LH 18. 22. VP 1, 9
death beneath FW 1, 17. 1, 18, 3, 6.
3, 14.—T 40
death sheath FW 4, 28. VP 1, 2.
death wreath FW 2, 13.—T 71
death underneath VP 3, 17
deaths wreaths LA 2, 63
heaven even FW 1, 17. LA 1, 6, 2,
38, PP 26. VP 1, 34
treads leads v. FW 4, 25

(aa, AA)=(æi, i)
earth forth LA 3, 13. LH 30

(æi, i)=(aa) see (aa)=(æi, i)

(æ)=(o)
done upon FW 2, 11
done gone LA 1, 12
dusk kiosk VP 1, 24
one gone LH 5
one on T 42, 80, 82. ep.
one upon LA 2, 71. PP 32
rough off LH 5
run upon VP 1, 34
shun upon LA 2, 43, 2, 62
sun upon LA 2, 17. VP 1, 1

(æ)=(oo)
above grove LH 2
above love wove LA 3, 8
beloved roved LH 3
come home LA 2, 74. 3, 8. LH 18
twice. 22. VP 2, 33. 3, 17.—T 6.
discover over LH 4
love grove LH 20
love rove VP 1, 18, 2, 35
lover over LH 1, 6.
loves groves FW 1, 9. LH 6. VP 1, 13.
one alone LH 24.—T 93
one shone VP 1, 15. LA prol. 5
one tone FW 4, 25

(æ)=(ø)

blood good T 3, 53. 53. 82. 104
blood stood FW 2, 12, 2, 13. 4, 9
blood understood VP 1, 27, 3, 21
bud good T ep.
flood good T 126
flood stood FW 1, 13. 1, 18, 2. 8, 3,
11. 4, 29. PP 9
flood wood LH 25.—T 84
floods woods PP 12.—T 83
shut put T 35
thrush push T 89

(æ)=(uu)
beloved moved T 51
blood brood FW 1, 2, 3, 1, 4, 4.
blood food FW 3, 14.
come dome FW 1, 1.
come tomb FW 2, 9.—T 83
flood food VP 2, 5.
love move FW 4, 7. LH 5.—T 17.
25, 39, 100
love prove T prol. 26. 47. 83.
loved proved PP 15. VP 1, 20.—T 103.
loved removed LA 3, 10.—T prol. 13.
loved unmoved FW 1, 3, 2, 12. LA 1, 16. VP 2, 27
loves moves T ep.
some dome = judgment VP 1, 16

\[(\omega_1, x) = (i, o\alpha)\]
curse horse T 6
words chords LA 2, 36. 2, 67. LH 33.
VP 2, 17.—T 47
word lord LA prol. 2.

\[(\omega_1, x) = (oo\omega, o\omega)\]
return'd mourn'd FW 2, 13
urn mourn T 9
[\text{some persons say (muum)]
word adored VP 1, 29
word sword FW. 1, 13. 2, 3
words swords VP 1, 2. 1, 8

\[(ee) = (ii)\]
bear fear T prol.
bears years T 61
wears tears s. LA 1, 15

\[(ee) = (aa), \text{see (aa)} = (ee)\]
\[(ee) = (ae), \text{see (ae)} = (ee)\]
\[(ee) = (e), \text{see (e)} = (ee)\]

\[(ee) = (ii)\]
to day quay T 14

\[(\omega_1) = (i)\]

\[(\omega_1) = (oi)\]
I joy T ep. [\text{the pronunciation (oi dzhö) would be out of the question}]

\[(\omega_1) = (oo, ou)\]
brow below LH 5
brow know T 89
down grown VP 2, 10
down own LA 2, 39. PP 24
now low T 4
powers doors T 36
shower pour LH 2. [\text{the pronunciation (pauu) is now vulgar}]

\[(i) = (o), \text{see (e)} = (i)\]
\[(i) = (oi), \text{see (ai)} = (i)\]
\[(i) = (ii)\]
did seed T ep.

\[(ii) = (e), \text{see (e)} = (ii)\]
\[(ii) = (ee), \text{see (ee)} = (ii)\]

\[(i) = (uu)\]

\[\text{anew through LA 3, 10}\]
\[\text{anew two VP 3, 27}\]
\[\text{dew through VP 2, 4}\]
\[\text{ensue through T 115}\]
\[\text{few true FW 1, 17}\]
\[\text{hue drew LA 1, 20}\]
\[\text{hue knew through LA 1, 15}\]
\[\text{hue threw LH 25}\]
\[\text{hue too VP 1, 36}\]
\[\text{hue true FW 3, 10}\]
\[\text{hue who VP 3, 3}\]
[\text{if hue is pronounced (shuu) and not (iuu) the six last cases may be esteemed rhymes.}]

\[\text{knew too FW 1, 13}\]
\[\text{new too T 13}\]
\[\text{perfume bloom LA prol. 2}\]
\[\text{perfume gloom T 98}\]
\[\text{lure sure VP 1, 29}\]
\[\text{lute shoot VP 1, 29. [some say (luu), (luut).]}\]
\[\text{mute flute VP 3, 2. [some say (flut).]}\]
\[\text{view true VP 1, 23. [some say (triu).]}\]
\[\text{use chose T 34}\]
\[\text{yew through T 74}\]

\[(\omega) = (aa), \text{see (aa)} = (\omega)\]
\[(\omega) = (oo), \text{see (oo)} = (\omega)\]

\[(\omega) = (oo)\]

\[\text{fent wont T 29. [some say (wont) and others (wont).]}\]
\[\text{God rode FW 3, 5. 4. 15}\]
\[\text{gone alone LA 1, 20. 2, 71. LA prol. 5. VP 2, 10—T 103}\]
\[\text{gone shone FW 2, 9. PP 18. VP 1, 29. LA 1, 3. [some say (shon).]}\]
\[\text{loss gross T 40}\]
\[\text{lost boast T 1}\]
\[\text{lost ghost T 91}\]
\[\text{lost most LA 3, 7. 3, 9—T. 27. 83}\]
\[\text{tost host VP 3, 6}\]
\[\text{on shone LA 1, 2. 2, 20. VP 1, 7. [some say (shon).]}\]
\[\text{wan shone FW 4, 15}\]

\[(\omega_1) = (oi), \text{see (oi)} = (\omega_1)\]

\[(\omega_1) = (\omega_1, x), \text{see (ar, x)} = (\omega_1)\]

\[(\omega_1, \omega_1) = (oo\omega, o\omega)\]

\[\text{lord adored FW 4, 12}\]
storm form T 16. [some say (foam)
always, others distinguish (foam)
shape, (foam) sent.]  

\[(oo)=(@), \quad \text{see } (@)=(oo)\]  
\[(oo)=(ou), \quad \text{see } (ou)=(oo)\]  
\[(oo)=(u)\]

mode good T 46  
\[(oo)=(uu)\]

door moor T 28. [some say (moo).]  

hope group FW 4, 16  

more moor T 40. [probably a rhyme  
riche p. 246, as: here hear T 35.]  

more poor T 77  
\[(ooi)=(ei, i), \quad \text{see } (ei, i)=(ooi)\]  
\[(ooi)=(oai), \quad \text{see } (oai)=(ooi)\]  
\[(ooi)=(oi, i), \quad \text{see } (oi, i)=(ooi)\]  
\[(ou)=(ou), \quad \text{see } (ou)=(ou)\]  
\[(u)=(@), \quad \text{see } (@)=(u)\]  
\[(u)=(oo), \quad \text{see } (oo)=(uu)\]  

foot brute T prol.  
good food VP 2, 33  
woods moods T 27. 35. 87  
\[(uu)=(@), \quad \text{see } (@)=(uu)\]  
\[(uu)=(iu), \quad \text{see } (iu)=(uu)\]  
\[(uu)=(oo), \quad \text{see } (oo)=(uu)\]

II. An Unaccented Rhyming with an Accented Syllable.

\[(ui, i) \text{ unaccented}=(ei, i) \text{ accented}\] 
islander myrrh VP 3, 4  

\[(ei, i) \text{ unacc.}=(iiii) \text{ acc.}\]  

universe fierce VP 1, 25  

\[(ul, ael) \text{ unacc.}=(aaa) \text{ acc.}\]  

festival all VP 3, 19  

musical fall VP 2, 17  

\[(un, aen) \text{ unacc.}=(aan, ahm) \text{ acc.}\]  

circumstance chance T 62. [some say  
(srimkem stem's) with a distinct second-
ary accent on the last syllable.]  

countenance chance T 112  

deliverance trance VP 3, 18  

inhabitants plants LH 10  

utterance trance LH 33  

visitant haunt VP 1, 12  

\[(um, om) \text{ unacc.}=(oom) \text{ acc.}\]  

masterdom home T 100  

\[(un, en) \text{ unacc.}=(en) \text{ acc.}\]  

Lebanon sun FW 2, 11. PP 22  
orison one VP 1, 22  

\[(uu)=(u), \quad \text{see } (u)=(uu)\]  
\[(dh)=(th)\]  
breathe wreath s. VP 2, 7  

\[(dhz)=(ths)\]  
breathe sheaths FW 1, 2  
breathe wreathes LH 2  

\[(x)=(oi, ooi), \quad \text{see } (oi, ooi)=(x)\]  
\[(s)=(z)\]  

bliss his VP 1, 2  

else tells T 75  

face gaze T 32  
grace vase VP 2, 5 [adopting the pro-
nunciation (vazz, vazz) or (vees),  
this is faulty; only the unusual (vees)  
saves the rhyme.]  

house s. boughs T 29  

\[(th)=(dh), \quad \text{see } (dh)=(th)\]  
\[(z)=(s), \quad \text{see } (s)=(z)\]  

house s. bow s. T 35  
house s. vows T 20  

ice flies T 105  

paradise eyes LA 2, 11. VP 1, 3.—T  
24. ep.  

peace disease T 104  

peace these T 88  

race phase T ep.  

this is PP 10.—T 20. 34. 83.  

\((i) \text{ unacc.}=(oi) \text{ acc.}\]  

agony I, LA 2, 42  

energies cries T 111  

harmony die LA 2, 42  

insufficiencies eyes T 110  

miseries eyes FW 4, 7  

mysteries replies T 37  

obscenity lies LA 2, 60  

prophecies rise T 90  

sympathy die T 30  

sympathy I T 61  

tastefully hie VP 2, 2  

\[(i) \text{ unacc.}=(ii) \text{ acc.}\]  

agonies sees FW 1, 13  

armory see VP 3, 1  

canopies breeze VP, 3, 2  

constancy be T 21  

desperately sea FW 1, 17  

destinies please LA 3, 16  

energies case VP 2, 7  

cernities sear VP 2, 7  

exquisite sweet FW 3, 13  

harmonies breeze VP 2, 10. LH 17  

history be T 101
Some of these rhymes, as may be seen, are justifiable by diversities of pronunciation. Others are really rhymes of long and short vowels. But others cannot be made into rhymes with the help of any known received pronunciations. Thus:—1) bar war, guard lord, clamber chamber, amber chamber, have grave, heaven given [very common], heaven even [also common], death beneath, death sheath, &c. [common], earth forth, one gone, rough off, above grove, come home [very common], love grove &c., one alone &c., blood, good &c., flood stood &c., thrush push, blood food, come tomb, love move &c., curse horse, word lord [so that as we have: guard lord, we might have: word guard!] word sword, Christ mist, I joy, brow below, down grown &c., now low, loss gross, lost boast &c., mode good, hope group:—2) breathe wreath, breathes sheaths, bliss his, else tells, house s. boughs &c., ice flies &c.—are about as bad rhymes as can be, the first division being purely consonant rhymes, and the second mere assonances. The rhymes of an unaccented and accented syllable are all bad, but the double use of unaccented final -y, -ies, to rhyme either with (-i, -iiz) or (-ai, -aiz) at the convenience of the poet is really distressing; compare: agony I, agonies sees; energies ories, energies ease; harmony die, harmonies breeze; mysteries replies, mysteries these &c. It is at once evident that any attempt to derive the pronunciation of the xix th century from an examination of modern rhymes must utterly fail.

Now the extended examination of Spenser’s rhymes above named, leads to a similar result. It would not only be impossible from them to determine his pronunciation, but his usages cross the known rules of the time, even if we include Hart’s varieties, so multifariously, that the poet was evidently hampered with the multiplicity of rhyming words which his stanza necessitated,¹ and became careless, or satisfied with rough approximations.

The language in which he wrote was artificial in itself. It was not the language of the xvi th century, but aped, without reflecting, that of the xv th. The contrast between the genuine old tongue of Chaucer, or modern tongue of Shakspere, and the trumped up tongue of Spenser, which could never have been spoken at any time, is painful. Coming to the examination of Spenser’s rhymes fresh from those of Chaucer, the effect on my ears was similar to that produced by reading one of Sheridan Knowles’s mock Elizabethan English dramas, after studying Shakspere. It is sad that so great a poet should have put on such motley.

¹ The scheme of his rhymes is a b a b b c b c c, necessitating 2, 3, and 4 rhyming words.
Sometimes, either the author or the printer,—it is impossible to say which, but in all subsequent citations I follow Mr. Morris,—seems to think he can make a rhyme by adopting an unusual spelling. At other times unusual forms of words, long obsolete or else provincial, are adopted, and different forms of the same word chosen to meet the exigencies of the rhyme.

Unusual Spellings and Forms for appearance of Rhymes.

infused = infused
fire yre stire = stir
draws jaws waves = waves
[see Salesbury, supra p. 785.]
strond hond fond stond = strand hand
found strand, 2, 6, 19. lond fond =
land found 3, 2, 6. hand understand
found = found 3, 1, 60. [here the two
first words have been left unchanged.]
aboard affoord forord = aboard afford
ford 2, 6, 19.
enterayne demayne = demean
paramoure succoure flour = floor pour
2, 10, 19.
fayre hayre = heir shayre = share 2, 10,
weet = wit v. feet 2, 10, 71. [weet is con-
stantly used.]
gate hate awoat = awoat 2, 11, 6.
assault exault withhalt = withheld
fault 2, 11, 9. fault hault assault 6,
2, 23.
tooke strooke = struck 2, 12, 38. strooke
looke 2, 12, 33. broken stroken
wroken, 6, 2, 7. tooke strooke
awooke looke 6, 7, 48.
vele = veil unable concele 2, 12, 64.
vele appele revele 3, 3, 19. vele con-
cele 4, 10, 41. Florimelle vele 5, 3,
17.
paynt faynt taynt daynt = dainty
3, intr. 2.
way convoy = convoy assay way 3, 1, 2.
surece encrease pressse = press
peace 3, 1, 23. prease = press surece
peace 4, 9, 32.
fayre debonayre compayre = compare,
repayre 3, 1, 20. fayre paryprey =
prepare 3, 4, 74. chayre = chere, dear,
ayre, fayre, fayre 3, 5, 61.
sex wax = wax v. vex flex = flex
beare appeare thereare 3, 2, 11.
accomplishd = ed hid 3, 3, 48.

clim = climb swim him 3, 4, 42.
alive deprive archive = achieve 3, 5, 26.
strowne sowne overflowne = overflowed
3, 9, 35.
towne crownow downe compassiowne 3,
9, 39.
bloud stout remoud = blood stood re-
moved 3, 9, 43.
furst nurst = first nursed 3, 11, 1.
rowme renowne = room renown 3, 11, 47.
food foed = fed food brood 4, 1, 26.
craft draft = draught braft = brief
engraft 4, 2, 10.
burs = birds words lords 4, 2, 35.
appeare reard affeard sword = sword
4, 3, 31, 33.
speach = speech empeach reach 4, 10, 36.
yeares peares = peers 4, 10, 49.
powre recoure = recover boure stoure 4,
10, 58. lowre conjure recure = recover
5, 10, 26.
Waterford boord = board 4, 11, 43.
cleffe grieffe = cliff grief 4, 12, 5.
grieve misbelieve shrive mis evi = move
4, 12, 26.
layd sayd mayd denayd = denied 4, 12,
28.
course sourse wourse = source worse, 5,
intr. 1.
hard outward shard = sheared 5, 1, 10.
achieved believed presived = proved
5, 4, 33. grieved relieved reprieved, 5,
6, 24.
enter, bent her, adventer = adventure,
center 5, 5, 5.
knew rew = row rew dew 5, 5, 22.
threw alew = haillo few 5, 6, 13.
hight kight = caught right plight 3,
2, 30. fight right height 5, 6, 29.
wond fond kond = woned found conned
5, 6, 35.
bridge ridge, lide = ledge 5, 6, 36.
smot = smote forgot not spot 5, 7, 29.

1 The Globe edition Complete Works
of Edmund Spenser, edited from the
original editions and manuscripts by
R. Morris, with a memoir by J. W.
Hales, London, 1869. In this edition
the stanzas of the Faerie Queen are
numbered, and hence my references to
book, canto, and stanza can be easily
verified. It has not been considered
necessary to extend this examination
beyond the Faerie Queen.
brast = burst fast past 5, 8, 8. just lust
thrust /rust 5, 8, 22.
strooke /swoke qwoke = quaked 5, 8, 9.
betooke /boke /woke 6, 7, 24.

had bad sprad 5, 9, 25.
price devise flour'dlice 5, 9, 27.
Eirene [in two syllables] can strene =
strain, race 5, 9, 22.
treat extreat = extract great seat 5, 10, 1.
happinesse decease = decease wretched-
ness 5, 10, 11.

left theft ref t gieft = gift 5, 10, 14.

Occasionally, but not very often, Spenser indulges in unmistakable
assonances, or more consonantal rhymes, or anomalies, which it is
very difficult to classify at all, as in the following list.

Anomalies, Eye Rhymes, Assonances.

mount front 1, 10, 53.
fyre shyre consprey yre 1, 11, 14 [here
shyre was a mere rhyme to the eye.]

away decay day Spau 1, 11, 30.
bath wrath hath = hateth hath 2, 2, 4.
bough enough 2, 6, 25 [where enough
is quantitative and not numerical.]
mouth drouth couth = could 2, 7, 68.

[eye-rhymes.]
tower endure sure 2, 9, 21. [conso-
nantal rhyme.]
deck sett = decked set 2, 12, 49. [an
assonance.]

Chrysogonee degree 3, 6, 4, [but] Chry-
sogone alone gone throne 3, 6, 5.
[the very next stanza, whereas the
former spelling is reverted to in 3,
6, 51.]
nest overkest = overcast, opprest 3, 6, 10.
more store yore horrore = horror 3, 6, 36.
stayd strayd sayd denyd = denied 3,
7, 57. day tway denay = deny dismay
3, 11, 11.
gotten soft'en often 4, intr. 5. [an
assonance.]
health wealth deal' th = deal' th stealth
4, 1, 6. [this may only be a long and
short vowel rhyming.]
maligne benigne indigne bring 4, 1, 30.
[even if -igne is pronounced (-ign),
as occasionally in Gill this will only
be an assonance.]
folle jollie dallie 4, 1, 36.
evill dre' vil devil 4, 2, 3. [even when
the two last words rhymed, as they
were usually spelled, as drivel divel,
they only formed consonantal rhymes
with the first, and the spelling seems
to have been changed to make an
eye-rhyme.]

yborn morne morne werne = woren 4,
2, 41. [see above p. 858, note.]
mid hid thrild = thread undid 4, 2, 48
emperish cherisht guarisht florisht 4,
3, 29 [consonantal rhymes.]
discover mother other brother 4, 3, 40
[assonance]
aimed ordained 4, 4, 24 [assonance]
ventred = ventured entred = entered 4,
7, 81 [this would have been a rhyme
in the xvith century.]
dum = dumb overcum mum becum =
become 4, 7, 44, [here the spelling
seems unnecessarily changed, the
rhyme being, probably, good.]

four paramoure 4, 9, 6 [consonantal
and eye rhyme]
woont = wont hunt 5, 4, 29. [change of
spelling probably used to indicate
correct pronunciation, compare]

woont hunt 6, 11, 9.
neare few 5, 4, 37 [this may be con-
sidered as an assonance, (near feen),
which takes off much of the harsh-
ness apparent in the modern (niiz
flu.)
grovel levell 5, 4, 40
warre marre darre farre = war mar
dare far 5, 4, 44, [the spelling ap-
parently altered to accommodate
dare, which had a long vowel, the
others having short vowels.]

thondred sondred encombok nombred
5, 5, 19, encomber thonder asonder
6, 5, 19, [assonance]
endeavour labour favour behaviour 5, 5,
35 [part consonance, part consonantal rhyme.]
attend hemd = hemmed kend = kempt
combed portend 5, 7, 4. [consonance, it is curious that kend was unnecessarily forced in spelling.]
discover lover endever ever 5, 7, 22
[consonantal rhyme.]
stronger longer wronger = wrong doer, 5, 8, 7. [Did Spenser say (stroq'ger, rwoq-er), or (stroq'ger, rwoqr'ger), or did he content himself with an assonance? I lately heard (siq'gu) from a person of education.]
desynes betymes crymes clymes = designs betimes crimes climes 5, 9, 42. [assonance.]
tempted consented invented 5, 11, 50. [assonance.]
washt scratcht = washed scratched 5, 12, 30. [assonance.]
roade glade = did ride, glade 6, 2, 16.
[consonantal rhyme.]

The above examples, which it does not require any historical knowledge to appreciate, are amply sufficient to prove that Spenser allowed himself great latitude in rhyming, so that if we find him continually transgressing the rules of contemporary orthoepists, we cannot assume that he necessarily pronounced differently from all of them, or that he agreed with one set rather than another. When however we come to examine other words which he has rhymed together, where his rhymes, if they could be relied on would be valuable orthoepical documents, we find not only apparent anticipations of usages which were not fixed for at least a century later, but such a confusion of usages that we cannot be sure that he was even aware of these later pronunciations. Hence his rhymes not only do not show his own custom, but they do not justify us in supposing that the more modern practice had even cropped up in stray cases. The principal conclusion then to be drawn from such an examination is that we have left the time of perfect rhymes, exemplified in Chaucer and Gower, far behind us, and that beginning at least with the xvirth century we cannot trust rhymes to give us information on pronunciation. The previous examination of the rhymes of Moore and Tennyson shew that the same latitude yet remains. The esthetic question as to the advantage of introducing such deviations from custom does not here enter into consideration. But it would seem sufficiently evident that they arose at first from the difficulty of rhyming, and there is no doubt that they remain in the majority of cases for the same reason. Their infrequency, and the mode in which they are generally disguised by orthography, or apparently justified from old usage, would seem to imply that the poet did not in general consciously adopt them, as musicians have adopted and developed the use of discords, in order to produce a

1 See what Chaucer says, suprà p. 254, note 2.
determinate effect. Hudibras is of course an exception, and all burlesque poems, where the effect intended is evident and always appreciated, but is not exactly such as is sought for in serious poems.\(^1\) The following examples from Spenser may seem over abundant, but the opinion is so prevalent that old rhymes determine sounds, and Spenser's authority might be so easily cited to upset the conclusions maintained in the preceding pages on some points of importance, that it became necessary to show his inconsistency, and the consequent valuelessness of his testimony, by extensive citations. The arrangement as in the case of the modern poets is by the sounds made equivalent by the rhymes, but Dr. Gill's pronunciation, as determined by his general practice is substituted for my own. At the conclusion a few special terminations and words are considered, which I could not conveniently classify under any of the preceding headings.

**Anomalous and Miscellaneous Rhymes in Spenser.**

\[(a) = (aa)\]

| awakt lakt | awked lacked | 2, 8, 51. |
| blacke lake | make partake | 5, 11, 32. |
| lambe came | 1, 5. lam sam dam | lamb same dam | 1, 10, 57. ame = am dame same | 1, 12, 30. |

\(^1\) Those who wish to see the ludicrous and consequently undesirable effect which is often produced by such false rhymes, should consult a very amusing book called: *Rhymes of the Poets by Felix Ago.* (Prof. S. S. Haldeman), Philadelphia, 1868. 8vo. pp. 56. These rhymes are selected from 114 writers, chiefly of the xvith and xvith centuries, and were often correct according to pronunciations then current. The following extract is from the preface: "It is better to spoil a rhyme than a word. In modern normal English therefore, every word which has a definite sound and accent in conversation, should retain it in verse; great should never be perverted into greet to the ear, sinned into signed, grinn'd into grind, or wind into wind" (wind, wind). "A few words have two forms in English speech, as said, which Pope and Th. Moore rhyme with said and head; and again, which Shakespeare, Dryden, and Th. Moore rhyme with plain and then, and Suckling with inn." "The learned Sir William Jones is the purest rhymed known to the author, questionable rhymes being so rare in his verse as not to attract attention. His *Arcadia* of 368 lines has but forlorn and horn; god, rode; wind, behind; mead, reed (mead of meadow being med and not need)." In a foot note he cites the rhymes: mead head, meads reeds Dryden, tread head Herrick, mead reed Johnson. "*Catissa* of 334 lines, Solima of 104, and Laura of 150, are perfect. The Seven Fountains, of 542 lines, has only shone—sun, and stood—blood. The Enchanted Fruit, 574 lines, has wound—ground twice, which some assimilate. The few questionable rhymes might have been avoided; and these poems are sufficiently extended to show what can be done in the way of legitimate rhyme. Versifiers excuse bad rhymes in several ways, as Dr. Garth [A.D. 1672-1719]—Ill lines, but like ill paintings, are allow'd To set off and to recommend the good: but it is doubtful whether the Doctor would thus have associated allow'd and good, if he could have readily procured less dissonant equivalents. Contrariwise, some authors make efficient use of what to them are allowable rhymes, and much of the spirit of Hudibras would be lost without them.

Cardan believ'd great states depend Upon the tip o' th' Bear's tail's end; That, as she whisk'd it 'wards the Sun, Strew'd mighty empires up and down; Which others say must needs be false Because your true bears have no tails!  

—Butler.
[The word proclaim has a double form with or without i, as we have seen supra p. 253, and similarly for claim; the latter word has both forms in French, hence such rhymes as the following are intelligible.]

Proclaim overcame dame same 1, 12, 20, frame same name proclaim 2, 5, 1. came game fame proclaim 5, 3, 7. clame shame 4, 4, 9, came name clame same 4, 10, 11. came clame tame 4, 11, 12.

[The following rhymes, however, seem to lead to the pronunciation of ai as long a, and if we took these in the conjunction with the preceding, where ea is equal long a, we should have ai = ea as in Hart, and both = long a, contrary to the express declarations of contemporary orthoepists, and to the rhymes of long a with short a already given. As Spenser's contemporary, Sir Philip Sidney apparently read ai as (ee) in Hart's fashion, see below p. 872, Spenser may have adopted this pronunciation also, and then his rhymes of ai, a, were faulty. But it is impossible to draw any conclusion from Spenser's own usage.]

Hania day 2, 10, 24. sway Menevia 3, 5, 55. pray day Æmylia 4, 7, 18. say Adicia 5, 8, 20. staide = stayed made shade displeade 1, 1, 14, 5, 4, 38. made trade waive =eweighed 1, 4, 27. made dismaid blade 1, 7, 47, 6, 10, 28. laid sayde made 1, 8, 32. said made laid 2, 7, 32. displayed bewrayd made 2, 12, 66. mayd clad = blade dismayd 3, 1, 63. playd made shade 3, 4, 29, 3, 10, 10. decayd disswade 4, 9 34.

taile entraile mayle bale 1, 1, 16. whales scales tayles 2, 12, 23. faile prevale bale 3, 7, 21. assayle flayle avayle dale 5, 11, 59.

slaine paine bane 2, 11, 29. retaine Gloriane 5, 8, 3.

aire rare spare 1, 2, 32. fayre dispayre shayre =share 1, 3, 2. chaire fare sware bare 1, 3, 16. faire bare 1, 4, 25. ware = aware faire 1, 7, 1. declare fayre 1, 7, 26. fare whylebare dispayre rare 1, 9, 28 [see p. 858, note.] fayre
hayre shayre = share 2, 10, 28, 6, 2, 17. repair, care, misfare share 4, 8, 5. care aire faire 4, 8. haire = hair [certainly (ne'er)] bare are [certainly (a'er)] faire 4, 11, 48. faire care 5, 9, 40. faire despair, empare misfare, 5, 11, 48. faire compare, 1, 2, 37 [see: compare appeare under (ee) = (aa).] payre prepare 1, 3, 34. payre prepare stayre declare 1, 4, 13. payre hayre = hair (certainly (ne'er) even in Chaucer.] ayre prepare 1, 5, 2. rare faire compare 1, 6, 15 faire repair, v. restore rare 1, 8, 50. 3, 2, 22. farre dispayre ayre prepare 2, 3, 7 compare payre 2, 5, 29, faire debonnaire prepare aire 2, 6, 28, ayre prepare 2, 11, 36. 3, 4, 14. far threeesquare spare prepare 3, 1, 4. hayre debonnaire compare repayre 3, 1, 26. 3, 5, 8. faire compare share 4, 3, 39. rare faire prepare faire 4, 10, 6. repayre payre prepare ayre 4, 10, 47. grate v. bayte 2, 7, 34. state late debate baiete, 4, infr. 1. late gate awaite prate 4, 10, 14. gate waite 5, 5, 4. dazed raizd = dazed raised, 1, 1, 18. amaze gaze praise 6, 11, 13. (ai) = (oi) ? straight might fight 5, 10, 31. straight bright quight despieth 5, 11, 6. straight right fight 5, 12, 8; [if we adopt the theory that Spenser's ei was generally (ee), these examples shew a retention of the old sound as in the modern height, sleek, although (hect, sleek) may be occasionally heard.] aught = ought. raught ought fraught saught = sought 2, 8, 40. raught wrought taught wrought 2, 9, 19. (ee) = (e) = (ii) = (ai) leach = physician teach 1, 5, 44. speach = speech teach 6, 4, 37. proceede = (proseed') breede 1, 5, 22. doth lead, aread, bred, send = seed 1, 10, 51. did lead, aread tread 2, 1, 7. reed = read weed steed agreed 4, 4, 39. tread proceed aread dread 4, 3, 13. wreake weeke, seeke 6, 7, 13. congealed heald = held conceal'd 1, 5, 29. behold yeeld 4, 3, 14. beheld weld = wield 4, 3, 21. beame teme = team 1, 4, 36. esteeme streeme extreme misseeme 3, 8, 26. deemed seemed esteemed stremed 4, 3, 28. deeme extreme 4, 9, 1. scene boene cleane keene = (ee, ii, ee, ii) 1, 7, 33. beene scene clene weene 1, 10, 58. quene unscene clene 2, 1, 1. meane leen atweene bene = been 2, 1, 55. keene scene clear 3, 5, 37, 3, 12, 20, 5, 9, 49. greene cleene beseene beene = (ii, ee, ii) 8, 5, 38. feend = fiend attend defend spend 3, 7, 32. feend = friend weend end amend 4, 4, 45. defend feend kend = kenned send 5, 11, 20. keepe sheepe deepe chepe = cheap 6, 11, 40. heare v. [= (niir) see § 7] neare inquere weare 1, 1, 31. teare v. feare heare 1, 2, 31. feare there requere 1, 3, 12. heare teare s. = (tiir) feare inquere 1, 3, 25. heare = heare = hair = heare appearre appearre deare 1, 4, 24. deare appearre were heare v. 1, 9, 14. fare whyclare dispayre rare, 1, 9, 28. [see under (ai) = (aa).] were appeare feare seare 1, 11, 13. yeare forbeare neare weare = were 2, 1, 53. reare cleare appeare 2, 2, 40. yeares pears = peers teares 2, 10, 62. were dreare teare v. beare s. 2, 11, 8. deare, meare = mere 2, 11, 34. cleare appearre dispaire whyclare 5, 3, 1. beare appearre here fere = companion 5, 3, 22. beare cleare cheare = cheere despeyre 5, 5, 38. neare eare reare reare 5, 12, 6. fere = companion per = peer, dere = dear, cler = clear 6, 7, 29. steare = steer beare teare v. neare 6, 18, 12. were here 1, 8, 49. there neare feare 1, 9, 34. there heare appearre 2, 12, 14. teare v. there heare 5, 3, 41. weary cherry merry 6, 10, 22. perce = fierce = pierce fierce re= heard 1, 4, 50. earst pearst = pierced 6, 1, 45. peace preace = press release cease 1, 12, 19. surcease encrease preasse = press peace 3, 1, 23. release posseiss wil- lingnesse 4, 5, 25. cease, suppressse 4, 9, 2. beast brest = breast support 1, 3, 19. 1, 8, 15. beasts behests 1, 4, 18. feast beast deteast = deteest 1, 4, 21. 1, 11, 49. beast, creast = creast feast addrest 1, 8, 6. east creast 1, 12, 2. beasts creasts guests 2, 12, 39. east increast gest 3, 2, 24. heat sweet cat threat = = (ee, ii, ee, ? e) 1, 3, 33. heate sweet cat 1, 4, 22. great heat threat beat 1, 5, 7. sent great excheat 1, 5, 25, 2, 20, 2, 11, 32. great treat intrete [see under
(ee) = (aa) ] discreet 1, 7, 40. heat forget sweat 2, 5, 30. threat entreat 3, 4, 15. greater better 4, 1, 7. entreat threat treat 4, 7, 37.
dead breath uneat 1, 9, 30, 2, 1, 27. together ether = either thether =
conceiv'd perceiv'd berev'd griev'd 3, 6, 27.

(e) = (i).
left bereft gift lift 6, 8, 1. spirit merit 4, 2, 34.
dress brest wrest = addressed breast
wrast 2, 3, 1.
sitt bitt forgett fit 1, 3, 14.

(i) = (ii).
chiefe grieffe = cliff grief 4, 12, 5.
field build kild skild = killed skilled 2, 10, 73. wield shield field skild 4, 4, 17.

(i) unaccented = (ii) accented.
tragedie degree bee 2, 4, 27. see jeo-
parde bee thee 3, 10, 4.
diversely free he 1, 2, 11.
foresee memoree 2, 9, 49.
bee thee perplexitie 1, 1, 19. knee see
maiestee = majesty 1, 4, 13. batteree
bee chastitie see 1, 6, 5. see libertee
jollitee free 9, 1, 12. courtesee
modestee degree nicette 1, 10, 7. bee
modestee see 2, 9, 18.

(i) = (oi).
alive revive give rive 2, 6, 45. liv'd
depriv'd surviv'ed deriv'd 2, 9, 57.

(i) unaccented = (oi) accented.
prerogative reprise = reprieve alive 4, 12, 31.
avy lye v. melodies 2, 12, 17. jeo-
pardy ly spy desery 2, 12, 18. jeopardy
cry enmy 1, 3, 1. supply jeopardy
aby lie 3, 7, 3. abie remedie 3, 10, 3.
fly fantasy privily sly 1, 1, 46. greedily
ny 1, 3, 5. diversely jollity hye = high
daintily 1, 7, 32. envy by continually
1, 7, 43. thereby die eternally 1, 9, 54. incessantly eye industry 2, 7, 61.
suddenly hastly cry 2, 8, 3. furiously
aby hy fly 2, 8, 33. hy victory readily
army 3, 3, 59. cry forciely dy 3, 10, 13. fly eye furiously diversely 3, 10, 14.
flyes applyes enimies lyes 1, 1, 33. flye
dye enmy 2, 6, 39. enmy dy destiny
2, 12, 36.
harmony sky hy = high dry 1, 1, 8.
company fly venery eye 1, 6, 22. hye
ly tyranny by and bye 1, 8, 2. cry fly
espy agony 2, 12, 27. jealousy fly
villany thereby 3, 1, 18. eye destiny
3, 3, 24. lyes supplies progenyces 3,
6, 36. eye villany family spie 5, 6, 35.
victorie lye armory enimie 1, 1, 27.
eyes miseries plyes idolatryes 1, 6, 19. thereby memory dy 1, 11, 47.
perjury fly injury 1, 12, 27. despire
miseries 2, 1, 36. eye skye chivalrye
hye 2, 3, 10. I enmy victory 2, 6, 34. arise flies skics injuries 2, 9, 16.
fealty agony dy 1, 3, 1. deitty
flye nye = nigh 1, 3, 21. cry dishonesty
misery chastity 1, 3, 23. eye skye
chastitie 1, 6, 4. eye hye majesty
ty, 1, 7, 16. enimy tragedy cry
libertie 1, 9, 10. mortality by fly
victory 1, 10, 1. apply melancholy
jollity 1, 12, 38. flye hye = hie
perplexitye 2, 4, 13. skye envy principi-
alaty incessantly 2, 7, 8. thereby sty
dignity 2, 7, 46. envy soverainty
enmy fly 2, 10, 33. majestie victorie
faery dy 2, 10, 75. apply captivity
infirmity tyranny 2, 11, 1. eye tran-
quillity boystrously 3, 10, 68.

[ Numerous poetius proparoxynonis
in [i] supe vltimam productam acuit,
vit, (mizerar', konstantar', destina') :
vinde etiam in prosa ferre obtinuit, vt
vltimam vel longa vel breui aequaliter
scribatur, et pronunciatur, non acu-
antur tamen.—Gill Logonomia, p. 130.]

(ii) = (oi).
wilde defilde wilde yilde = wild defiled
vile yield 1, 6, 3.

(oi) = (oi).
chyl'd spoild beguyld boyld 5, 5, 53.
exyld defyl'd despoyled boyled 5,
9, 2.
beugild recoyld 1, 11, 25.
while foyle guyle style 4, 2, 29. despole
guile foile 6, 6, 34.
awhile toyle turmoyle 2, 12, 32. spoile
turmoile while toile 6, 8, 23.
slyde ryde annoyd guide 4, 8, 37. re-
plide annoyd destroyd 6, 1, 7. side
annoyde destroyde pryde 6, 5. 20.
vile spoile crewhile stile 2, 8, 12. pyle
guyle spoile toyle 2, 11, 7. wyld des-
poyld toyl'd 3, 10, 39. awhile vile
exile spoile 3, 11, 39. while toyle
spoyle 4, 9. 12. 5, 2, 11. guile des-
poile 5. 4. 31. awhile mile toile spoile
6, 4, 25.
spyde destroyd applyde 3, 8, 2.
awhile soyle 3, 3, 33. toyle awhile
soyle 4. 3, 29. 4. 4, 48.
EDMUND SPENSER’S RHYMES.

CHAP. VIII. § 5.

(oo) = (uu) = (u).
rose exposl lose 3, 1, 46. disposed loses 4, 5, 5. loss’d enclosed disclos’d 4, 5, 16. whom become 4, 7, 11. wombe come roam home 4, 12, 4. groome come somme = sum 5, 6, 8.

(oo) = (o) = (u).
rocke broke 2, 12, 7. wroth loth goth = goeth 2, 12, 57. wroth loth blo’th = bloweth 3, 7, 8. alone anone bemoane swone = bemoan swoon 6, 6, 30.

lord ador’d scor’d word 1, 1, 2. sworne returne mourne 1, 2, 2, 41. sword word abhord 2, 1, 11. abord ford word lord 2, 6, 4. foure paramoure 2, 9, 34. paramoure succoure flourie poure = floor pour 2, 10, 19. attone done on 5, 6, 17. retourne forlorne 5, 6, 7.

(o) = (u).
long wrong tong 1, int. 2. along tong strong hong 1, 5, 34. tong hung stong 2, 1, 3. wrong tong strong 2, 4, 12. prolong wrong dong long 2, 8, 28. strong along strong emong 2, 12, 10. strong among fiong 3, 4, 41. hong strong 3, 11, 52.

ou, ow = (ou) ? or = (uu) ?
downe sowne = sound sowne = sooner
towne 1, 1, 41. bowre howre stowre = bower hour stour 1, 2, 7, 2, 3, 34.
towre powre scowre conquereour 1, 2, 20. howre lowre powre emperour 1, 2, 22. wound stound found 1, 7, 25. wound sownd 1, 8, 11. found hound wound 2, 1, 12. bower haviour 2, 2, 15. towre endure sure 2, 9, 21. wonderous hideous thus piteous 2, 11, 38. hous valorous adventurous victorious 3, 3, 54. Esperus joyeous hous 3, 4, 51. hous ungratious hideous 3, 4, 55. hos glorious 3, 6, 12. thus hous 3, 11, 49. thus outrageous 4, 1, 47.

ow = (oo) ?
one owne unknowne 1, 4, 28. foe flow show grow 1, 5, 9. so foe overthroe woe 2, 4, 10. overthowne knowne owne none 6, 1, 14.

ir = (ur) ?
foorth worth birth 2, 3, 21.

er = (ar)
harts = hearts smarts parts desarts = desarts 2, 2, 29. desert part 2, 4, 26. serve starve 2, 6, 34. serve deserve
surve 3, 7, 53 [(er) or (ar) ?] dart smart pervart = pervert hart = heart 3, 11, 30. Britomart part heart des- sart 4, 1, 33. depart hart art revert 4, 6, 43. hart smart dart convert 5, 5, 28. parts smarts arts desarts 6, 5, 33. regard mard prefard = marred pre- ferred 6, 9, 40. [In reference to this confusion of (er, ar) it may be noticed that Prof. Blackie of Edinburgh, in his public lectures, pronounced accented er in many words, in such a manner that it is difficult to decide whether the sound he means to utter is (er, ar, er), the r being slightly, but certainly, trilled. A similar indistinctness may have long prevailed in earlier times, and would account for these confusions.] mariner tears 1, 3, 31. [does this rhyme (er, eer) ?]

(uu) = (u).
brood mood good withstood 1, 10, 32. blood good brood 1, 10, 64. groome comesomme = sum 5, 6, 8. mood stood wool’d 5, 6, 15. approve move love 2, 4, 24.

u = (u) ? = (uu) ?
Lud good 2, 10, 46. flood mud blood good 5, 2, 27. woont hunt 5, 4, 29. push rush gush 1, 3, 35. rush bush 2, 3, 21. rush push 3, 1, 17. but put 1, 6, 24. truth ens’th youth ruth 1, 6, 12, 2, 3, 2.

u = ow.
use accuse abuse spues 1, 4, 32. vewd rude, 3, 10, 48. newes use 5, 5, 51.

(s) = (z).
blis enemis = bliss enemies 4, 9, 16. prise = prise thrisle = thrice cowardise em- prise 5, 3, 15.

-e, -ed syllabic.
to the long raynes at her commandement 3, 4, 33. salvagesse sans finesse, shewing secret wit 3, 4, 39 [salvagesse has its final e elided, finesse preserved, shewing inconsistency.]
wondered answered conjectured 2, 4, 39. accomplish’d hid 3, 3, 48. led apparèd garnished 3, 3, 59. fed for- wearied bed dread 5, 5, 50. [but -ed is constantly -(d, -t).]

formerly grounded and fast scttled 2, 12, 1. [this is remarkable for both the last syllables].
spright sight sight\(=\)quite sight 1, 1, 45. diversely jollity bye\(=\)high daintily 1, 7, 32, 1, 8, 2, 2, 8, 33. unites dites\(=\)ights smites lites\(=\)lights 1, 8, 18. exercise emprise lies thies\(=\)thighs 2, 3, 35. bite night 3, 6, 22. write, light, knight 3, 9, 1. bite knight might 6, 6, 27. delight [generally without gh] sight knight sight 6, 8, 20. 
made trade waide\(=\)weighed 1, 4, 27. 
[see also (aa)\(=\)(ai).]
bayt wayt strayt\(=\)straight sleight 2, 7, 64. [see also (ai)\(=\)(ai).]

heard\(=\)(hard)\(=\)(herd)?
heard embark\(=\)embarrased 1, 2, 31. regard heard 1, 12, 16. heard far\'d prepar\'d 2, 2, 19. heard unabard preparad \(=\)unbarred prepared 5, 4, 37. heard reward 5, 7, 24. heard hard debard 5, 9, 36. 
heard heard afeard seared 1, 11, 26. 
heard affared reard 2, 3, 45, 2, 12, 2. heard heard hearad\(=\)steered 3, 8, 30. heard feared reard heard 5, 11, 30. 

heir\(=\)hair\(=\)haar\(=\)heer.
fayr hayre 1, 12, 21 
affayres shayres hayres cares 2, 10, 37. 
deare heyre 2, 10, 61. 

inquire\(=\)inkweer\(=\)inkweir.
inquire spere\(=\)spear 2, 3, 12. nere\(=\)near were inquere 3, 10, 19. inquire were nere 5, 11, 48. 
retire inquire desire 5, 2, 52. 

-tion in two syllables.

submission compassion affliction 1, 3, 6. devotion contemptitation meditation 1, 10, 46. Philemon anon potion 2, 4, 30. upon anon confusion 2, 4, 42. conditions abusions illusions 2, 11, 11. fashion don complexion occasion 3, 6, 38. fashion anon gon\(=\)gone 3, 7, 10. [these examples of fash-tion, are valuable, because the sh spelling seemed to imply fash-ion in two syllables]. compassion upon affliction stone 3, 8, 1. foundation repARATION nation fashion 5, 2, 28. discretion oppression subjection direction 5, 4, 26. Gergon oppression subjection region 5, 10, 9. Coridon contention 6, 10, 33. 
inclina-tion fa-shion 6, 9, 42. [Whether the two last syllables are to be divided or no, it is difficult to say; if they are, the lines have two super-

fious syllables. The stanza begins thus—

But Calidore, of courteous inclination
Tooke Coridon and set him in his place,
That he should dance as was his fashion.

On account of the laxity of Spenser's rhymes it is impossible to say whether this was a rhyme or an assonance, that is, whether the -tion was pronounced as shion. I am inclined to think not. See the remarks on Shakspere's rhyme: passion fashion, below § 8.]

like\(=\)litsb.
witch pitch unlich\(=\)unlike twitch 1, 5, 28. bewitch sich\(=\)such lich\(=\)like 3, 7, 23.

love.
love hove move 1, 2, 31. approve move love 2, 4, 24. love behove above reproove 6, 2, 1.

one.
one shone gone 1, 1, 16. throne one fone\(=\)foes 3, 3, 33. gone alone one 3, 8, 46.

shew\(=\)shoo; sheu?
show low 1, 2, 21. slow show 1, 3, 26. foe flow show grow 1, 5, 9. slow low show 1, 10, 5. shewn known, own thrown 5, 4, 18. show flow know 5, 9, 13. forgooe, showe 6, 1, 27. shewed bestowed unsowed sowed 6, 4, 14. moe\(=\)more showe knowe agoe 6, 11, 11.
view vew shew 1, 2, 26, 2, 3, 32, 3, 1, 41. 5, 3, 23. vew knew shew crew 1, 4, 7. newes shewes 1, 7, 21. subbdew shewd 2, 8, 55. shew vew knew hew 2, 9, 3, 2, 11, 13. grew hew shew 3, 3, 50. dew shew 3, 6, 3. hew new trew shew 4, 1, 18. drew threw shew hew 4, 8, 6. trew embrew shew rew 5, 1, 16. vew purslew shew 6, 5, 22. vew shew askew hew 6, 10, 4.

would, could, should.
mould could would 1, 7, 33.ould would 1, 7, 41. mould should defould 1, 10, 42. gold bold would mould 2, 7, 40. behould should hould 3, 11, 34. behold hold would 4, 10, 16. would hould 5, 5, 55. mould could should 5, 6, 2. could behould 5, 7, 5.ould could would hould 6, 1, 29. bold would hould 6, 5, 15.

wound, wound.
wound round sound 1, 1, 9. stownd ground wound 2, 8, 32. found swoodound ground 4, 7, 9.
Sir Philip Sidney's Rhymes.

Gill cites several passages from Sir Philip Sidney (A.D. 1554–86) who was the contemporary of Spenser (A.D. 1552–99). Mr. N. W. Wyer has kindly furnished me with a collection of rhymes from Sir Ph. Sidney's version of the Psalms, which I have arranged as follows. It will be seen that Sidney was a more careful rhymier than Spenser. But he seems to have accepted the mute gh, Hart's pronunciation of ai as (ee), the inexpediency of distinguishing (ou) and (oo), and the liberty of making final -y= (i) rhyme with either (ii) or (ei). His other liberties are comparatively small, and his imperfect rhymes very few. In the following list the numbers refer to the numbers of the psalms in which the rhymes occur. The arrangement is not the same as for Spenser's rhymes, but rather alphabetical.

Apparent imperfect Rhymes.

Cradle able 71, is a mere assonance.
Hewne one 80, is difficult to understand, unless heven like sheven, had occasionally an (oo) sound.
Abandon randon = random 89, the imperfection is here rather apparent than real, as randon is the correct old form.
Proceeding reading 19, it is very possible that in procede, succeed, proceed, the e was more correctly pronounced (ee), or at least that a double pronunciation prevailed. See Spenser's rhymes, p. 868, col. 1, under (ee) = (ii).
Share bare ware = wear 35, this must be considered a real bad rhyme.

A.

Long and short: am game 22, am came 37, forsake wrack 37, inviolate forgate estate 78, tary vary 71, grasse place 37, hast last 9, barre are 82, farr are 88, 103, past haste 88, wast = waste plast 31, plac'd hast 5, 8, plast fast 31, cast defast 74, cast caste 18, oreast tast 16, hath wrath 2.

Have rhymes with: grave 5, 16, crave 16, save 28, 33, wave 72.

W does not affect the following a, in: wast last 9, was passe 18, flashed washed 66, quarrell apparrell 89, wander meander 143.

AL.

Uncertain, (ai) or (ee): praises = preys staisys tay say ay 28, afraid laide 3.
Probable imperfect, ai = (aa): praise phrase 94, repairre are 91.
Nearly certain ai = (ee), since even Gill writes conceit with (ee), though he admits (ei, ecl) in they obey: they saye 3, concete waite 20, waite deecite 38, conceite seate 40, obey daie 45.

Quite certain ai = (ee), seas laies 33, sea survey 72, sea way 136, praise case 10, daies case 37, pleased praised 22, praiseplease waies raise 69, staine cleane 32, meane vaine 2, chaine meane 28, streames claims 32, waite greate 26, waiteth seatheth 1, disdaying meaning 37, bereaves glaves leaves 78, heyre were 90, and hence: aire heire 8, while the rhyme ai = (e) in plain lent 22 strongly confirms the belief that the above were natural rhymes to Sidney's ear, and consequently the co-existence of (ai, ee) for the sound of ai in the xvi th century among polite speakers, notwithstanding Gill's denunciation.

AU, A.W.

The following few rhymes do not establish anything, but they serve to confirm the orthoepist's dictum of the development of (u) after (a) when (l) or (n) follows: crawl'd appal'd 74, shall appall 6, all shall 2, vaunting wanting 52, chaunces glance 52.

E.

Probably Sidney said (frend) and not (fründig) suprâ p. 779, as in: frend wend 38, frend defend 47.

EA.

The confusion of ee and e short in spelling, and the rhymes of similar orthographies, confirm the general pronunciation of ee as (ee): greater better 71, greatt sett 21, greatt seate 48, distress release 74, encrast opprest 25, rest brest neast 4, head spread 3, treads leads 1, leade tread 25, treadeth leadeth 84, seate fret 100, 102, encresse prease 144, pearced rehearsed 22, break weak, 2.
The influence of \( r \) is felt in the following words, where \( er \) or \( e \) would be naturally pronounced (ee), but was undoubtedly at times \( ii \), p. 81, and poets may have taken the liberty of using either pronunciation as best suited their convenience: heere theeare, 55, here nere 91, deere heare appeare 20, heare appeare 6, 57, earle deere appeare where 55, appears yeares eareare spheres 39, neere cloere 34, there heare 102, bearre there 55, feare bear 31, bearre were 22, deere were beare cleare 55, beare weare = were 48, care outbearre appeare weare cheere feare weare 49, sphere enclere 77, heire forbeare mere speare 55.

ER.
The rhymes: heard barr'd 34, guard heard 116, which certainly corresponded to a prevalent, though not generally acknowledged pronunciation, properly belong to the same category as: parts harts = hearts 12, avert heart 31, desert part hort 6, avert hart 119, preserved swarved 37, art subvert 100, 102. See supra p. 871, c. 1, under heard.

EU, EW, IEW, U.
These all belong together. The orthoepical distinctions (yy, eu) seem to have been disregarded. Whether they were sunk into (iu, ju) cannot be determined, and is perhaps not very likely at so early a period. See however the remarks on Hylasand's observation in 1566, supra p. 838: true adieu 119, view pursure 46, ensue grew new vieu 60, pursure dew new 105, you pursue 116, you true renewe 31, renew ensue you 78, knew true rue 18, new you 96, grew imbreu 78, subdue brew 18, chuse refuse 89.

GH.
We know that the guttural was only faintly pronounced (supra p. 779) although even Hart found it necessary to indicate its presence by writing (u). The poets of the xviith century however generally neglected it in rhyming as: prayeng weiging 130, waigh alwaye stay 55, pay weig 116, surveying weiging 143, day decay stray weig 107, laide weiged 103, de-lighted cite 1, sprite wight 9, sight quight 25, quite sight spight light 69, wight quite 39, bite spight 3, sprite might 13, high thy 43, high avry 119, eye high 131, I high 46, high dy cry 9, though goe 43, wrought thought caught 9, aloft wrought 77.

GN.
After a vowel the \( g \) appears to have been regularly mute as: Assigned kind find minde 44, assigned enclined 11, remaineth raigneth 3.

I.
There was probably some little uncertainty in the pronunciation of \( i \) in the following words, as we know that Gill had great doubts concerning build: build shield 35, shield fil'd yeeld 28, field reconcile'd 60, thevery delivery 75, give relieve greeve 82.

The uncertainty of the final -y, which Gill gives both as (ii) and (ii), is shewn by the following examples which are quite comparable with Spenser's, p. 869, col. 1.

High apply perpetually 9, unceasantly cry 77, eye effectually 115.

Sacrifice ly 4, magnifie hie 9, fly slippery 36, misery supply 79, memorie file 1 orderlise 50, injuries suffice applies lies 58, memory relye 105;—but: be chivalry 20.

Jollity eye 31, jollities tiranize 94, veritie lie 31, verity hie 57, ly iniquity 10, high vanity lie 4, high try equity 6;—but: infirmity me 41, see vanity 39, equity me thee 4, be vanity 39, thee eternity 21, be iniquity he 36, bee thee see degree me treachery free enemy 54, be constany 34.

L.
It would seem that the practice of omitting \( l \) in folk was at least known, if not admitted, by Sidney, as he rhymes: folk cloak 28, folkes in-vokes 32.

O.
The following rhymes all point to the pronunciation of long and short \( o \) as (oo, o) and not as (oo, a): crossed engrossed 69, coast hoast 33, ones bones 42, one alone moane 4, mones ones 74, none bone 109, therefore adore 66, borne scorn 2, floore rore 96, abroad God 10, God load 67, upon stone 40, folly holy 43, sory glory 42.

The following imply that \( o \) was also occasionally pronounced as (uu) or (u), though the three last rhymes were more probably imperfect: approve love 1, love move 12, moved behoved 20, love above grove remove 45, doe unto 119, begunn undunn doun 11, become dumb 38, sunn done 79, slumbered encom-bered 76, punished astonished 76, dost.
The indistinctness with which Butler has explained, and the laxity with which he apparently denotes his vowels, have occasioned me considerable difficulty in attempting a transcription of his phonetic writing. But inasmuch as he has printed two books of fair dimensions, his Grammar and his Feminine Monarchy, in his own character, so that he is the most voluminous phonetic writer with whom we have to deal, it was impossible to pass him over, and I have therefore endeavoured to transliterate a short passage from his Feminine Monarchy or History of Bees, 1634, which was printed in the ordinary as well as well the phonetic orthography. The vowel system is, so far as I can understand it, more truly of the xvith century than even Dr. Gill's, and therefore this is the proper place for it, although it was published after the first third of the xvith century. At the conclusion are annexed some extracts from his List of Words Like and Unlike, in his own orthography, using italics to represent his variants of old forms. In the following extract probably (s) should be read for (i), but the whole vowel system is too uncertain to insist upon such minute distinctions.

§ 6. Charles Butler's Phonetic Writing, and list of Words Like and Unlike, 1633-4.
utters, as shown by the sound, writing, and accent, differ yet in manifestation and, as may be discerned by the senses of the letters of the alphabet and the cognate words, their sounds, and spelling, the different sounds in the letters, writing, and accent, differ yet in manifestation.

Index of Words' Length and Value.

'Som words of li's, sound have different writing; as sooo, Sol, sooo of li's, writing may differ in de.

'Butler's dun' as hee.

'Butler's dun' as hee...'

And this under the government of our Monark...

And this under the government of our Monark...
subsequent: as ear auris, ear spica, to ear arvo: were earable arabilis. Of vie sorts you hav' heereafter oder examples."

The object of the list which is thus introduced by the author seems to be to discriminate words of like sound as much as possible by various spellings, which in Butler's system would represent different but nearly identical sounds. The list therefore is not of much value or assistance, especially as the like and unlike words are not inserted separately. He seems to have trusted to an orthography which is extremely difficult to understand from his description. Hence instead of giving the whole list, 28 pages long, it will be sufficient to extract those parts in which some mention of pronunciation is made, and for these to adopt the author's own orthography, as in the above citation, because of the difficulty of interpreting it. The italic letters represent generally simple varieties of ordinary types, thus, oo, are joined together, forming one type, and so for ee, and e, d, &c., have bars through them, t is t, a turned t, and so on. These will occasion no difficulty. The final ('t) answers to mute e. It is the value of the simple vowels and digraphs and the effect of this mute ('t) as a lengthener, which it is so difficult to determine satisfactorily from Butler's indications. The small capitals indicate the usual orthography and generally replace Butler's black letters.

a Cof fer, D. Koff er, F. coffre; (yet wee writ' and sound it wit a single t, to distinguish it from cow Wyn wie is sounded coffer).

Devil, or rader dev il not dive l: (as soon, far fet ing it from diabolus would hav' it).

Enoug sat is, but importing number it is bot' written and pronounced without de aspirat': as Eeclus. 35. 1. Sacrific es nous. Enou for even nou, mode: In de pronouncing of vie 2 woords, de on ly difference is de accent: wie de first hat in de last, and de last in de first. For enoug wie commonly say enu': as for laug daugter, soon say laf, daper: for cowg all say cop: and for de Duite ak ter, were altogether bot' say and writ' after.

to Enter intrare, to E nter in humare.

Ear auris, to ear arvo, ere before prius, erst first primd, (not yer yerst) as in Dutch ere, erst. Hence erenou', brewil', and brely i. former: as of erely tings I wil deter: for wie is now written (I know not my) ferlly.

Certain woords beginning wit es ar sound usem' spoken and written without e: as escape', especial, espi; scarce, special, spi: to espous, and to estrange, [verbs:] spous, and strange [nouns:] esqur', essay, establis, stat'; so example and excus'; without ec, samp'; scus': and exange, without ex, cange.

Ew not yew ovis fomella; as iv not ywv, (vid. Iw tazus) dowg de y bee vulgarly sounded in dem bot'.

Engl and . . . is vulgarly written England: but always sounded England; as wee now bot' sound and writ' many other woords wit Ee, wie anciently were written wit E: as seem', seende', seek', &c.

In stead of our F de Nederlanders hav' v . . . wie dialect is yet found in de Western partes.

Hay fomum, of de Sax. hawen score, because it is cut grass, a hey or cumni-net, of de Fr. hay (wie dey sound hey); . . . and wee ar as reddy, bot in sound and writing, to follow deir sound, as deir writing: wer' dey writ' mouton and say mouton, wie writ' and say moottun; dey writ' quatre and say catre, wie writ' and say catren: dey writ' bon and say boone, wie writ' and say boon'; dey writ' plaid and say plead, wie writ' and say plead) [a hedg].

Iw [true] not ywv, doug it bee so sounded: de Frenc being If, and de Duite IF, Iben or Eiben: as wee say yew, and yet wir' ew ovis fomella.

Nic' or coy curiosus, a nias hauk,

For ascertaining and comparing the different accounts of the pronunciation of the xviith century which have come down to us, it is necessary to have an alphabetic list of all or most of the words which have been spelled phonetically by various writers, with a uniform transcription of their various notations. This is attempted in the present section. The following vocabulary contains:

1) all the English words cited by Palsgrave, p. 31, with the pronunciations as inferred from his descriptions.

2) all the English words cited by Salesbury, pp. 32, 34, in his accounts of Welsh and English Pronunciation, with the pronunciation he has actually or inferentially assigned to them, as explained in the passages cited pp. 789–794.

3) numerous words from Sir John Cheke’s Translation of Matthew.¹

4) all the words pronounced in Sir Thomas Smith’s Treatise p. 34.

5) all the examples of diphthongs, and a few other words only from Hart, pp. 35, 794, whose pronunciation, as has been already frequently mentioned, was in several respects exceptional.

6) All the exemplificative words in Bullokar’s lists, with many others collected from various parts of his Book at Large, pp. 36, 838.

¹ The Gospel according to Saint Matthew and part of the first chapter of the Gospel according to Saint Mark translated from the Greek, with original notes, by Sir John Cheke, knight &c. Prefixed is an introductory account of the nature and object of the translation, by James Goodwin, B.D., London, Pickering, 1843, 8vo. pp. 124. Cheke was born 16th June, 1514, and died “of shame and regret in consequence of his recantation” of Protestantism, 13th Sept., 1557. This translation, of which the autographic MS. is preserved (not quite perfect) at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, is supposed by Mr. Goodwin to have been made about 1550.
7) all, or almost all words in Gill's *Logonomy*, pp. 38, 845; the provincialisms are not quite fully given, but Gill's whole account of them will be found below, Chap. XI, § 4, and they are best consulted in that connection.

8) A few characteristic words from Butler, pp. 39, 874.

The modern orthography has been followed in the arrangement of the vocabulary. Palsgrave and Salesbury occasionally give an old orthography different from that now in use, but the variation is not material. The others only give the phonetic spelling. Occasionally short observations from Smith and Gill have been added in the original Latin, and in some cases the Latin translation given by these authors is inserted. Some doubts may arise as to the propriety of retaining so many words about the pronunciation of which little hesitation can be felt by those who have mastered the main principles, such as, *abandon, abhor, abound, absence, absent, &c. bill, bit, bless, boast, boat, &c.*, but after much consideration, it has been resolved to retain them, as no rule of exclusion could be framed, which did not seem to assume the very knowledge and familiarity which the vocabulary was meant to supply, and it is only by such accumulated proofs that the certainty of the results can impress itself on the reader's mind. These results are however extremely important in the history of our language, as they present the first sure ground after the time of Ormin, and the only means by which we are able to rise to the pronunciation of Chaucer. Thus the certainty of the pronunciation of *on, on* as (uu) by Palsgrave and Bullokar, and the probability of their pronunciation of long *i* as (ii), are great helps towards conceiving the general use of these sounds in the xvi th century.

The various phonetic orthographies of the above writers (except Cheke's) have been translated into palaeotype to the best of my ability, although a few, unimportant, cases of doubt remain, generally pointed out by (?). The position of the accent is always hypothetical, except for the words cited from G. 128-138, in which Gill has generally marked or indicated the accent. It was at first intended to refer to Levins (p. 36,) for the position of the accent in each case, but his usage was found too uncertain to be made available. The use of (w, j) at the beginning of combinations where some writers employ (u, i), and conversely the use of (u, i) at the end of combinations where some writers employ (w, j), has been consistently maintained. The difference between these writers and myself is purely theoretical: we mean to express the same sounds in each case. *Qu* has been interpreted as (kw) throughout, because this is believed to have been the sound intended. Bullokar uses the single letter q. The initial *wr* has been left, but *rrv* has been subjoined with a (?) as this is believed to have been the sound. Except in the words *spangle, entangle*, where the sound (qq) is especially indicated, G 10, the introduction of (qq) for *qg* in the following vocabulary is quite hypothetical, for none of the writers cited seem to have thought the distinction between (q) and (qq) worth marking at all times.

There was a great difficulty in determining the length of the
vowels. Palsgrave does not note the length and Salesbury is not consistent in his notation. Smith, Hart, and Gill generally use diacritical signs, and Bullokar does so in many cases. Now when this is the case the diacritical sign is often omitted by either the writer or printer, and it is difficult to know in any given case whether it ought to be added or not (p. 846, l. 3). The difficulty is increased when the diacritic implies a difference in quality as well as quantity, thus  المحل, mostly (ii, i) in Smith but (ii, i) in Gill, and  المحل is probably (ii, i) in Bullokar (p. 113). In these cases I have generally searched for other instances of the word, or been guided by the use of other writers, or by analogy. In Bullokar ﲨ is not infrequent, but ยย, ยศ may be said never to occur, although he gives both as marks of the long sound, and ี้ is most frequently used for both (ii) and (i) although ี้ ought to have been used in the former case. By reference to pp. 110, 114, the reader will see the great difficulty which attaches to the value of long ี้ in Palsgrave and Bullokar, and the reasons which have induced me, after repeated consideration for several years, to consider that it must have been (ii) or some closely cognate sound, acknowledging at the same time that this pronunciation was quite archaic at the time, just as ฉบี, ฉบี in Scotland and ฉบี in English are still existent archaic forms, for which the greater number of English speakers say (ظلذح', ظلذح') in Scotland and ظل (ظرفيت') in English. For the reason why Gill's ﲨ has been rendered (ai) rather than (ei) see p. 115, and the reason why his خطر, خطر are each rendered by (อาอา) is given on p. 145, where we may add that Gill in adducing "Hale Henriculus, Hale trahere, et Hale aula," says: "exilior est a in duabus vocibus prioribus, in tertia fere est diphthongus," (G. 3,) so that he possibly hesitated between (อา) and (อาอา). Hart's (yy) has been considered on p. 167, p. 796 note, col. 1, and p. 838.

Another source of error is the use of an old letter in a new sense. Thus Smith employs ย for ( teh) and he consequently continually leaves ย for (k, s) where his old habits misled him. Gill employed จ for (ai), and the confusion between ี้, 保驾护 in his book is very perplexing. Extremely slight distinctions in the forms of the letters are also confusing. Thus Smith distinguishes (ี, ี่) as ี, ี่, which have a diaeresis mark superposed to imply length. The consequence is that it is sometimes extremely difficult to determine whether he means (ii) or (ee), and, considering that in his time the distinction of the sounds had not yet been thoroughly established by the orthographies ี ี, าะ อะ, this confusion is perplexing and annoying.

For any errors and shortcomings of this kind, the indulgence of the reader is requested, and also for another inevitable source of error. The nature of the compilation, rendered it impossible to verify every word afterwards by referring to the passage from which it was quoted. I have therefore had to rely on the accuracy of my original transcript, and it is impossible that that should have been always correct.

Sir John Cheke's orthography is rather an attempt to improve the current spelling than strictly phonetic. Hence it has not been
transliterated, but left as he wrote it, and is therefore printed in Italics. The following appear to have been the values of his symbols, which were not always unambiguous: \( aa = (aa) \), \( ai = (ai, ee?) \), \( ea = (ee?) \) unfrequent, \( ee = (ce) \) and \( = (ii) \), \( ei = (ai, ee?) \), \( ij = (ei, ii, ii?) \), \( o = (o) \) and \( (u) \), \( oo = (oo?) \) and \( (uu) \), \( ouw = (ou) \), \( ou = (uu) \) only? \( ow = (ou) \), \( uu = (yy) \). The \( i \) most commonly did service for \( (i) \) and \( (s) \), but \( y \) was sometimes used as \( (r) \), although it most frequently stands for \( (th) \) and \( (dh) \), for which also \( t \) occasionally occurs. The use of \( i \) is doubtful, sometimes it seems meant for \( ij = (ei) \), sometimes as in \( dai \) it would seem only to indicate the diphthong, but it is used so irregularly that no weight can be attached to its appearance. The terminations \( -ty\), \( -blé \), occasionally appear in the forms \( -tee\), \( -bil \). Final \( e \), being useless when there is a distinct means of representing long vowels, is generally, but not always omitted. The comparison of Cheke's orthography with the phonetic transcriptions of others seems to bring out these points.

The authority for each pronunciation is subjoined in chronological order, but not the reference to the passage, except in the case of Gill and Cheke. The figures refer to the page of the second edition of Gill's Logonomia (supra p. 38) and the chapters of Sir John Cheke's translation of Matthew. The references to Salesbury will be found in the index, supra pp. 789-724. Smith and Bullokar's words can generally be easily found in their books, from their systematic lists. The example from Bullokar p. 839, and Hart, p. 798, are also sufficient guarantees of the correctness of the transcription. The authors' names are contracted, and a few abbreviations are used as follows. All words not in palaeotype, with exception of the authors' names, are in Italics.

**ABBREVIATIONS.**

| Aust | Australes; Southern English Pronunciation. |
| Bor | Boreales; Northern English Pronunciation. |
| B | Butler, 1633. |
| Bull | Bullokar, 1580. |
| C | Cheke, 1550. |
| cor | corruptè; a pronunciation considered as corrupt by the author cited. |
| G | Gill, 1621. |
| H | Hart, 1569. |
| Lin | Lincolnienses, Lincolnshire Pronunciation. |
| Mops | Gill's Mopsea, and Smith's muliebretag, supra pp. 90, 91; indicating an effeminate or thinner pronunciation. |
| Occ | Occidentales; Western English Pronunciation. |
| Ori | Orientales; Eastern English Pronunciation. |
| P | Palsgrave, 1530. |
| poet | poetice. |
| pr | praefatio, the preface to Gill, which is not paget. |
| prov | provincialiter; any provincial pronunciation. |
| S | Smith, 1568. |
| Sa | Salesbury, 1547 & 1567. |
| Sc | Scoti; Scotch Pronunciation. |
| Transtr | Transtrentiani; English Pronunciation North of the river Trent. |

? interpretation doubtful, or apparent error, or misprint, in the original.
PRONOUNCING VOCABULARY OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

A.

a a G pr
abandon aband'don G 133
abbreviation brevif'mtion Bull
abhor abhor' Bull, abhorred abhor'ed G 106
able aa-ib S, Bull, G 65, ab'l G 32
abide abid' C 2
Abington Ab'i'gton see Trumpington G 134
abound abound G 89
abound about Bull, about G 23
abroad abroad G 60, abroad? G 133, abroad G 6
absence absens G 66
absent absent G 84
absolute abso'bl G 85
abstain abstain' G 89
abundance abun'dans p, abund'ans G 127
abundant abundant G 84
abuse abyys ' Bull
ace as Bull
acceptable akceptabl G 84
acceptance akcept'ans G pr
according akord'iq G 21
account akount' G 89
accurse akyyz-S, akyyz' G 45
accustomed akustom'd G 84
ache aatah Bull, Hart, see headache,
aches = axex es G 8
acknowledge akknowledzh G 22
acquaint akwaint' S, acquainted
akwainted G 129
acquaintance akwaint'tans S
acquit akwit' aut akwit' G 15, akwit' G 85
ace aaker G 70
add ad G 85
addressd adres'ted G 133
adjudge addzhudzh' G 32
admonish admon'ish G 85
adore adoor' G 122
adorn adorn' G 141
adultery adul'tery G 85
advance adva'ns G 143
adventure advent'tyr G 30
adverb adverb Bull
advise advizu G 87, 131
adz advizc adz es ad'res prov. Sa
affairs aferz G 37, afairz' G 122
affections afek'sions G 123
affect afekt' G 103, affects afekte G 141
affirm afirm' G 112
affliction aflik'sion G 125
afford afourd' B
affray afrei' G 98
afore afoor' G 80
afraid afraid' per prothesin pro fraid G 135
after after G 79
again again' G 24
against agen't frequentiv, against
doci interim G pr, against G 20, 79
age aadzh S, G 70
agree agri Bul, G 118
ague an'gyy G 92
aid aid G 14, 113
air aier G 106, aier G? air aier C 6
airy aero'v ai'v G 14, aeri fere tris
tyllabum G 16
ale sul Sa, G 37
algate al-gat? G 109
all' sul S, a'l Bull, aal G 23, al G 39,
Aal G 25
allay alai' G 99
allhail al'l hait omnis salus G 64
allure alyyr G 123
alone aloor' G 46, 145
 aloud alud' Bull, aloud' G 109
also a'ls Bull, aas Bor pro aal'so G 17
altar = aul'ter C 5
although aaldhokh' G 65
altogether aal-together G 21
alum al'um S
am am G 52
amain amain' G 119, amain' G 110
amate amaat' torreo G 32
amaze amaa'z G 88
ambitious ambis'tus G 99
amiss amis' G 113
among amoq' G 21 amoq' ? G 79,
amuq' B
an an G 10
andiron a'ndryr' Bull
angels aq'gelz? see next word, G 24
angelicel andheel'fkal G 119
anger aq'i ger G 91
angry aq' gri G 84
anguish aq'gwish Bull
anothers andh'ercz G 95
answer answer' non ansu'er G pr,
answered an'swered G 119, answered
C 4
answerable ansu'erable G 84
any an'vi Bull, G 45, prima natura sud
brevis G 133
ape aap, Sa S
apparel aparel G 38
appear apiir Bull B, appeer C 6, ap-
peared upird G 94, appered apereared
C 1, 2, apareeth apiir'reth Bull B,
apiereth G 87, appearing apiir'iq
G 133
aptease apez 8 123
appertain apertain 8 87
apply aplai 8 86
appointed apuuinted 24
apprentice aprentis 98
are aar Bull, 56, ar G 21
AREADS arceds 98
aright arieth 135
ariseth arozith 25
armed arm-ed G 82
arms armz G 37
army arm-oI G 106
array arai S, armai G 128
ars-smart ars-smart hydropiper 38
Arthur Ar'tur G 107
as az Bull G 13, 96
ask aish Sa, ash S, ashes ash'ez G 37, 128
ask aks et ask S, ask G 88, asked askt G 111
aspen as'pin G 106
aspiration aspirasion Bull
aspire aspeir 111.
as as Bull, asses as'ea G 24
assay asai assay thereof zadraakh Oec, G 18
assist aisit G 141
assoil assoil G 85, 89
assurance assyrans G 83, 117
assure assyr G 128, assyrr G 32
astonied aston'ed G 99, astonned C 19
at at G 79
attempted atem'pred G 119
attend atend G 133, attends attendz G 119
attire d'he dierz ati'er cervi cornua G 43
attribute v. atribyyt G 85
auditor AA'ditor G 129
auger aA'ger G 14
augment aAgment G 119, 142
aunt aAunt G 10
authors aA'torz G 143
avail avail G 87, availeth avail'eth G 117
avengement avendzment G 149
avens aAv'enz caryophyllatum G 37
aver aver G 32
avoid avoid G 131
awe au au Sa, au S, aau G 14
awful aA'ful G 150
awry awrii 3=arwi P
axe azg Sa, aks S, G 13
aye ei S, eei G pr, 15, eei G 15, ai G 113, aai G 116, ai C 6

B.
Baal Baal Bull
babble s. babl'mug G 26, e. babl' infantum more balbutire G 26
babbler babler infanti.rcrus G 26
babbling bab'iq garrulitas G 26

babe baab Sa, G 26, babes=baabs C 11
baby baab'oi G 26
back bak S
backward bak'ward G 28
bacon baac'kn Bull, baak'n G 38
bad bad malus S
badge badzh G 12
bag bag S, G 89
bail bull Bull
daily bee'li vor B
dait bairt G 14
bake baak Sa, S
balance bal'ans Bull, bal'ans G 21
bald baud S, ba'ld Bull
bare baal Bull
bail baal S, S'ail Bull, baal G 14
balm baml'm ba'm Bull, baalm potius quarn baam G pr, baalm G 38
bands bands G 116
bar bar S, Bull
barbarous bar-barus Bull
Barbary Bar'bari G 147
bars bars G 37
bare baar S, Bull
bargain bargain G 93
barley bar-lei G 37
barren baen Bull
base baas G 98
basket basket Bull
bass baaz G 119
bat bat S
bate baeat S
bath bath S
bathe baadh badh S
battery bat-ri G 123
battles batails G 104 (in Speiser)
bawl baal, eodem sono proferimus, baal ball pila, et tu baal dawle vocif- rari G 14
bay baal baal'tus Bull
bay-tree baal-trui Bull, bays baiz lauri G 141
be bi G 23
beak beck B
beams becmz G 23
bean beane been P, Bull
beam been G 37
beer beer P, beer Sa, baar ursus Bull, bear bore born, beer baar boor born (without distinguishing 'borne') G 60, borne boor'n Bull
beast beast P, Bull, G 12
beat beet verberat, bet verberavit S, bet, bet verberabant dialectus est, G 48
beauty heuti G 22, 98, beaui'ti B
because bikaaaz G 91
beck beck B
become bikum G 21, 67, became bikam G 86
bed bed S, G 47
bedridden = bedred C 9
bee bit P, Sa
beef bit G 39
been bin G 56 100
beer bier G 37
bet bit S
beets bits bitum G 37
bees beiv G 39
befalai eth bital-eth G 87
before bifoor S bifoor Bull, bifoor G 21, 23, 80
begging beg'iq Sa
begun begin' G 133, beginning begin'iq G 123
begone bigoon' G 81
behav beenaav G 51
behind behaSa'fter G 79
beloved bihoo'ld Bull, beheld bineld G 100
beloved binuv'ret G 95
being bit'iq G 25
believe, belliv', Sa, G 87, belliv' G 100, 128, believe, believing belliv'iq G 133,
bell bel vola S
bellow bel'ooonz G 37
belongeth bilooq'eth G 21, 86
beloved biluved G 129
Belphoebe Belfe'rbe G 101
bend bend G 48
beneath bimeedh Bull, bineth G 79
benefit ben'efit G 133
benign benig'iq Sa G 30
bent bent S
bereave birvev' G 125, bereav G 48
beseeb bisiam G 67
beside bisaid' G 79
besought bisoukht' G 127
best best G 12, 34
bistoov' G 86
bet bet pro better G 135
betake bitaak G 32
bethink bithiqk' 32
betid past tense bitaid' G 108
betines bitains' G 123
betrayed bitraud' G 145
better bet'er G 34
between bitwiin' Bull, bitwiin' G 79
beyond bizond' G 79
bid bid S, bid G 88, bidden bid'n G 20
bied beid S
bier biir P, biir Sa, beer spelled beare
rhyming with neare in the passage of Spenser (6, 2, 48) cited in G 103
bill bit S
billows bil'ooonz G 99
bind bind G 116, bijn'd C 18
bird bird S, G 24, burd G 88, birds burdz G 118
bit bit S, bits bits G 37
bitch bitsh, Sc et Transtr. bik S
bite beit S, bit mordeo, bit bit mordeban, have bitten maav bit'n momordi G 48
bitter bit'er G 40
bladder blader Sa
blame blauam G 86, blamed bland? G 90
blazed blaz-ed G 125
bless bles G 21
blind blind G 119
blithe blaidh G 107
block blok G 99
blood blund S, blud Bull, G 4, 38, bloud C 27
bloody blud'r G 100
blossoms blosum'umz 144
bloy bloou Bull, bloyed bloou G 2
blush blush S, blushed blusht G 117
blue blyy S
board' buurd Sa, B, bord G 47, boards boordz G 118
boast boost G 23, 89
boat boot S, Bull, boot C 4
body bod'i G 72, 133
boil beil ulos S, buuil coquo G 15
bold bold prov Sa, bould S, booukd G 105
bombast bum'best G 38
bondmen bondmen G 41
bone boon, Sc baan bean S
book buuk Sa, Sm, Sc byyk S, buuk-s G 3, 41, byyks Bor G 122
boot bunt S, Bull
booth boudh Bull
bore boor P, G 50
born boor'n natuS, bor'n allatuS the present use reversed Bull, born G 50, 98 boorn = natuS G 2
borrow boroouG 98, borrowed borooued G, 98
bot bot lumbricus equorum S, Bull
botch botsh S
both both G 39, 98, beadh Bor G 16, booth C 6
bough bough buu Bull, bou G 15
bought bount S, bouunt Bull, bokht G 12, bouukht G 109
bound bound G 15, 24
bounty boun'ti G 29, 82
bourn bur'n Bull, buurn B
bou bow arcus Sa 34, 58, bou arcus bou
fleeters S, bou arcus, buu fleeter Bull, bouu arcus G 15, bowing
bour'iq G 20, bowed=boud C 18
bowels buu-elz Bull, bou-elz G 37, 94
bowers bowers G 114
bowl bowl sinum Sa, S, Bull, G 15, B, boul spheara S, G 16, B, buul globus Bull
box boks S, G 107
boy bui P, boi, fortasse bui, allu boe S, bwee H, boi Bull, buoi, non bue G
pr, buoi puer G 92, 136, boi Bor G 15, bowe B
brad brod clavus sine capite S
brag brag G 89
brake brak ruptura, braak balista, filiz &c, Bull, braak = ruptit C 15
bramble bram’bl G 41
bran bran G 38
brandiron brond’iron Bull
branches bransh’e z G 24, branst’h’e z G 123
brass bras G 37
braveda brava’d’a G 23
bravely "bravely"
brace brek G 41
breathe breath Bull
breech breech Bull, breath ? G 121
bred bred S
breech british Sc Transtr. et Bor briik S, breeches britsh’es, briks Bor G 17
brew breid S, G 124
brenned bren’ed Bor G 122
brethren breth ren ant breth’ren G 41, 124
brew bry S, breced bruu’id ? S
bride broid G 112
bridgroom = brijdgroom C 25
bridge bredzh, Bor brig S, brudzh G 12
bridle brid’l f S briad’l G 20, 123
brightness braikhtnes G
Britain Britain (in Spenser) G 104
broad brood S, G 70
broil broil forasse bruil S, broil bruu’l, indifferenter G 15
broken brook’n G 51
broud broon S, G 101
brooks bruuks G 114
broom bruum Bull
brother brudh’er G 27, 41, 112, B, broyer C 4
brotherhood brudh-er-nuud G 27
brought broukht G 10
brown bruen Bull
bruised = broosed C 21
bubble buoi B
buck buk dama mas Sa, S, G 3, fago-triticum G 37
buckler buk’ler Bull
bud bud G 133
budge budzh peregrinae ovis pellis S
buildeth byyl’eth beild’eth bild’eth braid’eth, pro supte cujusque ingenio G 4, built = byilt C 7
builder bilde’er G 105
building bild’iuq G 111, buildings = byildings C 21
bull bul, S, Bull, bun prov Sa
bulwark bul’wark G pr
bung bue B
buoy bwei H, buui Bull, G 15
burden bur’d’n Bull
burn burn’ Bull, burn G 109, burneth burn’e’th G 23
burr bur lappa S
buri bir’i Sa, burt C 8
bush bush G 73
busted biz’ied G 91
business biz’nes G 81
busy biz’i Sa
but but S, Bull, G 20, 133
butcher butsh’er, Mops bitsh’er G 18
butt but Bull
button butt’er G 38
buy bei S, G 89
buyer be’er H
by by’ S, bei H, G 20, 79, 136, by our lady bei’r lau’di Sa, by and bye, by and by, bi’ and bi’ P

C.
cage kaadzh S
cajif kai’til miner S, kaitiv G 111, 146
calends kal’endz G 37
calf ka’l’f Bull, calves ka’lvz Bull
call kaull Sa, S, ka’l Bull, kau prov Sa
callet kal’et meretricula Bull
calm kaulm Sa 4, ka’l’m Bull
cambrio kaam’brk, Mops keem’brk G 17
Cambridge Kaam’bridzh G 77
cannot kanot G pr, kan’not G 45
canoa kanaa ? G 28
candle kan’dl G 98
canvas kan’vas G 38
cap kap Sa, S, G 12
cape kaap hispanica chlamys S
capers kaperz G 37
capons kaap’u Bull, kaap’u, Mops keep’n et fer’e kiip’n G 18
captive kaip’tiv G 116
car kan S
care kaar Bull
careful kaar’ful G 84
careless kaar’les G 123
carpenter karpenter G 129
Carthage Kar’thadzh G 66
case kaus G 35, 100
casement kaaz’ment, G 27
casket kasket G 35
cast cast G pr, 48, cast G 16
cat kat Sa, G 35
cates kaats G 37
catch katazh S, G 149, see ‘ketch’, caught kount, S
cattle katel Bull, G 24
caul kaull = ka’l Bull
cauldron kau'dor'n, Bull
cause kauz Bull, kaaz G 21, 103, 143
caussovay kau'si Bull
cave kav G 77
cavil kav'd Bull
cesed seest G 112, ceasest seest G 102
cedars see'darz G 24, 105
censor sensor G 66
centre sent'er G 125
certain se'ertain G 67
chef f tshaf G 37
cchalk tshaaK G 38
challenge tshaar'landing G 109
chambers tsiam'berz G 23
change tshans S, tshauns B, changeeth
tshaa'seth G 66, tshaa'seth G 86,
chaa'nid tsha'aa'n G 111, 119
chancellor tshans'er pr
change tshandzh S, G 12, 20, tshandzh
Bull, tshaendzh B
chaangeeble tshau'dzh'ab'l Bull
chanter tshant'er cantor S
chap tshap fondi per se aut vento S
chap tshaappe furrum quod ambit unam
vaginam S
chapel tshap'el S
char tshaar P
charge tshardzh Bull
charity tshar'ite S
charm tshar'm Bull
charriot tshar'et G 23
chaste tshaasent G 77, 100
chasten tshas't'n Bull
chastity tshast'viti G 101
chaw tshaa G 14
cheap tshiiip ? liecitarS, Cheapside
Tsheep'seal Sa
check tshiiik P
cheer tshir? vultus S
cheerful tshier'ful G 118
clease tshiiz Sa, S
cherish tshier'sh Bull, tsheer'ish et
tsher'ish G 127
cherry tshere'i S, cherries tshere'iz G 99
Chesterton Tshestertun G 134
childen tshid'n? Bull
chief tshiif Sa, Bull, G 77, cheef C 6
child tshild? S, tshold G 42, child
C 1, 2, children tshiil'dren G 42
childishness tshild'ishnes Bull
chin tshin P, G 80
chisel tshirz'l Bull
choler kol'er G 38
choly kol'ik'ik R 38
choose tshyyz G 101, chuse C 13 choose
tshooz G 118, chosen tshooz'n Bull,
G 66, 152
chop tshap scindere S, chopped tsheet G 111
Christian Krestian G 150
church tshirtsh Sa, tshirtsh tshurtsh
tel tshyyr'tsh, Sc et Transtr. kyyrk,
kurk S, tshurtsh G 92
churchyard tshursh'yard G 128
churt tshurl P, tshur'l Bull
cider sid'er? G 38
Cimmerian Simerian G 136
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whosoever whom'sover'G 33
why why? (nui ?), whi? (=whi?) S
whai G 99 whi C 26
which = week C 12
wicked wicked'ed G 23
wide weird Sa, wayd G 70
wield wild G 110
widow widow G pr
wife wit, wives wiive, Bull
wright wright Bull G 105
wild wild G 24
while weil G
wifulness wif'ulness, see Trumpington G 134
will will S, H, wld G pr, Lin l ut ci-l, dhu-l, xii-l, wi-l, jou-l'dheil-l, G 17, witl G 54
William William G 77
Wimbledon Wm'bidun G 134
win win Sa, S, Bull, G 7
winch winch Bull
wind wind' ventus Bull, wind'ventus G 10, 23, winds = wynthia C 7
windier wind'er Bull
windlas wind'las Bull
window wind'door Bull, wind'door G 81
windy wind' i Bull
wine wein Sa, S, Bull, wain G pr, 7, 38
winge weinzhb, see supra p. 763, n. 2, Sa
wins wingz G 23
winking wigk'iq Sa
wipe wipe Bull, waiP G 124
wise weis S, weiz H, wizl Bull, weiz G 105, 91, 64
wisdom wiz'dum Bull, wiz'dum G 25
wisdoom G 11
wish wish Sa 10, 6 wish Sa, G 48
wished wisht ? G 48
wist wist scieham G 64
wit scio G 64
witch witch Bull, G 14
wit w. witcapero, for evensuit G 64
[to the pronunciation assigned was there
fore probably conjectural]
with with Sa, Bull, withl frequentius,
with docti interdum, G pr, with G
20 et passim
withdraw withdraw'G 128, withdrew
withdryy G 91
Witham With'ham G 70
 withheld withhold'G 33, 104
within within'G 79, B
without without' G 33, 79
withstand withstand'G 128
within within' salix Bull
witnes wit-nes G 42
wizard = wizards wiseards C 2, 3
wood wood F glastum S
woe woo G 81, 142
woeful woeful G 102
wolf wulf S, B
womb womb S, wuum B
woman wum'an G 41, wuurnan B,
women wim'en G 41, wim'en G 77
wun wun S
wonder under (=wunder) Sa, wunder
G 88, B, wonders, wunderz G 22
wondrous wundrus G 122
wont wunt G 111, 142, B
woo woo (=wun?) Sa, wooed uoed (=
woo'ed?) a proci ambita S
wood wood S, G 10, 22, woods wudz G
142
woof wuuf B
wool u-ul (=wul?) lan'a S, wul G
worcestershire Wus-tershiir G 70, 8
word word Bull, G 10, word G 114,
wourd word B
wore v. woor G 50
work wulk Bull, G 21, works wurks
G 24
workman wark'man G 28, workmen =
woorkmen C 20
world wold Bull, world G 10, 23, 110
B
worm wuor'm Bull, wurm G pr, B
worse wurs G 34
worship wurship Sa, G 22
worst wurt G 34
worth wurt Bull, G 110-
worthly wur'dzho G 53
wost wust ses B
wot v. wot Sa, G 64
would wuld S, Bull, B
would st wuuldust G 54
wound wound vulnus S, wund, Bor
waand [perhaps here to be read (wound)] G 16, wounds wound-es in
Spenser G 137
wos woks 123
wozen woks'en crevisse S
wrangler wraq'-lor (rwaq'-lor) Bull
wrath wrath (rewath) G 99
wrathful wrathful (rewath-ful) G 103
wreak week (rewek) Sa
wrest wrest (rewest) Sa
wrestle wrest'-l (rewest'-l) Bull
wretch wretch (rewetch) Bull, G 146,
wherched wretchsh-ed (rewetsh-ed) G 117
wrinkle wriqk'-l (rewiqk'-l) Sa
write wroit (rewoit), writ (rewit) scribe-
bam, wroot (rewoot) imperfectum com-
mente, wraat (rewaat) Bor, ei haav
writ'n (rewit'n) scripsi G 49, written
writ-'n (rewit-'n) Bull suprã p. 114, wriu
within C 2
wrong wroq (rwoq) G 95, wronged wraqd
(rewqd) Bor G 122
wroth wroth (rewoth) Bull, wrooth
(rewoorth) G 123
wrought wrouq't, (rwoont'? ) wroqht
(rewoqht) Bull, wrouqnt wroqht
(rewoqunt rewoqht) Bull, wrouqkht
(rewoqukht) G 48
Wymondham Wimund'am media syl-
labæ productur [see Trumpington]
G 134

Y.
yard sard Sa, sard virga aut area, S,
seer G 70
yark behind sark bendâ: posterioribus
pedibus inueter, et proprie equorum S
yarn saar'n Bull, sarn G 10
yarrow sar'ou millifolium S
yate saa qaud munë 'gate' gaat dicimus
et scribimus S
ywun yawn ? Sa
Yaxley Jaks'-lei nomen proprium S
ge sîi Bull, G 20, 44, ji G 141
gia see Sa 35
year sîr Sa, Bull, B, jeor G 70
years siest (meant for yeest?) cervisia
spuma quod aliëi barn vocant S
yeld yeld ? Sa
yell jel Sa
yellow jeolou Sa, S
yearman sem'an ? S, jœman Bull
yes sis aliëi sonant zes S, jis G 10
yesterday yesterdai S, jisterdai G 77
yet xit, aliëi sonant zet S G 102
yew yu taxus arbor S
yield jild ? Sa, jild S, Bull, G 22, 86,
jeld concessit S, yielded iild-ed G 110,
jild-ed G 117, ielded C 13
yode yod G 106, see Went
yoke yook G 10, 43, iook C 11
yolk yoke jugum S, jek vtellum G 10
yonder yonderender S, jonder H
York York Sa
you jou vos S, juu H, Bull, jou jun
observe jou sic scribi solere, et ab
aliquibus prounciari at á plerique
jui, tenen quia hoc nonnum ubique
obtinet paulisper in medio retinuetur
G 46, juiu non in G, pr, juu G 45,
jouu G 44, jouu Mops 2a G 18, yow C
6, iou you C 10
young yuq, Sa, S, Bull, B, G 24, 112
your suur, Bull, suur G 21, 95, yours
juurz G 45, yooers C 6
yunker yuqk'er adolescens generosior S
youth juuth ? Sa, juth Bull, jyuth G
13, 46, juth B, youths yuthis G 40
zeal xvel G 13, 105
zef zed litera z, S
zodiak zo'drak ? G 29
Zouch Zoutsh G 42

Extracts from Richard Mulcaster’s Elementarie, 1582.

Gill says in the preface to his Logonomia, “Occurrere quidem
huic vitio [cagographiae] viri boni et literati, sed irrito conatu ;
ex equestri ordine Thomas Smithius ; cui volumen bene magnus op-
pusuit Rich. Mulcasterus : qui post magnam temporis et bonae chartae
perditionem, omnia Consuetudini tanquam tyranno permettenda
censeet.” Mulcaster’s object in short was to teach, not the spelling
of sounds, but what he considered the neatest style of spelling as
derived from custom, in order to avoid the great confusion which
then prevailed. He succeeded to the extent of largely influencing
subsequent authorities. In Ben Jonson’s Grammar, the Chapters
on orthography are little more than abridgements of Mulcaster’s.
Sometimes the same examples are used, and the very faults of
description are followed. It would have been difficult to make
anything out of Mulcaster without the help of contemporary orthoepists, and it appeared useless to quote him as an authority in Chap. III. But an account of the xviith century pronunciation would be incomplete without some notice of his book, and the value of his remarks has been insisted on by Messrs. Noyes and Peirce (infra p. 917, note). A few extracts are therefore given, with bracketed remarks. Chronologically, Mulcaster's book should have been noticed before Gill's, p. 845. But as he was a pure orthographer who only incidentally and obscurely noticed orthoepy, these extracts rightly form a postscript to the preceding vocabulary. The title of the book, which will be found in the Grenville collection at the British Museum, is:—

The first part of the elementarie which entreateth chefeliie of the right writing of our English tung, set furth by RICHARD MULCASTER. Imprinted at London by Thomas Vautroullier dwelling in the blak-friers by Lud-gate, 1582.

In Herbert's Ames, 2, 1073, it is said that no other part was ever published. In the following account, all is Mulcaster's except the passages inclosed in brackets, and the headings. The numbers at the end of each quotation refer to the page of Mulcaster's book.

The Vowells Generally.

The vowells generallie sound either long as, compar- ing, renveded, ending, enclosure, presuming: or short as, ran- saking, rewelling, penitent, omnipotent, forilnat: [here the example renveded, which had certainly a short vowel, shews that by length and brevity, Mulcaster meant presence and absence of stress, which applies to every case:] either sharp, as mâte, mâte, ripe, hope, dük, or flat as: màt, màt, rip, hıp, dük. [Here he only means long or short, and does not necessarily, or indeed always, imply a difference of quality, as will appear under E. Occasionally, however, he certainly does denote a difference of quality by these accents, as will be seen under O. In his "general table" of spelling, these accents seem frequently used to differentate words, which only differed in their consonants, and it is impossible from his use of them to determine the sounds he perhaps meant to express. Thus in his chapter on Distinction, he says: "That the sharp and flat accents ar onelie to be set vpon the last syllab, where the sharp hath manie causes to present it self: the flat onlie vpon som rare difference, as refuse, refuse, present, present, record, record, differ, differ, suenèr, suenère," 151.—Where the grave accent seems to mark absence of stress, the quality of the vowel changing or not.] Which diuersitie in sound, where occasion doth require it, is noted with the distinctions of time [meaning stress in reality, which he indicates by \"\", because in English versification imitating the classical, quantity was replaced by stress], and tune [meaning length, which he indicates by accent marks, and hence confuses with tune], the generallie it nede not, considering our daielie custom, which is both our best, and our commonest gëde in such cases, is our ordinarie leader [and hence unfortunately he says as little as possible about it].—110.

Proportion.

I call that proportion, when a num- ber of words of like sound ar writen with like letters, or if the like sound have not the like letters, the cause why is shewed, as in hear, fear, dear, gear, wear [where the last word, which was certainly (weer), should determine the value of ea in the others to have been (ee) in Mulcaster's pronunciation, though, as others said (niir, fiir, diir) even in his day, this may be too hasty a conclusion].—124.
A.

A Besides this general note for the time and tune, hath no particular thing worth the observation in this place, as a letter, but it hath afterward in proportion, as a syllab. All the other vowels haue manie prettie notes. [This might mean that a always preserved its sound, and the other vowels did not. It is possible that the "pretie notes" only refer to his observations on them, and not to diversity of sound.——111.

Ache, brache, with the qualifying e, for without the e, t, goeth before ch. as patch, snatch, catch, snatch, watch. The strong ch. is mere foren, and therefore endeth no word with vs, but is turned into k, as atomak, monark. [This context makes a long and ch = (tsh) in ache = (aatsh). Yet in his general table p. 170, he spells both ache and ake. See the illustrations of ache in Shakspeare, infra § 8.]—127.

AI, EI.

Ai, is the mans dippeth, and soundeth full: ei, the womans, and soundeth finish [=rather fine] in the same both sense, and vse; a woman is deictic, and fineth; the man fineth not bycause he is nothing daintie. [Whether any really phonetic difference was meant, and if so of what kind, is problematical. Smith had said the same thing, supra p. 120, but with Smith the word diphthong had a phonetic meaning, with Mulcaster it was simply a digraph, and he may have at most alluded to such differences as (ææ, ee) or (ee, ee). Compare the following paragraph.]——119.

No English word endeth in a, but in ale, as decaie, assaie, which writing and sound our vse hath won. [Does this confuse or distinguish the sounds of a, ai? It might do both. It ought to distinguish, because the writing of ai being different from the writing of a, the mention of its sound should imply that that sound was also different. But we cannot tell. See what follows.]——125.

Gaie, graie, traie. And maid, sais, quai, English for coif, quail, sail, rail, mail, onelesse it were better to write these with the qualifying, e, quale, vale, rale, male. [If any phonetic consistency were predictable of an orthographical reformer,—which, however, we are not justified in assuming,—this ought to in-
dicate a similarity of pronunciation between ai and a. To the same conclusion tend:] Howbeit both the terminations be in vse to diverse ends. Gain, pain, if not, Pane, gane, remane, and such as these terminations, be also vued to diverse ends, [these "diverse ends" being] of course not to indicate diversity of sound, but diversity of sense; it would be quite enough for Mulcaster to feel that the vowel was long, and that a final e, and not an inserted i, was the "proper" way of marking length.——Fair, pair, air, if not Fuse, pare, are, both terminations also be vued to diverse ends. Wait, strait, if not Waite, strate. Straight or straight, bycause ai and ei, do enterchange vses. Aim, or an, main. Paint, restraint, faint, or feint, quaint, or quest.——Ete, eight, sleight, height, weight, feild, yeild, shield, the knired between ei, and ai, maketh ei, not anie where so ordinarie, as in these terminations. [If we were incon siderate enough to suppose that Mulcaster had any thought of representing the different sounds, as distinguished from the length, of vowels, all these cases, would be explicable by assuming ai = ei = (ee), and a long = (ææ). But this would be somewhat opposed to other parts of Mulcaster, and to the writings of contemporaries, and is founded upon the groundless assumption just mentioned. As to the similarity of ai, a, see supra p. 867, col. 2, and Mr. White's account of Elizabethan pronunciation, infra.]——136-7.

E.

Whensoeuer E, is the last letter, and soundeth, it soundeth sharp, as mé, sé, vé. agréd. sauing in thé, the article, ye the pronom, and in Latin words, or of a Latin form, when the be used English like, as certiorare, quandare, where e, soundeth full and brode after the original Latin. [Here, as we know that the sounds were (mi, sii, wii, agrii, dhe), though (e) is not so certain from other sources, we might suppose é = (ii), è = (e). Ben Jonson, however, in abstracting and adapting this passage, distinctly makes the sound (i), saying (Gram. chap. iii.), "When it is the last letter, and soundeth, the sound is sharp, as in the French i. Example in mé. sé. agréd. yé. shé. in all, saving the article thé." Observe that yé is now (ii) and not (œ). Observe
also that quandary is referred to a Latin origin, *quam dare*, as if they were the first words of a writ.] Whensoever e, is the last, and soundeth not, it either qualifith or letter going before, or it is mere silent, and yet in neither kind e reeseth it the number of syllables. I call that E, qualifying, whose absence or presence, sometime altereth the vowel, sometime the consonant going next before it. It altereth the sound [length] of all the vowels, euen quite thorough one or mo consonants, as måd, stême, éche, kinde, stripe, oré, cûre, tôste sound sharp with the qualifying E in their end: whereas, måd, stêm, éch, frind, strip, or cur. tost, contract of tôsed, sound flat without the same E. [Now as we know that steam, each, were (steam, esch), it follows that å represented either (ii) or (ee), that is, that the acute accent only represented length, independently of alteration in quality of tone; there was such an alteration in cûre, cûr, certainly, and in stripe, strip, according to the current pronunciation; but there was or was not in sé, stême, compared with stêm, and hence we have no reason to infer that there was any in måd, måd, oré, or. Ben Jonson alters the passage thus: "Where it [E] endeth, and soundeth obscure, and faintly, it serves as an accent, to produce the Vowell preceding: as in mådê. stême. stripe. oré. cûre. which else would sound, måd. stêm. strip. or. cûr." It is tolerably clear that by using "produce" in place of Mulcaster's "alter the sound," he intended to avoid the difficulty of considering stême = steam as (stëim), unless, indeed, he meant it to be a contraction for esteem. He omits the example each for a similar reason.—111.

Perd, desert, the most of these sorts be bisyllables or aboé: besides that, a, dealeth verie much before the r, [meaning probably that er was often sounded (ar)]. By deserve, preserue, conserve, it should appear that either we strain the Latin s to our sound, or that theie had som sound of the z, expressed by s, as well as we, [did he say (konzerw)?]—122.

I.

I, in the same proportion [suprà p. 911] soundeth now sharp. as giue, thrue, allue, veûue, title, bible, now quik, as giue, line, sive, title, bible, which sounds ar to be distinguished by accent, if acquaintance will not seme in much reading. [As Ben Jonson uses the same words and notation, and we know that he must have distinguished his i, i, as (ai, i) there is no reason for supposing that Mulcaster's i was anything but (ei) or (ai). But at the same time there is nothing to militate against the contemporary Bullokar's (ii). And Mulcaster's pronunciation of on as (uu), infrà p. 914, which is about the only certain result that can be elicited from his book, renders the (ii) probable.]-115.

I, besides the time and tume thereof noted before, hath a form somtime vowelish, somtime consonantish. In the vowelish sound either it endeth a former syllab or the verie last. When it endeth the last, and is it self the last letter, if it sound gentle, it is qualified by the e, as manie, merie, tarie, carie, where the verie pen, will rather end in e, than in the naked i. If it sound sharp and loud, it is to be written y, having no e, after it, as neding no qualification, deny, cry, defy. [This at any rate goes against Gill's use of final (ai), suprà p. 281, which, however, he only attributes to "numerus poeticus," Log. p. 130, in his Chap. 26, quoted at length, infrà § 8.]-115.

If it [I] end the last syllab, with one or mo consonants after it, it is shrill [long] when the qualifying e, followeth, and if it be shrill [long] the qualifying o, must follow, as, repine, envise, minde, kinde, fiste [foist i]. If it be flat and quik, the qualifying e, must not follow, as, examin, behind, mist, fêt. [Observe (behind) with a short vowel, and hence certainly not (beneind').]—114.

The quik i, and the gentle passant e, ar so near of kin, as theie enterechange places with pardon, as in deseryd, or deseryd, findeth, or findith, hir, or her, the error is no heresie.—115.

If it [I] light somewhat quiklie vpon the s, then the s is single, as promis tretis, amis, adueritis, enfranchis, etc. [This seems to establish (adver-tis, en-fran-chis) as the common pronunciation.—133.

O.

O is a letter of as great vncertaintie in our tung, as e, is of direction both alone in vowel, and combined in diphthong. The cause is, for that in vowel
it soundeth as much vpon the u, which is his cosin, as upon the o, which is his naturall, as in cösen, dösen, möther, which o, is still naturall short, and, hösen, frösen, möther, which o, is naturall long. In the diphthong it soundeth more vpon the, u, then vpon the, o, as in found, wound, cow, cow, bow, how, now, and bow, bow, wounded, ought, moot, troough. Notwithstanding this varietie, yet our custom is so acquainted with the vse thereof, as it will be more difficultie to alter a known confusion, then profitable to bring in an unknrown reformation, in such an argument, where acquaintance makes justice, and vse doth no man wrong. And yet where difference by note shall seem to be necessarie the titles of proportion and distinction will not omit the help. In the mean time thus much is to be noted of o: besides his time long and short, besides his tune with or without the qualifying e, sharp or flat, that when it is the last letter in the word, it soundeth sharp and loud, as agd, tó, só, nó. saue in to the preposition, tvó the numerall, dò the verb: his compounds as, enéd, his derivatius as döing. In the midle syllabs, for tune, it is sharp, as here, or flat if a consonant end the syllab after o. For time the polysyllab will bewraie it self in our daile pronouncing: considering the children and learners be ignorant, yet he is a verie simple teacher, that knoweth not the tuning of our ordinarie words, yea tho theie be enfranchised, as ignorant, impudent, impotent. O varieth the sound in the same proportion, naie oftimes in the same letters, as löue, giöue, döue, shöue, remöue, and liöue, gröue, shröue, nóue. This duble sound of o, in the vowell is Latinish, where o, and u, be great cosens, as in volütus, volütis, colo. And volütus, volütis, occulüe: in the diphthong it is Grekish, for theie sound their ov, still vpon the u, tho it be contract of oo, or o e [there is some misprint in these oo, o e which is imitated here], wherein as their president [precedent] is our warrant against objection in these, so must acquaintance be the mean to discern the duble force of this letter, where we finde it, and he that will learn our tung, must learn the writing of it to, being no more strange then other tungs be even in the writing. [It would seem by the general tenor of these remarks, that the two sounds of o were (oo, u), and even that the diphthong ou, in those words where it is said to "sound more upon, the, u then vpon the, o," had, as with Bullokar and Palsgrave, the sound of (uu). It is in fact difficult to conceive that Mulcaster pronounced otherwise. And this sounding of ou as (uu), leads, as before mentioned, p. 913, to the suspicion of sounding t long as (it).—115. O, in the end is said to sound lowd, as go, shro [shrew ?], fro, sauing tó, dò, twó, etc. ... O before, l, sounding like a diphthong causeth the II, be doubled, as troll. And if a consonant follow, l, o, commonlie hath the same force, tho the l, be but single, tald, tald, tald,cott, dott, rolf, holt, holm, scold, dissolve. [The last example is peculiar.] O, before m, in the beginning, or midle of a word, leading the syllabs soundeth flat vpon the o, as omniapotent, condemn, but in the end it soundeth still vpon, the u, as som, com, dom, [hence the first is (o), the second (u)] and therfor in their derivatius, and compounds as velcom, trublesom, nevcom, cumbersom, kingdom. With e, after the m, as home, mone, romé [roam ?], and yet whom, from, haue no, e, by prerogative of vse, tho theie haue it in sound and seming [that is are called (room froom), which is strange, especially as regards from ...] Or is a termination of som truble, when a consonant followeth, bycause it soundeth so much vpon the u, as worm, form, [(firm ?)] sword, word, and yet the qualifying e, after wil bewraie an o, as the absence thereof will bewraie an u, storme, o, worm, u, lorde o, hord, u.—134.

Good, stood, good. Hoof, roof. Look, took, book, hook. School, tool. Groom, bloom. Hoop, coop. If custom had not won this, why not oui? Bycause of the sound which these diphthongs haue somtimes vpon the o, sometimes vpon the, u. I will note the o, sounding vpon himself, with the streight accent, bycause that o, leadeth the lesse number. Bów, knów, sow, and Bów, sow, sow, mów. [That is (buu, suu, kuu, muu), but there seem to be some misprints in what follows, compare the wrought, ought, mów, troough, given above.] Ouch, crouche, slowedh. Loude, lowlédh. Hoof, alonf. Gouge, bouge. Cough, ought, ought, of ow, with, w, from the primitieve. Fought, nought, ought, wrought, sough. again, Bought, mought, dought. Plough, rough, slough,
enough. Houl, cooul, skoul. Why not as well as with oo? Roum, brown, loun. Noun, crown, clown, down. Own, growen, upon the derivautione. Stoup, long, droup, coup. Sound, ground, found. Our commonlie abreviatione like as our, the termination for enfranchisements, as autour, procurator, as, er is for our, as sutrer, writer : Bour, lowr, flour, four, alone vpon the, s. Mourn, ad-iourn. House, lowse, mouse, the verbs and derivautione vpon the, z, as House, louse, mouse, the nouns vpon the, s, Ous, our English cadence for Latin words in osus, as notorious, famous, populous, riotous, gorgeous, being as it were the uniting of the chefe letters in the two syllabs, o, and u, osus. Clou, lout, doult. [These instances are strongly confirmative of the close ou having been (uu) to Mulcaster, and his only knowing the open ou or (ou)].—136.

Thirdlie, oi, the diphthong sounding vpon the o, for difference sake, from the other, which soundeth vpon the u, wold be written with a y, as ioy, anyay, toy, boy, whereas anoint, appoint, foil, and such seme to have an u. And yet when, i, goeth before the diphthong, tho it sound upon the u, it were better oy then oi, as ioynt, ioyn, which theie shall soon perceiue, when theie mark the spece of their pen; likewise if oi with i, sound upon the o, it maie be noted for difference from the other sound, with the straignt accent, as boie, enioie.—117-8.

U.

V besides the notes of his form, besides his time and tune, is to be noted also not to end anie English word, which if it did it should sound sharp, as nu, tru, verti. But to avoide the nakednesse of the small u, in the end we vse to write those terminations with ew the diphthong, as new, tweu, vertewe. [Whether this implies that u was called (iu), or that ew was called (yy) occasionally, as in Smith and Palsgrave, it is hard to say.].—116.

-URE.

I call that a bissyllab, wherein there be two seuerall sounding vowels, as Asur, rasur, masur, and why not lasur? [Are these words azure, raising, measure, pleasure? If so the orthography, or the confusion of a, ea, ei, into one sound, is very remarkable. Further on he writes:] Natur, status, Measur, treasur. [Probably this settles the question of measure; but the spelling would indicate that the final -ture, -sure, were (-tur, -sur,) which would have immediately generated the xvith century (-tor, -sor), and not Gill's (-tyr, -syr). Probably both were in use at that time.]—137. This shortnesse or length of time in the derivautiones is a great leader, where to write or not to write the qualifying, e, in the end of simple words. For who will write, natur, perfite, measur, treasur, with an, e, in the end knowing their derivautiones to be short, naturall, perfittie, mea-sured, treasurere? ... And again, fortun, profit, comfort, must haue no, e, bycause fortinate, profiting, conforter, haue the last saue one short. [It will be seen in Chapter IX. § 2, in Hodges's list of like and unlike words, after the vocabulary, that the pronunciation (-tor) or (-tor) prevailed at least as early as 1643. See also the remarks in Mr. White's Elizabethan Pronunciation, infrà. The examples fortun, fortì-nate, point to the early origin of the modern vulgarism (faAt-n, faAt-m't.)]—150.

REMARKS FROM AN ANONYMOUS BLACK-LETTER BOOK, PROBABLY OF THE XVITH CENTURY.

As these pages were passing through the press, I met with an 8vo. black-letter book, without date or place, the date of which is supposed to be 1602 in the British Museum Catalogue, press-mark 828, f. 7, entitled:

"Certaine grammar questions for the exercise of young Schollers in the learning of the Accidence."

In the enumeration of the diphthongs, occur the following remarks which clearly point out ea as (ee), and distinguish i short and i long as having characteristically different sounds, probably (i ei) or (oi):—
"ea for e full  great
ee or ie for i smal greefe
ui for i broade  guyde."

The following curious passage shows that si- was by error occasionally pronounced (sh) in reading Latin words, and hence had most probably the same unrecognized English sound at the close of the xvirh century. It is unfortunate that the book is of unknown date, and that there is nothing which suggests the date with certainty. The type and spelling have the appearance of the xvirh century, and there is a written note "happening byforhond," appended to Accidents on the last page of sig. B, which is apparently of that date, but there are other words on the next page in a much later hand. The information then must be taken for what it is worth, but it seems to be of Shakspere's time, and is important as the oldest notice of such a usage.

"Q. Nowe what thinges doe yee obsereue in reading?"

R. These two thinges. 1. Cleane sounding.
2. Dewe pawsing.

Q. Wherein standeth cleane sounding?".

R. In giuing to evry letter his iust and full sounde. In breaking or diuiding evry worde duely into his seuerall syllables, so that evry syllable may bee hearde by himselfe and none drown'd, nor slubbered by ill favouredly. In the right pronouncing of ti, whiche of vs is commonly sounded ei when any vowel doeth follow next after him or els not. And finally in avoyding all such vices as are of many foolishly vse by cuill custome.

Q. What vices be those?
R. Iotacismus. sounding i too broad.
2. Labdacismus. sounding l too full.
3. Ischnotes. mincing of a letter as feather for father.
4. Traulismus. stammering or stutting.
5. Plateasmus. too much mouthing of letters.
6. Cheilostomia. maffling or fumbling words in the mouth.
7. Abusing of letters. as v for f. vat for fat. z for s as muza for musa. sh for ei. as fasho for facio. dosham for doceam falishum for felicium and such like.

Q. Wherein standeth due pawsing?
R. In right obseruation of the markes and prickes before mentioned."

Here the Iotacismus may be considered to reprobate the pronunciation of Latin i as (ei). The Lambdacismus alludes to the introduction of (u) before (l). For both errors, see supra p. 744, note 1. The ischnotes (supra p. 90, n. 1) of feather for father, either means the actual use of the sound (feehd'er) for (faad'er), in which case this would be the earliest notice of the pronunciation of a long as (ee), but still as a reprobated vulgarism, antedating its recognition by nearly a century,—or else it means merely thinning a from (aa) to (ae), which was no doubt sporadically existent at this early period. The enigmatical fedder of Salesbury may, as we have seen, also refer to father (supra p. 750, n. 8), and both may indicate an
anomalous pronunciation confined to that single word. The abusing of letters reminds one of Hart, supra p. 794, note 1. It is observable that the use of (z) for (s), in musa, is reproubated, although probably universal, as at present, and is placed in the same category with (v) for (f), a mere provincialism, and (sh) for (t), which we here meet with for the first time, and notably in terms of reprobation, and after the distinct mention of the "right pronouncing of ti" as "of vs commonly sounded ci," meaning (si) "when any vowel doth follow next after him or els not." As late as 1673, E. Coote writes in his English Schoolmaster, p. 31: "Rob. How many ways can you express this sound si? Joh. Only three; si, ci, and sei or xi, which is esi. Rob. Now have you erred as well as I; for ti before a vowel doth commonly sound si." So that (sh) was not even then acknowledged. It is curious that there is no reference to the use of (th) for t and d final, see supra, p. 844, under D and T.

§ 8. On the Pronunciation of Shakspere.

Our sources of information respecting the pronunciation of Shakspere are twofold, external and internal. The external comprises those writers which have been examined in Chap. III., and illustrated in the preceding sections of the present chapter. Of these,

1 The first published attempt to gather the pronunciation of Shakspere from the writings of preceding orthoepists is, so far as I know, an article in the "North American Review" for April, 1864, pp. 342-369, jointly written by Messrs. John B. Noyes and Charles S. Peirce. Unfortunately these gentlemen were not acquainted with Salesbury, whose works are the key to all the others. Had they known this orthoepist, the researches in my third and eighth chapters might have been unnecessary. Salesbury's Welsh Dictionary first fell under my notice on 14 Feb. 1859; his account of Welsh pronunciation was apparently not then in the British Museum, and seems not to have been acquired till some years afterwards, during which time I vainly sought a copy, as it was necessary to establish the value of his Welsh transcriptions. I had finished my first examination of Salesbury, Smith, Hart, Bullokar, Gill, Butler, Wallis, Wilkins, Price, Miege, Jones, Buchanan, and Franklin, and sent the results for publication in the Appendix to the 3rd edition of my Plea (supra p. 631, note) in 1860, but the printing of that work having been interrupted by the outbreak of the Civil War in America, they have not yet appeared. My attention was directed to Messrs. Noyes and Peirce's article in March, 1865, and I noted all the works they quoted, some of which I have unfortunately not been able to see; and others, especially R. Mulcaster's Elementarie, 1582 (supra p. 910), and Edward Coote's Schole-master, 1624 (supra p. 47, l. 19), which Mr. Noyes considers as only inferior to Gill and Wallis, I have scarcely found of any value. When I re-commenced my investigations at the close of 1866, since which time I have been engaged upon them with scarcely any intermission, I determined to conduct them independently of Messrs. Noyes and Peirce's labours, with the intention to compare our results. It will be found that we do not much differ, and the points of difference seem to be chiefly due to the larger field here covered (those gentlemen almost confined themselves to Elizabethan times), and perhaps to my long previous phonetic training. The following are the old writers cited by Messrs. Noyes and Peirce:—Palsgrave, Giles du Guez, Sir T. Smith, Bullokar, "Æsop's Fables in true Ortography, with Grammar Notz, 8vo., 1585" (which I have not seen), P. Bales, 1590 (not seen), Gill, Butler, B. Jonson, Wallis, Baret, Gataker, Coote, Percival's Spanish Grammar,
however, Palsgrave, Salesbury, Smith, and Hart, wrote before Shakspere's birth or when he was a baby (see table p. 50), and although Bullokar published his book when Shakspere was sixteen, it represents a much more archaic form of language than Hart's, of which the first draft (supra p. 794, note) was written six years before Shakspere's birth. Gill, who was born the same year as Shakspere, should naturally be the best authority for the pronunciation of the time. He was head master of St. Paul's School during the last eight years of Shakspere's life, and he published the first edition of his book only three years after Shakspere's death. But Gill was a favourer of old habits. We have on record his contempt of the modern thinness of utterance then affected by the ladies (pp. 90, 91) and his objections to Hart's propensities in that direction (p. 122). Gill was a Lincolnshire man, of East Midland habits. Shakspere was a Staffordshire man, more inclined to West Midland. Hence, although Gill no doubt represented a recognized pronunciation, which would have been allowed on the stage, it is possible that Shakspere's individual habits may have tended in the direction which Gill reprobated. The pronunciation of the stage itself in the time of the Kembles used to be archaic, and our tragedians (or such of them as remain) still seem to affect similar habits. But it is possible that in Shakspere's time a different custom prevailed, and that dramatic authors and actors rather affected the newest habits of the court. Hence the necessity for proving the indications of Gill and other writers by an examination of Shakspere's own usage, so far as it can be determined from the very unsatisfactory condition in which his text has come down to us.

The internal sources of information are three in number, puns, metre, and rhyme. The first is peculiar and seems to offer many advantages in determining identity of sound, accompanied by diversity of spelling, but is not really of so much use as might have been expected. The metre, properly examined, determines the number of syllables in a word and the place of the accent, and, so far as it goes, is the most trustworthy source of information which we possess. The rhyme, after our experience of Spenser's habits, must be of very doubtful assistance. At most we can compare general habits of rhyming with the general rules laid down by contemporary orthoepists. A few inferences may be drawn from peculiarities of

1623 (not seen), Cotgrave, Nat Strong (not seen), Wilkins, Mulcaster, Festeau, 1673 (not seen), Berault, 1698 (not seen), De la Touche, 1710 (not seen), Taudon, 1745 (not seen), Sharp on English Pronunciation, 1767, and the following, which I have not examined, Nares, 1784, Hexham 1660, Pomey, 1690, Saxon 1737. Messrs. Noyes and Peirce's conclusions will be inserted as footnotes to the subsection headed "Conjectured Pronunciation of Shakspere," immediately before the speci-

1 An elaborate attempt to determine the pronunciation of some vowels and consonants by means of rhymes, puns, and misspellings, was made by Mr. Richard Grant White in his edition of Shakspere, vol. 12, ed. 1861. This did not come under my notice till these pages were passing through the press. An abstract of his researches, with remarks, will be found below, immediately after the present examination of Shakspere's rhymes.
spelling, but when we recollect that Shakspere did not revise the text, and, if he had done so, might not have been very careful in correcting literals, or have had any peculiar notions of orthography to enforce, we cannot lay much store by this. Nevertheless I have thought it right to read through the whole of Shakspere with a view to his puns and rhymes, and, during the latter part of this task, I also noted many metrical and accentual peculiarities. The results obtained will have more or less interest to Shaksperean students, independently of their phonetic bearing.

The following system of reference has been adopted in which I have had in view the owners of any modern edition, and have more especially consulted the convenience of those who possess Macmillan’s Globe edition, of which the text is the same as that of the Cambridge Shakspere, edited by Messrs. W. G. Clark and W. Aldis Wright.

Contracted Names of the Plays and Poems, with the pages on which they commence in the Globe edition.

| AC  | Antony and Cleopatra.  p. 911. |
| AW  | All’s Well that Ends Well.  p. 254 |
| AX  | As You Like it.  p. 205. |
| C   | Coriolanus.  p. 654. |
| CE  | Comedy of Errors.  p. 93. |
| Cy  | Cymbeline.  p. 944. |
| H   | Hamlet.  p. 811. |
| H4  | Henry IV., part I.  p. 382. |
| H5  | Henry V.  p. 439. |
| H6  | Henry VI., part I.  p. 469. |
| H7  | Henry VI., part II.  p. 496. |
| H8  | Henry VI., part III.  p. 526. |
| H8  | Henry VIII.  p. 592. |
| KJ  | King John.  p. 332. |
| KL  | King Lear.  p. 847. |
| LC  | Lover’s Complaint.  p. 1050. |
| LL  | Love’s Labour Lost.  p. 135. |
| M   | Macbeth.  p. 788. |
| MA  | Much Ado about Nothing.  p. 111. |
| MM  | Measure for Measure.  p. 67. |
| MV  | Merchant of Venice.  p. 181. |
| MW  | Merry Wives of Windsor.  p. 42. |
| Oth | Othello.  p. 879. |
| P   | Pericles.  p. 977. |
| PP  | Passionate Pilgrim.  p. 1053. |
| PT  | Phœnix and Turtle.  p. 1057. |
| R2  | Richard II.  p. 356. |
| R3  | Richard III.  p. 556. |
| RJ  | Romeo and Juliet.  p. 721. |
| RL  | Rape of Lucrece.  p. 1014. |
| S   | Sonnets.  p. 1081. |
| Tim | Timon of Athens.  p. 741. |
| TA  | Titus Andronicus.  p. 688. |
| TC  | Troilus and Cressida.  p. 622. |
| TG  | Two Gentlemen of Verona.  p. 21. |
| TS  | Taming of the Shrew.  p. 229. |
| VA  | Venus and Adonis.  p. 1003. |
| WT  | Winter’s Tale.  p. 304. |

In case of the plays the first figure following the title represents the act, the second the scene, and the third the number of the speech. The speeches are generally not numbered. The speeches in each scene were, I believe, first numbered by me in phonetic editions of T and M in 1849, and Mr. Craik, in his edition of JC, numbered the speeches from beginning to end of the play, thinking that he was the first person who had done so. There may be some doubt in some plays, as AC, regarding the number of the scenes, and in a few scenes as to the number of speeches, but those who have been in the habit of using Mrs. Cowden Clarke’s Concordance to Shakspere, where the reference is to act and scene only, will readily acknowledge the great convenience of having only to count the
speeches to find the passage with tolerable certainty, instead of having to read through a whole long scene. It would be a great boon if subsequent publishers of Shakspere would adopt this plan of numbering the speeches, which would give a means of reference independent of the size of the page, and serving for the prose portions as well as for the verses. In the specimens at the close of this section the speeches are numbered in the way proposed, the current number being prefixed to the name of the speaker. Finding, however, that this reference is not always minute or convenient enough, I have inserted two other numbers in a parenthesis, the first referring to the page (number unaccented denoting the first, and number accented the second column) in the Globe edition, and the second pointing out the line of the previously indicated scene in that edition. When the scene consists wholly of verse, this number coincides with that of the line in the Cambridge edition, but when any prose has preceded, as the number of words in a line in the Globe edition is less than that in the Cambridge edition, the number of the line in the former is somewhat greater than that in the latter. Thus

\[ \text{gilt guilt 2H}^4 4, 5, 31 (432', 129) \]

shews that the pun, \textit{gilt guilt}, is found in the second part of Henry IV, act 4, scene 5, speech 31; Globe edition, page 432, column 2, verse 129 of this fifth scene. The reference is always to the first line and first speech in which the several words which form the pun and rhyme occur. Consequently the reader will have to refer to some following lines, and even speeches, occasionally, to find the full pun or rhyme. The order of the words in the rhyme as cited is generally, but not always, that in which they occur in the original, and hence the reference must be considered as belonging to \textit{either} word.

The \textit{Sonnets} are referred to by the number of the sonnet and verse, with the page or column in the Globe edition, so that

\[ \text{prove love S 117, 13 (1045')} \]

shews that the rhyme \textit{prove love}, occurs in sonnet 117, verse 13; Globe edition, page 1045, column 2.

For the other poems, VA, RL, LC, and PT, the annexed numbers give the verses and column in the Globe edition. PP gives the number of the poem and verse of the poem as in the Cambridge edition, and the column and verse in the Globe edition.

\textbf{Shakspere's Puns.}

The word \textit{pun} is modern and is not used in Shakspere. The following terms have been noted:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quips</th>
<th>Crotchets</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TG 4, 2, 1 (35', 12)</td>
<td>MA 2, 3, 16 (118', 58)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MW 1, 3, 27 (45, 45)</td>
<td>Jests MA 2, 3, 68 (119', 206)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AX 5, 4, 28 (227', 79)</td>
<td>LL 5, 2, 178 (155, 373)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H^4 1, 2, 11 (383', 51)</td>
<td>2, 1, 58 (141, 206)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MM 4, 2, 3 (83, 6)</td>
<td>H^5 5, 3, 22 (406', 56)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snatches</td>
<td>Double meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4, 1, 27 (485', 102)</td>
<td>MA 2, 3, 81 (120, 267)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equivocation</td>
<td>Conceits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H 5, 1, 51 (841, 149)</td>
<td>LL 5, 2, 130 (164, 260)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>H^4 4, 1, 27 (485', 102)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Quilles Oth. 3, 1, 15 (892, 26).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These jests are not merely puns. They include catchings up, misunderstandings, intentional or ignorant, false pronunciations, humorous allusions, involuntary associations of sound, even in pathetic speeches, coarse doubles entendres, and jokes upon words of every imaginable kind. Many of these defy notation, and are also useless for our present purpose. By far the greater number of real puns involve no difference of spelling, and were therefore not worth citing. But so inveterate was Shakspere’s habit of playing upon words, that I have marked specimens in every play except AC, where most probably I have overlooked some covert instance.

The following, although they present a slight difference of spelling, convey little if any information.

tide tied TG 2, 3, 3 (26', 42).

foul fowl MW 5, 5, 1 (64', 12).
dam damn CE 4, 3, 16 (104, 54). MV 3, 1, 10 (191', 23). AY 3, 2, 9 (215', 9). In the last instance damned = damned or wedged. The more solemn instance in MV, discountenances the damned usually preferred by actresses in M 5, 1, 15 (306', 39). Gill’s (kondemm’) is probably an oversight.
sink cinque MA 2, 1, 22 (115, 82). This also is in favour of the pronunciation of french in, supra p. 527.
holiday holyday KJ 3, 1, 10 (349', 82). This reminds us of Salesbury’s con-
fusion of holy, holly, supra p. 99, n. 3.

gilt guilt 2 H 4, 5, 31 (432', 129). H 5 2, prov. (443, 26). This agrees with the preceding vocabulary p. 392, and shews the u was not pronounced in guilt.

Lacies laces 2 H 4, 2, 25 (516', 47). This makes the pronunciation of final -es, as (-is) or (-iz), probable, but not certain. Dick, the butcher, speaks it.

presents presence 2 H 4, 7, 11 (519', 32). This cannot be relied on for indicating the habitual omission of i in the first word; the joke is one ofJack Cade’s.

The following show the indistinctness with which unaccented final -al -el, -il, or -ar, -er, -our were already pronounced.

sallet salad 2 H 4, 10, 1 (521', 11).
council counsel MW 1, 1, 51 (43, 120).
capital capitol H 3, 2, 23 (828, 108).
medlar meddler AY 3, 2, 31 (216, 125).
Tim 4, 3, 91 (758, 307).
dollar dolour T 2, 1, 9 (7, 18), MM 1, 2, 24 (68', 60) KL 2, 4, 19 (859, 54). This favourite pun also indicates the shortness of the first o in dolour.

choler collar RJ 1, 1, 2 (712, 3), H 4 2, 4, 123 (393, 356). This makes o short in choler.

manner manor LL 1, 1, 56 (137, 208).

This makes a short in manor. Form (a seat), form (manner) ibid. shews that Walker’s distinction, which makes the first (foam) and the second (falam), was a recent development.

consort concert RJ 3, 1, 15 (725', 48). This discountenances the modern endeavour to make the -ort of consort distinct (kon-saat’). But compare consort, TG 4, 1, 34 (35, 64), KL 2, 1, 30 (556', 99).

1 “P un play upon words: the expression has not yet been satisfactorily explained: Serenus would explain it by the Icelandic funafragr frivolous, Todd by fun, Nares by the obsolete pun, now pound, so that it would properly mean ‘to beat and hammer upon the same word;’ Mahn refers also to Anglo-saxon punian to bruise, and to the English point, French pointe.” Ed. Mueller, Etymolo-
gisches Woerterbuch der Englischen Sprache. Wedgewood adopts Nares’s explanation. What is the age of the word? That it was not used in Shaksper, where he had so much need of it, seems evidence against any ancient derivation, and to reduce it to the chance associations of comparatively modern slang. There is little use in looking for old roots unless the word itself is known to be old.
The very vague allusions in the following jokes shew how careful we must be not to lay too much stress on the identity of the sounds in each word.

**English.**
laced lost TG 1, 1, 39 (22, 101).
lower lubber TG 2, 5, 26 (29, 48).
Caesar, Keisar, Pheezar MW 1, 3, 9 (45, 9).
band bond CE 4, 3, 8 (103', 30).
noting nothing MA 2, 3, 16 (118', 60).
See Mr. White's Elizabethan pronunciation, infra, under TH.
beside, by the side MA 5, 1, 46 (130, 128).
title title LL 3, 1, 25 (144, 86). This
is a mere alliteration, like the preceding rags robes.
insinuate insane LL 5, 1, 5 (150, 28).
cloves cloven LL 5, 2, 318 (158, 654).
Stoicks stocks 'TS 1, 1, 2 (232, 31).
court her, cart her 'TS 1, 1, 5 (232, 54).
mates, maid, mated 'TS 1, 1, 8 (232, 59).
It is impossible to suppose that mates, maid (supra p. 867, col. 2), had the same vowel, and yet the play upon the phonetic resemblance is evident.
rhetoric ropetrick 'TS 1, 2, 26 (235, 112).
night knight H* 1, 2, 7 (383', 27).
"Let not us that are squires of the night's body be called thieves of the day's beauty." The pun is complete in modern English. We have no reason to suppose that k in knight was disused till long afterwards (supra p. 208). There is also a vague similarity of sound in body, beauty (bod-i ber-ti), but no real pun as Mr. Grant White supposes, see his Elizabethan Pronunciation, infra, under EAU.
purse person 2 H* 2, 1, 34 (415', 127).
See next.
care, cure, corrosive H* 3, 3, 1 (483, 3).
The manifest difference of the vowels here, shews that we have no reason to assume identity in the last case.

To this same category belong the following plays on Latin and French words, intended to imply ignorance.

**Latin.**
hanc hoc, hang hog MW 4, 1, 26 (59, 50).
caret carrot MW 4, 1, 30 (59, 55).
Shewing probably that caret was pronounced with a short, and not with the modern Etonian fashion with a long (keear-tet).
horum whose MW 4, 1, 37 (59, 63).
Countenancing the sound (hooor) rather than (nuur) as in Smith, and commonly in our tragedians' Oth.

genitive case, Jenny's case MW 4, 1, 37 (59, 64). This does not settle (Dzhem-'i) in preference to (Dzhin-'i) as now, for genitive might have been heard or spoken with (i). See rhymes of (o, i) below.

ad dunghill, ad unguem LL 5, 1, 31 (150', 81). As we cannot suppose
unwem to have had any vowel but (u, w), this confirms the (u) sound in 
dung.

Jupiter gibbet maker TA 4, 3, 13 (705, 80), a clown's mistake.

French.
luces louses MW 1, 1, 8 (42, 17). This would seem to indicate the old pron- 
unciation (luss) for this uncommon word, to which the French was as-
similated, but the confusion is credited to a Welshman, and hence is of no 
authority in English speech.
enfranchise, one Frances LL 3, 1, 54 
(142', 19).
moi moj H5 4, 4, 7 (459', 14).
bras brass H5 4, 4, 9 (459', 18). Probably indicating the continued 
pronunciation of final a.
pardonnez moi as (a tun o moi), com-
pare Hart's (pardunan) for pardonne, 
supra p. 802, l. 6 from bottom of 
text.

for firk ferret H5 4, 4, 15 (459', 29).
pucelle puzzle H5 1, 4, 17 (474', 107). 
This is not meant to be an identity, 
but merely an allusion, as in the fol-
lowing dolphin and dogfish: "Puzel 
or Pussel, Dolphin or Dog-fish. Your 
hearts Ile stampe out with my Horses 
hecles." Hence it does not counten-
ance the supposition that the sound 
of French is was impossible to an 
Englishman. Puzelle is spelled Puzel 
throughout in the fo. 1623.

foot, gown, H5 3, 4, 32 (451, 54).
Katherine's unfortunate mistakes as 
to these words at least show the 
French ou was = English oo (un), 
and French -on = English -own 
(oun), supra pp. 825, 827.
ranged under the orthographies

which they mainly illustrate.

A.
bate beat TS 4, 1, 67 (245, 209). There is no doubt of the pronunciation of 
ea = (ee), and this passage would be 
impossible unless the sound of 
long a were quite distinct, the play 
being simply on the consonants. 
The words are: "as we watch these kites 
That bate and beat and will not be 
obedient." We may therefore feel 
sure that long a was not = (ee). Such 
allusions are like the heraldic motto 
dum spiro spero.

barns.

"Chief Justice. There is not a 
white hair on your head, but should 
have his effect of gravity.—Falstaff. 
His effect of gravy, gravy, gravy." 
The mocking joke is entirely lost in 
the modern (grævɒti, geɪvɪt). 
The old pronunciation must have had 
the same vowel in each case, (grævɒtɪ, 
grævɪti). This instance and the last 
therefore determine that Shakspeare's 
long a could not have been (ee), and must 
have been the same as his short 
a lengthened = (aa) or (aah).

ace ass MN 5, 1, 87 (179, 312). "Pyramus. Now die, die, die, die, 
die. Dem. No die, but an ace, for 
him; for he is but one." A double 
pun on ace = ass, and ace = one. "Lgo. 
Less than an ace, man: for he is 
dead: he is nothing," since 0 is less 
than 1. "The. With the help of 
a surgeon he might yet recover and 
prove an ass." This is to the same 
effect as the last, and is confirmed by 
Judas Jude-ass LL 5, 2, 299 (157', 
629).

bass base TG 1, 2, 61 (23', 96). TS 
3, 1, 17 (240', 46). R2 3, 3, 23 
(372, 180). Both must have been 
(basas) as both are now (bees).

Marry! marry R5 1, 3, 33 (561, 98). 
RJ 1, 3, 16 (716, 62). The first was 
the exclamation, Mary! addressed to 
the Virgin, which therefore could not 
be called (Mearri) as now; 
marrying marrying MW 1, 1, 12 (42, 
25). AY 1, 1, 6 (205, 34). AW 2, 
3, 109 (264, 315). This favourite 
pun, in which the modern marring 
(maɑr curriculum) retains its ancient sound, 
with at most the vowel lengthened, 
confirms the last remark.

all awl JC 1, 1, 12 (764, 25). This 
might have been either (a'1, aul) with 
Bullockar, or (AA', AAL) with Gill, 
and hence confirms nothing.

A, A.I.

bairns barns MA 3, 4, 21 (124, 49). 
"Then, if your husband have stables 
big enough, you'll see he shall lack no 
barns." "Bairns is only a modern 
orthography. In AW 1, 3, 10 (257, 
28) the first folio reads bernes, 
the second bairns, probably only a trans-
position of the e, and the two last 
barns. This therefore gives no in-
formation respecting ai."
tale tail TG 2, 3, 9 (26', 54). Oth 3, 1, 6 (892, 8). In the first case the joke is so obscure when no difference is made between the sounds of tail, tale, that Hamner illustrates it with a kick. In the second the first folio reads tale in both places, and tail is meant probably in both cases. Under no circumstances can we suppose tale, tail to have had the same sound till the xviii th century. See however the quotation from Holyband, supra p. 227, note, col. 2, which seems to indicate an occasional confusion of ai, a, and also Spenser's rhymes, supra p. 867.

waste waist MW 1, 3, 27 (45, 46). 2 H 1, 2, 44 (413, 160). Waist is a modern spelling, see supra p. 73, n. 1.

with maid withmade MM 1, 2, 48 (68', 94). "Is there a maid with child by him? No, but there's a woman with maid by him." Where there is an allusion to withmaid= unwmade, ruined. But it belongs to the class of vague allusions on p. 922.

AI, EA, E.

beats baits WT 1, 2, 32 (312', 91). Leontes speaking of Paulina calls her, "A callat Of boundless tongue, who late hath beat her husband And now baits me!" Here it is absolutely essential to the cutting sarcasm that beat, bait should have been differently pronounced. It would make nonsense to say (beet, beets). The modern (bit, beats) preserves the full force of the original. See remarks on bate beat p. 923, c. 1.

fair fear VA 1083 (1013). "Having no fair to lose, you need not fear." This play on words does not require an identity of sound, and is quite well enough preserved in the modern (feet, fitz).

prey pray H 1, 2, 1, 26 (388, 89). Here there was an identity of sound, but there is nothing to determine what it was. Gill marks prey as (prai) and expressly says that pray is not (pre).

main Maine 2 H 1, 1, 32 (498, 209).

"Unto the main! O father, Maine is lost—

That Maine which by main force Warwick did win,

And would have kept so long as breath did last!

Main chance, father, you meant; but I meant Maine,

Which I will win from France, or else be slain."

The pronunciation was probably (meen) in each case. But it is possible that the English pronunciation of the state of Maine was still (Main). Gill pronounces the rhyming word slain (slain).

hair heir CE 3, 2, 41 (101, 127). The joke is rather covert, but still it seems as if this was one of the words in which ei = (ee), and this is confirmed by the next example.

here apparent, heir apparent H 1, 2, 17 (388', 65). We shall find many rhymes of here with (eer) although it is one of the words recognized as having (ir), see p. 892. The preceding instance shewing that heir was also (heer), the pun is justified, see supra p. 80, note.

reason raisin H 2, 4, 94 (392', 264). It is probable that raisin as a modern French word was pronounced (reez' in), and hence the pun. See supra p. 81, note, col. 1.

These are the only puns which I have discovered, though I looked carefully for them, in which ai could have the sound of (ee). The three words thus determined are main, heir, raisins. We have no contemporary orthoepical account of these words; but Gill uses (main) in composition, and Cheke spells heiers. Considering how widely the (ee) pronunciation had spread so early as Hart's time, and that Gill acknowledged though scouted its existence, the number of instances is remarkably small, while the first of the preceding examples, beat, bait, seems to establish an accepted difference of sound, between ai, ea, the last of which was undoubtedly (ee).

E, EA, IE.

conc'ald cancel'd RJ 3, 3, 29 (729, 98). Rather an allusion than a real play upon words.

best beast MN 5, 1, 59 (178, 232). The difference between the long and short vowels (best, beast) is necessary to make the joke apparent,
which is lost in the modern (best
bist). Long (oo) and short (e) fre-
quently rhyme.

veal, wel Dutch LL 5, 2, 121 (154, 247). "Veal, quoth the Dutchman.
Is not veal a calf?" The identity of
both words, as heard by the writer, is
evident. They were probably really
(veel, bHEL).

ne'er near R² 3, 1, 14 (377, 88). The
first is still generally (nee), though
some change both into (nila).

pierce-one person LL 4, 2, 27 (145',
dear deer MW 5, 6, 29 (65', 123).
LL 4, 1, 43 (144', 116). See supra p.
81, l. 15.

heart hart Ay 3, 2, 73 (217, 260).
JC 3, 1, 68 (776, 207).
art heart TS 4, 2, 6 (245, 9).
heard hard TS 1, 2, 49 (238, 184).
Rhymes will be found to indicate the
same pronunciation of heard, see
also p. 82, l. 17 and p. 86, l. 11.

EE, IE, I
sheep ship LL 2, 1, 89 (141, 219).
See supra p. 450, n. 1.
lief live e JC 1, 1, 36 (766, 95).
clept elipt LL 5, 2, 274 (157', 602).
civil Seville MA 2, 1, 110 (117, 304).
I have heard of (siv-il) oranges from
a lady who would have been more
than 100 were she still alive, so in
this case the pun may have been
complete. In the xvth century
the confusion between (e, i) was
frequent, as also in the rhymes of the
xiv th, (supra p. 271), and we shall
find many similar rhymes in Shaks-
peres. In spirit, syrop, stirrup we
have still the common change of (i)
into (e), but we cannot suppose that
either of these changes was acknow-
ledged.

OA, O, OO.
post pos'd CE 1, 2, 13 (95, 63). "I
from my mistress come to you in
post: If I return, I shall be post
indeed. For she will score your faults
upon my pate." Dyce (9, 330) ex-
plains this to be "an allusion to
keeping the score by chalk or notches
on a post; a custom not yet wholly
obsolete." May not the latter word
be posed, having a pose or pain or
cold in the head?
sorc soar RJ 1, 4, 7 (716', 20).
Moor more MV 3, 5, 12 (196', 44).
Moor may have been indifferently
(moor, muur), as at present indif-
ferent (moor, muur).

Pole pool 2 H 4, 1, 25 (515', 70).
The name Pole is still generally
called (Fuul). The name GEFFRYS
Pole, 1662, with oo, may still be
read on the walls of the Beauchamp
Tower in the Tower of London.

woode wood MN 2, 1, 24 (165', 192).
Wode meaning mad, is not now
distinguished from wood in York-
shire, both being called (wad).

Rome roam H² 3, 1, 11 (450, 51).
"Bishop of Winchester. Rome shall
remedy this. Warwick. Roam
thither, then." This pronunciation,
says Dyce (9, 367), "may perhaps
be considered as one of the proofs that
Shakespeare was not the author of
that play." But the existence of the
pun shews that the old Chaucerian
(oo) of (Roo-me) was still known,
though the final (a) was dropped.
See next entry.

Rome room KJ 3, 1, 27 (341', 180). JC
1, 2, 38 (766, 156). Both these al-
lusions are in passionate stately
verse. They are generally assumed
to determine the sound of Rome as
(Ruum). See supra p. 98, last line,
p. 101, line 1, p. 102, line 23. Dyce
(ib.) quotes the same pun from Haw-
kins 1626, and from the tragedy of
Nero 1607, and the rhyme tomb,
Rome from Sylvester 1641. To
these we may add Shaksperes own
rhymes: Rome doom RL 715 (1021).
Rome grooms RL 1644 (1029). Bul-
lokar also writes (Ruu'm). It is
however certain that both pronun-
ciations have been in use since the
middle of the xviith century.
(Ruum) may still be heard, but it
is antiquated; in Shaksperes time it
was a fineness and an innovation,
and it is therefore surprising that
Bullokar adopted it.

sole soul TG 2, 3, 1 (26', 19). MV 4,
1, 29 (198, 128). RJ 1, 4, 5 (716',
15). JC 1, 1, 6 (764, 16). Possibly
both were called (sooul), see supra
p. 755, and note 3. In his list of
errata Gill corrects his oo (=ool) to
oor (=ool) in the word gold "idque
quoties occurrit, cum simulibus fœni,
hœuli, &c." It will be seen, however,
that (oo) often rhymes with (ool) in
Shaksperes.

so sew TG 3, 1, 88 (33, 307). "Speed.
Item: She can sew.—Leaunce. That's
as much as to say, can she so?"
This is a similar confusion of (oo, ou). When we consider that at present (oo, ou) are seldom distinguished, we cannot be surprised.

U, O, OO,

sum some MV 3, 2, 15 (194, 160).
2H2 2, 1, 27 (415', 78).
sun son KJ 2, 1, 100 (339, 499).
3H3 2, 1, 5 (532', 40). R3 1, 3, 82 (563, 266).
done dun RJ 1, 4, 12 (717, 39).
cosen cousin MW 4, 5, 35 (63, 79).
H4 1, 3, 39 (387, 254). R3 4, 4, 61 (583, 222).
full fool LL 5, 2, 180 (155, 380).
moody muddy RJ 3, 1, 4 (725, 14).
"Mercutio. Come, come, thou art as hot a Jack in thy mood as any in Italy, and as soon moved to be moody, and as soon moody to be moved." The first moody appears to be muddy. If so, this play on words corroborates the external testimony that Shakspere's pronunciation of short u was (u). Compare: muddied in Fortune's mood, AW 5, 2, 1 (276, 4), and: muddy rascal 2 H2 4, 2, 13 (419, 43), and see Mr. White's Elizabethan pronunciation, infrà, under U, too two R3 4, 4, 109 (584', 363), too to MA 1, 1, 21 (111', 53).

I, U.

I aye T 4, 1, 54 (17, 219). "And I, thy Caliban, For aye thy footlicker." The pun is not certain.

Marry! mar-I. AY 1, 1, 6 (205, 34). "Oliver. What mar you then?—Orlando. Marry, sir, I am helping you to mar that which, &c." Here the double sense is given, first the exclamation Marry, sir! and secondly by the answering question: Mar I, sir? See the pun on marry! marry supra p. 923, c. 2. he high RJ 2, 5, 19 (724', 80). This is also a case of an omitted guttural, common in Shakspere's rhymes.
I you=i u LL 5, 1, 22 (150', 57). "Armado. Monsieur, are you not lettered?—Moth. Yes, yes; he teaches boys the horn-book. What is a, b, spelt backward, with the horn on his head?—Holofernes. Ba, pueritia, with a horn added.—Moth. Ba, most silly sheep with a horn. You hear his learning.—Hol. Quis, quis, thou consonant?—Moth. The third of the five vowels, if you repeat them; or the fifth, if I.—Hol. I will repeat them,—a, e, i. —Moth. The sheep: the other two concludes it, —o, u." Here the name of the vowel i is identified with the pronoun I, which presents no difficulty, and the name of the vowel u with the name pronounced you, and perhaps the sheep ewe, the first of which is opposed to the pronunciation (yy), which all writers down to Wallis give to the French vowel, except Holyband, supra p. 228, note, col. 2, l. 14. The pun is quite reconcilable with our modern pronunciation of u, you, ewe, but see the last two words in the vocabulary pp. 889, 910. It would perhaps be unwise to push this boy's joke too far. Moth's wit, which did not scruple about adding on a consonant to convert wittol into wit-old in his next speech, might have been abundantly satisfied with calling the vowel (yy). See, however, the rhymes on long u, ve, ev, eve, and you; and the observations on Shakspere's pronunciation of long u, in the introduction to the specimen at the end of this section.

This examination of puns has not resulted in any real addition to our knowledge. It has confirmed the value of long a= (aa) or almost (aah) and quite distinct from (ee). It has rendered rather
SHAKSPERE'S METRICAL PECULIARITIES.

My collections have not been made with sufficient care to give a full account of Shakspere's metres, which would have also required more space than could be given to it in a work already overswollen. My attention has been chiefly directed to three points, and that only from the beginning of the Histories. These are, the number of measures in a line, the number of syllables in a measure, and the position of the accent in words. These are necessary to determine the existence of a dissyllabic pronunciation where a monosyllabic now prevails, (or, as it may be called by an inversion of the real process, of resolution,) and to understand the rhymes. All my shortcomings in this respect, however, will be abundantly made up by the third edition of the Rev. E. A. Abbott's Shakespearian Grammar,¹ which was passing through the press at the same time as these sheets. I shall have to make frequent reference to the chapter on Prosody, but as the work is indispensable to all my readers, I shall merely give Mr. Abbott's results, and leave the proofs to be gathered from his own accessible pages. On much relating to rhythm and scanion of lines there is some divergence of opinion between Mr. Abbott and myself, owing to the very different points from which our observations and theories take their rise, but the instances which he has collected and classified, and the explanations which he has given, must be fully considered by any future writer on the subject.

I regret that I did not note the lines containing a defective first measure, as these had been made a special study in Chaucer's prologue. In the preface to the Cambridge Shakspere, vol. i, p. xvii, the following are quoted:—

No, I will not, for it boots thee not. What? TG 1, 1, 9 (21, 28).
Fire, that's closest kept, burns most of all. TG 1, 2, 22 (22', 30).
Is't near dinner time? I would it were. TG 1, 2, 37 (23, 67).
Twelve year since, Miranda, twelve year since. T 1, 2, 14 (2', 53).

which, however, are none of them entirely satisfactory. In the

¹ A Shakespearian Grammar. An attempt to illustrate some of the differences between Elizabethan and Modern English. For the use of Schools. By E. A. Abbott, M.A., head master of the City of London School, formerly Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. London (Macmillan), 8vo. first edition, 1869, pp. 136. Revised and enlarged edition, 1870, pp. xxiv, 511. The Prosody, which only occupied 10 pages in the first edition, is expanded to 102 pages in the third. In the above text this 1870 edition will be cited as Abb., with a number annexed referring to the section.
first case the editors have accidentally omitted to notice the final
*what?* which renders the line entirely defective. If we read, *What
not?* or *what boots not?* the line would have only a third place
trisyllabic measure. Thus, italicising the even measures,

No, *I will not,* for it boots *thee not.* What boots not?
The numerous instances cited below of the dissyllabic use of *fire*
and generally the syllabic value of *r,* renders the second and fourth
instances incomplete. The objection raised by the editors "that
one word should bear two pronunciations in one line is far more
improbable than that the unaccented syllable before *twelve* is pur-
posely omitted by the poet," is not tenable. The word *year* might
be dissyllabic in both places, a trisyllabic fifth measure being not
uncommon, and the use of the same termination sometimes as two
distinct metrical syllables, and sometimes as part of a trisyllabic
measure, is extremely common. We have it in two consecutive
lines in

> It is religion that doth make vows kept;
> But thou hast sworn against religion. KJ 3, 1, 53 (342', 279).
> Be patient, gentle queen, and I will stay.
> Who can be patient in such extremes? 3 H6 1, 1, 109 (528', 214).

In the third example, the simple resolution of *is't* into *is it,* by the
editors in their text, saves the metre. In the second we might
also read *that is.* And in the last example an initial *'Tis* may
have dropped, as Pope suggests. These considerations serve to
shew how cautious we must be, and how large a comparison of
instances has to be made, before we can decide on such a point. It
is from this feeling that I have thought it advisable to accumulate
instances, and classify them as well as possible. Resolutions, tris-
syllabic measures in every place, real Alexandrines,1 and lines with
two superfluous syllables, are well established, by the following
collections. Defective first measures have still to be traced.2

1 The line: *Ay,* and we are betrothed; nay more our marriage hour,
TG 2, 4, 93 (28', 179), cited by the editors of the Cambridge Shakspere
as an instance of the "irregularity" of "a single strong syllable commencing
a line complete without it," is a perfect
Alexandrine, with the complete pause at the end of the third measure, and is
so printed in their text. In the pre-
face they put the *Ay* into a single line, and reduce the rest to five measures
by reading *we're.* This instance is,
however, complicated by the previous
imperfect line: *But she loves you,* on
to which the first words of this speech;
*Ay,* and we are betrothed, might be
joined, completing the verse. So that
we really have one of those cases where
"when a verse consists of two parts
uttered by two speakers, the latter
part is frequently the former part of
the following verse, being as it were,
*amphibious,"* Abb. 513; where nu-
umerous instances are cited. These
sections belonging to two lines might
be conveniently termed *amphistichs.*
In this case, to consider "*Ay,* and we
are betrothed," as an amphistich,
would be to confirm the Alexandrine
nature of the second part. The follow-
ing instances, cited by *Abb.* ib., are
then precisely similar; the amphistich
is italicized. Hor. Of mine own eyes. MAE. *Is it not like the king?*
Hor. As thou art to thyself. H 1, 1, 42
(812, 58). HAM. No, it is struck.
Hor. *Indeed? I heard it not:* then it
draws near the season. H 1, 4, 5
(816', 4).

2 Then the whining schoolboy with
his satchel *AY* 2, 7, 31 (214', 145),
seems a clear instance, but in the Globe
edition the editors of the Cambridge
whole subject of English metres requires reinvestigation on the basis of accent. The old names of measures borrowed from Latin prosodists are entirely misleading, and the routine scansion with the accent on alternate syllables is known only to grammarians, having never been practised by poets.¹

Miscellaneous Notes.

Noteworthy Usages.
a' = he in serious verse KJ 1, 1, 22 (533, 68) Abb. 402.
aldoriest 2 Hs 1, 1, 3, (496' 28).
stonement = reconciliation R3 1, 3, 20 (560', 36).
chirrah = sirrah LL 5, 1, 10 (150', 35).
Tisick the debituy 2 H 2, 4, 28 (419, 92). Put in the mouth of the Hostess this indicates a mere vulgarity, but Jones recognizes this pronunciation of "deputiy in 1700, and also Cubid. Tisick (tiz'ik) for phthis-ick is still the rule.
fet = fetched Hs 3, 1, 1 (448', 18).
handkercher 2, 22 (224, 98) in serious verse, recognized by Jones 1700.
it = its "go to it grandam, child" KJ 2, 1, 36 (336, 160). "it's had it head bit off by it young," KL 1, 4, 76 song (853', 237), Abb. 228.
Myûle-no P 5, 3, 1 (998', 10). Generally -one makes one syllable.
peat = pet TS 1, 1, 16 (382', 78).
Poules. We might as well push against Poule's, as stir'om Hs 5, 4, 4 (620, 16). See suprà p. 707, note on v. 509, the pronunciation is recognized by Butler 1630, Hodges 1643, English Schole 1687, Miege 1688, Jones 1700.
raught = reached Hs 4, 6, 4 (460', 21).
renying PP [18], 7 (1055', 251), compare reneges AC 1, 1, 1 (911, 8).

Shakspere have adopted Rowe's amendment, and read: And then the, &c. Mr. Abbot has shewn that Shakspere uses monosyllabic measures freely. The reader should study the passages cited in Abb. 479a-486. Although a dis-syllabic pronunciation is probable in many cases, as in fear, dear, and other words in r (Abb. 480), some other explanation of these monosyllables seems necessary in most instances.

¹ Abb. 452, assumes the ordinary theory, and in 453a, declares that the evidently a misprint for reneyes, see suprà p. 282, l. 2.
Thee as predicate. I am not thee, Tim 4, 3, 72 (758, 277). The oldest example of this construction that I have noted. Abb. 213.
These sort. These set kind of fools TN 1, 5, 37 (284', 95), these kind of knaves I know KL 2, 2, 44 (857', 107). These are the oldest examples of this construction I have noted. Abb. does not note them.
Troilus. TC 1, 1, 1 (622', 5). In two syllables throughout the play, but always in three in Chaucer.
thou whoreson zed! thou unnecessary letter, KJ 2, 2, 32 (857, 69). Here Johnson conjectures C for zed. The name zed and not izzard is noteworthy.

BT = T.
better debtor Ay 2, 3, 10 (211', 75).
det = debt LL 5, 1, 5 (150, 24).
debt Boyet LL 5, 2, 162 (154', 333).
doubt = doubt LL 4, 1, 5, (150, 23).
doubt lout KJ 3, 1, 46 (342, 219).

Corruptions.
canaries = quandaries MW 2, 2, 25 (49', 61). Does this determine the position of the accent on the second syllable? See suprà p. 913, col. 1, l. 1.
rushing = rustling MW 2, 2, 25 (49', 68), shewing that same tendency to accented syllable is by no means necessarily emphatic. Respecting my statement, suprà p. 334, l. 5, he says: "From an analysis of several tragic lines of Shakespeare, taken from different plays, I should say that rather less than one of three have the full number of five emphatic accents. About two out of three have four, and one out of fifteen has three." Another reader of the same lines might materially alter these ratios, so much depends upon the particular reader's own rhetorical feelings.
convert (s) into (sh) before a mute even when not initial that we find in vulgar German, (isht) for (ist), and Neapolitan (ashpet) for (asperta).

Wheeson week = *Whitsun week, 2 H 2, 1, 32 (415', 96), Wheeson quartos, *Whitson folios. See below, Mr. White's Elizabethan Pronunciation under I.

sculls = *schools i.e. shoals, a presumption that u = (u) TC 5, 5, 4 (651', 22).

Syllabic French -e.

Speak it in French, king; say *"par-
don-ne moi" R 2 5, 3, 39 (379', 119).

Have I not heard these islanders shout out *"Vi-re le roi!" as I have bank'd their towns KJ 5, 2, 5 (352', 104).

Rust, sword! cool, blushes! and *Paroll-
es live AW 4, 3, 121 (274', 373).

See several other instances Abb. 489.

Syllabic Genitive -es.

to shew his teeth as white as *whel-e's bone LL 5, 2, 162 (154', 332).

Folios, except first, read *whel-his.

Of Mars's fiery steed. To other

archbishop II 8 4, 1, 11 (612', 24).

advertis'd 3 H 6 4, 5, 1 (547', 9), 5, 3, 4 (552, 18), TC 2, 2, 101 (682, 211).

See supra p. 913, end of I.

aspect H 3, 1, 1 (448', 9), R 3 1, 2, 64 (559', 15).

charact. R 3, 1, 26 (571, 81), charac-
ter v. H 1, 3, 8 (815', 69), charac-
ter'd 2 H 3, 1, 51 (510, 300), charac-
terly JC 2, 1, 72 (772, 305).

commerce TC 1, 3, 5 (627, 105), 3, 3, 35 (639', 205).

compère s. TC 3, 2, 49 (637', 182).

complete R 3 4, 4, 46 (583, 189), TC 3, 3, 31 (639', 181).

confessor RJ 2, 6, 4 (725, 21), Edward Conféssor II 8 4, 1, 34 (613, 88).

conjúr'd = *modern conjured RJ 2, 1, 7 (719', 26), conjure = modern conjure M 4, 1, 15 (801', 50).

consign'd TC 4, 4, 14 (643, 47).

contrary verb RJ 1, 5, 24 (718', 87).

contráct s. AW 2, 3, 65 (263, 185), II 8 3, 1, 41 (481, 143).

cornet 3 H 8 4, 5, 4 (547', 6).

démonstráte Tim 1, 1, 38 (742, 91), Oth 1, 1, 8 (879', 61).

détectable KJ 3, 4, 8 (544, 29), RJ 4, 5, 19 (753', 66), Tim 4, 1, 1 (754', 39).

distinct TC 4, 4, 14 (643, 47).

dividable TC 1, 3, 5 (627, 105).

émpirics AW 2, 1, 47 (260, 125).

exploits II 8 1, 2, 11 (441', 121).

förln TA 2, 3, 30 (693', 153).

hórizon 3 H 4, 7, 31 (549', 81).

implorators H 1, 3, 24 (816', 129).

indulgence TC 2, 2, 99 (662, 178).

instinct R 3 2, 3, 20 (669', 42), C 5, 3, 3 (683', 35).

madám TA 1, 1, 13 (689', 121).

máinkind Tim 4, 1, 1 (754', 40).

mervaulous II 8 2, 1, 17 (443', 50).

óbscure TA 2, 3, 9 (695, 77).

Péntápólis P 5, 3, 1 (998', 4).

perséver ÉCE 2, 2, 77 (95', 217), MN 3, 2, 47 (171', 237), AW 3, 7, 8 (270, 37), KJ 2, 1, 91 (338', 421), H 1, 2, 16 (813', 92), P 4, 6, 47 (994', 113), persévérance TC 3, 3, 31 (639, 150). These agree with the modern sénér, sévérance, which doubt-
less influenced the older pronunciation, although not etymologically related; the modern per-
sévéré, perseverá, must have been introduced by some Latinist, such as those who now prefer ini-guinos, inna-cul; and were guilty of cú-cumber; but when?

regions. AW 2, 3, 105 (264, 300)

Morses in Fo. 1623.

See cases of the omission of this syllab-

der after -s, -se, -ss, -ve, -ge in Abb. 471.

Ache (supra pp. 208, 912).

Dissyllabic Plural.

Fill all thy bones with aches make thee roar T 1, 2, 96 (5', 39).

Aches contract and starve your supple joints Tim 1, 1, 135 (743', 257).

Their fears of hostile strokes, their aches, losses Tim 5, 1, 68 (762, 202).

As we have mistakes a trisyllable, R 2 3, 3, 4 (379', 9), these examples could not prove ache to have been (aath) without external authority; and both pronunciations (aath, aak) apparently prevailed.

Monosyllabic Plural.

That the sense aches at thee, would thou hadst ne'er been born. Oth 4, 2, 31, (902', 69).

Rhymes with -ake.

péspective AW 5, 3, 14 (277, 48). précepts H² 3, 3, 1 (450, 26).

prescience TC 1, 3, 10 (627', 199).

prostés s. TC 3, 2, 49 (637', 182).

réceptacle TA 1, 1, 9 (689, 92), RJ 4, 3, 5 (734', 39).

récórd R³ 3, 7, 6 (576', 30).

rélapse H² 4, 3, 20 (459, 107).

révenue MN 1, 1, 32 (182', 158), TC 2, 2, 100 (632, 206), H 3, 2, 14 (827', 63), révérence R³ 3, 7, 29 (577', 157).

royal R² 1, 2, 88 (560, 245).

séquestrer'd TA 2, 3, 9 (695, 75).

sinister H² 2, 4, 10 (447', 85).

sæcessors H² 1, 1, 14 (593, 60).

Tha-i-sa P 5, 1, 73 (997', 212), P 5, 3, 1 (998', 4) compare the accent in Gower, supr¿ p. 265.

toward prep. JG 1, 1, 35 (765', 85) toward froward TS 1, 1, 12 (232', 68), adj. TS 5, 1, 89 (253', 182).

triumph H² 5, 3, 6 (406', 15), 5, 4, 6 (407', 14), triumphing R³ 3, 4, 31 (575', 91), triumpher TA 1, 1, 22 (690, 170), triumph TA 1, 1, 24 (670, 176 and 178), RJ 2, 6, 3 (725, 10).

The following differences of accent are noted in Abb. 490-492. The query indicates doubt, or dissent from Mr. Abbott's conclusion respecting the position of accent, and some remarks are bracketted.

Accent nearer the end than with us: abjéct, accés, aspect, characters, coméndable, commerce, confiscate, consort, contrary a., contrat s., compást s., different (CE 5, 1, 19 (106', 6), probably corrupt, the second and third folios read, "And much much differént from the man he was"), edict, effigies, envy v., exile, instinc, intéo, misery [MV 4, 1, 76 (199', 272), undoubtedly corrupt, the three later folios read, "Of such a misery doth she cut me oft," but this correction is not satisfactory; the sense requires words like "from all such misery, etc." or "and all such, etc."; the "of" comes in strangely, and seems to have arisen from the final "of"], nothing? obdurate, opportune, outrage, peremptory [as Mr. Ab-

bott suggests, this accent is not needed for the scansion], porténts, précepts, prescience, récord [still so called in law courts], sepulchre, sinister, sojourn'd, something?, sweetheart, triumphant, unto, welome, wherefore. Words in -ised: advertised, chastised, canonized, authorized, solemnized and solemnized, [rather than make an exception, which is improbable, introduce a second trisyllabic measure, and read: Straight shall our nuptial rites be solemnized, MV 2, 9, 2 (190', 6).

Accent nearer the beginning than with us: archbishop, cément s., compelld, coménte, conéale, conduct, conéessor, conéal'd, conjure = entreat, consign'd, corrosive, délectable, détestable, distinct, forlorn, humane, maintain, mæture?, méthinks?, mütiners, myself?, Northampton, obscure, observant, per-séver, perspective, pioneers, plébeians [the word is not frequent, it is certainly plébeians in H² 6, ch. (463', 27), and TA 1, 1, 36 (690', 231), unless we read "Patrici-ans and pléb-eians we create," the italics shewing a trisyllabic measure; in C 1, 9, 1 (661, 7) I would rather read "That with the fusty pléb-eians hate thine honors," than "That with the fusty pléb-eians hate thine honors," the italics again shewing the trisyllabic measure; in C 3, 1, 53 (669', 101), I read "Let them have cushions by you. You're plébeians," and Mr. Abbott's scansion seems forced; again, "the senators and plébeians love him too," C 4, 7, 7 (681', 30), but AC 4, 12, 4 (936, 34) "And hoist thee up to the shouting plébeians;" (unless we read unto with Kightley and make a trisyllabic measure: And hoist thee up unto the shouting plébeians,) and C 5, 4, 12 (685', 39) "The plébeians have got your fellow tribune, (which could be easily amended by adding fast, or now, or there, at the end of the line, in which case there would be a trissylla-

bic first measure,) seem real cases; but they are the only ones in Shakspere and, as we have seen, the reading may be faulty!], pérseuit, párveyor, quin-tessence, récordé, rélapse?, rhématic, secure, séquester'd, sécessor, succès-

tive, tówards, útensils? without.

In this connection the following extracts from Gill's Logonomia, pp. 128-138, are valuable, though they are much injured by his confused notions of the difference between accent and quantity.
GILL ON ACCENT.

GILL ON ACCENT AND METRE.

Cap. xxv. De Accentu.

Vocum prosodia vsu potius quàm regulis percipitur: ea tota in accentu est. Accentus est duplex, Grammaticus, et Rhetoricus. Grammaticus est qua vocalis vna, aut diphthongus, in omni dictione affecta est. Rhetoricus, qui ad sensum animo aliùs inquisitum, emfasin in vnà voce habet potius quàm alià. Monosyllaba omnìa per se accepìa accentum acutum habere intelligitur: at composta, nunci in priorì tonum habent; vt, (mors-man, shell-munk), nunci in posteriorì; vt (withstanding, withdraa', himself'). Quædam ita facìlia sunt, vt accentum vtrobius recipiunt, vt (shurtsh-yard; outrun; outraadh').

Disyllaba quà oxytona sunt, (biliiv', asyyr', aswaadh', enfoors', konstrain'): quà paroxytona, vt (pat'i, kul'er, fol'ou). Trissyllaba quœdam paroxytona sunt: vt, (regraat'er, biluv'ed, akwaant'ed); quœdam proparoxytona; vt (miz'erî, des'teni): quœdam indifferentia; vt, (foar'göor'ing, foar'stal'er).

Animaduertendum autem nos tanto impetu in nonnullis vocibus accentum retrahere, vt nulla syllabarum longitudo, natural aut positione facta contrueniat: idque non in nostris tantùm (for'ester, kar'penter): sed etiam in illis quà doctuli ad Latìnìs ascierunt: vt, (aa'di'tor, kompe'titor, kon'stansi, redzh'isté, tem'perans, in'strym'ent, mul'tityyd). Hie autem duplìcal cautelà opus: primà, vt illa excipià quæ ad nos integra transierunt; quibús ea humanitatis vetimur quà peregrinis, qui suo iure èt more viùnunt, vt (Am'mntas, Eri'nís, Barika'cdo). Secundò excipià illa à Latìnìs in io, quà quanquam in nostrùm ius concesserunt, proprium tamen accentum retinent in antepenultimà; vt (opin'ion, satisfak'sion) et alia sic exunctia (mün'ion, fran'ion), etc.

Plurisyllaba etiam (quod in alijs quas scio linguis non fit) accentum sæpìus in quartà recipiunt; vt (ok'yypoier, wîdz'h'łansi, lit'eratyyr): et omnìa fere illa quà in (muqger)4 exeunt aut*(abl): vt (kos'terdmuqger, øi'ernmuqger, mar'tshantalb, mar'dzhabl, miz'erabl, on'orabl); minùm dixerìs si tonum in quinúa repereris, tamen sic lege (mul'tipliabl, vit'rìflabl, Kon'stantìnopl), et alia fortasse plura.

Duo sunt quà tonum variant: Differentia, èt Numerus poetìcus. 1. Differentia est, qua vox voci quodammodo opponitur: hæc accentum transìrt in syllabam vulgarìt accentuaê precedentem, vt (du

1 Gill does not mark the position of the accent in these three words. In those subsequently cited he marks it by an acute on the vowel of the accented syllable, and neglects to distinguish long and short vowels in consequence, as he says in his errata: "Capitê 25 et deinceps; accentum notatio longarum vocalium quantitati veniam inueniet." I have, therefore, in my transcription restored the quantity, and replaced ï by j (=ai) and u by v (=yy), when it appeared necessary.

2 Gill writes no accent marks in these two words.

3 The term antepenultīme here determines the disyllabic character of the termination -iôn (=son) in Gill's mind.

4 Gill does not distinguish (muqger) from (muqer); my transliteration is, therefore, also an interpretation.
GILL ON ACCENT.

933

yuu taak mii rākht, or mēstaak mii?) sic (with-woould, un-thaakful, dis-'onestai, dis-'onorabl, dis-'onorablai) etiam, et (un-'eezeyyyrasblai); huc refer (dezert') meritum, et (dez-ert') desertum aut solitudo, etc. Numerus poeticus propaeytonisin in [1] sepe vltiam productam acuit, vt, (mizeroi', konstansai', destinai'); 1 vnde etiam in prosā ferō obtinuit, vt vltiam vel longā vel breui sœqualiter scribantur, et pronuncientur, non acuantur tamen.

De Rhetorico accentu difficiliius est iudicium; quia suum cuque est, et varium. Exemplo res meliūs intelligetur.

(Moi song, if an' i ask whuuze grii'vus plain i came swut, Dii, eer dhou let niñ naam' bii knououn, niñ fōli' shouuz tuu mutsh, But, best weer dhii tu nāid', and nev'er kum tu loikht:
For oon dhe ert'h kan noon but a'i', dhōin aks'ents sound arākht'.)

Diximus monosyllaba omnia acui, hoc est accentu Grammatico: at in orationis contextu illis tantūm vocibus est accentus oratorius, siue quedam toni énýryeia, quibus sensus vis et énýryeia inest: reliquiæ omnes pra his quodammodo barytone hbeantur. Ego igitur sic ista lego, vt versus primus vnō tenore, et sœqualis fluat. In secundo tribus voculis accinitur (dai, naam', fol'i): quia, ex sensu apparenti moriendum potius est carmini, quàm nomen auctoris indicandum; cui tanta stultitia malum est omen. At ex implicitā Antanaclasi, sine diastola Tōv (dōi'), et (er, let dhou niñ naam bi knooun Daier); etiam cum priori tepidius erit, et sine accentu oratorio efferendum. Duos sequentes versus licet ego sic legam, vt (nāid), et (nev'er) in priori accentuem: (erth', ei), et (dhōin),2 in posteriori: alius tamen fortasse aliter: ìdque cum bonâ vtrineque ratione. Atque hæc de accentu acute Grammatico, et Oratorio, præcepta sunt. Grauis ubique intelligitur, vbi alius non est accentus. Circumflexus [^] in alīs dialectis frequentiūs auditur quàm in communi; vbi tamen eā est aliquando vocis alicuius prosodia, vt sensum mutet. Exemplo (oi am afrāaid of him) i. metuo ab illo: (oi am afrāaid 3 ov him). i quid de illo futurum sit tīmea.

Accentui inseriunt interpunctiones: quà illæ vt sensum aperiant, ita quantum possunt accentui viam sternunt. Ecedem sunt nobis quæ Latinis, et vsus idem: sunt autem Köyma sine incisum [,], Tποδιαστolem aut subdistinctio [,]; Kölou sine membrum [:], Περίοδος sine sententia et sensus integra complexio [,]. His adjunge interrogationis notam [?] et exclamationis [!].

1 The accent is not written here, but is inferred from the context. Observe that we had (des-teni) a little above.
2 Errorneously printed (dōin).
3 Gill writes afrāaid, afrāaid, He had long previously explained â to mean (AA), and hence I have thus interpreted the sign, but the interpretation is probably incorrect. He has nowhere given a physiological description of the effects which he means to indicate by the old Latin terms, acute, grave, and circumflex, which were perhaps in Latin the rising, the falling, and the rising and falling inflections, (~ · · ·) supra p. 12, but there is no reason to suppose that he had in view anything but stress for acute, its absence for grave, and a broadening i.e. opening or rounding or else excessive lengthening of the vowels for the circumflex.
voce in reliquâ orationis serie syntaxin habet: at τοπαρέβεσει |[; J]| illud quod abesse quidem potest, sed cum alià aliquà sententiae voce construitur.

Exemplum.

(Dhe best (said nii) dhat ei kan yuu adveiz
Ix tu avoid: dh- okaa'zion of dhe il,
Dhe kaaz remuuv-ed whens dh- ivi duth araiz,
(A suun it mai: dh- efekt sursees-th stl.)

Hue accedit Απόστροφος in (dh- efekt), et in vocibus compositis Τφη siue maccaf [1] vt (mart-ecing griif). Et vitimò (si tu concedas (lector) in Διαμέτρει, Διαστολή [••] in συναρέσει, Αριη [••] vt in (okaa'zion) trissyllabâ; sed his et Ττοπαρέβεσει in vsu frequenti, locus raro conceditur.

Cap. xxvi. De Metro.

Metrum apud nos largè acceptum, aliquando significat ipsa in carmine omioteleuta: nonnullu quam ponitur pro omni oratione adstricta numeris; sic enim metrum, et prosam opponimus. Sed hic pro omni mensurâ syllabae, pedis, metri propriè dicti, et carminis vsurpo.

De Syllaba.


Satis aparuit in grammaticâ, quæ syllaba longa aut breuis censerì debet, ex vocalibus, quas longas aut breues esse diximus: 1. Poëtæ tamen illa in (ai) desinentia licet vel corripiunt; quia in fluxu orationis accentus in propinquâ syllabâ eius longitudinalém absolvat. At si syllaba accentu vîlo grammatico, vel rhetorico afficiatur, non corripitur; vt, (mai moni) -...

2. (Yy) in fine anceps est; vt (uyy, tryy): at consonâ in eàdem voce monosyllabâ sequente, longa est; vt, (syyr, pyyr). sic in dissyllabis, si accentum habeat: vt, (manyyr, refyyz) verbum: at accentus in priori, ultimam ancipitem relinquit; vt, in (refyyz, refyz) subst. 3. Vocalis, aut diphthongus, ante vocale non cor-

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1 This is a sign not otherwise noticed, probably of Dr. Gill's own coinage, for the printer had clearly to "make" the mark, the first time from ( and ;, the second time, in the example, from ; and ;.
2 The original has "(Dhe (best said nii) dhat), etc., where the parenthesis is clearly incorrectly put.
3 Gill prints ßefekt.
4 Gill seems to intend to say that (okaa'zion), which is really of four syllables, here reckons as three, from the rapidity with which (i) is pronounced. See infrà, p. 937, n. 1.
5 This vowel being represented by v in Gill never has the mark of prolongation placed over it; hence it has been uniformly transliterated (yy). A pure (y) in closed syllables does not seem to have occurred in English of so late a date.
6 Observe, an (s) not an (sh), and see suitor, supra, pp. 215, 922.
7 The word is only written once refyz in Gill, but is repeated here to exhibit the "doubtful" quantity.
ripitur necessariò ut apud Latinos. Sed contrà, vocalis longa, aut diphthongus, ante vocalem semper productur, si in se accentum habeat, vt (denoi'ing, displai'ed). 

4. Vocalis, aut Diphthongus per synalepham licentiâ poeticae nonnunquam intercipitur: sed frequentissimè intercedit (u), in (tu) datiui et infinitiui signo; et (e), in articulo (dhe), tamen non semper. in (Dhou) ante (art) diphthongus òsepe deficit. 

3. Accentus.

Omnis syllaba, accentum acutum habens aut circumflexum, longa est: idque maxime si syllaba dictionis prima non sit. Nam prima naturà suà breuis, accentum òsepe admittit, vt (go'ing, du'ing, ani, spri't, bod'v), quæ etiamsi ex vocali breues esse intelligantur, accentu tamen subinde communes òunt vt in illo Choriambo (Laa'di, latii). 

2. In trissyllabis etiam, acutus in breui ante liquidam, syllabam aliquando ancipitem facit, vt in (mal-adoi, sim'-oni, dzhen'er-al, ben'-eit'). 

3. Vocalis breuis in vltimâ, ante duplicem, aut etiam ante solam liquidam, accentu aneeps òit. Vt (begin, distil, defer, proloq'). Idipsum etiam in monosyllabis accentu acutissimis fiet; vt, (aks, dzhudz'h, fel, sin, soq, war, dzhär') Quam formam quâdam etiam ante mutam sequuntur; vt, (bud') gemma, (but') meta. 

4. Omnis syllaba ante accentuatam breuis est: vt, (dezaïr, abroo-ad (?), aban'don, devoi'ded, divoin'loï, blliv'ing, preven'ted): nisi obstet natura; vt, in (foorgo'ing, foorspec'king); aut positio, vt, (forgot'n forgri'q). Sed hic tantum valet accentus, vt in multis duplicatis alteram elidat, vt, (atend', apii'-riq, oppoo'zed, adres'ed); pro (attend); apii'riq, oppoo'zed, adres'ed): Sed vt consonam elidat vel non, poëae in medio relinquatur. 

5. Syllabae que solis constant consonantibus, quia accentum nunquam recipiunt, breues iudicantur; vt, (sad'l, trub'l, moist'n). 

6. Accentus Rhetorius longas præcedentes sepemunro corripit: vt, (If yi bi Aal thivz, what noop nav oi?) vbi vocales naturâ longæ in (yi, bi, naav) ratione accentuum in (Aal) et (oi) correptae sunt. 

4. Positio.

In diversis dictionibus positio òsepe valet vt apud Latinos, in eàdem dictione, accentus positioni præualet; ita vt in trissyllabis, shews that the accents were intended as I have placed them. This passage should have been referred to supra p. 281, 1. 34. 

1 As Gill could not have used the word diphthong in the sense of digraph, more especially because he represents the (ai) in the first word by a simple sign j, we have here a confirmation of the theory that he pronounced his ai as a diphthong (ai), and not as a simple vowel (ee). 

2 This implies the pronunciation of thoid'rt as (dhart) and not (dhourt). 

3 No accent marked in Gill. The assumption of the choriamb - v - , 

4 The exact meaning of this passage is doubtful, owing to the constant confusion of accent and quantity in Dr. Gill's mind, while he attempts to separate them. 

5 Misprinted in, as if it were one of the English words, being put into a different type.
accentus in primâ sonorâ naturâ aut positione longâ, abbreuiet vtrasque sequentes; vt, in (Tshes'tertun, Wim'bldun). Nee quisquam, qui Anglicè nouit, negare audebit (Ten'terden stiì-pl) esse carmen Adonicum. nam hic adeo violentus est accentus, vt etiam in diuersis dictionibus positionem auferat. Idipsum affirmabis, si Sussexios audias in (Wâa'terdoun for'rest).¹ Adeo clarus est accentus in primo trissyllabo, licet positione non cleuetur. Hic tamen cautelâ opus, nam si ad positionem (l, n) vel (q) concurrat, media syllaba productur: vt (Sem'priqam, Trum'piqtun, Ab'iqton, Wim'undam, Wil•fulnes) etc.² Quod dixi apparebit exemplo.

(What if a daai, or a munth, or a seer) hemisticium est, duobus constans dactylis, et choriambos, nemo dubitat. (Soo et befél on a Pen•tekost daai). Nee quisquam hic magnopere hærét, nisi quod particula (st) tardius sequi videtur ob positionem: at Metaplasmio occidentali (ível' pro (befel') nihil occurrir rotundius; nam positio illa in (kost), nullo modo tempus retardat propter accentum in (Pen). Positio aliás valet ad Longitudinem; vt, (Gîlz'land, Lon'don, nar'vest).

5. Deriatio.

Deriatiuina eandem cum primitius quantitatem plerumque sortiuntur; vt, (dai, doï•q; dezœir, dezœir•ed; profaön', profaön•lei). Excipiuntur illa, quæ à longis enata, vocalem naturâ longam corripiunt; vt, a (mœi•zer, miz•erabl, miz•erî): Et anomala coniugations primæ, quæ figuratiam comutant: vt, à (reed, red); à (sweet, swet); à (wroít, writ; stroik, strik), etc. His adde vnum tertiae (duu, did). Secundo excipiuntur illa à peregrinis deducta, quibus syllabarum quantitas naturâ, positione, aut accentu mutatur; vt à noto as, (tu noot•ei), ³ à magnífico (tu mag•nîfai), à potens, (poon•tent) etc. At (im•potent, omni•potent), suam naturam sequuntur: quod etiam in alijs fortè pluribus observabís.

6. Praeceptorio.

Praepositiones inseparabiles (a, bi, re), etiam (un, dis, mis) si positio sinat, corripiuntur. Reliquarum omnium quantitas ex suis vocalibus satis intelligitur.

7. Metaplasmus.

Est, quum necessitatis, aut incuditatis gratia, syllaba, aut dictio à formâ propriâ in aliam mutatur. Huc refer omnes antedictas dialectos præter communem. Et licet omnis Metaplasmus ad syllabarum quantitatem agnosceundam non sit utilis: tamen quia plurimæ eius species hic multum possunt, eas omnes simul explicabimus.

¹ Written Witerdoun, the first vowel probably stands for Â = (AA') in Gill's notation.
² In the vocabulary I have introduced a second accent mark thus (Sem'priq'am), to represent this presumed lengthening.
³ There seems to be some misprint here; the original is followed literum, with the exception of the accents, which were not marked.
Prothesis apponit caput id quod Apharesis anfert:
vt, (aorlkt; emmuuu) pro (reiklt, muuy): et elegantii imitatione
Latiae compositionis, (efraid), pro (fraid. ven'dzher), pro
(aven'dzher).

Syncope de medio tollit, quod Epenthesis infert.
vt, (hum'bles, whhuve'er), pro (hum'blnes), et (whuusoever);
(e'rend) pro (ee'rend).

Aaufert Apocope finem, quem dat Paragoge.
vt, (What o id bet for'dhoi') Spens. pro (bet'er, tel'en) et (dis-
plee'zen), Chanser pro (tel, displeez')

Consonam vt Eochlipsis, vocalem aufert Synalapha.
Exempla.

(Faam with abun'dans maak'eth a man threis blessed an hap'pi)
pro (and hap'pi).
(First, let Simmer'ian dark'nes bi mi oon'li- habitaas'sion)\(^1\)
pro (oon'lei).

Systola longa rapiit, breuiata Diastola longat.
vt, Sidn. (un'tu Kyy'pdh dat buoi shal a pedan'te bi found:)
ubi prima in (pedan'te) a piad'os corripitur.

Diastola Taxis, Ektaxis siue extensio dicitur. Exemplum
reperies apud eundem Sidneium.

(Dhat boi a bod'i it gooz, sins boi a bod'i it iz.)
vbi ex (bod'i) perichio, trocheum facit contra quam eius natura pati
potest, Rectius ille in speculo Tuscanismi.

(:Aal gal'land vir'tyyz, Aal kwal'litiz of bod'i and sooul.)\(^2\)
Plus satis huiusmodi exemplorum inuenies apud Stanihurstum, et
alios.

(Sins moi nooz out'peek'iq (gud Sir) youur lip'labor hin'dreth).

Neque enim verum est quo scribit quidam, Syllabarum regnum
illis concessum, quia primum suo exempli illarum quantitatem de-
finirent: Syllabae enim natura suae; id est, ciuscunque linguae
idiomate, aut longae sunt, aut breues, aut indifferentes, vtecunque
mali poetae illarum quantitate abutuntur.

Syllaba de binis confecta, Synaresis extat.

Visitatissimus est hic metaplasmus in verbalibus passiuis in (ed);
vt, (luv-d) pro (luv'ed) et vbique alias; vt (ev-roi) pro (ev eroi;
whatsoever, okaa'zon), trissyllabis.\(^3\) Neque in vnâ tantum dic-
tione synaresis est, sed etiam in diuersis; vt (fs-t not inukh')?

\(^1\) These are accentual hexameters, the author not named. Hence the
final (-sion) of (habitaas'sion) reckons as a single syllable. Compare suprà
p. 934, note 4.

\(^2\) This requires much forcing of the stress to make an accentual hexameter,
thus: (Aal gal'ant vir'tyyz, Aal kwal'litiz of bodi and soul). Gill doubles the
(l) in (kwal'litiz) to make "position."

\(^3\) Probably (whatsoever, okaa'zon), but the actual "synaresis" is not
determined. There can be no thought of (ookaa'zhon), which was probably never
used, the (aa) having changed to (ee) before (ez) was reduced to (zh). The
pronunciation (whatsoever) is quite
conjectural, as there is no authority
for it. The hyphens represent Gill's
apostrophes.
pro (iz it not), et in communi loquendi formulâ pro (much gud du-t yun) pro (du it). ¹ Sic (was-t, for-t, whuuz deer²) pro (waz it, for it, whuu iz deer³).

**Διαλέγεις siue Διάλεκτος.**

_Dicetur in binas separare Diæresis vnam._

Vt Sp. (wuund'ez, kloud' ez, nand' ez); pro (wuundz, kloudz, nandz.) Huic cognata est.

**Τμήσις, Διακοπή, siue Intercision.**

_Dat Tmesin partes in binas dictio secta._

vt (Tu us ward) pro (toward' us.)

**Μετάβεος.**

_Fit Meta rilè thesis, si transponas elementa._

Vt (vouched saaf), pro (vouch'saf'ed). Spen. (Loom whail) pro (whailoom')

**Αντίδεος, melius Αντισταχον.**

_Est Antistœchon tibi litera si varietur._

Spens. (foon, ein, nond, lond) pro (fooz, eiz, nand, land.) hunc referre potes illa tertia personæ Indicatiuī præsentis in (s, z, ez) pro (eth): vt (mii speeks, luvez, teech'ez); pro (speek'eth, luve'eth, teec'eth). In quibus non tantùm est Antistœchon sed et syneresis

_Ista Metaplasmum communi nomine dicas._

Quæ dixi de quantitare syllabarum, ita abhorre videbuntur ab auribus illorum qui ad Latinam prosodiam assueuerunt, vt mihi nunquam satis causisse, illos satis admonuisse possim. Sed si syllaba breuis vnius temporis concedatur, longa duorum; ego veritatem appello indicem, auresque musicorum testes: his causam omnem permitto. Ipsos autem, qui me iudicio postulauerint, adhortor, vt meminerint quàm multa Latini à Graecis discesserunt Atque, vt mittam significacionem, genus, syntaxin alicubi; in prosodia toto cælo aberrarunt, omega vix productam in ambo; et ego, et Noster Apollo vēta. Sed quia de his paulō fusiūs dicendum est postea, in presens missa facio.

¹ See supra p. 166, l. 24, and p. 744, note 2. "The tendency to contractions [in the Lancashire dialect] is very great, rendering some sentences unintelligible to a 'foreigner,' Luthee _pro_ (look thee, pray you): _mitch goodletto_ (much good may it do you)."

_Folk-Song and Folk-Speech of Lancashire_, by W. E. A. Axon, F.R.S.L., page 69. In a private letter Mr. Axon informs me that these phrases are pronounced, (lēdh'ri prī' u'; mitch _gud' nitv) the last (ii) being long but unaccented. In the north (dii) is very common for (duu), so that the analysis of the words is _mitch _gud-dec-it-u_, (Lēdh'ri) is also heard in Yorkshire.

² Probably a misprint for (dheer) in both cases.

³ This refers to "Cap. xxvii., Car- men Rythmicum," which would have been interesting, had not Dr. Gill's utter confusion of accent and quantity rendered it entirely worthless. Thus speaking of heroic and Alexandrine verses he says: "Scenicum, et Epicum, vno ferè carminis genere contenta sunt: illud est vt plurimum pentametrum. Spenceeri tamen Epicum, stue Heroi- cum, nonum queque versum habet hexametrum: ad grauitatem, et quan- dam stationis firmitudinem. In sceneo, poete malè neglignant _δυομοιοτέλευτα_, que in Epicõ continuâ sunt." &c., p. 142.

In Cap. xxviii, Dr. Gill treats "De Carminibus ad numeros Latinorum poeta rum compositis."
Pedes, quibus Anglica poesis vititur, sunt disyllabi tres; spondeus - - - , trocheus - - - , iambus - - - . Trissyllabi quinque; tribrachus - - - , molossus - - - , dactylus - - - , anapaestus - - - , amphimacrus - - - . Tetra syllabos tantum duo animaduerti: quorum vnus est peon quartus - - - , alter choriambus - - - .

**Contracted Words.**

The following list is taken from Abb. 460–473. All omitted syllables are here inserted in parentheses. A star * prefixed, shews that this contraction is acknowledged either in the same or a similar word, by Jones 1701, and will be found in the Vocabulary of the xviiith century to be given in Chapter IX. When † is prefixed, the instance is not from Shakspeare himself. A subjoined (?) indicates that the passage cited in proof does not appear decisive.

**Prefixes dropped.** — * (em)boldened, *(a)bove, *(a)bout, (up)braid, *(re)call, (be)came, (be)cause, (con)cerns, (de)cide, (re)cital, *(re)collect, (be)come?, (en)couraging, *(ae)count, *(en)(de)ar(ce)(d), (be)fall, (be)friend, (a)-gain(st)-giving, (mis)gave ?, (be)get, (a)gree, (be)behaviour, (en)joy, *(a)-larum, (a)las, (be)lated, (un)less, (be)-longs, (be)longing, *(a)miss, *(a)mong, (be)mighted, *(a)nointed, *(an)oy-ance, *(im)pair, *(im)pale, *(ap)parel, *(co)mp, *(en)maged, *(ar)ray, *(ar)-rested, *(as)sayed, *(e)scape, *(ek)sece = excuse, *(in)stalled, *(fo)re(stalled, *(a)stonished, *(de)stroyed, *(at)end, *(re)turn, *(al)lotted, *(un)(re)sisting?, *(be)ware, *(en)vironed, *(re)course, (re)-venge. In some cases, where the contraction is not written, Mr. Abbott assumes it, although the use of a trisyllabic measure would render it unnecessary.

**Other contractions.** — Barthol(on)ow, Ha(ve)ford, *(dis)(ci)ple, ignom(in)y, *gen(ter)man, gent(le)man, gent(le), *eas(i)ly, par(i)ous = perilous, inter(ro)gatories, can(dle)stick, mar(ve)le, *whe(ther, God b(e) with ye, see supra p. 775, in (bi)s, th(ou) wert, you (we)re, b(e) were, y(ou) are, she (we)re. In these five last cases, notwithstanding the orthography, the sound may have been, (dhou-rt, zuu-rt, hii-r, zuu-r, shii-r). But in the passage cited for she (we)re, "'Twere good she were spoken with : for she may strew," H 4, 5, 5 (896, 14), the trisyllabic measure, which would be naturally introduced by any modern reader, obviates all difficulties. Similarly in the passages cited for this = this is, a trisyllabic measure removes all difficulties. Mr. Abbot says (461), "it (this contraction) is at all events as early as Chaucer, Knight's Tale, 233." On referring to the six-text edition, v. 1091, we find three MS. (Hengwrt, Cambridge, Lansdowne,) to which we may add Harleian, reading in various spellings, "We mote endure it this is the schort and playn," where we may either contract "en-dure't," or make is the schort a trisyllabic measure; but the Ellesmere MS. omits it, which seems the best reading, as the it is clearly superfluous, and the Corpus and Petworth omit the, which is not so commendable. Hence it is by no means clear that Chaucer ever said this for this is. Relying on the provincialism 'se, 's for shall, in KL 4, 6, 85 (873, 246), and Lady Capulet's thou's for thou shalt, which was evidently an accommodation of her language to the nurse's, RJ 1, 3, 6 (715, 9), Mr. Abbott would avoid several trisyllabic measures, by reading I se for I shall, but this does not seem advisable. Wi(th), tw(i)th us, tw(i)th ye, were probably (wi, wiius, wii'ri). To these he adds d(o)off, d(o)on, d(o)out, proba(b)l(e).”

**Words contracted in pronunciation.** — Abb. 462, desirous of limiting the use of trisyllabic measures and Alexandrine verses as much as possible, suggests many elisions which often appear doubtful, and are certainly, for the most part, unnecessary. A grammarian who would count the syllables of Italian or Spanish verses on his fingers, would be led to conclude that final vowels were always elided before initial vowels, and that frequently a whole word, consisting of a single vowel, was lost in pronunciation. Turning to the musical setting of Italian words, and seeing only one
note written for the two or three vowels which thus come together, he would be strengthened in this opinion. But if he listens to an Italian singing or declaiming, he would find all the vowels pronounced, sometimes diphthongizing, but, as a rule, distinctly audible, without any connecting glide. Such open vowels are, however, generally pronounced with extreme rapidity, and perhaps this is what Mr. Abbott means by "softening," a term which he frequently uses in a manner phonetically unintelligible to me, thus: "R frequently softens or destroys a following vowel, the vowel being nearly lost in the burr which follows the effort to pronounce the r," Abb. 463, as alar(um), warr(ing), flour(ishing), nour(ishing), barr(ing), barr(ing), spin(i)ling; "R often softens a preceding unaccented vowel," Abb. 464, as confed(e)rate; "Er, El, and El final dropped or softened, especially before vowels and silent h," Abb. 465. "Whether and ever are frequently written or pronounced whe'r or where and e'er. The th is also softened in either, hither, other, father, etc., and the e in having, evil, etc. It is impossible to tell in many of these cases what degree of 'softening' takes place. In 'other,' for instance, the th is so completely dropped that it has become our ordinary 'or' which we use without thought of contraction. So 'whether' is often written 'wh'er' in Shakespeare. Some, but it is impossible to say what degree of 'softening,' though not expressed in writing, seems to have affected th in the following words, brother, either, further, hither, neither, rather, thither, whether, whither, having," Abb. 466, where he cites instances, which might certainly all have been used by a modern poet who naturally speaks the words disyllabically. A few words as or, ill, e'er, have established themselves. It is impossible to say what liberty of contraction or change the xviith century poets allowed themselves in verse. "I in the middle of a trisyllable, if unaccented, is frequently dropped, or so nearly dropped as to make it a favourite syllable in trisyllabic feet," Abb. 467, where he cites, punishment, cardinal, willingly, languishing, fantastical, residue, promising,—easily, prettily,—hostility, amity, quality, civility,—officer, mariners, ladyship, beautiful, flourishes, par(i)lous. "Any unaccented syllable of a polysyllable (whether containing i or any other vowel) may sometimes be softened and almost ignored," Abb. 468, as barbarous, company, remedy, implements, enemy, messengers, passenger, conference, majesty "a quasi-disyllable," necessary, sacrificers, innocent, inventory, sanctuary, unnatural, speculative, incredulous, instruments. It is hardly conceivable that these vowels were habitually omitted in solemn speech. Abb. 469, thus explains the apparent docking of a syllable in proper names. Abb. 470, makes power, jewel, lower, doing, going, dying, playing, prowess, etc., frequently monosyllables or "quasi-monosyllables." Abb. 471, remarks that "the plural and possessive cases of nouns in which the singular ends in s, as, ss, ce, and ge are frequently written, and still more frequently pronounced, without the additional syllable," but his instances of plurals are not convincing. We know that -ed after t, d, was often lost in olden time, as we now say it hurt for it hurted, but the instances cited in Abb. 472, by no means establish its general omission, or indeed its necessary omission in those very cases. Compare, however, Abb. 342.—Final -ed, as we see from Gill, was so regularly pronounced, that we should always rather keep than omit it, although Gill allows it to be frequently elided (supra p. 937, l. 35), and Abb. 474, shews that it was often omitted and pronounced in the same line. "Est in superlatives is often pronounced st after dentals and liquids. A similar euphonic contraction with respect to est in verbs is found in Early English. Thus 'bindest' becomes 'biest,' 'eatest' becomes 'est.' Our 'best' is a contraction for 'bet-est;" Abb. 473, where he cites, sweetest, kind'est, stern'est, secret'est, old'est, dear'est, loyal'est, great'est, near'est, unpleasant'est, strong'est, short'est, common'est, faithfull'est, tenant'st."

Trissyllabic Measures.

Unmistakeable trissyllabic measures occur in each of the five places, and occasionally two or even three occur in a single line. The complete lines are quoted and the trissyllabic measures are
italicised. As Mr. Abbott seeks to explain away many of these examples by contractions and softenings, I have added the reference to his book wherever he cites the example. But it will be seen that he has not noticed many of these instances.

First Measure Trisyllabic.

Barren winter with his wrathful nipping cold 2H 2, 4, 1 (506', 3), Abb. 463.

Having God, her conscience, and these bars against me R 3 1, 2, 88 (560, 225), Abb. 466

I beseech your graces both to pardon her R 3 1, 10 (557, 84), Abb. 456.

Naught to do with Mistress Shore! I tell thee, fellow R 3 1, 13 (557, 98).

By your power legitaine within this kingdom H 8 3, 2, 91 (611, 339).

In election for the Roman empery TA 1, 1, 3 (688', 22).

Second Measure Trisyllabic.

When capital crimes, chew'd, swallow'd, and digested H 8 2, 2, 18 (445, 56).

Succeeding his father Bolingbroke, did reign H 8 2, 5, 11 (479', 83).

A cockatrice hast thou hatch-ed to the world R 3 4, 1, 19 (579, 55). This seems more probable than the pronunciation of hatch'd as one syllable, throwing an emphasis on thou. The folio, however, reads hatch.

That would I learn of you, as one that are best acquainted with her humour R 4 4, 4, 79 (584, 269). Observe the construction, you as one that are.

Be chosen with proclamatious to-day TA 1, 1, 25 (690, 190), Abb. 479.

Third Measure Trisyllabic.

[This is by far the most common and most musical position of the trisyllabic measure.]

Crouch for employment. But pardon, gentles all. H 1 1, proli. (439, 8).

Appear before us? We'll yet enlarge that man H 8 2, 2, 18 (445, 56). These English monsters! My Lord of Cambridge here H 8 2, 2, 26 (445', 85).

Save ceremony, save general ceremony H 5 4, 1, 67 (457, 256). And then we'll try what these dastard Frenchmen dare H 1 4, 17 (474', 111).

Myself had notice of your conventicles. [Or else: Myself had notice of your conventicles] 2 H 3 3, 1, 25 (509, 166).

To prove him tyrant this reason may suffice 3 H 3 3, 3, 18 (542', 71).

Look, therefore, Lewis, that by this league and marriage 3H 3 3, 3, 18 (542', 74).

The common people by numbers swarm to us 3 H 4 2, 1 (545', 2).

I did not kill thy husband. Why then he is alive R 3 1, 2, 22 (558, 92).

I have already. Thus, that was in thy rage R 3 1, 2, 67 (559', 188).

Madam, we did; he desires to make atonement R 3 1, 3, 20 (560', 35).

My lord, good morrow! Good morrow, Ca-tes-by R 3 2, 28 (573, 76).

At any time have recourse unto the princes R 3 5, 26 (576, 109), Abb. 460.

Thy back is sacrifice to the load. They say H 1 2, 10 (595', 50).

The gentleman is learn'd, and a most rare speaker H 1 2, 18 (596, 111).

Melt and lament for her. O! God's will! much better H 2 3, 2 (602', 12).

Your holy hat to be stamp'd on the king's coin H 3 2, 28 (611, 325).

Quite from their fixture. O when degree is shaked TC 1, 3, 5 (627, 101), Abb. 343, in reference to shaked.

To doubtful fortunes: sequestering from me all TC 3 3, 1 (638, 8). As sequester occurs, supra p. 931, this might be possibly, though harshly, read: To doubtful fortunes sequester'd from me all, pronouncing (sek'estriq).

Did buy each other, must poorly sell ourselves TC 4, 4, 14 (643, 42). Of dreaded justice, but on the ministers C 3, 3, 47 (674', 98). Than gild his trophy: the breasts of Hecuba C 1, 3, 8 (657', 43).

The graves stood tenantless and the sheeted dead H 1, 1, 50 (812', 115), Abb. 468, cited in the index only, as explained by that article, see supra p. 940, col. 2.

As of a father: for let the world take note H 1, 2, 10 (814, 108).

My father's brother, but no more like my father H 1, 2, 20 (814, 162).

Been thus encounter'd. A figure like your father H 1, 2, 43 (814', 199).

To hang a doubt on: or woe upon thy life Oth 3, 3, 130 (896, 366).
As Dian's visage is now grim'd or
black Oth 3, 3, 135 (896, 357).
Comfort forswear me! Unkindness may
do much Oth 4, 2, 74 (903, 159).

Fourth Measure Trissyllabic.
Shall not be wink'd at, how shall we
stretch our eye H^3 2, 2, 18 (445, 55).
Which haply by much company might
be urged R^3 2, 2, 35 (569, 137).
Then is he more beholdig to you than I
R^3 3, 1, 40 (571', 107).
I was then present, saw them salute on
horseback H^3 1, 1, 4 (592', 8).
Were hid against me, now to forgive
me frankly H^3 2, 1, 28 (600, 81).
Deliver this with modesty to the queen
H^3 2, 2, 48 (602, 136).

To see the battle. Hector, whose
patience TC 1, 2, 4 (623', 4).
Co-rival'd greatness. Either to har-
bour fled TC 1, 3, 2 (626', 44).
Let me not think on't—Frailly, thy
name is woman H 1, 2, 20 (814, 146).
This hideous rashness, answer my life,
my judgment KL 1, 1, 40 (548', 1653).
Abb. 364, cited in the index only, to
explain the subjunctive mood.

On thy too ready hearing? Disloyal!
No Cy 3, 2, 1 (956', 6).

Fifth Measure Trissyllabic.
The citizens are mum, and speak not a
word R^3 3, 7, 2 (576, 3).
Put in their hands thy bruising iron of
wrath H^3 5, 3, 35 (588', 110).
Turns what he list. The king will
know him one day.
Pray God he do! he'll never know
himself else H^3 2, 2, 9 (601, 22).
Or maid it not mine too? Or which of
your friends H^3 2, 4, 9 (604, 29).

However, yet there is no breach; when
it comes H^3 4, 1, 40 (613, 106).
Fails in the promis'd largeness; checks
and disasters TC 1, 3, 1 (626, 5).
And curse that justice did it. Who
deserves greatness C 1, 1, 50 (655',
180); or we may contract did't, and
beginning with an accented syllable
after the pause thus avoid the trisys-
labic measure.

Which would increase his evil. He
that depends C 1, 1, 50 (655', 183).
Except immortal Cæsar; speaking of
Brutus JC 1, 1, 30 (765', 60).
Of each new-hatch'd, unfledged com-
rade. Beware H 1, 3, 8 (815', 66).

Two Measures Trissyllabic.
Of your great predecessor king Edward
the third H^3 1, 2, 25 (442', 245),
Abb. 469. The Collier MS. avoids
the two trissyllabic measures by reading
Edward third.
Foul devil, for God's sake hence, and
trouble us not R^3 1, 2, 9 (558', 60).
Either heav'n with lightning strike the
murderer dead R^3 1, 2, 9 (558', 64).
I hope so. I know so. But gentle
Lady Anne R^3 1, 2, 39 (559, 114).
Into a general prophecy: That this
tempest H^1 1, 20 (563', 92).

My surveyor is false; the o'er-great
cardinal H^1 1, 57 (594', 222).
To oppose your cunning, ye're meek
and humble-mouth'd H^2 2, 4, 18
(604', 107).

A royal lady, spake one the least word
that might H^3 2, 4, 25 (605, 153),
Abb. 18, 344 for construction only.
Amidst the other; whose medicinable
eye TC 1, 3, 5 (627, 91).
My surname Coriolanus; the painful
service C 4, 5, 42 (678, 74).

Of impious stubborne's: 'tis unmanly
grief H 1, 2, 16 (813', 94).
But suck them up to the top-wast. A
kind of conquest Cy 3, 1, 5 (956, 22).

Three Measures Trissyllabic.
To the discontented members, the mu-
tinous parts C 1, 1, 33 (655, 115),
Abb. 497, quoted in the index only.

Given to captivity me, and my utmost
hope Oth 4, 2, 29 (902, 51).

The following instances are not so well marked as the preceding,
and many readers would account for them by an elision; but, the
commonness of trissyllabic measures being now established, there
seems to be no ground for such a violent remedy. Such trissyllabic
measures as the following are frequent enough in modern poetry,
where the lightness of the first syllable in the measure (depending
on the strong accent on the last syllable of the preceding measure,)
would make the use of the three syllables as a measure and a half,
appear weak or antiquated. But Shakspere has no such scruples.
Light Trissyllabic Measures.

Was aptly fitted and naturally perform'd TS ind. 1, 25 (230, 87), Abb. 472. Writers in the xviith century would use natural and even said (natural), as we now frequently hear (natural). But the real number of syllables in the word appears from—

Thy deed, inhuman and unnatural,
Provokes this deluge most unnatural.

Your high profession spiritual that
again Hs 2, 4, 18 (604', 117), or spiritual that, a tetrasyllabic measure, felt as a trissyllabic.

Her tears should drop on them perpetually RL 686 (1020').

For he would needs be virtuous, that good fellow Hs 2, 2, 47 (602, 133).

His vacancy with his voluptuousness
AC 1, 4, 3 (916, 26).

Upon whose influence Neptune's empire
stands H 1, 1, 50 (812', 119), Abb. 204, for the use of upon.

Printing their proud hoofs in the receiving earth Hs 1, pro! (439, 27).

Why so hath this, both by the father and mother R3 2, 3, 15 (569', 21).

I took by the throat the circumcis-ed
dog Oth 5, 2, 172 (910, 355).

To the king I'll say't, and make my vouche as strong Hs 1, 1, 40 (594, 157).

To the water side I must conduct your grace Hs 2, 1, 30 (600, 95).

In following this usurping Henr-y

3 Hs 1, 1, 32 (527, 51).

Not well disposed, the mind growing once corrupt Hs 1, 2, 18 (596, 116).

Of one not easily jealous, but being wrought Oth 5, 2, 172 (910, 351).

Out, loath-ed medicine! hated potion hence! MN 3, 2, 61 (172, 264).

Into your own hands, Cardinal by ex-tortion Hs 3, 2, 77 (610', 285).

Would seem hyperboles. At this shifty stuff TC 1, 3, 8 (627', 161).

That shews good husbandry for the Volscian state C 4, 7, 5 (681, 22).

The senators and patricians love him too C 4, 7, 7 (681', 30).

To justice continence and nobility TA

1, 1, 2 (688, 15).

A countenance more in sorrow than in anger H 1, 2, 62 (815, 232), Abb. 468, cited in index only.

Your mystery, your mystery: nay dispatch Oth 4, 2, 19 (902, 30).

Effect of courtesy, dues of gratitude
KL 2, 4, 55 (860, 182).

My speculative and officed instruments
Oth 1, 3, 55 (884', 271).

ALEXANDRINE VERSES.

Shakspere seems never to hesitate to use a pure Alexandrine or six-measure line when it suits his convenience. Such lines also occasionally contain trissyllabic measures. Some of these Alexandrines are well marked, in others the last word has such a strong accent on the last syllable but two that both final syllables fall on the ear rather as an addition to the last measure, a mere superfluous syllable, than a distinct measure by themselves. See supra p. 649, l. 1. These two cases will be separately classed.

Mr. Abbott is always very unwilling to admit Alexandrines. He says: "A proper Alexandrine with six accents, such as 'And now | by winds | and waves | my lifeless limbs are toss'd'—DRYDEN, is seldom found in Shakespeare," Abb. 493, but he admits also that lines with five accents are rare, supra p. 929, n. 1. As he intentionally confuses the number of accents (or syllables bearing a stress) with the number of measures, he and I naturally view verses from different points. The true Alexandrine has a pause at the end of the third measure. It consists therefore of two parts of three measures each. This is very marked in the heroic French Alexandrine, where there must be a natural pause in the sense as well as at the end of a word. Now such Alexandrines Mr. Abbott
calls "Trimeter couplets—of two verses of three accents each," 
**Abb. 500,** an entirely new conception, whereby normal Alexandrines are made to be no Alexandrines at all. The rule of terminating the third measure with a word is, however, not so strictly followed by English as by French and German writers. Every one admits that the final line in the Spenserian stanza is an Alexandrine, or at least has six measures. Now in the 55 stanzas of the Faery Queen, Book 1, Canto 1, I find 44 perfect Alexandrines (Mr. Abbott's Trimeter Couplets), 9 in which the third measure does not end with a word, and 2 (stanzas 30 and 42) in which, although the third measure ends with a word, the sense allows of no pause. This is quite enough to establish the rule for Shakspere's contemporaries, to shew that Mr. Abbott's Trimeter Couplets must be considered as regular Alexandrines, and to admit of the non-termination of a word with the third measure, which is inadmissible in French. Mr. Abbott begins by noting Alexandrines which are only so in appearance, "the last foot containing two extra syllables, one of which is starred," (a term phonetically unintelligible to me) **Abb. 494.** These are those previously mentioned, and instanced below. But Mr. Abbott allows these two superfluous syllables to be inserted "at the end of the third or fourth foot," **Abb. 495,** without having any value in the verse. Thus, "The flux | of company. | Anón | a cáre|less hér'd," AY 2, 1, 6 (210', 52), is made to have only five "feet," i.e. measures, as is also "To call | for récompense: | appear| it tó | your mind," TC 3, 3, 1 (637', 3), and so on. This may do for "scanners," but will not do for listeners. These lines have distinctly six measures, with the true pause. "In other cases the appearance of an Alexandrine arises from the non-observance of contractions," **Abb. 496.** These "contractions" would have a remarkably harsh effect in the instances cited, even if they were possible. No person accustomed to write verses could well endure lines thus divided: "I dáre| abíd| no láong (454).| Whithér (466) should | I flý," M 4, 2, 34 (803', 73). The line belongs to two speeches, and *should* may be emphatic. "She lé|vell'd at | our půr|pore(s) (471), ánd, | béng (470) roýal," AC 5, 2, 123 (943, 339). Here there are two trisyllabic measures, and no Alexandrine. "All mór|tal cónsè|quence(s) (471) hálé | pronounèced | me thús," M 5, 3, 1 (807, 5). "As mís|ers dó | by béggars (454); | néithér (466) gálé | to mè," TC 3, 3, 30 (539, 142). Here *to me* are two superfluous syllables. I should be sorry to buy immunity from Alexandrines at the dreadful price of such Procrustean "scansion." **Abb. 497,** addsuce a number of lines which he calls "apparent Alexandrines," and says they "can be explained," that is, reduced to five measures, "by the omission of emphatic syllables." The effect is often as harsh as in those just cited. **Abb. 498,** calls a number of Alexandrines "doubtful," because by various contrivances, reading "on" for "upon" and so on, he can reduce them to five measures. But is this a legitimate method of deducing a poet's usage? Another contrivance is to throw the two first or two last syllables into a line by themselves, **Abb. 499.** Finally we
have the "Trimmer Couplet" (500, 501), "the comic trimeter" (502), and "apparent trimeter couplets" (503), of which enough has been said. In order that the reader may see Mr. Abbott's method of avoiding the acknowledgment of Alexandrines in Shakspere, reference is made to all the passages in which he cites the following examples with that intention.

**Well-marked Alexandrines.**

Whose honour heav-en shield from soil! e'en he escapes not Hs 1, 2, 6
(565, 26).
The monk might be deceive'd, and that 'twas dang'rous for him Hs 1, 2, 32
(596', 179), Abb. 501.

Pray for me! I must now forsake ye: the last hour Hs 2, 1, 32 (600', 132).
His highness having lived so long with her and she Hs 2, 3, 1 (602', 2).
Still growing in a majesty and pomp, the which Hs 2, 3, 1 (602', 7).
As soul and body's severing. Alas! poor lady! Hs 2, 3, 3 (602', 16).

More worth than empty vanities, yet prayers and wishes Hs 2, 3, 22 (603, 69).

O'er topping woman's power. Madam, you do me wrong Hs 2, 4, 17 (604', 88).
And patches will I get unto these cudgel'd scars Hs 6, 1, 27 (464', 94),
Abb. 501.

A cherry lip, a bonny eye, a passing pleasing tongue R3 1, 1, 11 (557, 94),
Abb. 498.
Say that I slew them not. Why then they are not dead R3 1, 2, 20 (558', 69),
Abb. 500, cited in index only.
I did not kill thy husband. Why then he is alive R3 1, 2, 22 (558', 9).

I would I knew thy heart. 'Tis figured in my tongue R3 1, 2, 69-79 (559', 192-202). These six Alexandrines are by some considered to be twelve six-syllable lines, and, as there is an odd line of six syllables, v. 203, there is considerable ground for this supposition. We must not forget, however, that Alexandrines are very common in R3, and that the odd line can be explained by an amphistyph, supra p. 928, n. 1, Abb. 500.

And hug'd me in his arm, and kindly kiss'd my cheek R3 2, 2, 9 (568, 24).
Which since succeeding ages have re-edified R3 3, 1, 20 (671, 71),
Abb. 494, cited in index only.
Thou'rt sworn as deeply to effect, what we intend R3 3, 1, 70 (572, 158),
Abb. 497.

She intends unto his holiness. I may perceive Hs 2, 4, 31 (605', 235).
His practices to light. Most strangely. O, how, how? Hs 3, 2, 8 (608, 28).
And flies fled under shade, why, then the thing of courage TC 1, 3, 2
(626', 51).

Speak, Prince of Ithaca; and be't of less expect TC 1, 3, 4 (628', 70).

Hollow upon this plain, so many hollow factions TC 1, 3, 5 (627, 80).
What honey is expected. Degree being vizarded TC 1, 3, 5 (627, 83).

Sanctify their numbers. Prophet may you be! TC 3, 2, 49 (637', 190).
To call for recompense. Appear it to your mind TC 3, 3, 1 (637', 3).
Abb. 458 (miscited as v. 8). 495.

In most accepted pain. Let Diomedes hear him TC 3, 3, 3 (638, 30).
Not going from itself: but eye to eye opposed TC 3, 3, 28 (638', 107).
That has he knows not what. Nature, what things there are TC 3, 3, 29
(639, 127).

In monumental mockery. Take the instant way TC 3, 33, 1 (639, 153).
To see us here unarmed': I have a woman's longing TC 3, 3, 41 (640, 237).

And tell me, noble Diomed; faith, tell me true TC 4, 1, 18 (641, 51).
The cockle of rebellion, insolence, sedition C 3, 1, 42 (669', 70),
Abb. 497, cited in index only.
Insult without all reason, where gentry, title, wisdom C 3, 1, 62 (670, 144),
Abb. 501, cited in index only.

The warlike service he has done, consider; think C 3, 3, 26 (674, 49),
Abb. 512, where think is treated as a separate "interjectional line."

As 'tis to laugh at 'em. My mother, you wot well C 4, 1, 5 (675', 27).
Whose house, whose bed, whose meal, and exercise C 4, 4, 7 (677, 14).
To thee particularly, and to all the Volsces C 4, 5, 42 (678, 72).
Therefore away with her, and use her as ye will TA 2, 3, 33 (696, 166).
Witness this wretched stump, witness these crimson lines TA 5, 2, 6 (708, 22).
And when he's sick to death, let not that part of nature Tim 3, 1, 15
(749, 64).
The memory be green and that it us
befitted H 1, 2, 1 (813, 2).
'Tis sweet and commendable in your nature, Hamlet H 1, 2, 16 (813', 87), Abb. 490, who accentuates com-
mandable, agreeably to MV 1, 1, 23
(182, 111), in which case there are
two trisyllabic measures in the line.
That father lost, lost his, and the sur-
vivor bound H 1, 2, 16 (813', 90).
Are burnt and purged away. But that
I am forbid H 1, 5, 10 (817', 13).
The sway, revenue, execution of the rest
KL 1, 1, 37 (848', 139), Abb. 497, cited in the index only.
When pow'r to flatt'ry bows? To
plainness honour's bound KL 1, 1, 40
(848', 150), Abb. 501, cited in the index only.
Of such a thing as thou, to fear, not to
delight Oth 1, 2, 27 (881', 71), Abb.
405, for the construction only.
Hath this extent, no more. Rude am
I in my speech Oth 1, 3, 32 (883, 81).

_Lightly-marked Alexandrines,
or Verses of Five Measures with Two Superfluous Syllables._

And that you come to reprehend my
ignorance R 3, 3, 25 (577, 113),
Abb. 487.
The supreme seat, the throne majestical
R 3, 7, 28 (577, 118).
All unavowed is the doom of destiny
R 3, 4, 4, 68 (583', 217).
Which I do well; for I am sure the
emperor H 8, 1, 2, 42 (594', 186).
Wherein? and what taxation? My
lord cardinal H 8, 1, 2, 8 (595, 38).
That's Christian care enough for living
murmurers H 2, 2, 47 (602, 131).
Is our best having. By my troth and
maidenhead H 8, 2, 3, 6 (602', 23).
But what makes robbers bold but too
much lenity 3 H 8, 2, 6, 1 (557', 22).
Her looks do argue her replete with
modesty 3 H 8, 3, 2, 61 (540', 84).
I that am rudely stamp'd and want
love's majesty R 3, 1, 1, 1 (556, 16),
Abb. 467, cited in index only.
Lord Hastings was to her for his
delivery R 3, 1, 8 (557, 75), Abb.
494, cited in index only.
I was: but I do find more pain in
banishment R 3, 1, 3, 54 (662, 168).
Go to, I'll make ye known your times of
busi-ness H 8, 2, 2, 24 (601', 72),
in speaking for myself. Yet, by your
gracious patience Oth 1, 3, 32 (883, 89).
Is once to be resolv'd. Exchange me
for a goat Oth 3, 3, 74 (894, 180).
Matching thy inference. 'Tis not to
make me jealous. Oth 3, 3, 74 (894, 189).
A séquester from liberty, fasting and
prayer Oth 3, 4, 24 (897, 40).
And knowing what I am, I know what
she shall be Oth 4, 1, 35 (899', 74).
That the sense aches at thee, would
thou hast'd ne'er been born Oth 4, 2,
31 (902', 69).
Why should he call her whore? who
keeps her company? Oth 4, 2, 70
(903, 137).
Acquire too high a fame, when him we
serve 's away AC 3, 1, 3 (924', 15).
Some wine, within there, and our
viands! Fortune knows AC 3, 11,
28 (929', 73).
Do something mingle with our younger
brown, yet ha' we AC 4, 8, 3 (935, 20).
And in 's spring became a harvest,
lived in court Cy 1, 1, 11 (944', 46).
Such griefs as you yourself do lay upon
yourself P 1, 2, 12 (979', 66).

_Shakspere's Alexandrines._

_Or Verses of Five Measures with Two Superfluous Syllables._

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ignorance R 3, 3, 25 (577, 113),
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for a goat Oth 3, 3, 74 (894, 180).
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A séquester from liberty, fasting and
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Acquire too high a fame, when him we
serve 's away AC 3, 1, 3 (924', 15).
Some wine, within there, and our
viands! Fortune knows AC 3, 11,
28 (929', 73).
Do something mingle with our younger
brown, yet ha' we AC 4, 8, 3 (935, 20).
And in 's spring became a harvest,
lived in court Cy 1, 1, 11 (944', 46).
Such griefs as you yourself do lay upon
yourself P 1, 2, 12 (979', 66).
Shaksperean "Resolutions," Dissyllables corresponding to Modern Monosyllables.

The following instances of the resolution of one syllable into two, (as they seem to modern readers, who in fact have run two syllables together,) are so marked that it is impossible not to recognize that they were cases of actual accepted and familiar dissyllabic pronunciation. They occur in the most solemn and energetic speeches, where the resolution at present would have a weak and traily effect, such as no modern, even in direct imitation of an old model, would venture to write. We must therefore conclude that all the cases were habitually dissyllabic, and that those numerous cases, where they appear to be monosyllabic as at present, must be explained as instances of trisyllabic measures, Alexandrines, or lines with two superfluous syllables.

Mr. Abbott, however, by his heading "lengthening of words," Abb. 477, seems to consider the modern usage to be the normal condition, and the resolution to be the licence. Historically this view is incorrect, and the practise of orthoepists, though subject to the objection that "they are too apt to set down, not what is, but what [they imagine] ought to be," Abb. 479,—is all the other way. See Gill on Synæresis, supra p. 937. Abb. 481, observes that "monosyllables which are emphatic either (1) from their meaning, as in the case of exclamations, or (2) from their use in antithetical sentences, or (3) which contain diphthongs, or (4) vowels preceding r, often take the place of a foot." The examples Abb. 481-486, are worth studying, but except in the case of r, they appear to be explicable rather by pauses, four-measure lines, accidentally or purposely defective lines, and such like, than by making go-od, bo-ot, go-ad, fri-ends, etc., of two syllables, or daughte-r, siste-r, murde-r, horro-rs, ple-asure, etc., of three syllables, which would be quite opposed to anything we know of early pronunciation. I have, however, referred to all Mr. Abbott's observations on the following citations.

Miscellaneous Resolutions.
And come against us in full pu-is-sance
2H1 1, 3, 14 (414', 77).
Here's Glou-ces-ter a foe to citizens
H8 1, 3, 25 (473, 62).
Abominable Glou-ces-ter, guard thy head
H8 1, 3, 33 (473', 87).
Well, let them rest. Come hither,
Ca-tes-by. R3 3, 1, 70 (572, 157).
Or horse or oxen from the le-opard
H9 1, 5, 5 (475, 31), Abb. 484.
Divinest cre-atu-re, Astraéa's daughter
H6 1, 6, 2 (475, 4), Abb. 479,
where he cites: You have done our ple-asures much grace, fair ladies
Tim 1, 2, 37 (745, 161). Although he corroborates this division by some passages of Beaumont and Fletcher, cited from (S.?) Walker, without complete reference, it must surely be a mistake. In the passages from Beaumont and Fletcher pleasures is the last word of the line, which may in each case have had only four measures with one superfluous syllable. The word pleasure occurs very frequently in Shakspere, and, apparently, always as a dissyllable, except in this one passage. This leads us to suppose the line to have only four measures, thus: You have done [our plea]-sures much grace | fair la-dies, just as the next line but three: You have ad-[ded] worth | unto't | and lus-|tre; which again is closely followed by a line of three measures: I am | to thank | you for't, shewing the, probably designedly, irregular character of the whole complimentary speech.

The Earl of Pembroke keeps his re-gi-ment R3 5, 3, 10 (587, 29).
SHAKSPERIAN "RESOLUTIONS." CHAP. VIII. § 8.

His regime lies half a mile at least
R 3 5, 3, 11 (587', 37).
But deck'd with di-amonds and Indian stones
3 H 3 1, 16 (539, 63).
These signs have mark'd me extra-
ordinary H 3 3, 1, 11 (395, 41).
Afford no extra-ordinary gaze H 4 3, 2, 3 (398, 78).
The false revolting Normans thor-ough
thee 2H 4 1, 26 (515', 87), Abb. 478.
To shew her bleeding body thor-ough,
Rome RL 1851 (1030').
To be reveng'd on Rivers, Vaugh-an,
Grey R 3 1, 3, 102 (563', 333). This name
appears to be always dissyllabic. See the next two instances.
With them Sir Thomas Vaugh-an,
prison-ers R 3 2, 4, 24 (570, 43).
With Rivers, Vaugh-an, Grey; and so
'twill do R 3 2, 5 (573, 67).
Till in her ashes she lie buri-ed H 3 3, 1 (460, 9), Abb. 474, cited in index
only.
The lustful Edward's title buri-ed
3 H 3 2, 3, 81 (541, 129).
That came too late to see him buri-ed
R 2 1, 26 (567, 90).
All circumstances well consider-ed R 3
3, 7, 30 (577', 176), Abb. 474.
Please it, your Grace, to be adver-tised-
2 H 4 9, 7 (521, 23).
For by my scouts I was adver-tised
3 H 2 1, 18 (533, 116).
As by friends am well adver-tised
R 4 4, 163 (586, 501), Abb. 491.
And when this arm of mine hath chas-
tis-ed R 4 4, 4, 58 (584', 331), Abb.
491.
Tybalt is gone and Romeo banish-ed
RJ 3 2, 12 (727', 69); 3, 2, 19
(728', 113). So unwilling are mod-
er actors to pronounce this -ed,
that I have heard the line left imperfect,
or eked out by repeating—
banish't, banish't.

Sanctuary.
Go thou to sanct'ry and good thoughts
possess thee R 3 4, 1, 28 (579, 94)
Abb. 468.
Of blessed sanct'ry! not for all this land
R 3 3, 1, 13 (571, 42).
Have taken sanct-tua-ry; the tender
princes R 3 3, 1, 11 (570', 28).
You break not sanct-tua-ry in seizing
him R 3 3, 1, 14 (571, 47).
Oft have I heard of sanct-tua-ry men
R 3 3, 1, 14 (571, 56).

The Terminations, -tion, -sion.
Whose manners still our tardy apish
na-tion
Limps after in base imita-tion KJ 2, 1, 4 (362, 22). This is not meant
for a rhyme, it occurs in blank verse,
and if it rhymed, the second line
would be defective by a whole mea-
sure. As it stands, the first line has
two superfluous syllables.
With titles blown from adula-tion.
H 4 1, 67 (457, 271).
Will'd me to leave my base vocati-on
H 6 1, 2, 49 (471, 90).
First will I see the coronati-on R 3 2, 6, 22 (538', 96).
Tut, that's a foolish observati-on H
6 2, 6, 29 (538', 108).
O then hurl down their indignati-on
R 3 1, 3, 63 (562', 220).
Give me no help in lamentati-on R 3
2, 2, 20 (568, 66).
To sit about the coronati-on R 3 3, 74 (572, 173).
It is and wants but nominati-on R 3
4, 3 (574, 5).
Divinely bent to medita-tion R 3 3, 7,
13 (576', 62).
But on his knees at medita-tion R 3
7, 16 (576', 73).
And hear your mother's lamentati-on
R 4 4, 2 (581', 14).
Thus will I drown your exclamati-ons
R 4 4, 29 (582', 153).
Now fills thy sleep with perturba-tions
R 3 5, 3, 45 (589, 161).
A buzzing of a separati-on H 3 2, 1, 38
(600', 148).
Into my private meditati-ons H 3 2, 2,
22 (601', 66).
Only about her coronati-on R 3 2, 3,
106 (611, 407).
Besides the applause and approba-tion
TC 1, 3, 3 (526', 59).
As he being drest to some orati-on TC
1, 3, 8 (527', 165).
To bring the roof to the foundati-on
C 3, 1, 91 (671, 206).
Abated captives to some nati-on C 3,
3, 59 (675, 132).
Let molten coin be thy damna-tion
Tim 3, 1, 16 (749', 55).
Out of the teeth of emula-tion JC 2, 3,
1, 773', 14).
This present object made proba-tion
H 1, 1, 57 (812', 166).
Of Hamlet's transforma-tion; so call
it H 2, 2, 1 (820, 5), Abb. 479,
where he observes that the only
other instances of -ti-on preceded by
a vowel in the middle of a line which he has been able to collect are: With
observation the which he vents AY 2,7,8 (213'41), and: Be chosen
with proclamati-ons to-day TA 1,1,25 (690,190), but when preceded by
c, as in action, perfection, affections, distraction, election, he cites six in-
stances. Numerous other cognate cases, cited below, prove, however,
that such rarity was merely accidental,
and not designed. The instance cited below p. 952, as an Alexandrine
by resolution, Mr. Abbott would probably scan: For depravation to
square the gen'ral sex TC 5,2,
102 (649,132), admitting a trisyllabic
foot to avoid an Alexandrine.
But yet an union in partiti-on MN 3,
2,43 (171',210).
We must bear all. O hard condi-tion.
H 44,1,67 (457,250).
This day shall gentle his condi-tion H 5
4,3,10 (465',63).
Virtue is choked with foul ambitio-n
2 H 3,3,1,25 (508',143).
Than a great queen, with this condi-
Who intercepts my expedi-tion? R 3
4, 4,24 (552',136).
Thrice fam'd beyond all erudi-tion TC
2,3,93 (684',254).
I do not strain at the positi-on TC 3,
3,29 (638',112).
To undercut your good additi-on C 1,
9,11 (661',72).
Meanwhile must be an earnest moti-on
H 2,2,31 (605',239).
God shield I should disturb devoti-on
RJ 4,1,24 (733,41).
Enforced us to this executi-on R 3
3,5,16 (575',46).
To do some fatal executi-on TA 2,3,3,
(694',36).
So is he now in executi-on JC 1,1,85
(767',301).
Which smok'd with bloody executi-on
M 1,2,3 (788',19).
The brightest heav-en of inventi-on
H 1,1,prol. (439',2).
Did push it out of further questi-on
H 1,1,1 (439',5).
All out of work and cold for acti-on
H 1,2,10 (441',114).
After the taste of much correcti-on
H 2,2,17 (445,51).
To scourge you for this apprehensi-on
H 2,4,37 (478',102).
To question of his apprehensi-on 3 H 3
2,3,80 (541,122).
Thy son I kill'd for his presumpti-on
3 H 3,6,11 (554',34).
E'en for revenge mock my destructi-on
R 31,1,3 (587',9).
To keep mine honour from corrupti-on
H 42,12 (614,71), compare: Corrup-
tion wins not more than honesty
H 3,3,109 (612,449), where there
must be a trisyllabic measure.
To us in electi-on this day TA 1,1,
37 (690,235).
Which dreads not yet their lives de-
structi-on TA 2,3,3 (694',50).
Wanting a hand to give it acti-on TA
5,4 (708,17).
When sects and facti-ons were newly
born Tim 3,5,6 (752',30).
But for your private satisfac-tion JC 2,
2,20 (773,72).
As whence the sun 'gins his reflecti-on
M 1,2,5 (788',25).
O master! what a strange infecti-on
Cy 3,2,1 (956',3).
For, by the way, I'll sort occasi-on
R 3,2,43 (569,148).
This we prescribe through no phys-
ici-an.
Deep maleice makes too deep inclini-on
R 3,1,19 (357',154). The quartos
read phisition, the first two folios
physition. Thus justifying the
rhyme, which is on the last syllable.
When they next wake, all this derisi-on
shall seem a dream and fruitless visi-on.
MN 3,2,92 (173,370). The rhyme is
on the -en, to make it on the -es-
would be to lose a measure in each
verse.
Some say the lark makes sweet divi-
si-on RJ 3,4,5 (780',29).
Jove, Jove! this shepherd's passi-on
Is much upon my fashi-on AY 2,4,
19 (212,61). Observe that the
rhyme is here an identical one, on
the final syllable -on, as in the two
preceding cases, and that it is not a
double rhyme (pash-un, fash-un) like
the modern (pash-en, fash-en), as
this would make each line defective
by a measure. The following ex-
amples show that pas-si-on, fash-i-
on, were really trisyllables. The
apparent double rhyme passion, fasion,
which occurs three times, is
really an assonance of (as-, ash-),
and will be so treated under asso-
nances, see S with SH and Z, below.
It is necessary to be careful on this
point, because readers not aware of
the trisyllabic nature of passion,
fashion, or the use of assonances in
Shakspere, might by such rhymes be led to imagine the change of -sion into (-shun), of which the only trace in Shakspere's time, is in the anonymous grammar cited, surpà p. 916.

Bear with him, Brutus, 'tis his fushi-on
JC 4, 3, 55 (782, 135).

You break into some merry passi-on
TS ind. 1, 27 (230, 97).

'Are' to plead Hortensio's passi-on
'To fa ut' that loves with all affecti-on
TS 3, 1, 27 (240', 74).

This is it that makes me bridle passi-on
3 H5 4, 1, 8 (547, 19).

I feel my master's passi-on! this slave
Tim 3, 1, 15 (749', 69).

Whilst our commissi-on from Rome is read
3, 1, 77 (776', 239).

Other Terminations in -tion.

It is reli-gion that doth make vows kept;
But thou has sworn against reli-gi-on
RJ 3, 1, 53 (342', 279).

Turns insur-ri-on to reli-gi-on 2 H4 1, 1, 34 (411', 201).

'Twas by rebell-i-on against his king
3 H4 1, 1, 59 (527', 133).

I would not for a milli-on of gold TA
2, 1, 8 (693, 49).

Could never be her mild compani-on
P 1, 1, 4 (977', 13).

And formless ruin of olibi-on TC 4, 5, 72 (646', 167).

Swill'd with the wild and wasteful
ooe-an H5 3, 1, 1 (448', 14).

Final -ience, -iunt, -ious, -iage, -ial, -ier.

Then let us teach our trial pati-ence
MN 1, 1, 31 (162', 152).

Lest to thy harm thou move our pati-i-ence
R3 1, 3, 73 (562', 248).

Right well, dear madam. By your
patri-ence R3 4, 1, 6 (578', 15).

Then pa-ri-ent-ly hear my impa-ri-ence
R3 4, 4, 32 (582', 166).

To see the battle. Hector his
pati-ence TC 1, 2, 4 (623', 4).

Fearings to strengthen that impati-ence
JC 2, 1, 63 (771', 248).

Dangers, doubings, wringings of the con-
sci-ence H5 2, 2, 11 (601, 28).

For policy sits above consci-ence Tim
3, 3, 24 (750', 94).

And yet 'tis almost 'gainst my con-
scri-ence H 5, 2, 111 (845, 307).

Know the whole world he is as vali-ant
TC 2, 3, 86 (634, 243).

For I do know Fluellen vali-ant H5 4, 7, 53 (462, 187).

Were not revenge suffi-ent for me
3 H5 1, 3, 10 (530, 26).

If you should smile he grows impati-ent
TS ind. 1, 27 (230, 99).

Be pa-tient, gentle queen, and I will stay.
Who can be pati-ent in such extremes?
3 H4 1, 1, 109 (528', 214), Abb. 476.

I can no longer hold me pati-ent R3 1, 3, 50 (562, 157).

How fur-i-ous and impati-ent they be
TA 2, 1, 14 (693', 76).

Then the sea monster! Pray, sir, be
patri-ent KL 1, 4, 89 (854, 283).

Heav'n, be thou graci-ous to none alive
H5 1, 4, 15 (474, 85).

The forest walks are wide and spaci-ous
TA 2, 1, 23 (693', 113).

Confess yourself wondrous malici-ous
C 1, 1, 29 (655, 91).

Hath told you Caesar was ambiti-ous,
But Brutus says he was ambiti-ous,
Did this in Caesar seem ambiti-ous JC
3, 2, 30 (777', 83, 91. 95. 98. 103).

Therefore 'tis certain he was not am-
biti-ous JC 3, 2, 34 (778, 117), where
the line is therefore Alexandrine, or
rather with two superfluous syllables.

Why so didst thou: seem they religi-
ous H5 2, 2, 26 (445', 130).

Methinks my lord should be religi-ous
H6 3, 1, 15 (480, 64).

To England's king in lawful mar-ri-age
3 H5 3, 3, 15 (542, 57).

Is now dishonour'd by this new mar-
ri-age 3 H4 4, 1, 14 (544', 32).

And in his wisdom hastes our marri-age
RJ 4, 1, 4 (732', 11).

For honesty and decent car-ri-age H5
4, 2, 37 (615, 145).

Too flattering sweet to be substanti-al
RJ 2, 2, 33 (720', 141).

He would himself have been a soldi-er
H4 1, 3, 6 (385', 64).

With some few bands of chosen soldi-ers
3 H5 3, 3, 55 (543', 204).

The counsellor heart, the arm our
soldi-er C 1, 1, 34 (655, 120).

But he's a tried and valiant soldi-er JC
4, 1, 12 (780, 28), Abb. 479.

You say you are a better soldi-er JC 4,
3, 20 (781, 51).

Final -or, -ir, -er, after a Vowel.
May-or, farewell, thou dost but what
thou mayst He 1, 3, 32 (473', 85).

He sent command to the lord may-or
straight H5 2, 1, 39 (600', 151).
The  

pray-ers  

hand in hand M 1, 3, 12 (789', 31), Abb. 484.

I mean, my lords, those pow-ers that 

the queen 3 H$^{6}$ 5, 3, 1 (552, 7).

But you have pow-ers in me as a kins-

man R$^{3}$ 3, 1, 41 (571', 109).

The greatest strength and pow-er he 

can make R$^{3}$ 4, 4, 138 (565', 449).

But she with vehement pray-ers urgeth 

still RL 475 (1019).

I would prevail if pray-ers might pre-

vail H$^{5}$ 3, 1, 20 (480', 67).

With daily pray-ers all to that effect 

R$^{3}$ 2, 2, 6 (567', 19).

And, see, a book of pray-er in this hand 

R$^{3}$ 3, 7, 28 (577', 98).

My pray-ers on the adverse party fight 

R$^{4}$ 4, 46 (583, 190).

Hath turn'd my feign-ed pray-ers on 

my head R$^{3}$ 5, 1, 5 (587, 21), Abb. 

479.

Make of your pray-ers one sweet sacrifi-

ce H$^{2}$ 2, 1, 27 (600, 77).

Almost forgot my pray-ers to content 

him H$^{5}$ 3, 1, 29 (607, 132).

Men's pray-ers then would seek you, 

not their fears H$^{5}$ 5, 3, 24 (618', 83).

If I could pray to move, pray-ers would 

move me JC 3, 1, 30 (774', 58).

These instances shew that the word 

pray-er must always be considered as 

dissyllable, and that no distinction 

could have been made, as now, between 

prayer one who prays (preez), and 

prayer the petition he utters (prez), 

but both were (prayer). The possibility of 

the r having been vocal (¿), how-

ever, appears from the next list of 

words.

Syllabic R.  

Abb. 477. 480.

You sent me deputy to I-re-land H$^{8}$ 3, 2, 73 (610, 260).

And in compassion weep the f-re out 

R$^{5}$ 3, 1, 4 (376', 48).

Away with him and make a f-re 

straight TA 1, 1, 14 (689', 127).

As f-re drives out f-re, so pity, pity 

J C 3, 1, 65 (775', 171). Here I read 

the second f-re as also dissyllable, 

introducing a trisyllabic measure.

Should make desi-re vomit emptiness 

Cy 1, 6, 9 (949', 45).

We have no reason to desi-re it P 1, 3, 10 (980', 37).

And were they but atti-r'd in grave 

weeds TA 3, 1, 5 (698, 43).

To stab at half an hour of my life 

2 H$^{4}$ 4, 5, 31 (432, 109).

How many hour's bring about the day 

3 H$^{2}$ 2, 5, 1 (536', 27).

So many hour's must I, etc. 3 H$^{6}$ 2, 5, 1 (536', 31-35).

If this right hand would buy two 

hour's life 3 H$^{2}$ 5, 6, 21 (538, 80).

'Tis not an hour since I left him there 

TA 2, 3, 60 (696', 256).

Richly in two short hour's. Only they 

H$^{5}$ pro/. (592, 13).

These should be hour's for necessities 

H$^{5}$ 5, 1, 3 (615', 2).

One hour's storm will drown the frag-

rant meads TA 2, 4, 8 (697', 54).

Long after this, when Hen-r-y the 

Fifth H$^{5}$ 2, 5, 11 (479', 82).

But how he died, God knows, not 

Hen-r-y 2 H$^{5}$ 3, 2, 29 (512, 131).

But let my sov'reign vir-tuous Hen-r-y 

2 H$^{5}$ 1, 8 (522', 48).

In following this usurping Hen-r-y 

3 H$^{5}$ 1, 1, 32 (527, 81).

I am the son of Hen-r-y the Fifth 3 H$^{5}$ 1, 1, 46 (527', 107).

So would ye be again to Hen-r-y 

3 H$^{5}$ 3, 1, 26 (539', 93).

You told not how Hen-ry the Sixth 

hath lost All that which Hen-r-y the 

Fifth had gotten 3 H$^{6}$ 3, 3, 23 

(542', 89).

So stood the state when Hen-r-y the 

Sixth R$^{3}$ 2, 3, 13 (569', 15).

As I remember, Hen-r-y the Sixth 

R$^{3}$ 4, 2, 45 (680', 98), Abb. 477, cited 

in index only.

In our sustaining corn. A sen-tr-y 

send forth KL 4, 4, 1 (870, 5), an 

Alexandrine, the word is spelled 

variously, century in early quartos 

and late folios, and centery in the 

first two folios, indicating its tris-

yllabic pronunciation.

Who cannot want the thought how 
mone-tr-ous M 3, 6, 1 (800', 8), Abb. 

477.

But who is man that is not ang-r-y ? 

Tim 3, 5, 9 (752', 57), Abb. 477.

Lavinia will I make my em-pr-ess TA 

1, 1, 37 (690', 240).

And will create thee em-pr-ess of Rome 

TA 1, 1, 64 (691, 320).

And make proud Saturnine and his 

em-pr-ess TA 3, 1, 56 (700', 298), 

but in two syllables in: Our em-

press' shame 'and stately Rome's 

disgrace TA 4, 2, 24 (703, 60), un-

less we venture to read the line as 

an Alexandrine, thus: Our emp-

ress-ess's shame, and stately Rome's 

disgrace, which is, however, some-

what forced.

After the prompter for our en-tr-ance 

RJ 1, 4, 2 (716', 7).
SHAKSPERIAN "RESOLUTIONS." CHAP. VIII. § 8.

Farewell: commend me to your mis-tr-ess R 2, 4, 81 (723', 204).
Make way to lay them by their breth-ren TA 1, 1, 9 (689, 89).
Good, good, my lord; the se-cr-ets of nature TC 4, 2, 35 (642, 74).

Syllabic L.
Me thinks his lordship should be hum-bi-er H 3, 3, 16 (480', 56).
You, the great toe of this assem-bi-"y C 1, 1, 45 (655', 159), Abb. 477.
While she did call me rascal fid-al-ler TS 2, 1, 45 (238, 158), Abb. 477.
A rotten case abides no han-di-ing 2 H 4, 1, 26 (427, 161), Abb. 477.
Does thoughts unveil in their dumb era-d-es TC 3, 3, 35 (639', 200), Abb. 487. This line has much ex-
cercised commentators, who propose to read dumb crudities, dim crudities, dumb oracles, dumb oral-"ries, dumb cradles laid, dumb radicles, dim par-
ticles, dumb characters. The pre-
ceding and following examples show that there is no metrical, as there is certainly no rational ground for such dim crudities.

Than Bolingbroke's return to Eng-
and R 2 4, 1, 4 (373', 17), Abb. 477.
And mean to make her queen of Eng-
l-and R 2, 4, 74 (584, 263), Abb. 477. The folios read do intend for
mean, and thus avoid this resolution.

Lies rich in virtue and unming-l-ed
TC 1, 3, 1 (626', 30).
O me! you jng-gl-er! you canker blossom
MN 3, 2, 69 (172, 282), Abb. 477.

These numerous examples of unmistakable resolutions, trissyllabic
measures, and Alexandrines, will shew us that we must consider the follow-
ing, which are only an extremely small number, as trissyllabic measures, and Alexandrine
verses, or lines with two superfuous syllables, arising from real,
though frequently disregarded, resolutions.

Trissyllabic Measures from Resolution.

His pray-ers are full of false hypocrisy;
Our pray-ers do out-pray his; then let him have
That mercy which true pray-er ought
to have,
R 5, 3, 36 (379', 107. 109).
Upon the power and pu-issuance of the
king 2 H 1, 3, 2 (414, 9).
The prayers of holy saints and wrong-
ed souls R 5, 3, 61 (689', 241).
Or but allay, the fire of passi-on. Sir
H 1, 1, 37 (594, 149).

Alexandrines with Internal Resolutions.

His eyes do drop no tears, his pray-ers
are in jest R 2, 3, 36 (379', 101),
Abb. 497 or 501, cited in index only.
So tediously away. The poor con-
dem-ed English H 4, prol. (454',
22).
To wit, an indigested and deform-ed
lump 3 H 5, 6, 12 (554', 51).
Environ'd me about, and howl-ed in
mine ears R 1, 4, 8 (564, 59), Abb. 460, where he avoids the Alexan-
drine by pronouncing 'viron'd m'
about.

Alexandrines with Final Resolutions, or Five-measure Verses with two
Superfluous Syllables.

Were't not that, by great preservat-"on
R 3, 5, 14 (575', 36).

Prithee to bed and in thy pray-ers re-
mem-ber H 5, 1 23 (616, 73).
Stand forth and with bold spirit relate
what you H 1, 2, 19 (596, 129).
A marriage twixt the Duke of Orleans
and H 2, 4, 26 (605, 174).
Our aery bullfinch in the cedar's top
R 1, 3, 81 (563, 264). Your aery
buildeth in our aery's nest R 1, 3,
82 (563, 270). Both instances are
doubtful, but see suprà p. 881, sub. airy.

To base declensi-"on and loath-ed bigamy
R 3, 7, 30 (577', 189).
They vex me past my puti-ence! Pray
you, pass on H 2, 4, 23 (605, 130).
For deprivat-"on to square the general
sex TC 5, 2, 102 (649, 132).
Rome's readiest champi-ons, repose you
here in rest TA 1, 1, 19 (689', 161).
Make me less graci-ons, or thee more
fortunate TA 2, 1, 3 (603, 32).
The fair Opheli-a! Nymphs in thy
orisons H 3, 1, 19 (826, 89), Abb.
469, cited in index only.

That I have been your wife in this
obedi-ence H 2, 4, 9 (604, 35).
Of every realm that did debate this
bus-inness  Hs  2, 4, 9 (604, 52).
In the deep bosom of the ocean buri-ed
R3 1, 1, 1 (556, 4).
I that am curtail’d of this fair propor-
ti-on  R3 1, 1, 1 (556, 18).
And that so lamely and unfashi-onable
R3 1, 1, 1 (556, 22), Abb. 397, for
adverbial use only.
What means this scene of rude im-
pati-ence  R3 2, 2, 15 (568, 38).

Shakspere’s Rhymes.

After the preceding examination of Spenser’s rhymes, pp. 862–
871, we cannot expect to find any very great regularity in a poet of
nearly the same date, who was doubtless familiar with Spenser’s
Faery Queen. Shakspere, however, did not allow himself quite so
many liberties as Spenser, although his rhymes would be in them-
selves quite inadequate to determine his pronunciation. His poems
are not in this respect more regular than the occasional couplets intro-
duced into his plays. But the introduced songs are the least regular.
He seems to have been quite contented at times with a rude approxi-
mation. Consonantal rhymes (where the final consonants are the
same, but the preceding vowels are different,) are not uncommon.
Assonances (where the vowels are the same, but final consonants dif-
f erent,) are liberally sprinkled. The combination of the two renders it
quite impossible, from solitary or even occasional examples, to deter-
mine the real pronunciation of either vowel or consonant. It is there-
fore satisfactory to discover that, viewed as a whole, the system of
rhymes is confirmatory of the conclusions drawn from a considera-
tion of external authorities only in Chapter III, and to arrive at this
result, the labour of such a lengthened investigation has not been
thrown away. As it would be impossible for the reader to accept
this statement, merely from my own impressions, I have thought it
right to give a somewhat detailed list of the rhymes themselves, and I am not conscious of having neglected to note any
of theoretical interest. The observations on individual rhymes or
classes of rhymes will be most conveniently inserted in the lists
themselves. As a rule, only the rhyming words themselves are
given, and not the complete verse, but the full references appended
will enable the reader to check my conclusions without difficulty.

Identical and Miscellaneous Rhymes.

me me MN 1, 1, 41 (163, 198).
mine mine MN 1, 1, 43 (163, 200).
invis-i-ble sensi-ble VA 434 (1007).
The rhyme is on -ble.
bilber-ry slutte-ry MW 5, 5, 13 (65,
49). The rhyme is on -ry.
resolu-tion absolu-tion dissolu-tion RL
352 (1017). The first line would
want a measure if we divided as
above, so as to make the rhyme
-ation, giving two superfluous sylla-
bles to each. Hence we must con-
sider the rhyme to be on -on, and
the last two lines to be Alexandrine.
imaginati-on regi-on P 4, 4, Gower
(993, 3). The versification of the
Gower speech in P seems intended
to be archaic, and the rhymes are
often peculiar. This kind of identi-
cal rhyme is, however, not unfrequent
in Shakspere, but it has not been
thought necessary to accumulate
instances. See remarks on fashi-on,
passi-on, supra p. 949, col. 2.
extenu-ate insinu-ate VA 1010 (1012). ocean motion RL 589 (1029). These are both lines with two superfluous syllables, so that the rhyme is (oo-sian, moo-sian), the indistinct unaccented syllable not coming into account, compare supra p. 921. Compare also the double rhymes: canis manus LL 5, 2, 272 (167', 592). Almighty, fight yea LL 5, 2, 320 (158, 657).

commendable vendible MV 1, 1, 23 (182, 111).
riot quiet VA 1147 (1013').
in women H8 epil. (621', 9). This couplet is manifestly erroneous somewhere. As it stands the second line is an Alexandrine, thus, marking the

Consonantal Rhymes, arranged according to the preceding Vowels.

A with I.
father hither LL 1, 1, 34 (136', 139).

Short A with short O.
foppish apish KL 1, 4, 68, song (853, 182).
dally folly RL 554 (1019').
man on MN 2, 1, 38 (166', 263), MN 3, 2, 91 (172, 348).
corn harm KL 3, 6, 16, song (865', 44).
Here n and m after r are considered identical.
Tom am KL 2, 3, 1 (855', 20).
crab bob MN 2, 1, 5 (164', 48).
pap hop MN 5, 1, 86 (179, 303).
departure shorter KL 1, 5, 29 (855', 55). See supra p. 200, 1, 11, and infrà p. 973, in Mr. White’s Elizabethan pronunciation under -URE. cough laugh MN 2, 1, 5 (164', 54).
heart short part, LL 5, 2, 30 (152, 55).

Short A with Long O.
man one TS 3, 2, 27, song (241', 86).

Short A with Short U.
adder shudder VA 878 (1011).

Long A with EA.
created defeated S 20, 9 (1033'). Compare the rhyme created seated in the version of Luther’s hymn, “Great God! what do I see and hear!” usually sung in churches, and see the remarks on bate bent, supra p. 923. The numerous examples of the false rhyming of a must warn us against supposing that long a was here (ee), to rhyme with (ea) which was certainly (ee).

even measures by italics (suprà p. 334, n. 2). “For this play at this time is only in The merciful construc-
tion of good women,” which introduces the common modern pronuncia-
tion (wim-in’) with the accent thrown forward for the rhyme. This is very forced. Collier’s substitution of: “For this play at this time we shall not owe men But merciful construction of good women;’ introduces a rhyme owe men, women, which not even Spenser or Dryden would have probably ventured upon, and which the most modern “rhyme-
ster to the eye” could scarcely consider “legitimate.” See Gill’s pro-
nunciation, supra p. 909.

Short A with Short E.
wretch scratch VA 703 (1009).

AR with ER.
[It is very possible that the rhymes in this series were rendered perfect occasion-
ally by the pronunciation of er as ar. From the time of Chaucer at
least the confusion prevailed, and it became strongly marked in the xviith century, supra p. 86, 1. Compare
desartless MA 3, 3, 5 (122', 9). And see Mulcaster, supra p. 913.]
desert part S 49, 10 (1037).
deserle parts S 17, 2 (1033).
desert impart S 72, 6 (1040).
carve serve LL 4, 1, 22 (144, 55).
heart convert RL 590 (1020),
deapertest convertest S 11, 2 (1032).
art convert S 14, 10 (1033).

Short E with long I, E, and U.
die he! TC 3, 1, 68, song (635', 131).
Benedicite me RJ 2, 3, 3 (721', 31).
enter venture VA 626 (1009). See
suprà p. 200, 1, 11, and infrà p. 973, in Mr. White’s Elizabethan pro-
nunciation under -URE.

Long O with OU (ou).
[These rhymes may be compared first with the rhymes Long O with OW = (ou), and secondly with the rhymes OW with OU (ou, ou) below. They were not so imperfect when pure (ou, ou) were pronounced, as they are now when these sounds are replaced by (ou, ou).]
sycamore hour LL 5, 2, 42 (152, 89).
Moor deflour TA 2, 3, 41 (696, 190).
down bone TC 5, 8, 4 (662', 11).
B, with TH, P, D.
labour father in the riddle, P 1, 1, 11
(978, 66).
invisible steeple TG 2, 1, 73 (25', 141).
This rhyme is evidently meant to be quaint and absurd.
lady baby MA 5, 2, 11 (132, 37).
This is also meant to be ludicrously bad.
lady may be LL 2, 1, 77 (141, 207).
This is intended for mere doggrel.

K with P, T.
broken open VA 47 (1003'); S 61, 1
(1038').
open'd betoken'd VA 451 (1007).
All these three cases occur in perfectly serious verse.
fickle brittle PP 7, 1 (1053', 85).

M with N and NG.
plenty empty T 4, 1, 24 (15', 110).
Jam-penny many in a proverbial jungle,
TS 3, 2, 27 (241', 84).
betime Valentine H 4, 5, 19, song (836, 49).
win him TC 3, 3, 35 (639', 212).
perform'd adjourn'd return'd Cy 5, 4,
11 (970', 76).
moons dooms P 3, Gover (987, 31).
run dumb P 5, 2, Gover (998, 266).
soon doom P 5, 2, Gover (998, 285).
replenish blemish RL 1357 (1026').
témerping venturing VA 565 (1008),
ventring quartos.
sung come P 1, Gover (977, 1).

S with SH and Z.
refresh redress PP 13, 8 (1054, 176).
fashion passion LL 4, 3, 38 (148, 139);
RL 1317 (1026'); S 20, 2 (1033').

See the remarks on these words
supra p. 949, col. 2, in proof that
they should be considered assonances,
and not rhymes. This assonance was
almost a necessity, and may have been
common. In Walker's Rhyming
Dictionary, the only words in -assion
are passion and its compounds, and
the only word in -assion is fashion.

defaced razed S 64, 1 (1039).
wise paradise LL 4, 3, 14 (147, 72).
eyes suffice LL 4, 2, 34 (146, 113).
his kiss LL 2, 1, 101 (141', 247).
this is TC 1, 2, 139 (626, 314).


Miscellaneous.
farthest harvest in the masque, T 4, 1,
24 (16, 114).
doting nothing S 20, 10 (1033').
See Mr. White's Elizabethan Pronunciation,
intra p. 971, col. 1.
heavy leafy MA 2, 3, 18, song (118',
73).
sinister whisper, in Pyramus and
Thisbe, MN 5, 1, 311 (77', 164).
rose clothes H 4, 5, 19, song (836, 52).
leap swept MW 5, 5, 13 (65, 47).
Perhaps pronounced sweep, which is
even yet not unfrequent among
servant girls. The rhyme occurs in
ludicrous verses.
downs hounds VA 677 (1009').
This is in serious verse. Compare sound
from son, swoond and swoon, and the
vulgarsisms drown-d goun-d.
time climb RL 774 (1021'); him limb
R² 3, 2, 24 (370, 186). Both of these
were probably correct rhymes, final
mb being = (m).

A long or short.
Have rhymes with cave AY 5, 4, 50
(225', 201); slave AY 3, 2, 34 (216',
161); VA 101 (1004); RL 1000
(1023'); grave R² 2, 1, 20 (363, 137);
RJ 2, 3, 15 (722, 83); S 81,
5 (1041); Cy 4, 2, 104 (966, 280);
VA 374 (1006'), 757 (1010); gave
RL 1511 (1028); crave PP 10, 7
(1054, 137). Kate ha't, TS 5, 1, 87
(253, 180), supra p. 64, n. 2. In
all these cases of have and its rhymes
we have long (aa).

Haste rhymes with fast CE 4, 2, 16
(103, 29); MN 3, 2, 93 (173, 378);

KJ 4, 2, 52 (349, 268); RJ 2, 3, 18
(722, 93); VA 55 (1003'); fast
blast RL 1332 (1026). Taste
rhymes with last VA 445 (1007); S
90, 9 (1042); LC 167 (1051'); fast
VA 627 (1008). The length of the
vowel in all these cases is uncertain.
Gill has (naast-ed, naast-nd, naast'-
last). The modern development has
been so diverse, however, (heest, teest, laast last hest, faast fast fiest, blasst blast blast) that a difference
of length is presumable.
sad shade MN 4, 1, 26 (174', 100);
babe drab M 4, 1, 3 (801', 30); chat

General Rhymes, arranged according to the Combinations of Letters which they illustrate.
gate VA 422 (1007); grapes mis-
haps VA 601 (1008). These are instances of long (aa) rhyming with
short (a).
ranging changing TS 3, 1, 31 (241, 91).
granted haunted planted LL 1, 1, 38
(136', 162).
Want rhymes with enchant T epil. (20',
13); scant KL 1, 1, 74 (849', 281); PP
[21], 37 (1056', 409); vaunt RL 41
(1015); pant grant RL 555 (1019).
The insertion of the (u) sound be-
tween (a) and (u) seems to have
exerted no influence on these rhymes.
shall withal LL 5, 2, 48 (162', 141); befall hospital LL 5, 2, 392 (159',
880); all burial MN 3, 2, 93 (173,
382); gall equivocal Oth 1, 3, 46
(884, 216); festivals holy-ales P 1,
Gower (977', 5); thrall perpetu-al
RL 725 (1021); fall general RL 1483
(1027'); perpetu-al thrall S 15, 10
(1049); falls madrigals PP [20], 7
(1056', 359); shall gall RJ 1, 5, 25
(718', 93). The influence of f in
introducing (u) after (a), or in chang-
ing (al) to (aAl), does not seem to
have been regarded in rhyming.
wrath hath MN 2, 1, 3 (164', 20); LO
293 (1052).
unfather'd gather'd S 124, 2 (1046).
place ass CE 3, 1, 22 (99, 46) = (plaa
as).
Was rhymes with pass WT 4, 1, 1
(317, 9); H 2, 2, 143 (823', 437);
S 49, 5 (1037) = (pas was); ass (by
implication, see next speech) H 3, 2,
89 (829', 293); grass RL 393
(1018); glass RL 1763 (1030); S
5, 10 (1031'); lass PP [18], 49
(1055', 293). The w exerts no
influence on the following e here, or in
can swan PT 14 (1057); watch match VA 584 (1008).
Water rhymes with matter LL 5, 2,
83 (153, 207); KL 3, 2, 14, in the
Fool's prophecy (863, 81); flatter RL
1560 (1028). Gill is very uncertain
about water, having (wat'er, waat'er,
waa'ter). Here it rhymes simply as
(wat'er).
amber chamber song, WT 4, 4, 48 (321,
224). Compare Moore's rhymes,
supra p. 859, col. 1.
plat hat LC 29 (1050). We now write
platt, but generally say (plet).
AI and EI with A and EA.
Gait rhymes with state T 4, 1, 21 (18',
101); consecrate MN 5, 1, 104 (179',
422); hate Tim 5, 4, 14 (763', 72);
late VA 529 (1008); state S 128, 9
(1046'). In all these cases the old
spelling was gate; see supra p. 73, n.
Waist rhymes with fast LL 4, 3, 41
(148, 185); chaste RL 6 (1014). In
these two cases the old spelling was
waist, supra p. 73, note.
Again rhymes with vein main LL 5, 2,
248 (156', 546); then LL 5, 2, 382
(159', 841); mane VA 271 (1005'),
[maine in quartos, see supra p. 73];
slain VA 473 (1007'). We must
remember that again had two spell-
ings, with ai, and e, from very early
times, and has still two sounds
(ee, e).
Said rhymes with read LL 4, 3, 50
(148', 193); maid MN 2, 2, 13 (167,
72); Hs 4, 7, 6 (489, 37). The
word said was spelled with ai and e
from very early times, supra pp. 447,
454. It has still two sounds with
(ee, e). Gill especially objects to call-
ing said, maid (sed meal), though
he acknowledges that such sounds
were actually in use.
Bait rhymes with conceit PP 4, 9
(1053, 51); state CE 2, 1, 36 (96,
94). It is impossible that both of
these rhymes should be perfect. The
pronunciation of conceit, state was
then (con-seet', staat). It is there-
f ore possible that Shakspere may
have pronounced (bait), as Gill did,
and left both rhymes false.
Wait rhymes with conceit LL 5, 2, 192
(155', 399); gate P 1, 1, 11 (978,
79). We have just the same phe-
nomenon here, as in the last case.
Smith and Gill both give (wait), the
other words were (kon-seet', gaat).
receive leave AW 2, 3, 43 (262', 90);
TC 4, 5, 20 (644, 35); LC 303
(1052'); deceive leave AW 1, 1, 62
(256, 243); TC 5, 3, 39 (650', 89);
RL 583 (1019'); S 39, 10 (1036);
repeat deceit P 1, 4, 15 (981, 74). In
these words Gill writes (-seev, -seet)
throughout; the pronunciation had
therefore definitely changed, and the
rhymes are all perfect.
Leisure rhymes with measure MM 5,
1, 155 (91, 415); treasure TS 4, 2,
23 (246', 59); pleasure S 58, 2
(1038). As the word leisure does not
occur in my authorities, we can only
suppose that it may have followed the
destinies of receive and become
(lee'zweyr).

survey sway AY 3, 2, 1 (215, 2).
key survey S 52, 1 (1037').
key may MV 2, 7, 4 (190, 59). It is not quite certain whether this last is meant for a rhyme. The only word in the authorities is may, which Gill writes (mai).

hair despair RL 981 (1023); S 99, 7 (1043). There is no doubt that hair was (heer), and Gill gives (despair ').

fair hair LC 204 (1051).

fair repair there song, TG 4, 2, 18 (35, 44).

fair heir S 6, 13 (1032), see supra p. 924, col. 1.

fere heir P 1, Gover (977, 21).

wears fairs LL 5, 2, 162 (154), 317, scales prevails 2 H5 2, 1, 106 (504, 204).

Syria say P 1, Gover (977, 19).

bail gaol S 133, 10 (1047), bale quarto. play sea H5 3, 1, 2, song (606, 9).

For all these rhymes, which would make ai sometimes (ee) and sometimes (aa), see the above observations on the rhymes to bait, and on similar rhymes in Spenser, supra p. 867.

unset counterfeit S 18, 6 (1033).

counterfeit set S 53, 5 (1037).

AU, AW, AL.

assaults faults T epilog. (20', 17).

caul=cault LL 5, 1, 5 (150, 25); half = half LL 5, 1, 5 (150, 26).

Really (haar kaaf) or only (haaf kaaf)? Gill favours the former hypothesis.

chandron cauldron M 4, 1, 8 (801', 33), talk halt PP 19, 8 (1056, 306). This is rather an assonance.

hawk balk RL 694 (1020).

la! flaw LL 5, 2, 192 (155', 414).

This favours the complete transition of (au) into (aa), as Gill seems also to allow. Perhaps the modern pronunciation (Iaa) was already in use.

EA with long E.

Great rhymes with sweat LL 5, 2, 257 (157, 555); eat Cy 4, 2, 94, song (965, 264); seat P 1, Gover (977, 17); RL 69 (1019), supra pp. 86-87; repeat P 1, 4, 5 (981, 30); defeat S 61, 9 (1038').

scene unclean RJ prol. (712, 2).

theme dream CE 2, 2, 65 (98, 183); stream VA 770 (1010).

extreme dream S 129, 10 (1046).

speak break TC 3, 3, 35 (639', 214); 4, 4, 5, song (642', 17); H 3, 2, 61 (829, 196); RL 566 (1019'), 1716 (1029'); S 34, 5 (1035).

pleadeth dreadeth leadeth RL 268 (1017).

These rhymes with seas CE 2, 1, 8 (95', 20); please LL 1, 1, 5 (135', 49); Simonides P 3, Gover (987, 23).

Pericles seas P 4, 4, Gover (993, 9).

displease Antipodes MN 3, 2, 8 (170, 54).

dread mead VA 634 (1009).

sweat heat VA 175 (1005).

EA with short E.

dead order-ed P 4, 4, Gover (993', 46).

dead remember-ed S 74, 10 (1040).

head punished RJ 5, 2, 65 (740', 306).

deal knell PP [18], 27 (1055', 271).

heat get VA 91 (1004).

cats gets song, AY 2, 5, 13 (213, 42).

great get RL 876 (1022).

better greater S 119, 10 (1046).

entreats frets VA 73 (1004).

steps leaps VA 277 (1065).

bequeath death MN 3, 2, 33 (171, 166).

Macbeth rhymes with death M 1, 2, 16 (789, 64); 3, 5, 2 (800', 4); heath M 1, 1, 5 (788, 7).

death breath bequeath RL 1178 (1025).

deck speak P 3, Gover (987, 59).

oppress Pericles P 3, Gover (987, 29).

Bless rhymes with increase T 4, 1, 23 (15', 106); peace MN 5, 1, 104 (179', 424); cesse = cease AW 5, 3, 16 (277', 71).

confess decease VA 1001 (1012).

East rhymes with detest MN 3, 2, 109 (173', 432); rest PP 15, 1 (1054', 193).

Feast rhymes with guest CE 3, 1, 10 (98', 26); H4 4, 2, 21 (402', 85); RJ 1, 2, 5 (714', 20); Tim 3, 6, 42 (754, 109); VA 449 (1007); vest TS 5, 1, 67 (251, 143).

Beast rhymes with rest CE 5, 1, 30 (107, 83); jest LL 2, 1, 92 (141, 221); VA 997 (1012); blast VA 326 (1006); possess'd least S 29, 6 (1034').

crest breast VA 395 (1006).

congest breast LC 258 (1052).

lechery treachery MW 5, 3, 9 (64', 23).

EA, or long E with EE or IE.

[Most of the following are manifestly false or consonantal rhymes similar to those on p. 954, as there was no acknowledged pronunciation of ea or long e as (ii), except in a very few words, supra p. 81. Possibly beseech, for which we have no orthoeopical authorities, retained its old sound (beseech), as
leech retained the sound of (leetshe) beside the newer sound (liish), supra p. 895.]
discreet sweet RJ 1, 1, 78 (714, 199).
Crete sweet H 2, 4, 6 (489, 54).
up-heaveth relieveth VA 482 (1007).
leaving grieving WT 4, 1, 1 (317, 17).
teach besech TC 1, 2, 139 (626, 318).
besech thee, teach thee P 4, 4, Gower (993, 7).
besech you, teach you P 4, 4, Gower (993, 7).

devil evil LL 4, 3, 91 (149, 286), 5, 2, 42 (152, 105); TN 3, 4, 142 (297, 403); RL 85 (1015'), 846 (1022), 972 (1023). It is probable that all these should be taken as (diiv'i, iiv'i), but Smith also gives (diiv'il). Compare modern Scotch deil = (diil).
uneven seven R 2, 2, 25 (366, 121).

heaven even AY 5, 4, 35 (227, 114); VA 493 (1007).
never fever S 119, 6 (1045).
privilege edge S 95, 13 (1042).

Mytilene rhymes with then P 4, 4, Gower (993', 50); din P 5, 2, Gower (998, 272). See supra p. 929, col. 1.

Friend rhymes with penn'd LL 5, 2, 192 (155', 402); end AY 3, 2, 34 (216', 142); AC 4, 15, 28 (938', 90); Cy 5, 3, 10 (969', 59); VA 716 (1009'); RL 237 (1016'), 897 (1022); tend H 3, 2, 61 (829, 216); intend VA 587 (1008'); comprehend RL 494 (1019). These rhymes are opposed to Salesbury (supra p. 80, 1, 9), Bullokar, and Gill.

Fiend rhymes with end PT 6 (1057): S 145, 9 (1048'); friend S 144, 9 (1048).—Shakspeare therefore apparently pronounced both friend and fiend with e. Salesbury has (fiend, fendi), which is just the reverse of modern use.

teeth with VA 269 (1005').
sin bin = been RL 209 (1016').
give believe H 2 prol. (592, 7). See supra p. 891, col. 1; give had occasionally a long vowel.
give me, relieve me P 5, 2, Gower (998, 268).
gold field GRL 58 (1015).
yielded shielded builted LO 149 (1011).

Long and Short I, -IND.

[These rhymes were “allowable,” perhaps, in the same sense as poets in the xvith and xvinth centuries allowed themselves to use, as rhymes, words which used to rhyme in preceding centuries. If I have not been greatly mistaken, the following words would have rhymed to Palsgrave and Bullokar, perhaps even to Muleaster, though it is not likely that any actor of Shakspeare’s company would have pronounced them so as to rhyme. We find Tennison allowing himself precisely similar rhymes to this day, supra p. 860, c. 1, and, as there shewn, the singularity of the present pronunciation (wind), leads poets to consider it to be (waund), as
many always pronounce it when reading poetry. The existence of such rhymes, which could not be accounted for by any defect of ear, gives a strong presumption therefore in favour of the old sound of long \(i\) as (ii) or (\(i\)), and not as (ai).]

Longaville rhymes with compile LL 4, 3, 38 (148, 133); mile LL 5, 2, 29 (162, 53); ill LL 4, 3, 36 (147', 123).

line Collatine RL 818 (1021').

unlikely quickly VA 989 (1012).

deprieved unlived derived RL 1752 (1030).

e. contra JC 2, 3, 1 (773', 16).

lives e. restoratives P 1, Gower (977, 7).

Ilion pavilion LL 5, 2, 320 (158, 658).

gird confined S 110, 10 (1044').

Inde blind LL 4, 3, 69 (148', 222).

mind kind VA 1016 (1012).

Wind rhymes with behind bind CE 3, 1, 51 (99', 76); mind LL 4, 2, 9 (145, 33); find LL 4, 3, 36 (147', 105).

RL 760 (1021); unkind AX 2, 7, 26 (215, 174), VA 187 (1005).

Ind linod mind AX 3, 2, 25 (216, 93); kind M 1, 3, 5 (789, 11).

Final unaccented Y with long I.

[These rhymes, which are fully accepted by Gill, who generally pronounced both as (ai), are very frequent in Shakspere as well as in Spenser, supra p. 869. But final unaccented \(y\) also rhymes with long ee or as (ii), and hence we gather that the original (e-, ii, -ire), out of which these were composed, were still in a transition state. Though they have now become regularly (-i), yet, as we have seen by numerous examples from Moore and Tennyson, supra p. 861, the old licence prevails, although the rhyme (-i, -ii) is now more common than (-i, -ai), thus reversing the custom of the xvth century.]

I rhymes with Margery song, T 2, 2, 3 (10, 48); lie fly merrily song, T 5, 1, 10 (18 88); reportingly MA 3, 1, 26 (121, 119); loyalty MN 2, 2, 11 (167, 62).

Eye rhymes with die jealousy CE 2, 1, 38 (96', 114); disloyalty CE 3, 2, 1 (100, 9); merrily CE 4, 2, 1 (102', 2); perjury LL 4, 3, 14 (147', 60); majesty LL 4, 3, 69 (148', 226).

infancy LL 4, 3, 71 (149, 243); dye, archery, espy, gloriously, sky, by, remedy MN 3, 2, 22 (170', 102); poverty LL 5, 2, 179 (165, 379); melody MN 1, 1, 36 (162', 188); company MN 1, 1, 47 (163, 218); remedy R 3, 3, 31 (372, 202); infirmity P 1, Gower (977, 3); justify P 1, Gower (977, 41); majesty satisfy RL 93 (1015'); secrecy RL 99 (1015'); dignity RL 435 (1016'); piety RL 540 (1019'); alchemy S 32, 2 (1035); prophecy S 106, 9 (1044).

Lie rhymes with conspiracy T 2, 1, 147 (9', 301); I minstrelsly LL 1, 1, 39 (136', 175); remedy RJ 2, 3, 8 (721', 51); subtlety S 138, 2 (1047); rarity simplicity PT 53 (1057).

Die rhymes with philosophy LL 1, 1, 3 (135, 31); misery H 3, 2, 45 (483, 136); eternity H 1, 2, 12 (813', 72); testify P 1, Gower (977', 39); dignity S 94, 10 (1042').

dye fearfully PP [18], 40 (1055', 284).

Flies rhymes with enemies H 3, 2, 61 (829, 214); adulteries Cy 5, 4, 4 (970, 31).

dry destiny RL 1728 (1029).

adversity cry CE 2, 1, 15 (95', 34).

cry deity Cy 5, 4, 14 (970', 88).

try remedy AW 2, 1, 50 (260, 137).

enemy H 3, 2, 61 (829, 218).

warily by LL 5, 2, 42 (152, 93).

why amazedly M 4, 1, 42 (502, 125).

spy jealousy VA 655 (1009).

advise companies TS 1, 1, 59 (234, 246).

exercise injuries miseries Cy 5, 4, 12 (970', 92).

modesty reply TG 2, 1, 91 (26, 171).

apply simplicity LL 5, 2, 36 (152, 77).

Final unaccented Y with long EE.

See rhymes with enemy AM 2, 5, 1, song (212', 6); solemnity AC 5, 2, 131 (943', 368).

He rhymes with villag'ry MN 2, 1, 4 (164', 34); destiny M 3, 5, 2 (800', 16); be dignity Cy 5, 4, 7 (970, 53).

be cruelty TN 1, 5, 113 (286, 306).

thee honesty KJ 1, 1, 48 (334, 180);

melancholy S 45, 6 (1036').

decree necessity LL 1, 1, 37 (136', 148).

me necessity LL 1, 1, 38 (136', 154).

Long O and short O.

One rhymes with on T 4, 1, 29 (16, 137); TG 2, 1, 2 (24', 1) [this is (oon oon)]; done R 3, 1, 1, 26 (258, 182) [this is (oon dun)]; Scone M 5, 8, 23 (810', 74); shoon H 4, 5, 9, song (836, 25); thrown Cy 5, 4, 8 (970', 59) [this is (thrroun oon)]; bone VA 293 (1006); loan S 6, 6 (1032).

none S 8, 13 (1032); bone LC 43 (1050); gone CE 4, 2, 14 (103, 23).
VA 518 (1005); 227 (1005); alone
RL 1478 (1027); S 36, 2 (1035);
PP 9, 13 (1054, 129).
Alone rhymes with anon S 75, 5 (1040);
none TN 3, 1, 65 (293, 171); H 4, 7, 1 (489, 9).
None rhymes with stone S 94, 1 (1042);
moan PP [18], 51 (1055', 295);
gone CE 3, 2, 50 (101, 157); MN 2, 2, 13 (167, 66); I will have none.
Thy gown? as an echo TS 4, 3, 31 (247, 85).
Gone rhymes with moan MN 5, 1, 96
(179, 340); H 4, 5, 60, song (837', 197);
groan R 5, 1 17 (377, 39);
RL 1360 (1026); stone H 4, 5, 11,
song (836, 30); bone VA 66 (1003');
on P 4, 4, Gower (993, 19), Oth 1, 3, 46 (884, 204); sun VA 185 (1005).

Long O with short O.
not smote LL 4, 3, 4 (146', 24).
note pot LL 5, 2, 405 (160', 292).
o'clock oak MW 5, 5, 16 (65, 78).
wat boat H 4, 6, 3 (488', 32).
moment comment S 15, 2 (1033).
frost boat LL 1, 1, 23 (136, 100).
most lost LL 1, 1, 36 (136', 146).
boast lost H 4, 5, 6 (488, 24).
lost coast P 5, Gower (995', 13).
lost coast VA 1075 (1013); RL 1191 (1025).
cost boast S 91, 10 (1042).
oath troth LL 1, 1, 11 (135', 65); 4;
3, 38 (148, 143).
oath wroth MV 2, 9, 9 (191, 77).
trough oath growth RL 1059 (1024).

Long O with open OW = (ou).
[These rhymes show that the after-sound of (u) had become faint, justifying its entire omission by the orthoepists of the xvith century. It is curious, however, to find that in the xixe century the (u) has reappeared, not merely where there was formerly (ou), but also where there was only (oo). It has no connection with either of the above sounds, having been merely evolved from (oo), which replaced both of them in the xviith century. The changes of (ee, oo) into (eet, ou) are local, belonging only to the Southern or London pronunciation of English, although widely spread in America, and orthoepists are not agreed as to their reception; the further evolution into (ei, ou), or nearly (ai, ou), is generally condemned. But orthoepists have a habit of condemning in one century the rising practice of the next.]

Angelo grow MM 3, 2, 86 (82, 283).
owe Dromio CE 3, 1, 20 (99, 42).

Go rhymes with know MM 3, 2, 86
(82, 277); below H 3, 3, 10 (831',
97); flow Cy 3, 5, 53 (961', 165);
grow S 12, 10 (1032'); below VA
923 (1011'); so too mow no T 4, 1,
10 (15, 44). A writer in the Athenaeum for 20 Aug. 1870, p. 253, proposes to alter the last no into now, stating, among other reasons, that "now enjoys the advantage of rhyming with more, which it was meant to do." But now in this sense was (moon), according to Sir T. Smith, and all five lines are meant to rhyme together.

bow = arcus doe TC 3, 1, 68 (635', 126).
No rhymes with blow CE 3, 1, 31 (59, 54); show NY 3, 2, 34 (216, 134).
So rhymes with crow CE 3, 1, 67 (99',
84); P 4, Gower (900, 32); know CE 3, 2, 3 (100', 53); LL 1, 1, 11
(150', 59); Oth 4, 3, 41 (905, 103);
VA 1109 (1013); blow LL 4, 3, 36
(147', 109); owe TN 1, 5, 118
(286, 329); shew MN 3, 2, 32 (171,
151), [hence probably Shakspere said (shou) and not (shew); see Spenser's various uses, suprâ p. 871.]
shew TS 5, 2, 92 (253', 188). (Shrew) is still heard, compare also the common pronunciation (Shrooz-beri) for Shrewsbury, and the rhymes: O's shrews LL 5, 2, 23 (151', 45); shrew shew TS 4, 1, 67 (245, 223); shew crow RJ 1, 2, 26 (175', 91).

Woe rhymes with show LL 4, 3, 4
(147, 36); flow H 4 prol. (592, 3);
show H 1, 2, 15 (813', 85).
suppose shows P 5, 2, Gower (398, 5).
Rose rhymes with grows LL 1, 1, 24
(136, 105); flows LL 4, 3, 4 (146',
27); throws VA 590 (1006').
snow foe VA 362 (1006').
ofoe overthrows RJ prol. (712, 5).
crows shews RJ 1, 5, 14 (718, 50).
Cleon grown P 4, Gower (990, 15).
more four MN 3, 2, 110 (173', 437);
LL 4, 3, 62 (148', 210).
four door VA 446 (1007).
ofal bowl = eup MV 2, 1, 5 (164', 46).
shoulder bolder LL 5, 2, 42 (152',
107); poll = head soul H 4, 5, 60,
song (837', 196). These two instances only apparently belong to this category, (u) being developed by (l) in bold, poll, unless we are to assume that Shakspere did not develop this (u), and also left out the u in shoulder, soul.
Long O = (oo) or open OW = (ou) with close OU = (ou).

Such rhymes are strongly opposed to the notion that Shakspere recognized Palgrave and Bullock's antiquated pronunciation of (un) for (ou.).

low cow MA 5, 4, 22 (133', 48).

four hour LL 5, 2, 177 (155, 367).

Gill pronounces (four), and provincially four is frequently pronounced so as rhyme with hour, as here.
bowl = cup owl LL 5, 2, 405 (160', 935).
fowls controne CE 2, 1, 8 (95', 18).
souls fowls CE 2, 1, 8 (95', 22).
brow grow VA 139 (1004').
glow brow VA 337 (1006).
growing bowing T 4, 1, 24 (15', 112).
allowing going WT 4, 1, 23 (317', 15).
known town H* prol. (592, 23).
coward froward VA 569 (1008').
toward coward VA 1157 (1013').

Rhymes in OVE.

Love rhymes with move CE 3, 2, 1 (100, 22); 4, 2, 9 (103', 13); MN 1, 1, 39 (163, 196); T N 3, 1, 66 (293, 175); H 2, 1, 37 (820, 118); PP [20], 15 (1056', 367); [20], 19 (1056', 371); remove RJ prol. (712, 9); S 116; 2 (1045); PP [18], 11 (1055', 255); prove LL 4, 2, 34 (146, 109); 4, 3, 88 (149', 282), TN 2, 4, 36 (289', 120); S 116, 13 (1045); 117, 13 (1045); 153, 5 (1049'); 154, 13 (1049'); PP [20], 1 (1056, 353); reprove S 142, 2 (1048); approve S 147, 5 (1049); Jove LL 4, 3, 36 (147', 119); RL 508 (1019'); prove MN 2, 1, 38 (166, 259); T 4, 1, 16 (15', 66); dove PT 50 (1057*); above AY 3, 2, 1 (215, 1).

Long O with long OO.
sucht do 't LL 4, 1, 11 (143', 26).
doing wooling TS 2, 1, 26 (237, 74).
do too Cy 5, 3, 10 (969', 61).
t'o foot LL 5, 2, 50 (152', 145).
t'o root Tim 1, 2, 15 (744, 71).

Woo rhymes with two MV 2, 9, 9 (191, 75); unto VA 307 (1006); LC 191 (1051*); ago RJ 3, 4, 1 (730, 8); know MN 5, 1, 28 (177, 139).
choose lose CE 4, 3, 27 (104', 96).
MV 2, 9, 10 (191, 80).
propose lose H 3, 2, 61 (829, 204).

Come rhymes with tomb S 17, 1 (1033);
doorn S 116, 10 (1045); 145, 5 (1048'); roam TN 2, 3 (172, 40); master-
dom M 1, 5, 9 (791', 70).
moon fordone MN 5, 1, 101 (179', 379).
doth tooth TG 4, 5, 113 (646', 292).
look Bolingbroke H 3, 4, 23 (373, 98).
store poor LL 5, 2, 178 (155, 377);
RJ 1, 1, 88 (714', 221).
Whore rhymes with more TC 4, 1, 19 (641, 65), 5, 2, 92 (649, 113); poor KL 2, 4, 19, song (859, 52).
do woe P 1, 1, 8 (978, 47).
no man, woman TG 3, 1, 1, 31 (104).
moon Biron LL 4, 3, 70 (148', 230).

OO.

Blood rhymes with good LL 2, 1, 58 (141, 186); MN 5, 1, 83 (178', 287); AW 2, 3, 47 (262, 102); H 4, 2, 5, 18 (479', 128); Tim 4, 2, 7 (755, 38); M 4, 1, 10 (801, 37); VA 1181 (1013'); RL 1028 (1023'); S 109, 10 (1044'); LC 162 (1051); mood MN 5, 2, 13 (170, 74); stood VA 1121 (1013), 1169 (1018'); understood mood LC 198 (1051'); wood = mad H 3, 4, 5, 7 (489, 35); wood VA 749 (1010).

Flood rhymes with wood VA 824 (1010); stood PP 6, 13 (1053', 83).

Foot rhymes with boot H 4, 6, 4 (489, 52); root RL 664 (1020).

groom doom RL 671 (1020).

should cool'd VA 385 (1006').

Compare Spenser's rhyme as (shoul'd), supra p. 571, and p. 968, under L.

Short O or OO with short U.

[See the puns depending on the identity of these sounds, supra p. 925.]
crum some KL 1, 4, 74, song (855', 217).

Come rhymes with some LL 5, 2, 381 (159', 839); sum S 49, 1 (1037); LC 230 (1052); dumb TG 2, 2, 9 (26', 29); drum H 3, 3, 71 (400', 229); M 1, 3, 11 (789', 30); thumb LL 5, 2, 42 (152', 111); M 1, 3, 10 (789, 28).
tomb dumb MA 5, 3, 3 (132', 9); MN 5, 1, 96, Pyramus and Thisbe (179, 334); AW 2, 3, 57 (268, 146); RL 1121 (1024'); S 83, 10 (1041); 101, 9 (1043')

sun won LL 1, 1, 14 (136, 84).
done won sun M 1, 1, 2 (788, 4).
sun done Cy 4, 2, 93, song (965', 256).
VA 197 (1005).
begun done R 1, 2, 8 (355', 60).

nuins sons VA 752 (1010).

under wonder VA 746 (1010).
wonder thunder LL 4, 2, 34 (146, 117).
good bud PP 13, 1 (1054, 169).
flood mud LC 44 (1050).
wolf gulf M 4, 1, 8 (801', 22).
trouble bubble M 4, 1, 5 (801', 10).

Short O rhyming as short U.
son done T 4, 1, 20 (15', 93); M 3, 5, 2
(800', 10).
noon son S 7, 13 (1032).
took provoke P 1, Gower (877, 25).
forage courage VA 554 (1008).

-ONG, with -OUNG, -UNG.
[The following list of words in -ong
=(oq, uq), now (oq, uq), shews
what laxity this termination was used
for convenience, so that consonantal
rhyme is constantly employed. See
Spenser's rhymes, suprâ p. 870.]

Young rhymes with long LL 5, 2, 386
(159', 845); RJ 1, 1, 64 (714, 166);
RJ 4, 5, 21 (735', 77); KL 1, 4, 76,
song (853', 235); 5, 3, 124 (878',
325); PP 12, 10 (1064, 166);
strong VA 419 (1007); RL 863
(1022); belong AW 1, 3, 35 (258,
134).

Tongue rhymes with belong LL 5, 2,
181 (156, 381); 4, 3, 71 (148, 238);
long 5, 2, 117 (153', 242); MN 5,
1, 105 (150', 440); TS 4, 2, 25 (245',
57); wrong MA 5, 3, 3 (132', 1);
LL 1, 1, 39 (136', 167); 4, 2, 34
(146, 121); MN 2, 2, 2 (166', 9).
2 H ind. (409', 39); VA 217 (1005);
329 (1006); 427 (1007); 1003
(1012); RL 78 (1015); S 89, 9
(1042); throng KL 3, 2, 14 (863,
87); strong MM 3, 2, 65 (81, 198);
song LL 5, 2, 192 (155', 403); VA
775 (1010); S 17, 10 (1033); stung
MN 3, 2, 12 (170, 72).
sung among KL 1, 4, 70, song (853',
192).
belong among strong LC 254 (1052).
along sung VA 1094 (1013).

Short U.
us thus guess P LL 5, 2, 43 (152',
119).
ridiculous us LL 5, 2, 155 (154',
306).
bush blush LL 4, 3, 38 (148, 137).
touch much MN 3, 2, 12 (170, 70).
Antipholus ruinous CE 3, 2, 1 (100, 2).
does glorius P 2, Gower (981', 13).
fullness dullness S 56, 6 (1038).
pull dull AW 1, 1, 62 (256, 233).
begun sun KJ 1, 1, 42 (333', 158).
shun you, on you T 4, 1, 24 (18, 116).

Long U, UE, EW, IEW, and
YOU.
[The following examples shew, that
whatever was the pronunciation, Shaks-
spere found these rhymes sufficiently
good for his purposes. According to
Gill, he must have rhymed (yy, eu, ju).
The modern pronunciations are (ju, uu,
ru) in various words, and are gen-
erally held to rhyme. But the rhymes
in Shakspeare can no more justify us
in supposing that he pronounced them
identically, than the universal custom of
German poets in rhyming ò, û, eu with
e, i, ei, would admit of us supposing
that they would endure the former
vowels, received as (eœ œ, yy y, ay oy
œ), to be reduced to the second, which
are received as (ee e, ii i, ai). This
is a most instructive example, because
this custom of rhyme is universal
among German poets. The corre-
responding pronunciation is extremely
common, and it is as much shunned by all
who have any pretence to orthoepical
knowledge, as the omission or insertion
of the aspirate in English speech. We
can, therefore, well understand Shaks-
spere using rhymes and making puns
due to a perhaps widely spread pro-
nunciation, while he would, as manager,
have well "wagged" an actor who
ventured to employ them on the stage
in serious speech,—a fate impeding on
any German actor who should "assist"
his author's rhymes by venturing to
utter ò as (ee), û as (ii), or eu as (ai).]

You rhymes with adien LL 1, 1, 25
(136, 110); 2, 1, 83 (141, 213); 5,
2, 116 (153', 240); MN 1, 1, 48
(163, 224); H 4, 4, 21 (488, 45);
VA 535 (1008); S 57, 6 (1038); new
CE 3, 2, 2 (100, 37); S 16, 13
(1033); grew S 84, 2 (1041); view
LL 4, 3, 40 (148, 175); true T epit.
(20', 3); S 85, 9 (1041'); 118, 13
(1045); true sue LL 5, 2, 197 (155',
426); untrue LL 5, 2, 217 (156,
472); view true new MV 3, 2, 14
(193', 132).

True rhymes with adien MA 3, 1, 26
(121, 107); RJ 2, 2, 32 (720', 136);
Montague RJ 3, 1, 54 (726', 153);
view RL 464 (1018); new S 68,
10 (1039); grew LC 169 (1051');
subdue LC 246 (1052).
viewing ensuing VA 1076 (1013).
blue knew RL 497 (1018).
hue Jew MN 3, 1, 32 (166', 97).
beauty duty KL 13 (1014); VA 167
(1004).
SHAKSPEERE'S GENERAL RHymes.

excuses abases sluices RL 1073 (1024).
pollute fruit RL 1063 (1024).
suit mute LL 5, 2, 138 (154, 275);
VA 205 (1006); 335 (1006).
suitor tutor TG 2, 1, 73 (25', 143);
KL 3, 2, 14 (863, 85).
youth ruth PP 9, 9 (1054, 125); S 37, 2 (1053).

Long U with Long OO.
[These examples, though few in number, are instructive. There can be no question that the first two are not rhymes, and that if the third do you is a rhyme, the common you adieu in the last list, is not.]
suing wooing VA 356 (1006')
lose it, abuse it H6 4, 5, 13 (488, 40).
do you M 3, 5, 2 (800', 12).

Long I with EYE and AY.
Eye rhymes with by LL 1, 1, 14 (136, 81); VA 281 (1005'); ay LL 2, 1, 60
(141, 188); buy LL 2, 1, 101 (141',
242); I LL 3, 4, 31 (148, 183).

why TS 1, 1, 16 (232', 79); die RJ
1, 2, 7 (715, 50); lie RJ 1, 3, 23
(716, 85).

Eye rhymes with shine LL 5, 2, 83
(153, 205); mine TS 5, 1, 56 (250, 120); vine AC 2, 7, 66, song (924, 120).
die ay R2 3, 3, 21 (372, 175).
fly perdy KL 2, 4, 27, song (859, 84).

OY with UI, and long I.
noise boys CE 3, 1, 39 (99, 61).
oyes = oyes toys MW 5, 5, 12 (65, 45),
in ludicrous rhymes.
mol Fr. destroy R2 5, 3, 39 (379', 119).
joy destroy H 3, 2, 61 (829, 206).
voice juice VA 134 (1004). This
rhyme is somewhat obscure. But
Hodges, 1643, gives juice and joice,
meaning joist, as identical in sound;
he probably saide (dzhäis), a pronunciation
still common among carpenters.
swine groin VA 1115 (1013). Here
possibly (groin) may have been said.

Close OU (ou),
with especial reference to the word
wound, called (wound) by Smith, and
(wound), in accordance with the present
general use, by Gill, who gives (waand),
or perhaps (waund), as a Northern
pronunciation.

Wound rhymes with ground MN 2, 2,
18 (167', 100); R2 3, 2, 18 (369',
139); RL 1199 (1025); confound
MN 5, 1, 86 (179, 300); TC 3, 1,
68 (635', 128); found RJ 2, 1, 10,
and 2, 2, 1 (719', 42 and 1); sound
RJ 4, 5, 40 (736, 128); F 4, Gower
(990, 23); bound VA 265 (1003');
round VA 358 (1006'); hound VA
913 (1011').

swounds wounds RL 1486 (1027').
profound ground M 3, 5, 2 (800', 24).
crown lown Oth 2, 3, 31, song (889, 93).

GH with F.

Macduff enough M 5, 8, 9 (809', 33).
laff draf MW 4, 2, 41 (60, 104).
laff staff CE 3, 1, 26 (99, 56).
hereafter lauffer TN 2, 3, 20 (287', 48).
deadlander TS 1, 1, 59 (234, 244).
This may be meant as ludicrous.
dother after WT 4, 1, 1 (317', 27).

In the speech of Time, as chorus,
cought her, daughter, slaughtered, halter,
after KL 1, 4, 101 (854', 340). In a
Song of the Fool. These last three examples are very remarkable, es-
pecially the last, including the word
halter. When this rhyme occurs in
modern ludicrous verse it is usual to
say (aa-ta) daa-ta. Whether any
such ludicrous pronunciation then
prevailed is not clear, but (-AA-ter)
would save every case, as halter
might well sink to (ha-a-tar).

off nought PP 19, 41 (1056, 339).
Mr. Shelly, of Plymouth, says that
he has heard higher lower pronounced
in that neighbourhood as (naif or
loof-e), and that (thaaff, saif) are
common in Devonshire for thought, sigh.
See p. 212.

GH written as TH.
mouth drouth P 3, Gower (986', 7);
VA 542 (1008). See Jones's pronunc-
ation, supra p. 212.

GH mute.
(This is entirely comparable to the disregarding of (u) in the rhymes (ou, ou),
supra p. 961, col. 1. It by no means proves that the gh (kh) was not still
lightly touched. The sound was con-
fessedly gentle, and not so harsh as the
Welsh ch, supra pp. 210, 779.
But it favours Gill's (raikht), etc., for
Salesbury's (riikht).]

Light rhymes with bite R2 1, 3, 57
(361, 292); while VA 1051 (1012');
spite VA 1133 (1013'); smite RL
176 (1016).

Right rhymes with appetite RL 545
(1019'); spite H 1, 5, 64 (819, 188);
CE 4, 2, 2 (102', 7).
might rite MA 5, 3, 5 (132', 21).
Night rhymes with quite Oth 5, 1, 78
(906', 128); despite VA 731 (1003').
spite knight MN 5, 1, 83 (178', 261).
Delight rhymes with quite LL 1, 1, 13
(153', 70); white LL 5, 2, 404 (160,
903); sprite M 4, 1, 42 (802, 127).
sight white VA 1166 (1013').
sleighs sprites M 3, 5, 2 (800', 26).
Nigh rhymes with try CE 2, 1, 16 (95',
42); immediately MN 2, 2, 24 (167',
155); sky AY 2, 7, 36 (215, 184); fly
Oth 2, 1, 57 (887, 55); eye VA
341 (1006).
high rhymes with eye AW 1, 1, 62
(256, 235); dry VA 551 (1008).

Effect of R final.

Unaccented final ar, er, or.
ne'er Jupiter T 4, 1, 17 (15', 76).
worshipper fear cheer RL 86 (1015').
appear murderer P 4, Governor (990, 51).
characters tears bears LC 16 (1050).
stomachers dears WT 4, 4, 48 (321,
226).
harbinger near PT 5 (1057).
character where AY 3, 2, 1 (215, 6).
conspirator ravisher RL 769 (1021').
orator harbingering CE 3, 6, 100 (10).
orator singular publisher RL 30 (1015).
progenitors ours RL 1756 (1030).

AR, ARE.

Are rhymes with star LL 1, 1, 14 (136,
89); prepare 5, 2, 39 (152, 81);
care R2 2, 3, 40 (367', 170); 3H2 2,
5, 14 (537', 123); S 147, 9 (1049);
dare M 3, 5, 2 (800', 2); compare VA
8 (1003); care snare RL 926 (1022).
car S 7, 9 (1032); prepare S 13, 1
(1032); compare S 35, 6 (1035');
war TC prol. (622, 30).

War rhymes with star MN 3, 2, 101
(173, 407); P 1, 1, 7 (978, 37); jar
VA 98 (1004); bar S 46, 1 (1036).
warp sharp AY 2, 7, 36 (215, 187).
reward barr'd AW 2, 1, 51 (260', 150).
warm harm VA 193 (1005).
warm'd charm'd LC 191 (1051). The
above rhymes shew, either that (w)
did not affect the following (a), or
that the effect was disregarded. Gill
authorizes the first conclusion.
vineyard rocky hard T 4, 1, 16 (15', 68).
start heart MW 5, 5, 20 (65, 90).
Heard rhymes with reward P 5, 3,
Governor (999', 85); regard RL 305
(1017').

sighs eyes RJ 1, 1, 78 (714, 196).
neighbour = neighbour LL 5, 1, 5 (160, 27).
fray weigh MN 3, 2, 27 (170', 129).
weigh'd maid RJ 1, 2, 28 (171', 101).
straight conceit CE 4, 2, 33 (103', 63).
paying weighing MM 3, 2, 86 (82, 279).
so though MN 2, 2, 20 (167', 108);
KJ 1, 1, 45 (338', 168).
bough now VA 37 (1003').
vows boughs AY 3, 2, 34 (216', 141).

-ED = T after S, K.
kissed whist T 1, 2, 99 (6', 379).
deck'd aspect LL 4, 3, 75 (149, 258).
breast distresse'd VA 812 (1010').

EAR, -ERE.

[These seem to have been in a transi-
tional state between (ir) and (eer),
(p. 81), probably for this reason the
rhymes are rather confused. But the
general pronunciation was evident-
ly (eer).]

Ear rhymes with there R2 5, 3, 40
(379', 125); PP 19, 26 (1056, 324);
dear RJ 1, 5, 14 (718, 48); hair
VA 145 (1004'); tear e. RL 1126
(1024'); bear hear RL 1327 (1026);
swear bear RL 1418 (1027); bear
S 8, 6 (1032).

Hear rhymes with chanticleer T 1, 2,
101 (5', 384); swear LL 4, 3, 38
(148, 145); tear fear LL 4, 3, 55
(148', 200); fear MN 2, 2, 24 (167',
153); bear Oth 1, 3, 46 (884, 212);
VA 428 (1007); tear e. bear RL
667 (1026'); cheer PP [21, 21
(1056, 393).

Here rhymes with were CE 4, 2, 4
(102', 9); swear ear LL 4, 1, 23
(144, 57); car appear LL 4, 3, 4
(147, 44); there 4, 3, 45 (148,
189); MV 2, 7, 5 (190, 61); dear
LL 4, 3, 82 (149, 274); swear LL
5, 2, 173 (155, 357); weigh MN 2,
2, 13 (167, 70); spear R2 1, 1, 24
(357', 170); tear s. H2 prol. (592,
5); gear TC 3, 2, 54 (637', 219);
where RJ 1, 1, 80 (714, 203); bier
RJ 3, 2, 9 (727', 59); clear M 5, 3,
20 (807', 61); deer VA 229 (1005);
bear dear RL 1290 (1026).

There rhymes with bear T 1, 2, 99
(5', 381); near MN 2, 2, 23 (167',
135); S 136, 1 (1047'); spear VA
1112 (1013); RL 1422 (1027); ap-
pear fear RL 114 (1015'); tear e.
fear = fearey in quartos H 1, 1, 50 (812', 121).

Where rhymes with sphere MN 2, 1, 2 (164, 6); clear S 84, 10 (1041); sincere CE 4, 2, 13 (103, 19); near S 61, 13 (1038'); were bear Oth 2, 1, 57 (887, 159).

Wears rhymes with dear LL 5, 2, 45 (152, 130); deer AY 4, 2, 6 (223, 11); bear VA 163 (1004); year 506 (1007); fear 1081 (1013); bear S 77, 1 (1040).

Year rhymes with peer WT 4, 3, 1 (318, 1); R² 1, 3, 18 (359', 93); cheer dear there 2 H⁴ 5, 3, 6 (345', 18); deer KL 3, 4, 34 (864', 144); wear KL 1, 4, 68, song (853, 181); forbear VA 524 (1008).

Dear rhymes with wear ware WT 4, 4, 92 (322, 324); peer R² 5, 5, 3 (380', 67); there S 110, 1 (1044); year KJ 1, 1, 38 (339', 162).

Tears rhymes with hair CE 3, 2, 2 (100', 46); VA 49 (1003'); 191 (1005); her MN 2, 2, 18 (167, 92); wear LC 289 (1052).

Appear rhymes with bear CE 3, 1, 4 (98', 15'); TC 1, 2, 139 (626, 320); bear dear near MN 2, 2, 4 (166', 30); here MV 2, 9, 9 (191, 73); R² 6, 6, 2 (381', 9); there KL 1, 4, 62, song (853, 159); wears P 5, 3, Gover (999', 93); tear s. VA 1175 (1013'); fear RL 456 (1018'); 1434 (1027); were 631 (1020); pioneer 1856 (1026'); where S 102, 2 (1043'); wear dear LC 93 (1050).

Fears rhymes with there MN 2, 1, 3 (164', 30); 3, 2, 2 (170, 91); H 3, 2, 56 (828', 181); VA 320 (1006); RL 307 (1017'); swear TN 5, 1, 61 (301', 173); H⁴ 4, 5, 6 (488, 28); PP 7, 8 (1053', 92); bear M 3, 5, 2 (600', 30); RL 610 (1020); near H 1, 3, 5 (815', 43); forbear AC 1, 3, 8 (914, 11); clear P 1, 1, 15 (978', 141); ear VA 659 (1009); RL 307 (1017'); deer VA 689 (1009'); severe VA 993 (1012); 1153 (1013'); hear cheer RL 261 (1017'); there swear 1647 (1029).

Bear rhymes with severe MM 3, 2, 86 (82, 275); fear MN 2, 2, 18 (167', 94); bear MN 5, 1, 2 (176, 21); near Cy 4, 2, 102, song (966, 278); tear v. P 4, 4, Gover (993, 29); hair RL 1129 (1024'); were S 13, 6 (1032'); there S 41, 9 (1036).

Clear sphere MN 3, 2, 9 (170, 60).

Swears hairs P 4, 4, Gover (993, 27).

Pierce rehearse R² 5, 3, 40 (379', 127).

Fierce =fear= in quartos H 1, 1, 50 (812', 121).

Weary merry T 4, 1, 29 (16, 135).

Herd = beard = S 12, 6 (1032'). This favours J. P. Kemble's pronunciation of beard = bird, supra p. 82, 1. 13 and note, and p. 20.

Heard beard LL 2, 1, 74 (141, 202).

This is not so favourable to Kemble as the last, because heard was often hard, supra pp. 20, 964.

AIR.

despair prayer T epil. (20', 15).

Prayer fair RL 344 (1017'). As we have fully recognized prayer as a dissyllable, supra p. 951, we must apparently make r syllabic in despair and fair.

IR.

First worst TS 1, 2, 6 (234, 13).

Curst first VA 887 (1011).

First acurst VA 1118 (1013).

Earth birth MW 5, 5, 17 (65', 84).

Birds herds VA 455 (1007').

Stir spur VA 233 (1005'), stir, quartos. Stir incur RL 1471 (1027').

IRE.

Aspire higher MW 5, 5, 25 (65', 101).

Briar fire MN 2, 1, 2 (164, 3).

Fires liars RJ 1, 2, 27 (715', 94).

Aspire higher P 1, 4, 2 (980', 5).

Relic retire RL 699 (1020).

In all these the r is evidently syllabic, p. 951.

ORE, OR.

Before door MV 1, 2, 29 (183', 146).

Abhor thee, adore thee PP 12, 9 (1054', 165).

Court sport LL 4, 1, 29 (144', 100).

Short sport H¹ 1, 3, 54 (387', 301).

Forsworn born LL 1, 1, 38 (136', 150).

Form storm KL 2, 4, 27, song (859', 80); LC 99 (1050').

Force horse S 91, 2 (1042).

Accurst worst TG 5, 4, 18 (40, 71).

Turk work Oth 2, 1, 40 (886', 115).

Forth worth AW 3, 4, 2 (267', 13); H 4, 4, 17 (835', 65); VA 416 (1007'); S 38, 9 (1035'); S 72, 13 (1040); S 103, 1 (1043').

Word rhymes with Ford MW 5, 5, 76 (66', 258); afford CE 3, 1, 8 (98', 24); S 158, 10 (1044); 79, 9 (1040'); 85, 5 (1041'); board CE 3, 2, 1 (100, 18); LL 2, 1, 85 (141, 215); lord LL 4, 1, 30 (144', 102); MN 2, 2, 24 (167', 151): P 2, Gover (981',
Mr. Richard Grant White's Elizabethan Pronunciation.

The following is an abstract of Mr. White's Memorandums on English Pronunciation in the Elizabethan Era, which forms an appendix to the 12th Vol. of his Shakespeare, supra p. 918, n. 1. Passages in inverted commas are nearly in the words of the original; those in brackets, and all palaeotypic symbols, are additions.

A.

A was generally (ee) as in ale, make, tame; sometimes (aa) as in awe, saw, fall; the Italian (aa) and short (a) are rarely indicated.

A final was almost always (ee.) This is shown by the rhymes: say Seneca, Drayton's Êlegies, 1627, p. 197; Remora delay, Pastor Fido, 1647, p. 216; from height of Ideny = Ida, Seneca's Ten Tragedies, 1581, fol. 115. [See supra p. 912, under AL. In a note on MV 3, 1, 23 (192, 84), Mr. White observes that both folios and quartos spell Genova or Genoway, and thinks this indicates the pronunciation Gen'o'a or Gen'w'ay, a position of the accent now common among the illiterate. But if we remember that the Italian is Genova, we may suppose Gen-o-wea to have been intended, or apply the suggestion, supra p. 133, note. According to the Cambridge editors, the quartos and first three folios have Genova, and the fourth Genowa, a mistake for Genova. None end the word with ay. He adds: ] “I am convinced that the final a of proper names had then almost always the pure sound of the vowel; and the more, because such a pronunciation still pervades New England, where even the best-educated men, who have not had the advantage of early and frequent intercourse with the most polite society of Boston and the other principal cities, say, for instance, Carolinay for Carolina, Augustay for Augusta, and even Savannay for Savannah—the last syllable being rather lightly touched, but being still unmistakably ay (ee) instead of ah (an). If told of this, they would probably be surprised, and perhaps deny it; but it is true; and the pronunciation, although somewhat homely, is merely a remnant of Shakespearian English.” [Say rather of English of the xvii th century, and that peculiar, if we may trust orthoepists at all. Compare the observations on German e final, supra p. 119, note, col. 2.]

In angel, stranger, danger, manger, a = (aa) or (A), shown by the co-existence of the spellings an, aun [no instance of aunl is cited].

In master, plaster, father, a = (ee). In Pastor Fido, v. 6, p. 202, ed. 1647, we find the rhyme: father either. Also in have, a = (ee). “He [the painter West] also pronounced some of his words, in reading, with a puritanical barbarism, such as have for have,” Leigh Hunt's Autobiography, p. 85, ed. 1860. “My mother, who both read and spoke remarkably well, would say have and shawl (for shall) when she sang her hymns,” Ibid. [Both xvirth century sounds, (neev) being the late form of (have). The modern (have) shortened the vowel, without altering its quality. We have (feeh:1) now as a provincialism, see supra p. 750, n. 8.]

CH

OUR.

hours flowers LL 4, 3, 99 (150, 379).

power hour Tim 3, 1, 15 (749, 65).

flower devour RL 1254 (1025). These are evidently cases of syllabic r, suprà p. 951.
variation between (tsh) and (k) in this
and similar words. In LL 5, 1, 10
(160', 35), he supposes chirrah to re-

represent shirrah.]  

E.  
The -ed was "rigorously pronounced,"
unless the contraction was indicated.
Thus purpled, shuffleed, were purpl-ed,
shuff-l-ed.  [See supra p. 952.]  

EA.  
Generally ea = ee.  [Here Mr. White
recants a hasty opinion that ea = (ii),
made in a note on LL 4, 1, 60 (145, 149),
on finding that Mr. Collier's folio supplied declare as a rhyme to
swear in that passage, thus:  
To see him kiss his hand! and how
most sweetly 'a will swear,
Looking babies in her eyes, his passion to
declare.]  
But in thread, instead, ea was (ii), as
inferred from the very frequent mis-
spellings threed, thred; instead, insted.
[The inference is unsafe, because the
spelling ea was not well fixed, see supra
p. 77.]  In heart, heard, earth, deart,
hearth, ea appears to have had "the
broad sound of a," [this "broad sound"
should mean (AA), but (aa) is probably
intended, as he spells] hart, hard, arth,
etc.  "The first and last are still pre-
served, and the others linger among the
uncultivated.  But heard and earth
were conformed to analogy by some
speakers and writers, and pronounced
haerd and airth; and this usage is not
yet extinct in New England.  
Beard appears to have had four sounds, beerd
(rarely), baerd (the most usual), baerd
and baird—the sound of the same letters
in heard at this day."  In creature, e-a
were two sounds [supra p. 947].  See
the rhyme: began ocean, Milton's
Hymn on the Nativity, st. 5, and :o
ocean run; Browne's Pastorals, 1, 25,
ed. 1772.  [See: ocean motion, supra
p. 954, col. 1, and: physician incision,
supra p. 949, col. 2.]  Ea was short (o)
in leap'd, heap't.

EAU.  
[In a note on H 4 1, 2, 7 (383', 28),
Mr. White conceives that "squires of
the night's body" and "thieves of the
day's beauty," contained a pun on body,
beauty, by giving the latter its modern
French sound beaute.  But eau in the
English pronunciation of that time was
not the French, as we have seen, supra
p. 138, and the French sound of that
time was not the modern one, supra
p. 822 and p. 922.]  

EI
E was probably always (ee).

EW
was often (oo), as it is now in new,
strewn, as shown by rhymes, and spelling
show = shrew, Albion's England, 1602,
p. 41; tow = tow, Ib. p. 144; shevers =
showers, Ib. p. 198, [supra p. 960,
col. 2, under the rhymes to So.]  
But ew was also (uu), "and even show,
the preterite, had that pronunciation,
which it still preserves in New Eng-

land."  In sue, rue, true, Louis, ew was
"very commonly used" for (uu).

GH
was more frequently f than at present.
Compare the rhymes: daughter after,
Pastor Fido, 1647, p. 150, Romerus and
Juliet, ed. Collier, p. 65; taught soft,
Browne's Pastorals, 1, 68; and the
spelling: raughter = rafter, Lilly's Gal-
lathea, act 1, sc. 4.  But gh was also
silent. The following rhymes are cited
from Collier, Coleridge, and Shakespeare,
1860: oft naught, Passionate Pilgrim;
taught aloft, Surrey's Forsaken Lover;
shaft caught, Chapman's Hero and
Leander; aloft thought, Chapman's
Hesiod; after manslaughter, Barclay's
Eclogue II.  [See Shakspere's rhymes,
supra p. 963, col. 2.]

H.
Probably more often dropped than at
present.

I
had the sound (ii) in monosyllables
and many other places, as shown by
the misspellings in the folio 1623: the
world to weet (= wit) AC 1, 1, 11
(911', 39); splits (= splits) what it
speaks AC 2, 7, 67 (924, 129); the
breeze (= brize) upon her AC 3, 10, 6
(928', 14); a kind of wecke (= wick) or
snuff H 4, 7, 29 (839, 116), quarto
1604; At whose abuse our flying
(=feering) world can winke, Church-
yard's Charity, 1555; Both neither
church, queer (= quire, choir), court,
nor country space, Ibid; In David's
Psalms true miter (= metre) flows,
Churchyard's Praise of Poetry, 1595.
The spelling spreit for spirit, sprite,
or spright, is very common.  "Which
the High goat (= he-goat) as one
see, yet reserving revenge, etc.,” Braithwaite’s Survey of History, 1638, p. 342. [See Wheson, supra p. 330.]

IE was generally (ii), but pierce, fierce, were “very generally pronounced purse andourse” [meaning (p, s, f), or (pss, fss), but the sixteenth century sounds were professedly, (pers, fers)].

L was more often silent than now, as shewn by the spellings faut = faults, haulty = haughty, Ralph, Rafe = Ralph; but was heard in could, should, would, down to past the middle of xvii th century. [In a note on LL 5, 1, 5 (150, 22), Mr. White mentions that l in could, would, is heard in the old pronunciation of the eastern United States, see supra p. 871, col. 2, and p. 961, col. 2, under O0.] The spelling jealous (Albion’s England, c. 84, p. 349, ed. 1606) may indicate the sound still retained in rebellious, stallion.

O, OA.

There was great irregularity in the spelling. “Some well-educated old-country folk (Mrs. Kemble for instance) pronounce load with a broad dissyllabic utterance of both vowels, the first long, the second short—tō-ād. The same pronunciation obtains in a less degree with regard to throat, road, load, and other like words.” But Shakspeare used “the simple sound of o” [meaning perhaps (oo), but see supra p. 94]. One was the same as own. The modern prefixed w is like the Dorsetshire what, wold, whom, dwont, wvnt, cvnt = hot, old, home, don’t, point, coat.

OU was simple i in join, point, boil, etc., down to Pope’s time, supra p. 134.

OO.

Early in the Elizabethan era oo expressed “those sounds of u—as in cud and blood, intrude and brood—for which it now stands,” that is (u, uu?). The use of o-e, was meant perhaps to indicate the old sound (oo). “Although we often find room spelled rume, we never find Rome spelled Room, or either word rume or rum.” The sound (Rum) was one “of the many affectations” of the xvith century. Moon, frequently spelled mone, rhymes with Biron LL 4, 3, 70 (148', 230), and probably had the long o sound. [In a note on the passage, he repudiates the notion that Biron should be read (Birun), apparently because the name here rhymes with moon, or because Mr. C. J. Fox said Touloun in the House of Commons; but see supra p. 961. In a note on MN 5, 1, 28 (177', 139), the rhyme: know woo, makes him suppose that woo and woe had the same sound. But see rhymes to woo, supra p. 961, and Salesbury, p. 785. And on KJ 5, 7, 1 (354', 2), reading ‘poor brain,’ instead of ‘pure brain,’ he observes: “The original has pore, the commonest spelling of ‘poor’ in the folio, and in other books of the time, representing the old pronunciation of that word, which is still preserved in some parts of the United States.” The Cambridge editors say that in all the copies known to them the reading is pure, and not pore.]

OU had either the sound (ou) or (uu).

QU was (k) in *banquet, quality, quantity, *quay, quern, quintain, *quof, quod, *quot, *quote, and perhaps quarst, and quit. [Those words marked * are still frequently so pronounced.] LL 5, 2, 142 (154', 279), perhaps contained the pun qualm, calm; as also 2H'2, 4,11 (419, 40), where the Hostess has calm, meaning qualm, and Falstaff takes the word as calm. [Price, 1668, gives “qualm sudden fit, calm still quiet,” among his list of differences between words of like sound.]

S “before a vowel had often the sound of sh, as it has now in sugar and sure. Such was its sound in sue, suit, and its compounds, and I believe in super and its compounds, and in supine and supreme. Sever was pronounced shore in the Elizabethan era. Hence, too, shekels was spelled sickels” in the fo. MM 2, 2, 64 (74', 149). [The Cambridge editors quote from Notes and Queries, vol. 5, p. 325, the observation that shekels is spelled sickles in Wycliffe’s Bible. This is not an instance of s and sh interchanging in sound, but of different transcriptions of a Hebrew word (sheqël) which Jerome Latinized into sidrus, of course the im-
mediate origin of Wycliffe's spelling, and hence probably of the folio reading. Referring to LL 4, 1, 37 (144', 109), see supra p. 215, note, he says that in LL 3, 1, 77 (143, 191), sue is printed shue. It is not so in the fo. 1623, and the Cambridge editors do not note the form.]

TH

probably more frequently had the sound of (t) than at present. Com- compare the common spellings: nostrils, nosethrills, apoteacy apothecary, au-

tority authority, t'one the one, t'other the other [t'one, t'other, are thought to have been that one, that other = 't one 't other], trill thrill, swarty swarthy, fift fifth, sixth sixth, eight eighth [the last three are quite modern spellings and sounds], Satan Satan, stalwart stalwart, quot quote, quod quoth. Less usual examples: what's this, twice in Wyt and Science, Shak. Soc. ed. p. 21 [compare the change of 8 to t after d, t in Ormin, supra p. 490, l. 22, and p. 444, n. 2, but here tys may be simply a misprint]; a pythian piteous crye, Robert the De
vyll, p. 6; in golden trone throne, Seneca's Ten Tragedies, 1681, p. 124 [compare Salisbury, supra p. 760, n. 3]; th'one autentique authentic, Daniel's Rosamond, 1699, sig. Ce 2; dept depth of art, Browne's Pastoral's, 2, 62; Be as catherizing cauterizing, Tim 5, 1, 48 (761', 136), ed. 1623 [it is really misprinted as a Catherizing in that folio, the other three folios read as a catherizing, cauterizing was Pope's conjecture, other editors read cauer-

izing, the instance is therefore worthless]; the Thaskan Tuscan poet, Dray-
ton's Nymphidia, 1627, p. 120; with amatists anathysts, Arcadia, 1605, p.

143; call you this gamou gamut, four times, TS 3, 1, 24 (240', 71), ed. 1623 [the other folios have gamouth, the derivation is obscure]. Observe the interchange of t, th, in Japhet, Batseba, Hithite, Galathians, Loth, Pathmos, Swethen, Goteham, Gotes, Athalanta, Prothcus, Antony, Anthenor, "throughout our early literature." See also in Sir Balthazar Gerbier's Interpreter of the Academie for For-

rain Languages and all Noble Sciences and Exercises, 1648, 4to., where the writer, a Fleming, whose "associations were with the highest bred English people of his day, . . . intended to ex-

press with great particularity the Eng-

lish pronunciation of the day, and it specially became him to give the best." Thus he spells leftenant, Nassow. "In this singular book, which is printed with remarkable accuracy, we find words spelled with th in which we know there was only the sound of t, and, what is of equal importance, words written with t which were then, as now, according to received usage, spelled with th, and which have been hitherto supposed to have been pronounced with the (th) sound."

The examples are With Sundays = Whit Sundays, may seth = set, will teach = teach, strenckt = strength, yought = youth, anathomie = anatomy, fourthy = forty, seventhy = seventy, seventheen = seventeen, dept = depth, hight = height, sighs, sighed = sight, sighted, rethorike = rhetoric, braught = broth, the French is potage.

To this refer the puns "that most capricious [punning on coper—a goat] poet Ovid among the Goths," AY 3, 3, 3 (218', 9); and "Note, notes, for-

sooth, and nothing," MA 2, 3, 16 (118', 59). Compare "no hearing, no feeling, but my sir's song, and admiring the nothing of it," WT 4, 4, 164 (324', 625). Let the reader "discover if he can what this means, if nothing was not pronounced noting. Let him explain too, if he can, the following passage (which no one has hitherto attempted to ex-

plain), 'Armado.—But to have a love of that colour, methinks Samson had small reason for it. He surely affected her for her wit. Moth.—It was so, sir, for she had a green wit,' LL 1, 2, 51 (138', 91), except on the theory that the th was pronounced as t, and that the Page puns, and alludes to the green withes which Dalilah vainly used as bonds for Samson. And here compare Gerbier's [here mis-

spelled Bergier's in the original work] spelling With-Sundays, and conversely the frequent spelling of the preposition 'with' wit in writings of an earlier date." Notice d for th, and conversely, in murder, further, fathom, hundred, tether, quoth. "I believe that in the Elizabethan era, and, measurably, down to the middle of the seventeenth cen-

tury, d, th, and t, were indiscriminately used to express a hardened and perhaps not uniform modification of the Anglo-

Saxon 8, a sound like which we now hear in the French pronunciation of
neuwtre, and which has survived, with other pronunciations of the same period, in the Irish pronunciations of murder, further, after, water, in all of which the sound is neither d, th, nor t." [He alludes to the very dental t, d = (t̚, d̚) common on the Continent, still heard in some combinations in Lancashire, Yorkshire, Westmoreland, and the Peak of Derbyshire, and probably much more widely; the Irish seems to be complicated with a post-aspiration (t̚h, d̚h). In Yorkshire water is sometimes (waat̚er) and almost (waat̚r̚er), and Southerners, in trying to imitate it, call it (waat̚-tha). In the following notes, Mr. White pursues this subject further.] LL 1, 2, enter Moth (187'). "I have not the least doubt that the name of Armado's Page is not Moth, but Mote—a 'congruent epitheton' [LL 1, 2, 9 (138, 14)] to one whose extremely diminutive person is frequently alluded to in the play by phrases which seem applicable only to Tom Thumb. That 'mote' was spelled moth we have evidence twice in one line of this play [LL 4, 3, 39 (148, 161)], which stands in the original [in the quartos and folios]: 'You found his Moth, the King your Moth did see;' also in the following from KJ 4, 1, 29 (346', 92): 'O heaven, that there were but a moth in yours;' and, in fact, in every case in which the word appears in the first folio, as well as in all the quartos. Wichliff wrote in Matthew vi.; 'were rust and sought distreyth' [in Forshall and Madden's ed., Matt. vi. 19, older version, 'wher rust and mouthe distrayeth,' later edition, "where ruste and mouthe drestrieth," where we have the very same diversity of th and t]. Indeed, it seems far from improbable that the two words were originally one, and that 'mote' is not, as Richardson supposes, from 'mite.' For both 'mite' and 'mote[e]' are found in Anglo-Saxon, in which language 'moth' is moghte [mogðe, mogðe, or moððe, according to Ettmüller, p. 232, who refers the word to the root mûgan, mûhan, to be, able, to cover, to heap up; this accounts for the ð so often found in old writings, and the two sounds ( moot, moth) are similar to the two sounds (draat, drouth), see supra p. 963; mite, ags. mite, from mîtan, to eat; mote, ags. mot, is of very uncertain origin]. But whether the name is Moth or Mote, it is plain that the pronunciation was mote." In a note on the fairy's name, Moth, MN 3, 1, 49 (169, 165), Mr. White notes that the Moth of the old editions means mote, and quotes from Withal's Shorte Dictionarie for Young Beginners. London, 14to., 1568. "'A moth or motte that eateth clothes, tinea. A barell or great bolle, Tina, nec. Sed tinea, cum e, vermiculus est, anglicé, A motthe;'" and from Lodge's Wits Miserie, or the World's Madnesses, "They are in the aire like atomi in sole, mothes in the sun." On TS 2, 1, 16 (237, 49), he remarks that 'Katharina,' had the th sounded as t, as shown by the abbreviation Kate. [So also Jones, suprà p. 219.] On pother, KL 3, 2, 9 (862', 50), he remarks: "This word was spelled pouther, pother, potther, and pudding. In the first three cases it seems to have been pronounced with the th hard; and I believe it to be no more nor less than the word 'potter,' which is used in this, but not, I believe, in the mother country." [But the modern (podh-r) favours an old (pudhr'), which, with the interchange of (d) and (dh), explains everything.] Bermoothes, T 1, 2, 55 (4, 229), is the same as Bermudas. In the introduction to MA, vol. 3, p. 227, Mr. White very ingeniously shews that if we read Nothing as Nothing, the title becomes intelligible, "for the much ado is produced entirely by noting. It begins with the noting of the Prince and Claudio, first by Antonio's man [overheard MA 1, 2, 4 (113', 9)], and then by Borachio, who reveals their conference to John [heard MA 1, 3, 19 (114', 64)]; it goes on with Benedick noting the Prince, Leonato, and Claudio in the garden [the fowl sits MA 2, 3, 26 (119, 95)]; and again with Beatrice noting Margaret and Ursula in the same place [Beatrice runs to hear MA 3, 1, 3 (120', 25)]; the incident upon which its action turns is the noting of Borachio's interview with Margaret by the Prince and Claudio [see me MA 2, 2, 14 (118, 49); you shall see MA 3, 2, 51 (122, 116); saw MA 3, 3, 57 (123', 160); did see MA 4, 1, 41 (126, 91)]; and finally the incident which unravels the plot is the noting of Borachio and Conrad by the Watch [act 3, sc. 3]. That this sense, 'to observe,' to watch,' was one in which 'note' was commonly used, it is quite needless to shew by reference to the literature and lexicographers of Shake-
speare's day; it is hardly obsolete; and even of the many instances in Shakespeare's works, I will quote only one, 'slink by and note him,' from AY 3, 2, 77 (217, 267)." [Compare also LL 3, 3, 1, 6 (142, 25), "make them men of note—do you note me?" Mr. White then quotes the assonance, which he regards as a rhyme: doting nothing S 20, 10 (1033); see supra p. 955].

[The whole of this ingenious dissertation apparently arose from the passage:—

"Balthazar. Note this before my notes; There's not a note of mine that's worth the noting. D. Pedro. Why, these are very crotchets that he speaks; Note, notes, forsooth, and nothing."—

MA 2, 3, 15 (118', 57)]. This is the reading of the Quarto and Folios, for which Theobald proposed noting, a correction which seems indubitable. Nothing is given as (noth०) with a short vowel, the precursor of our (noth०), by both Bullokar and Gill, and although the shortness of the vowel did not stand in the way of Shakspere's assonance, just quoted, nor would have stood in the way of such distant allusions as those among which it is classed, supra p. 922, yet it is opposed to its confusion with (noot००). Still I have heard a Russian call nothing (noot००), with the identical (oo) in place of (oo) as well as (t) for (th). Acting upon this presumed pun, noting, nothing, Mr. White inquires whether the title of the play may not have been really "Much ado about nothing," and seeks to establish this by a wonderfully prosaic summary of instances, all the while forgetting the antithesis of much and nothing, on which the title is founded, with an allusion to the great confusion occasioned by a slight mistake—of Ursula for Hero—which was a mere nothing in itself. The Germans in translating it, Viel Lärm um Nichts, certainly never felt Mr. White's difficulty. It seems more reasonable to conclude that in MA 2, 3, 16 (118', 59), and WT 4, 4, 164 (324', 625), nothing was originally a misprint for noting, which was followed by subsequent editors. It is the only word which makes sense. In the first instance, it is required as the echo of the preceding words; in the second, Autolycus says: "My clown... grew so in love with the wenches' song that he would not stir his petticoats till he had both tune and words; which so drew the rest of the herd to me, that all their other senses stuck in ears;... no hearing, no feeling, but my sir's song, and admiring the noting of it;" where song and noting correspond to words and tune; and this serves to explain the joke in MA, where Balthazar, by saying that "there's not a note of his that's worth the noting," having already pumped on note = observe, and musical sound, puns again on noting = observing and putting into music; and in D. Pedro's remark, the only pun is on crotchets, i.e., either the musical notes or the puns which Balthazar is uttering. The joke on noting, and nothing, supposing the jingle to answer, is inapplicable in both cases. But dismissing all reference to nothing and noting as perfectly untenable, there is no doubt that Mr. White has proved Moth in LL to mean Mote or Atony, RJ 1, 4, 23 (717, 57), and in all modernized editions the name should be so spelled, as well as in the other passages where moth means-mote. Again, in the passage LL 1, 2, 53 (135', 94), there can be no doubt that green wit alludes to Dalliah's green withe. This interpretation is also accepted by the Cambridge editors. But how should wit and withe be confused? Have we not the key in that false pronunciation of the Latin final -t and -d as -th, that is, either (th) or (dh), which we find reprobated by both Palsgrave and Salesbury (supra p. 844, under D and T, and p. 769, note 4)? There is no reason to suppose that wit was even occasionally called (with); we have only to suppose that Mote—who is a boy that probably knew Latin, at least in school jokes, witness "I will whip about your Infamie Vnum cita," LL 5, 1, 30 (150', 72) (the Latin in this play is vilely printed, by-the-bye, and this vnum cita is sufficiently unintelligible; Theobald reads circum circa; another conjecture is manu cita; perhaps intra extra may have been meant, compare Liv. 1, 26, "vherba, vel intra pomoerium... vel extra pomoerium," but it was, no doubt, some well-known school urchin's allusion to a method of flogging—would not scruple, if it suited his purpose, to alter the termination of a word in the Latin school fashion, and make (wit) into (with) or (width) or to merely add
on the sound of (th), thus (wifth), as we now do in the word eighth (=eighth). We find him doing the very same thing, when, for the sake of a pun, he alters wittoll, as the word is spelled in the fo. MW 2, 2, 83 (61', 313), into wit-old, LL 5, 1, 26 (150', 66). But the word withe, ags. wifis, with a long vowel, is otherwise remarkable. It is now called (with) by most orthoepists, Perry giving (with) and Smart (wóidh). The long ags. t would make us expect (at), but it is one of the words which has remained unchanged. Even Smart gives (wóíth-i), which is the complete word, though Worcester writes (wóíth). These varieties are due to its being a word which orthoepists are probably not in the habit of hearing and using. The Scotch say (wóíd'th, wóíd'th). Could withe have ever been called (wit)? It is possible, just as fift, sixt, cited by Mr. White, had (t) in ags. and as late as Gill, but have now (th). That th, t, were used in a very haphazard way in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew words in the xviith and even xvith century is well known (supra p. 219), and probably there was great uncertainty of pronunciation in such words, partly through ignorance, and partly perhaps, because, notwithstanding what Bullokar says, supra p. 842, l. 19, th in Latin and Latinized words may have been by a large section of scholars called (t). To this category may be referred the pronunciation of Góth as (goot), AY 3, 3, 3 (218', 9), which is certainly intended. The usages of the Fleming Gerbier are not entitled to much weight. He probably could not pronounce (th), and identifying it with his own (t), which was also his pronunciation of (t), became hopelessly confused. In his own Flemish, th and t had the single sound (t). His With-Sunday may be a mere printer’s transposition of letters for Whitsunday. There does not appear to be any reason for concluding that the genuine English th ever had the sound of (t), although some final t’s have fallen into (th).—As regards the alternate use of d and th in such words as murther, further, father, etc., there seems reason to suppose that both sounds existed, as they still exist, dialectically, vulgarly, and obsolescently. But we must remember that (b, d, g) between vowels have a great tendency in different languages to run into (bh, dh, gh). Thus in German, aber, schreiben, become dialectically (aa'bher shrei'bhen). See examples in Pennsylvania German, supra p. 557. In Danish d medial and final is generally (dh), though not distinguished in writing, and similarly g in the greater part of Germany becomes (gh, gh) in the same positions. In Hebrew the pairs (b bh, d dh, g gh) had only one letter a piece. Hence (d, dh) forms no analogy for (t, th). The upshot of Mr. White’s researches seems, therefore, to be that writers of the xviith and xvith centuries were very loose in using t, th, in non-Saxon words. That this looseness of writing sometimes affected pronunciation, we know by the familiar example author and its derivatives. Thus Mätzner notes, Eng. Gram. 1, 132: “In words derived from ancient languages,” observe the limitation, “th often replaces t: Anthony (Antonus), author (autor), prothonotary (protonotarius) ; we also find lanthorn as well as lantern (lat- terne, lat. laterna, lanterna).” Could this last spelling have arisen from a false etymology, arising from the common employment of transparent horn in old lanterns? The h does not appear to have ever been sounded. “Old English often writes t in this way: retor ( rhetor), Sathanas (Satanas), Phtholomee, etc. The modern English anthem, old English antem, ags. anti- fen, arose from antiphona.”}

U.

“U, when not followed by e, had very commonly that sound (very un- fitly indicated by oo) which it has in rude, crude, and the compounds of lude, and of which the ‘furnitoo, literatoor, matoor,’ of old-fashioned, though not illiterate, New-England folk is a remnant. Such phonographic spellings as the following, of which I have numerous memoran- dums, leave no doubt on this point: ugly ougly, gun goon, run room, clung cloong, spun spoon, curl coole, and conversely poop pwp, gloom gum, gloomy gummy.” [In all but the last two instances the sound was (u), and they are corroborations of the statement that short u was (u) or (u) in the xviith century. See supra p. 167. In a note on Puck, MN 2, 1, 3 (164’, 18), vol. 4, p. 101, Mr. White says that previously to Shakspeare it was always spelled powke, pooke, or pout; and in vol. 6,
p. 143, in a note on "muddied in Fortune's mood," AW 6, 2, 1 (276, 4), he notices the pun, mood, mud (see supra p. 926), spoiled by Theobald's correction into mont, adopted by Warburton. Probably we have the same pun, or error spelling, 2H4 2, 4, 13 (419, 43), where "muddy rascal" is probably a joke on "moody rascal."

URE.

"That ure final was generally, if not universally, pronounced er among even the most polite and literate of our Elizabethan ancestors, no observant reader of the books of their day, or even those of the latter part of the seventeenth century, need be told." [The usage was not general, or con-

Mr. White adds: "Some readers may shrink from the conclusions to which the foregoing memorandums lead, because of the strangeness, and, as they will think, the uncouthness, of the pronunciation which they will involve. They will imagine Hamlet exclaiming:

—'A baste that wants discourse of rayson
Would have moorn'd longer!'
'O, me prophetic soul! me ooncle!'
'A broken voice, and his whole sounction shooting
Wit forms to his consayt, and all for noting!'

and, overcome by the astonishing effect of the passages thus spoken, they will refuse to believe that they were ever thus pronounced out of Ireland. But let them suppose that such was the pronunciation of Shakespeare's day, and they must see that our orthoepy would have sounded as strange and laughable to our forefathers, as theirs does to us." Of these pronunciations we have no authority for haive, me, shooting, wit, noting, as representatives of have, my, suiting, with, nothing, — (hæv) or (hæv), (mai) or (mr), (syːtˈɪq, with, nothˈɪq), being the only pronunciations which external authorities will justify. The example is, however, quoted, as the first attempt which I have seen to give complete sentences in Shaksperean pronunciation, the un-italicized words being supposed to have their present sounds.

Summary of the Conjectured Pronunciation of Shakspere.

It now remains from these indications to draw up a scheme of Shaksperean pronunciation, sufficiently precise to exhibit specimens in palæotype. Shakspere was born in 1564, became joint proprietor of Blackfriars Theatre1 in 1589, and died in 1616. He was a

1 This is the usual belief. Mr. Halliwell, in a letter in the Athenæum of 13 Aug., 1870, p. 212, col. 3, says that he had recently discovered a series of documents concerning the establishment of the Globe and Blackfriars theatres, which dissipate a mass of conjecture and throw much light on the history of the Elizabethan stage. "It is now certain," he says, "that Shakspere,
Warwickshire man, and our chief authority for the pronunciation of the time, Dr. Gill, a Lincolnshire man; but such local and personal peculiarities must be disregarded. What we want to assign is the pronunciation in which his plays were acted, during the last decade of the xviith and the first of the xviiith century. This pronunciation may be fairly assumed to be that determined by the preceding quarter of a century, during which the actors must have acquired it, and, judging from stage habits in the xixth century, it will probably have been archaic.

Consonants do not present the slightest difficulty, except in respect to syllabic R (p. 951) and L (p. 952), the guttural or mute GH, and S, T. Although we have much reason to suspect a use of vocal R (= r) similar to that now in vogue (p. 196), especially from the influence of final r on the pronunciation of the preceding letters, as in the rhymes pp. 964–6, yet we have absolutely no authority for such a conclusion. Even Cooper's words (p. 200), which seem to convey the distinctest intimation, are not decisive. Hence no attempt will be made to distinguish R into (r, r), but the modern Scotch (r) will be assumed in all cases. Syllabic R and L will, therefore, be written (er, el). Thus—

Juu sent m'dep'yti for Eierland H 3, 2, 73 (610, 260).
Az feirer dreivz out feirer, so pit' i pit' i JC 3, 1, 65 (775', 171).
Az ei rem' ber Hn' eri dhe Sikst R 3, 2, 45 (680', 98).
But whuu žx man dhat žx not aq' gers? Tim 3, 5, 9 (752', 57).
Faarwel' , komend' mi tu jur m'st' eres NJ 2, 4, 81 (723', 204).
Juu, dhe greet too ov dhis asem' beli C 1, 1, 45 (655', 169).
Whel shii did kkal mi ras' kal fed' eler TS 2, 1, 45 (293, 158).
Dhan Bu' sbrucks return' tu Eq' geland R 3, 4, 1, 4 (375, 17).

As respects GH, there seems to be no doubt that it was still indicated in speech. The interpretation of Salesbury's words, cited on p. 210, was slightly modified by Dr. Davies in revising p. 779, and it is evident that we must assume the (kh) to have been very lightly touched. All those who are familiar with the various local pronunciations of German, know well that there are extreme differences in the force with which the breath is expelled when pronouncing (kh). Shakspere certainly did not find his utterance of this sound sufficiently strong to debar him from disregarding it altogether in rhymes (p. 963), which however does not shew that it was not pronounced; compare the analogous rhymes (oo, ouu), p. 961, and the assonances, p. 955. But we should probably be more justified in following the example of Smith and Hart, who wrote ('r) or ('r'), p. 210, than that of Gill, who identified the sound with the Greek x

who is more than once alluded to by name, was never a proprietor in either theatre. His sole interest in them consisted in a participation, as an actor, in the receipts of 'what is called the house.' And in the Athenæum of 24 Sept., 1870, p. 398, col. 1, he explains that 'this does not mean what is now implied by the ordinary expression of an actor sharing in the receipts of the house. In Shakspere's time, the proprietors took absolutely the entire receipts of certain portions of the theatre. 'The house' was, therefore, some other part or parts of the theatre, the receipts of which were divided amongst Shakspere and other actors, and in which a proprietor had no share, unless, of course, he was an actor as well as a proprietor.'
Messrs. Noyes and Peirce (supra p. 917, n. 1) say, "The sound of this guttural must have been atomic and faint, for Baret, Smith and Jonson make it equivalent to h... Its sound must have been disappearing in Shakespeare's time, for in 1653 it was a provincialism (Wallis, p. 31).... It is probable that f was frequently substituted for gh." See supra pp. 963, 967.

2 Messrs. Noyes and Peirce "conclude,—1st that -tion, -sion, are dissyllabic, but could be contracted to one syllable; and, 2nd, that they had nearly, if not quite, the modern French sound."—See Gill's remarks on synæresis, supra p. 937, and n. 3.

3 Messrs. Noyes and Peirce say "k before n, and v before h, would seem to have been invariably sounded."

The short a is considered to have been (a) by Messrs. Noyes and Peirce, who, relying principally on Wallis, say that "in this case, it is a defect in Gill's system, that it does not distinguish between the a in 'cat,' and that in 'cart.'" But as regards a long, they consider it had "a sound nearly like ale," and then stating that this a, "as now sounded, ends with a very short i sound," conclude that this was not the case then, and seem, on the authority of Wallis, to make it (eae). The ease of long a = (AA) they consider under AU, see the next note but one.

5 Messrs. Noyes and Peirce conclude that "ai was a true diphthong, more resembling our a long than our i long," meaning probably (eai), which would not be quite the same as our a long, which they consider to be (eet).
AU, AW, ought to be (au) if \( ai=(ai) \). But the usage of language is independent of such analogies, and changes may be complete in one case, but not in the other. Hart finds no difficulty in pairing (ee, au), and Gill, though he wrote (au), apparently meant (\( AA \)), p. 145. But he evidently hesitated at times between (au) or (\( AA \)) and (\( AA \)), for he says, referring to "HALL Henriculus, HALE trahere, et HALL aula," that "exilius est a in duabus vocibus prioribus, in tertii\( e f e \) est diphthongus." Compare a similar expression respecting the undoubtedly diphthongal long \( i \), supra p. 114, l. 10 from bottom. The (au, au, \( A u \)) have the true archaic stage twang, and each of them may be occasionally heard, at least before (\( i \)), from modern declaimers. Still as I have felt constrained to accept (\( AA \)) as the most probable representative of Dr. Gill's use, and as Ben Jonson, the friend and contemporary of Shakspere, seems to have had no notion of any diphthongal sound (supra p. 146), I have adopted (\( AA \)) in Shakspere. There is at least one rhyme, \( la! f l a w \), p. 957, which favours this supposition, though it would be quite inadequate to establish it. Puns give no results, p. 923.1

E, followed the rule of (ee, ii, e) given supra pp. 225, 227. There was, however, occasionally a tendency to mince it into (\( i \)) when short, compare the puns: *clept clipt, civil Seville*, p. 925, and the rhymes p. 958. This mincing became very prevalent in the xvii th and xvm th centuries, but is inadmissible as an acknowledged pronunciation in stately verse.2

1 Messrs. Noyes and Peirce, after a long investigation, say: "We must endeavour to explain our facts on the presumption that its sound [that of \( au \)] underwent no change. Now this can only be done by supposing that the French a, from 1620 to 1690, represented such a sound as might at once be described as 'daunt' and be made equivalent to 'dawn.' Such a sound is, perhaps, given to 'balm' in Georgia and Alabama." By *daunt, dawn*, I suppose these writers mean (aa, \( AA \)); by the last-mentioned sound of balm, they possibly mean (\( aa \)). They proceed thus: "Soon after 1690 it took another step in the same direction as that which was taken after the wars of the Huguenots, perhaps, and now bore no resemblance to the \( a \) in *father*. It appears, however, that this change had not struck completely into the provinces; for, as the Revolution gradually passed off, this orthoepy also died out, and left the pronunciation as it was during the reign of Francis I. If we accept this theory, our conclusion respecting the English *au* will be that it was always pronounced as at present," that is (\( AA \)). They incidentally call the pronunciation of *dance* as (\( den's \), which is thought refined by many English speakers, "a prevalent vulgarism" in America. On the sound of French *a*, see supra p. 820, and on the English conception of the sound so late as the end of the xvm th century, see Sir William Jones's English spelling of French, supra p. 835. At present there is a great tendency in French to make the sound very thin. The use of (\( aa \)) is disliked, and the short sound has dwindled from (\( a \)) to (\( ah \)), on its road, apparently, to (\( a \)), precisely as in older English. See Tito Pagliardini's *Essays on the Analogy of Language*, 1864, p. 6.

2 Messrs. Noyes and Peirce say that *e* short "has undergone no perceptible change." And of the sound of *e* long, as in *Eve*, *deed*, they say: "There can be no doubt that this sound was heard in almost all the words where it now occurs, including 'people' and 'shire' in combination, for Gill gives to all these words the long sound of the short *i*." The principal exceptions were words in *ea*, several in *ei*, *Cesar*, *cedar*, *equal*, *fierce*, *Grecian*, *interfere*, *these*, etc., which had the peculiar sound of *ea*," explained in the next note.
EA was mostly long (ee) and occasionally short (e). We must here accept the external testimonies, which are clear and distinct. The rhymes, p. 967, are singularly inconclusive as respects the length of the vowel. The rhymes of ea with ee, pp. 957-8, are all clearly false. A few words had the sound of (ii), p. 81. The vocabulary must be consulted for the authorities. All such usages were clearly orthographical mistakes or disputes, the appropriation of ea to long (ee) at the close of the xvth century not having been universally recognized. In heart, heard, the sound of (a) prevailed, see the puns p. 925, but see also the rhymes p. 964, col. 1, and p. 965, col. 2. For the interchange of the sounds (iir, eer) in the terminations -ear, -ere, see the rhymes p. 964, col. 2. In these cases there is no choice but to follow external authorities.¹

EE must be regarded as always intentionally (ii).²

EI, EY, ought to have followed the fortunes of ai, ay, with which we have seen they were once interchangeable. Gill is not consistent. He marks prey as (prai), supra p. 900, but in they he uses (ei, eei), and in receive, conceive simple (ee). The rule that where ei is now (ii) it was then (ee), and where it is now (ee, eei) it was then (eei), will not be far wrong. Neither rhymes nor puns help us here. Hart's ordinary orthography, as shewn by his own MS., supra p. 794, note, proves that ei was to him identical with (ee).³

EO had become (ii) in people, and perhaps in yeoman, of which the modern sound (joo'men) is clearly erroneous. We find leopard trisyllabic, H* 1, 5, 5 (475, 31), supra p. 947. The combination is very rare, and there is nothing to be gleaned from rhymes or puns.

EU, EW, if we believe external testimony, were clearly (eu) or (yy), and this view will be adopted. See the observations on the rhymes which apparently militate against this conclusion, p. 962.⁴

I, Y, long will be assumed as (ei). Smith and Shakspere identify I, eye, aye, pp. 112, 926, 963. For Gill's sound Wallis's (ai) has been adopted, but the more indeterminate (eai) has been retained in Shakspere. The short I was of course (i). But rhymes present difficulties. We have a few cases of long I and short I rhyming in closed syllables, pp. 958-9, some of which must be esteemed false, but in

¹ Messrs. Noyes and Peirce say that "Mr. Marsh, looking at the grammars, at once discovered that it [the sound of ea] was never the one [long a] nor the other [double ee], but an intermediate sound, like e in met prolonged. [This gives (ee) exactly.]... When ea is found rhymed with ai, it is owing to a common mispronunciation of the latter diphthong noticed by Gill." Shakspere's rhymes of ea with ai, are so rare as to be quite valueless, coming under the category of consciously imperfect rhymes, supra p. 956. Even Sidney's, were not frequent, p. 872.

² Messrs. Noyes and Peirce do not treat this combination independently of long e.

³ Messrs. Noyes and Peirce say, "the ei in receive, deceive, etc., was a diphthong in Gill's time."—these two words are, however, exceptionally pronounced with monophthongal (ee) by Gill,—"it was used interchangeably with ai, as both Smith and Mulcaster observe." See supra p. 120 for Smith, and p 912 for Mulcaster.

⁴ Messrs Noyes and Peirce say that "eu differed from u in 'use' apparently in beginning with the vowel 'y' instead of the consonant y." See below p. 988, n. 2.
others there may have been a variety of pronunciation. The
termination -ind seems to have been generally (eind), corresponding to
the modern pronunciation. The final -Y, however, offers the
same varieties of rhyme as in Spenser, p. 869, and in modern
verse, p. 861. There are occasional rhymes with (-ii), p. 959, col. 2,
but many more numerous examples of rhymes with (-ei), p. 959,
col. 1, without any reference to the origin from French -e, -ie, or
Anglo-saxon -iX. As Gill constantly adopts the pronunciation
(-ei) in such cases, I shall follow his lead. Compare the puns on
noddv, marry, p. 926.  
IE, when not final, was probably (ii), according to the external
authorities. When medial, it was still a rare form, and had not re-
gularly replaced ee, p. 104; friend, fiend, were probably (frend, fend),
see the rhymes, p. 958. When final, it was generally (ei) accented,
and (i) unaccented, see Mulcaster's remarks, suprà p. 913, col. 2.
O long and short must be generally assumed as (oo, o), compare
the rhymes, pp. 959, 960, and the puns, p. 925. Before l, long o
becomes (ou), according to Gill. Shakspere in his rhymes disregards
the difference (oo, 0ou), p. 960. We must, therefore, follow external
authorities. Long O was also occasionally (uu), compare the puns,

1 Messers. Noyes and Peirce say of
h in in, that "words to which we now
give this sound had in general the same
pronunciation in Shakespeare's day." On
the long i, they first remark on the
the gliding characteristic of diphthongs,
referring to Mr. J. Jennison in Hild-
ard's Reader: "None of our diph-
thongs are combinations of two vowels,
but run from the first sound to the
last through an infinite number of
gradations. 'Ice,' according to this
view, instead of being ah-e, is more
nearly ah, up, err, end, in, eve," that is,
instead of (ai), is more nearly (aooen),
"But it is not to be supposed that
any abrupt change was made from
the Saxon i to this very complex
combination. It is more rational to
suppose that the sound grew up by ins-
sensible gradations somewhat in this
manner," translating the symbols, they
become (1. i, 2. 6, 3. eri, 4. aeri, 5.
aooen, 6. aooen). Then quoting Pals-
grave as suprà pp. 109, 110, they say:
"The unmistakable drift of these cita-
tions is to the effect that 'ice' was pro-
nounced like i in 'wind,' or perhaps
'end-in-eve,'" that is, as (i)? or
(eii)? Further on they say, "the Pals-
gravian pronunciation of 'ice' in words
where the i is now sounded long; ap-
ppears to have been confused with Mul-
caster to a few words ending in nd.
'Wind, frind, bind,' he laconically re-
marks, 'and with the qualifying e, 
kinde, finde,' etc. (Elementarie, p. 133).
[Suprà p. 913.] So Coote, who, how-
ever, like Gill, preferred the longer
pronunciation in all words of this class,
not excepting 'wind.' 'And some pro-
nounce these words blind, find, behind,
short: others blinde, finde, behinde,
with e, long,' (Coote, p. 19)." They
adopt (oo) as Gill's j or long i. These
conclusions are not sensibly different
from mine. In this relation, the
following observation of Ben Jonson,
alluded to by Messrs. Noyes and Peirce,
shewing apparently that he recognized
both sounds (maes mees; lais lees), is
noteworthy: "Many words ending in
Diphthongs, or Vowells, take neither z
nor s. [In the plural,] but only change
their Diphthongs or Vowells, retaining
their last Consonant: as Mouse, Mice,
or Meece. Louse. Lyne, or Leece. Goose,
Jonson, Gram. Chap. xiii. But from
the same writer conjugating "Pr. Lye.
Pa. lay. Par. pa. lyne or layne," we
cannot conclude that layne was pro-
nounced by any one like lynne, but that
lyne was a form which he preferred, as
one may see from his conjugating:
"Pr. Flyn. Pa. flew. Par. pa. flyne or
flowne," where flyne could never have
been the pronunciation of flowne. B.
p. 925, and the rhymes in -ove, and of long o with oo, both on p. 961. On the other hand, short o often rhymed with (u), and was frequently so pronounced (compare the puns, p. 926), though some of the rhymes, especially those in -ong (p. 962), are undoubtedly false.  

OA seems to have been regularly (oo).  

OE is only (oo).  

O1, OY will be taken as (oi) or (uui), according to Dr. Gill’s usage. When there is no immediate authority, the pronunciation (ai) or (oi) in the xviith or xviiith century, may be held to imply a xviith century (ui) or (uui), supr4 p. 134, l. 1, and p. 473, note, col. 2, and infra p. 992, note 2, and p. 995, note 3. The rhymes, p. 963, are not at all conclusive, but seem to indicate an unsettled pronunciation.  

OO was regularly (un), but there are a few rhymes with long u, see p. 963.  

OU, OW, had of course the two sounds (ou, ou), but Shakspere quite disregarded the difference between these two diphthongs in rhyme, p. 961, and also the difference between (oo, ou), p. 960. In a few instances he has even rhymed (oo, ou), p. 961. It would of course be wrong to conclude from these rhymes that he did not differentiate the sounds (oo, ou), which have been so carefully distinguished in speech down to the present day; and even, though (oo) and (ou) are now beginning to coincide, in an unrecognized pronunciation of long o, the cases of (oo, ou) are kept apart as (oo, ou) or (ou, au). Hence I shall here follow my external authorities.  

1 Messrs. Noyes and Peirce do not seem to be acquainted with the common English provincial and Scotch sounds (oo, o), although they know (oo, o), the short (o) being the “Yankee pronunciation of ‘whole’ and ‘coat’. “Finding that in Wallis the pronunciation of short o was (a) or nearly (o), they leave the point in doubt whether Gill may not really have paired (oo, a) in error, and have meant those sounds by his a, o. The long o they take without any aftersound or “vanish,” that is, as (oo) not (ou). But the diphthongal o before I, and ou, ove, which are now professedly (oo), they assume “must have been the same with which the Irish now pronounce the word bold.” I have not had an opportunity of strictly analyzing the Irish sound, but it appears to me to be rather (ou), or (au), with a short first element, than (oo), or (ou), with a long first element. It is probably the same sound as orthopists in the xviiiith century analyzed as (au, ou), supra p. 160. But if so, it is more nearly the closed sound of ou than the open sound, that is, nearer (ou) than (oo). Messrs. Noyes and Peirce do not seem to notice the (un, u) sounds of o.  

2 Messrs. Noyes and Peirce recognize the double sound of oi, and quote the passage from Mulcaster, supra p. 915.  

3 These distinctions are recognized by Messrs. Noyes and Peirce, who, however, infer from the passages quoted from Mulcaster, supra p. 914, that he agreed with Bullokar and Palsgrave in pronouncing ou as (uu), where most writers gave (ou), just as when i preceded nd he at least occasionally pronounced (i), and not (ei, ai), supra p. 913. They also imagine that Shakspere may have occasionally played on the pronunciation of foole as fool. Mr. Noyes, in a private letter, thinks that the reading foole found in three quartos in H1 4, 2, 7 (402, 21), which is foole or fool in all the other authorities, arose from this source, and that fool is the better reading. The words would then thus run: “such as fear the report of a caliver worse than a struck fool or a hurt wild duck,” where this sound would create an obvious pun. But we have no examples of indisputable puns of this sort.
U long must be taken on external authority as (yy). See remarks on the pun you, u, p. 926, and on the rhymes, p. 962. There is of course just the chance of an (iu) pronunciation, which we know existed, not only from Holyband’s express assertion (supra p. 228, note, col. 1, and p. 838), but from the impossibility of otherwise accounting for Wilkins’s ignorance of (yy), p. 176. Still the testimony of Gill and Wallis is so distinct that we should not be justified in assuming any but (yy) to be the received pronunciation. But U short was either (u) or (u). The puns or allusions moody, muddy, p. 926, strongly confirm this. None of the rhymes, p. 962, are convincing.

UI receives no light from the rhyme voice juice, even when supplemented by Hodges’s confusion noted on p. 963, col. 1, and the conclusions of p. 136 will be adopted.

1 The possibility of Wallis’s (yy) and Wilkins’s (iu) coexisting, without either noticing the difference of pronunciation in the other, though both were in frequent communication, is established by the following fact. In Norfolk twee, do, are constantly called (tyy, dyy), as I know from personal experience, and much concurrent information. The gentleman who supplied Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte with a specimen of the dialect, repudiated this sound, and only allowed the existence of (tii, diu), sounds of which I am ignorant. But I have noticed a confusion between (yy, o) here as elsewhere. Again, it is generally asserted that in Devonshire they call moon (myyn); but Dr. Weymouth, a Devonshire man, denies the fact, and his pronunciation is (moom), as nearly as I could judge. The sounds (o, yy) are constantly confused. See remarks on the Devonshire pronunciation of oo, supra p. 636, note. Kenrick, in his Dictionary, 1773, p. 39, identifies a quickly spoken u with the French sound. Even as late as 1775, Joshua Steele heard French u or (yy) in superfloous, tame, supreme, credulity, though he states it to be “very rare in English,” and “seldom or never sounded... except in the more refined tone of the court, where it begins to obtain in a few words.” Prosodia Rationalis, pp. x. and xii. See below Chap. X. I heard (yy) pronounced in purify in 1870, from the pulpit. Attention should also be paid to an extremely difficult provincial diphthong, common in the Peak of Derbyshire, Westmoreland, and Cumberland, and probably in many parts of the north of England, which replaces long u. At first a Southerner takes it for (iu), then he is apt to consider it simply (yy) or (o) or (uv), according to his familiarity with these sounds, I have not yet been able to analyze it satisfactorily, but it appears to me to partake of such characters as (yu, uu). The first element of diphthongs is notoriously difficult to seize, even when the diphthongs are extremely familiar (supra p. 108), and hence the uncertainty of this sound, which may perhaps be provisionally received as (yu). Yet Mr. Thomas Hallam (supra p. 473, n. 1, col. 2), from whose pronunciation I endeavoured to analyze the sound, himself analyzed it as (aw), which did not satisfy my ear, although the corresponding diphthong (ii) for (ii) seemed, after much observation, sufficiently established. It is possibly to some such intermediate diphthong that all the confusion between (yy) and (iu) is to be traced.

2 Messrs. Noyes and Peirce say: “the pronunciation of ‘wise’ is described with some unanimity as that of the French u, as indeed it may well have been once; but that certainly was not its sound in Shakespeare’s day, for Baret describes it in terms of more than ordinary clearness as being a diphthong compounded of e and u.” But see the passage quoted and remarks on it, supra p. 168. The short u Messrs. Noyes and Peirce fully recognize as (u) or (u), which of course they do not distinguish.
These considerations give the following results:—

A = (aa a).
AI = (ai), and rarely = (ee).
AU = (aa).
E long = (ee), rarely = (ii).
E short = (e).
EA generally = (ee), rarely = (ii), and more rarely = (a), occasionally = (e).
EE = (ii).
EI = (eci) or = (ee), rarely = (ai).
EO = (ii) or (ee).
EU = (eu) or (yy).
I long = (ei).
I short = (i).

-Y final, generally = (ei).
IEmedial = (ii), final = (ei) or (i).
O long, generally = (oo), occasionally = (uu).
O short generally = (o), occasionally = (u) or (u).
OA = (oo).
OE = (oo).
OI = (oi), but occasionally = (uui).
UO = (ou).
U long = (yy).
U short = (u) or = (u).

Any deviations from these customs must have special external authority; and when any combination has two values, either the same authority must be sought, or its place supplied by analogy, derived from observing the direction of change in similar words (pp. 225–240). The usual variations in the orthography of the xviith and early part of the xviiith century must of course be allowed for. We have no specimens of Shakspere's own orthography except his own signature, and no reason to suppose that it would have been more systematic or regular than that of the other literary men of his time.¹

¹ For the printed orthography of Shakspere's works, the remarks of Salesbury (supra p. 752 and note 3) should be borne in mind. We have seen that Sir John Cheko attempted a systematic orthography in M.S. (supra p. 877, note). Mr. Francis Fry, F.S.A., author of an elaborate Description of the Great Bible of 1539, &c., &c., and editor of a fac-simile reproduction of Tyndale's first edition of the New Testament, 1525 or 1526, and other works, has recently called special attention to a curious and very rare edition of Tyndale's New Testament, of which a mutilated copy will be found in the British Museum (press-mark C. 36. a, described in the Catalogue of Bibles, part 13, fo. 1384), and a nearly perfect copy at Cambridge, of which the second title (the first is wanting) runs thus, according to Mr. Fry: "The newe Testament, dylygently corrected and compared with the Greke by Willyam Tindale: and fynessed in the yere of oure Lorde God A.M.D. and XXXV." While this sheet was passing through the press, I received Mr. Fry's printed alphabetical list of nearly 300 words in this edition, whose orthography differs so materially from that used for the same words in the edition of 1534, that Anderson (according to Mr. Fry), in his Annals of the English Bibles, 1, 456, says, it is supposed to be Gloucestershire dialect, and that the Testament was intended by Tyndale (who was born in Gloucestershire, about 1477), for the ploughboys of that county, whom he said, about 1520, he would make to know the Scriptures better than the priests. On examining the list of words furnished by Mr. Fry, and comparing the spelling with the older pronunciations in the preceding Vocabulary (pp. 881–910), we find the following results, neglecting a few doubtful cases.

AE = (aa) in: age, baebes, braeke, caege, caeke, caeze, caest, desolae, faere, faese faece, faeter, gaesinge, gaere, grace, haest haestly, hact, haetch, haewe, haeven, haede, laeke, laeae, laetely, maede, maeking, maekinge, nacked, naeme, parttaeker, place, plaetes, raeu, raedt, raether, saufe, saeke, saeme, saeved, saevour, saecke, shaekke, shaemae, shaepre, space, spaekke, taoke, taeme, taest, awaekte, waere, waest, waested.

AEI = (aul) in: caelinge, faele, facelsy, saeall, taekeld, waekte.

AE = (a) in: accompanyinge, aengell, maed, maesters, paer, rewaerde, saete,
The pronunciation founded on these conclusions, may at first hearing appear rude and provincial. But I have tried the effect of reading some of these passages

taekoynge, vyneyaerde, wacht, wraeth (all probably errors).
AEY (= al) in: abyssayne, afeaynde, agaynyne, captyayne, certifynyne, chaye (an error for chaeyne), clayc, compaynyeners, consayetys (possibly an error for consayetes), contsayne, daisy, dekayye, faelye (an error for faeyl), faeynt (also by error fauento), faer, faeyth, fountaynyne, gaeye, haeye, laeyt, laeyde, laeye, maeyntayne, maeyt, marvaeyle, mountaynyne, maysye, obtaeynd, paeyed, paeyer, paeyyn, paeynt, plaeyne, praeyed, praeyer, praeyce, raeigne (an error for raeygne), raeylinge, raeyment, raeyne, raeye, raee (an error for saeey), saeyde, saeyinge, seayled, seaynetes, staeyte, staeyles, trevaeyle, unfayneynd, vaeele (an error for vaewyle), vaiteyes, waale (an error for waewyle), waeghte, waeyte.
AE (= ee) or (e) is probably an error for EA in: aet, conceawe, deceawable, deceawe, hear (= her) naedath, pael, paecewe, swaerdes, ware (= where, an error for weare?), waepens.
EE, EA, present no peculiarities, but EAE (= ee) is used, perhaps by error, in: great, and EY in agreyment may be an error. IE, YE, are rarely, probably by error, in: abyde, blind.
OE, sometimes alternating with OO, OA, (=oo) in: abode, abroed, accorderes, aumost, aumes alane, arosoe, cloke, atoement, boet, boethe boote, clothe, coole, coete cootes, doear (= door) hoome hoeume, hoepo (moone is probably an error for moone, moone), moone noone, oethe, poole, roeke, roese, smoot, socalye, spokens, stoen, stoen stroone, stoeose, toose, toenkes, treode, whoem whoom, wroote.
OEL = (oul) in: behoelled, boidelly, coeld, foere, hoeld.
OE, sometimes alternating with OU, (= uu, u) in: anoether, booke, broeke, broothe, doeth, doeying, foedel, foellishness, foerth, foete, loke louke, moeche, moene, moeming, moether, mouny, oethet, roeke, shoeld, shoes, stoel, stonde, stoelle, tocke, touth, woeld (= would), woord (woere = where, is probably an error).
OEF = (oul, u) in: anoeynt, apoycant, and (= ol) in voyeye.
UE = (yy) in: cruoses, ruel, ruelers, truelthe.

Now the first inspection of such a list leads to the notion that a systematic spelling was attempted (failing of course occasionally), by which long a, e, i, o, u were to be expressed by ae, ee, ie, oe, ue, exactly in accordance with Mr. E. Jones's most recent attempt at improving English spelling (supra pp. 590–1 and notes), and hence that Tyndale's and Cheke's spellings should be placed in the same category. There could have been no attempt at exhibiting rustic pronunciation, because of the close agreement with the accepted literary pronunciation of the time. But an inspection of the book itself leads to a very different conclusion. Had the author had any systematic orthography in view, it would certainly have predominated, and examples of the ordinary orthography would have appeared as misprints. But the book presents just the opposite appearance. The curious orthographies do not strike the eye on reading a page or two, except as occasional errata, and Mr. Fry's list is the result of a laborious search. The word maester is said to be nearly the only one which is used with tolerable uniformity, and this might have been used for moaster, a common form (p. 996, n.). But the systematic character of the spelling, which is clear from the above arrangement, renders it impossible to consider these spellings as merely accidental errors of the press. That they are errors which had been only occasionally committed, and had probably been very frequently corrected in the first proofs, is palpable, but there must have been some special reason for the compositor's committing them. Now the book was most probably printed at Antwerp, and Tyndale was then a prisoner in Flanders. One of the compositors employed on this particular edition may have been a Fleming, with a good knowledge of English, but apt not seldom to adopt his own orthography in place of the English, to represent his own English pronunciation. This supposition would be sufficient to account for his frequently using the Flemish ae, oe, oo, ue, for (aa, uu, oo, yy). That he occasionally used oe for (oo), notwithstanding its Flemish use for (uu), may have been due to erroneous pronunciation, to which also must also be ascribed the use of ae for (a) and of ael, oel, for (aul, oul). We must suppose that his errors were generally seen and corrected at press, but were not frequently overlooked, as they might be by the best press readers, and were sure to have been by such careless ones as those in the sixteenth century. This hypothesis seems sufficient to account for the phenomenon, though its establishment would require a more laboured examination of the printed text than it seems to be worth.
to many persons, including well-known elocutionists, and the general result has been an expression of satisfaction, shewing that the poetry was not burlesqued or in any way impaired by this change, but, on the contrary, seemed to gain in power and impressiveness. Yet, though every real lover of Shakspere will be glad to know how the grand words may have sounded to Shakspere's audience, how he himself may have conceived their music, how he himself may have meant them to be uttered and win their way to the hearts of his audience, it is, of course, not to be thought of that Shakspere's plays should now be publicly read or performed in this pronunciation. The language of the xvi th century stands in this respect on a totally different footing from that of the xiv th. Chaucer's verse and rhyme are quite unintelligible, if he is read with our modern pronunciation. 1 Hence the various "translations" or rather "transformations" of Chaucer perpetrated by Dryden, Pope, Lipscombe, Boyce, Ogle, Betterton, Cobb, etc., and more recent attempts at a "transfusion of Chaucer into modern English," in which the words of the original are preserved so far as the exigencies of rhyme and metre, according to xxx th century notions, permit. 2 But even then the effect of the new patches on old garments is painfully

The one point of importance to the present investigation is that the orthographies were not due to Tyndale's, or any English system. As due to a Fleming's involuntary system, they would, so far as they go, confirm contemporary English authorities, and hence are so far useful to us.

1 Mr. Payne, in his paper on "The Norman Element in the Spoken and Written English of the xiii th, xiv th, and xiv th Centuries, and in our Provincial Dialects," just published in the Transactions of the Philological Society, has many criticisms on the theories of pronunciation here adopted, which have been partly noted, supra pp. 581-588, and will have to be further considered in Chap. XII.; but as he has given a specimen of the pronunciation of Chaucer which results from his researches, it is convenient to reproduce it here, without comment, for comparison with that on p. 681, and Rapp's on p. 676. The original is also in palaeograph. Mr. Payne has obligingly revised and corrected the proof of this copy.

whan dhit apr'it | with -is shu'ies swoot
| dhu druut of mar'the | math perved to dhu root
| and baadh-ud evri veen | in swich likuur
| of whight vertu' | endzhem'dred is dhu fluor
| when zefirus' | eek with -is sweet'v breath
| enaspil'ud nath | in ev'ri nolt and neeth
| dhu ten'der kropy's | and dbe zuy'g sun
| nath in dhu ram | -is malf'w kuurs irun
| and smaal'w fuul'w | maak'w mel'odii-
| dhat sleep'um al dhu nilt | with cop'wum i
| with cop'um i
| soo prìk'wth -em nautur' | in nor keraadzh'wes
| danluq'w folk | tu goon on pilgrimaadzuwes

and pal'mers | for tu seek'en straundzh'w
| stroud'w
| to fern'w nat'uns
| kuuth ûn sun'dri lond'wes
| and spes'alit'; | from ev'ri shiit's end
| of En'gelond; | to Kan'tarberi' | dhee wend
dhe xoo'l' blis'ful mar'ter
| for tu seek
| dhat nem nath mulp'swun
| 'whan dhit dhee
| wor seek.

2 The Poems of Geoffrey Chaucer modernized, London (Whitaker), 1841, 5vo. pp. cxlvii, 331.—The modernizers are various. The Prologue, Reve's and Franklin's Tales by R. H. Horne, the Cuckoo and Nightingale and part of Troilus and Cressida by Wm. Wordsworth, Complaint of Mars and Venus by Rob. Bell, Queen Annelida and the false Arcite by Elizabeth B. Barrett, the Manciple's, Friar's, and Squire's Tales by Leigh Hunt, etc.

The initial lines of the Prologue are thus rendered by Mr. R. H. Horne, the italicized words being introduced for the sake of "modernization," see the revised text, supra p. 680.

When that sweet April showers with downward shoot
The drought of March have pierc'd unto the root,
And bathéd every vein with liq uid power,
Whose virtue rare engendereth the flower;
When Zephyrus also with his fragrant breath
Inspired hath in every grove and heath
The tender shoots of green, and the young sun
Hath in the Ram one half his journey run,
And small birds in the trees make melody,
That sleep and dream all night with open eye;
So nature stirs all energies and ages

That folks are bent to go on pilgrimages,
apparent. The best of them breathe a modern spirit into the dead giant, and by a crucial instance shew the vanity of attempting to represent the thoughts of one age in the language of another.

Shakspere's metre only rarely halts in our present utterance,—although it does halt occasionally from not attending to "resolutions" (see remarks on banished, suprâ p. 948, col. 1)—and his rhymes are so far from being perfect, as we have seen, that the slightly greater degree of imperfection introduced by modern utterance is not felt. His language, although archaic enough in structure to render the attempts of imitators ludicrous, is yet so familiar to us from the constant habit of reading his plays, and the contemporary authorized version of the Bible, that it does not require a special study or a special method of reading, by which silent letters are resuscitated. As essentially our household poet, Shakspere will, and must, in each age of the English language, be read and spoken in the current pronunciation of the time, and any marked departure from it (except occasional and familiar "resolutions," sounding the final -ed, and shifting the position of the accent, which are accepted archaisms consecrated by usage,) would withdraw the attention of a mixed audience or of the habitual reader from the thought to the word,

And palmers for to wonder thro' strange
strands,
To sing the holy mass in sundry lands;
And more especially, from each shire's end
Of England, they to Canterbury wend,
The holy blissful martyr for to seek,
Who hath upheld them when that they were week.

Mr. Horne's introduction gives an account, with specimens, of former paraphrases, and an "examination of the versification and rhythm adopted by Chaucer," (pp. xxxvii-xci) written by a man who has evidently a fine sense of rhythm and a sacred horror of mere scansionists. It is well worth perusal, as antidotal to Mr. Abbott's theories, suprâ pp. 940, 944. Thus on Prologue v. 184-5 (suprâ p. 690) he remarks: "The words 'study and' are thus to be pronounced as two syllables instead of three; and the four syllables of "cloister alway" are to be given in the time of three syllables. Yet, be it again observed, this contraction is not to be harshly given; but all the words of what we may term the appoggiatura [a most happy expression, giving to a musician the whole theory of the usage,) fairly and clearly enunciated, though in a more rapid manner. One of the best general rules for reading such passages, especially when of such vigour as the foregoing, is to read with an unhesitating and thorough-going purpose, to the utter defiance of old metrical misgivings, and that thrumming of fingers' ends, which is utterly de-

structive of all harmonies not comprised in the common chord. This rational boldness will furnish the best key to the impulse which directed the poet in writing such lines," p. lxxix.

The following examples of trissyllabic measures in modern heroic verse are borrowed from this introduction, such measures being italicized.

From Wordsworth.

By the unexpect'd transports of our age
Carried so high, that every thought, which looked
Beyond the temporal destiny of the kind,
To man's seem'd superfuous: as no cause, &c.—

Now seek upon the heights of Time the source
Of a Holy River, on whose banks are found,
&c.—

His prominent feature like an eagle's beak—
Which the chaste Votaries seek beyond the grave—

Slowly the cormorant aims her heavy flight—
Ah, when the Body, round which in love we clung.

From Keats.

Charm'd magic easements, opening on the foam
Of perilous seas, in fairy lands forlorn—
Basion'd with pyramids of glowing gold—
Were pent in regions of laborious breath—
Blazing Hyperion on his orb'd fire.

From Tennyson.

Smiling a god-like smile, the innocent light—
Reign thou above the storms of sorrow and ruth—

Full many a wondrous grot and secret cell—
And showering down the glory of lightsome day.
would cross old associations, would jar upon cherished memories, and would be therefore generally unacceptable. Hence all recent editions of the English Bible of 1611 and of Shakspere’s Plays and Poems (when not avowedly facsimiles), adopt the current orthography of the time, into which has slipped the change of *when, than, then* into *when, then, than*. A similar attempt has been recently made with Chaucer, but it is not so easy, many of the words having no modern spelling (supra p. 403, note), and the necessity for adding on and sounding final *e’s*, and shifting the place of the accent, for no apparent purpose but to make the lines scan, has a truily weakening effect, which maligns the fine old rhythms.

1 The Riches of Chaucer; in which his Impurities have been Expunged, his Spelling Modernized, his Rhythm Accentuated, and his Terms Explained. Also have been added Explanatory Notes and a New Memoir of the Poet. By Charles Cowden Clarke, crown 8vo., pp. xvi, 625, London (Lockwood), 2nd edition, 1870. The difficulty arising from words having no modern form is evaded by retaining the old form, and giving an explanation in footnotes. The spelling is occasionally not modernized at all. The Prologue commences thus: Whene⁠n that April, with his shewrēs sote,¹ The drouth of March hath piercēd to the rote,² And bathēd every vein in such liefor, Of which vertēd engendred is the flowr³; When Zephirus ekē, with his sotē breath Inspired hath in every holt⁴ and heath The tender croppēs; and the youngē sun Hath in the Ram his halfe course yarn, And smalle fowlēs make melody, That sleepein alle night with open eye, So prickēt them nature in their courages,⁵ Then longen folk to go on pilgrimages, And palmēs for to seeken strange stronds, To servē hallows⁶ contēs in sundry lands; And specially from every shirēs end Of Engeland to Canterbury they wend,⁷ The holy blissful martyr for to seek That them hath holpen when that they were sick.

1 Sote—sweet. 2 Rote—root. 3 Holt—grove, forest. 4 Courages—hearts, spirits. 5 Hallows—holiness. 6 Couth—known. 7 Wend—go, make way.

As part of his justification for changing Chaucer’s spelling (or rather that of the numerous scribes) into a modern form, Mr. Clarke says that Chaucer “would even, upon occasion, give a different termination to them [his words], to make them rhyme to the ear in the first instance. An example of this, among others, occurs in the *Clerk’s Tale*, line 1039” of his version. Tyrwhitt’s and Wright’s editions, v. 8915, “where the personal pronoun *me* is altered into *ma*, that it may rhyme with *also*,” p. v. This charge is taken from Tyrwhitt’s note, and is absurd on the face of it, for those who have dabbled in rhyme know that the first word in a rhyme is generally chosen to rhyme with the second, and not conversely. In the present case the weak *also*, which is not in the Latin original, was evidently inserted for this reason. On reading the context, every one will see that Griseldis, though she meant herself, was careful not to name herself, and hence used *moo = more, many, others*, as an indefinite. The passage, as contained in the Univ. Camb. MS. Dd. 4 24, runs as follows, with Petrarch’s Latin annexed, in which also an indefinite *alteram* is used, and not *me*, although there was no stress of rhyme. 

O thyng byseke I þow | and warne also
That je ne pryke | with no turmentyng
This tendre Mayde | as je han don moo.

Latin—

Vnum bona fide precor ac moneo ne hane illis aculeis agites quibus alteram sagasti.

So much importance had to be attributed to Chaucer’s rhymes in this work, that it was necessary to point out the error of Tyrwhitt and Clarke in this instance. The limits of Chaucer’s habits of varying forms for the sake of rhyme are given, supra p. 254.

The objections to modernizing the spelling do not apply to prose works, such as Sir Edward Strachey’s Globe edition of “Morte D’Arthur,” 1870, because there is no occasion to insert the final *e*, or change the position of the accent, and there is no rhyme to be murdered. It was also possible in this case to insert a more usual for a less usual word, without sacrificing the metre. This book is a favourable specimen of what can be done to modernize the appearance without modernizing the spirit of an old prose writer, and bring him into many hands which would have never taken up the original.
Specimens of the Conjectured Pronunciation of Shakspere, being Ex-
tracts from his Plays, following the Words of the Folio Edition
of 1623, with Modern Punctuation and Arrangement.

I.—Marchant ov Venis.
Akt 4, Seen 1, Spilsh 50. Kom'edeiz, p. 179.
50. Por'sia.
Dhe kwal'iti of mes'zi in not straind,
It drop'eth az dhe dzhen't'1 rain from hev'n
Upon dhe plaas benceith. It iz twéis blest,
It bles'eth him dhat giivz and him dhat taaks.
-T iz mein'-tiest1 in dhe mein'-tiest. It bikumz
Dhe threen'ed2 mon'ark bet'er dhan his kroun.
Hiz sep't'er shoouz dhe foors of temporaal pow'er,4
Dhe at'r'byyt tu aau and madzh'estei,6
Wheerin' duth sit dhe dreed and feer of kiqz.
But mes'si' iz abuv' dheis sep'terd swai,
It iz enthoon'ed dne dhe harts of kiqz,
It iz an at'r'byyt tu God himself3;
And eerth'le11 pouer duth dhen shoou leik' est Godz,
When mes'si see'z'nz dzhurst'is. Dheer'foor,5 Dzheu,1
Dhooun dzhurst'z bii dhei plee, konsid'er his,
Dhat in dhe kuurs of dzhurst'is, noon of us
Shuuld sii salvaa'siun. Wii duu prai for mer'si,
And dhat saam prai'er duth teets' us aal tu ren'der
Dhe diiz of mes'si.

II.—Az Juul leik'it.
Akt 2, Seen 7, Spilsh 31. Kom'edeiz, p. 194.
31. Dzhaa'kez.
:AA1 dhe world -z a staadzh,
And aal dhe men and wüm'en miir'le1 plai'erz.
Dheei naav dheeur ek'sits and dheeer en'traansez
And oon man in hiz teim plaiz man'i parts,

1 Gill's pronunciation of igh as (eilh) is adopted, so far as the vowel is con-
cerned, in place of Salesbury's (ikh), on account of the rhymes light bite,
right spite, might spite, etc., suprâ p. 963. For the same reason, the (kh)
has been reduced to (h), suprâ p. 975.
2 Gill's (thoon) is accepted in place of Salesbury's more archaic form (trum).
3 (Shouuz) is preferred to the older (sheuz) on account of the rhymes shew
so, woe shew, suppose shews, p. 960, under So.
4 (Temporaal) is due to the rhymes fall general, etc., p. 956. (Pou're) is
written to shew the syllabic r, p. 951.
5 (Madzh'estei) after Gill, and on account of the frequent rhymes of -y with
(ei), p. 959.
6 Cheke and all modern orthoepists write a long vowel in the second syl-
lable. Bullokar's short vowel is prob-
ably due to a mistaken etymology. The word is not age., (suprâ p. 394.)
Orrmin always writes it with a long vowel, -fore, and forr with a short
vowel. Mätzner, Eng. Gram., 2°, 370, quotes it frequently in the divided
form, her foren, meaning evidently, that being before, i.e. in consequence of
that. The old for ri split up into the
two modern forms because, and therefore.
7 This is conjectural. Smith ap-
parently said (Dzhyyz), but there is
unfortunately a misprint in his book
where the word is cited.
CHAP. VIII. § 8. SPECIMENS OF SHAKSPERE'S PRONUNCIATION. 987

Hiz aktb bii'-iq sev'-n aadzh. At ferst, dhe in'faant
Myy'-liq and pyy'-kiq in dhe nur'sez armz:
Dhen,1 dhe wheim'-iq skuul-bwoi with niz satsh'-el
And shein'-iq morn'-iq faas, kriip'-iq leik snail
Unwil'-lqleu tu skuul. And dhen dhe luv'er,
Seih'-iq leik fur'nas, with a woo'ful bal'ad
Maad tu niz mis'-tres ei'brou. Dhen, a souol'dier
Ful of straindzh oodhz, and berd-ed leik dhe pard,
Dzheeus in on'ur, sud'ain, and kwik in kwarel,
Siikh'-iq dhe bub'-1 repytta'siun
Ii'-n in dhe kan'unz mouth. And dhen, dhe dzhust'-is,
In fair round bel'-i, with guud kaa'p'n leind,
With eiz seever', and berd of formAAl kut,
Ful of weiz saaz, and modern in'staansez,
And soo mu plaz niz part. Dhe sikt aadzh shifts
Into dhe leen and slip'erd pan-taluun,
With spek-tak'lz on nooz, and pouth on seid,
Hiz juuth'ful nooz wel saavd, a world tuu weid
For niz shruqk shaqk, and niz big man'lei vois,
Turn'iq again' tourd tsheild'-ish treb'-l, peips
And whis'-tlz in niz sound. Last seen of aal
Dhat endz dhis straindzh event'ful histoirei,
Lo sek'-und tsheild'-ishnes, and mir oblii'-viun,
Saazn tiith, saanz eiz, saanz taast, saanz ev'ereti thiq.

III.—Dhe Sek-und Part of Kiq Henerei dhe Fouth.

Akt 3, Seen 1, Spittsh 1. Historeiz, p. 85.
1. Kiq.

Hou man'-i thou'zand of mei puur'-est sub'dzhekts
Aar at dhis ou'er asliip'-? Oo Slip, oo dzhen'-t! Slip,
Naa'tyrrz soft nurz, hou baav' ei freint'-ed diii,
Dhat dhou noo moor wilt wain^2 mei ei'ldz doun,
And stiip mei sens'ez in forget'fulnes?
Whei raadh*-er, Slip, leist dhou in smook'-i kribz,
Upon' neezz'-i pal'-adz^3 stretch'-iq diii,
And huish4 with buz'-iq neent'-fleiz tu dheci slum'-ber,
Dhen in dhe per-fyymd tsham'-berz of dhe greet,
Un'der dhe kan'opeiz of kost'-lei staat,
And luld with soundz of swiit'-est mel'-odei?
Oo dhou dul God! Whei leist dhou with dhe veil
In looth'sum bedz, and leevst dhe kiq'-lei kunsh
A watsh-kaas, or a kom'on lar'um-bel?
Wilt dhou, upon dhe heii and gid'- mast,

1 Deficient first measure, see suprâ
p. 927, and p. 928, n. 2.
2 Gill always uses (ai), but as he
writes (waiz, wakht) for weighs, weight,
he is not certain of the guttural.
3 Pallads may have been the old form
and not a misprint. Pallets is modern.
4 Huish in the folio may have been
intentional. Compare whist = hushed,
= hushed, T 1, 2, 99 (5', 379).
Seel up dhe ship-bwoiz eiz, and rok niz brainz
In kraad-l of dhe ryyd imper-ius surdzh,
And in dhe viziita-sium of dhe weindz,
Whuu taak dhe ruf-iun bil-oouz bei dhe top,
Kurl-iq dheicr mon-strus nedz, and naa'iq dhem
With deef-niiz klaam-urz in dhe ship-re kloudz,
Dhat, with dhe hurl'ei, Deeth itself' awaaks;?
Kanst dhou, oo par'sial Slip, giiv dhei repooz;
Tu dhe wet see'bwoi in an ou'er soo ryyd:
And in dhe kaalm'est and moost stil'est neht,
With aal aplei'aanses and meenz tu buut,
Denei' et tu a kiq; Dhen, nap'i Loou, lei doun!
Uneezi' leiz dhe ned dhat weez r kroun.

IV.—Dhe Fa'am-us Historei of dhe Leif of Kiq
He'eri dhe Eeint.

Akt 3, Seen 2, Spiitshez 92-111. Historeiz, p. 222.

92. Nor'f'olk.
Soo faar juu wel, mei lit'l gud lord kar'dinaal.

93. Wul'zei.
Soo faar-wel' tu dhe lit'l gud juu beer mii.
Faarwel? A loq faarwel' tu aal mei' greet'nes!
Dhis iz dhe staat of man; tudai' nii puts foorth
Dhe ten' der leezv of noops, tumor'ou blos'umz,
And beers niz blush'iq on'urz thik upon' him:
Dhe third dai kumz a frost, a kil'iq frost,
And when nii thiqks, gud eezi' man, ful syyr'lei1
Hiz greet'nes iz a reip-niq, nips niz ruut,
And dhen nii faalz, az ei du. Ei naav ven'terd,2
Leik lit'l wan'tun bwoiz dhat swim on blad'erz,
Dhis man's sum'erz in a see of gloo'ri,
But far bijond' mei depth: mei hein-blooun preid
At leqth brook un' der mii, and nou haaz left mii
Wee'ri and ouuld with serv'is, tu dhe mers'ri
Of a ryyd streem, dhat must for ev'er neid mii.
Vain pumps and gloo'ri of this world, ei haat jii!
Ei fiil mei hart nyy oop'nd! Oo, nou rvetshe'd
Iz dhat puu'er man dhat haazz on prin'sez faa'vurz!
Dheer iz biitwiin' dhat smeil wii wud aspei'er tu,
Dhat swit aspekt' of prin'sez, and dheicr ryy'in,
Moor paaz and feerz, dhen warz or wi'm'en naav!
And when nii faalz, nii faalz leik Lyy'sifer,
Ne'rer tu hoop again'.

[Enter Krum'wel stand'iq amaaaz'.]
Whei nou nou, Krum'wel?
94. **Krumwel.**

Ei naav noo pou' er tu speek, sir.

95. **Kar'dinaal.**

What? Amaazd.

At mei misfort'vyynz? Kan dhei spir'it wun'der
A greet man shuld deklein'? Nai, an juu wiip,
Ei -m faal'n indiid'.

96. **Krumwel.**

Hou duuz jur graas?

97. **Kar'dinaal.**

Whei, wel.

Nev' er so tryy' lei nap', mei gud Krum' wel.
Ei knoou meiself' nou, and ei fiil within' mii
A pees abuv' al eerth' lei dig'niteiz,
A stil and kwei' et kon'siens.¹ Dhe k'iq naz kyyrd mii,
Ei um'blei thaqk niz graas, and from dheez shoold'erz,
Dheez ryy' nd pil' arz, out of pit' i, taak'n
A lood, wuuld siqk a naa'vi, tuu mutsh on' ur.
Oo -t iz a burd'en, Krum' wel, -t iz a burd'en
'Tuu nev'i for a man, dhat hoops for nev'n.

98. **Krumwel.**

Ei -m glad jur graas naz maad dhat reiut yys of it.

99. **Kar'dinaal.**

Ei hoop ei naav. Ei -m aa' bl nou, mithiqks',
Out of a for'taayyd of sooul ei fiil,
Tu endyyr' moor mz' ereiz and greet'er far
Dhen mei week-hart'ed en' emeiz daar of'er.

What nyyz abrood?

100. **Krumwel.**

Dhe nev'est and dhe wurst
Iz juur displeezyyyr with dhe k'iq.

101. **Kar'dinaal.**

God bles him!

102. **Krumwel.**

Dhe nekst iz, dhat Sir Tom' as Muur iz tshooz'n
Lord Tshaan'selur, in juur plaas.

103. **Kar'dinaal.**

Dhat 's sum'what sud'ain.

But mii -z a leern'ed man.² Mai mii kontin'yy
Loq in niz Heim'nes faa'vur, and duu dzhust'z's

¹ An Alexandrine from resolution (p. 952), unless (kon'siens) be contracted to (kon' yens), (see Gill, supra p. 937), which would give a trisyllabic measure, produced also by the modern (kon'shens).

² Gill gives both (lern) and (leern). Possibly (leern) was intended for teach, as a form ofags. laeren, and (lern) for learn, as a form of ags. leornigan. Hence (leern'ed) is here adopted for doctus.
For trrythys saak and niz kon'siens, dhat niz boonz,
When mii naz run niz kuurs and slips in bles'iqz,
Mai naav a tuumb of or'fanz teerz wept on nm.
What moor?

104. Krum·wel.
Dhat Kran·mer iz returned' with wel'kum,
Instaald' lord artsh·bishop of Kan·terberi.

105. Kard·inaal.
Dhat's nyyz indiid'.

106. Krum·wel.
Last, dhat dhe laardi An,
Whuum dhe kiq nath in see·kresel loq mar·ied,
Dhis dai was vyyd in oop'n az niz kwii
Goo'iq tu tshapel', and dhe vois iz nou
Oon'lei abuu't her koronaas'siun.

107. Kard·inaal.
Dheer waz dhe waint dhat puld me doun. Oo Krum·wel,
Dhe kiq naz gon bijong· mi. :Aal mei glo·riiz
In dhat oon wum'an ei nav lost for ever.
Noo sun shal ev'er ush'er foorth mein on'urz,
Or gild again· dhe noob-l truups dhat wait'ed ¹
Upon· mei smeiz. Goo, get dhi from mi, Krum·wel!
Ei am a puur faAln man, unwurth'ei nou
Tu bii dhe lord and mast'er. Siik dhe kiq!
Dhat sun ei prai mai never set! Ei v touuld nım
What, and nou tryy dhou art.; nii wil advaans· dhiiz
Sum lit'1 mem'erei of mi, wil stir nım—
Ei knou niz noob-l naa-tyyr—not to let
Dhei noop·ful serv'is per·ish, tuu. Gud Krum·wel
Neglekt' nım not; maak yys nou, and proveid•
For dhein ooun fyy·tyyr² saaf'ti.

108. Krum·wel.
Oo mei lord,
Must ei dhen leev dhiiz? Must ei niidz forgoo·
Soo gud, soo noo·b'l, and soo tryy a mast'er?
Beer wit·nes, Aal dhat naav not harts of ei'ern,
With what a sor'ou Krum·wel leevz niz lord.
Dhe kiq shaal naav mei serv'is, but mei prai'erz
For ever and for ever, shaal bii juurz!

Krum·wel, ei did not thi'qk tu shed a teer
In aal mei mix·ereiz; but dhou mast foorst mii,
Out of dhein on'est trryth, tu plai dhe wum·an.

¹ The folio prints weighted, shewing wait, weight, surpà p. 987, n. 2.
² Or (fyy·ter).
Let -s drei our eiz; and dhus far hear mii, Krum-wel,
And when ei am forgot'n, az ei shal bii,
And sliip in dul koould mar-b'1, wheer noo men's'un
Of mii moor must bi hard of: sai, ei taunt drii;
Sai, Wul-zei, dhat oons trood dhe waiz of gloo'ti
And sound-ed aal dhe depths and shoolz of on'ur,
Found drii a wai, out of niz rwak, tu reiz in,
A syyr and saaf oon, dhowun, dhei mast'er mist it.
Mark but mei faal, and 'dhat dhat ryv-end mii.
Krum-wel, ei tshardzh drii fliq aawai ambus's'un!
Bei 'dhat sin fel dhe an'dzelz: you kan man dhen,
Dhe im'adzh of niz maak'er, noop tu win bei -t?
Luv dhei'self: last, tsher'ish dhooz narts dhat naat drii.
Korup's'un winz not moor dhan on'estei.
Stel, in dhe reiunt hand, kar'i dzen't'l pees
Tu sei'sens ev'vius tuqz. Bii dzhust and feer not;
Let aal dhe endz dhou eemst1 at, bii dhei kun'treiz,
Dhei Godz, and Tryyths. Dhen if dhou faalst, oo Krum-wel,
Dhoo faalst a bles'ed mar'ter. Serv dhe kiq,
And—predhi'ii leed mii in—
Dheer—taak an in'ventri2 of aal ei naav,
Tu dhe last pen'i; -t iz dhe kiqz; mei roob,
And mei integ'ritei tu nev'n, iz aal
Ei daar nou ka'al mei ooun. Oo Krum-wel, Krum-wel!
Had ei but servd mei God with haaaf dhe zeel
Ei servd mei kiq, mii wuuld not in mein aadzh
Haav left mii naak'ed tu mein en'em'eiz!

Gud sir, naav paa'siens.

111. Kardenaal.
Soo ei naav. Faarwel.
Dhe noops of kuurt, mei noops in hev'n du dwel.

V.—Dhe Tradzh'edi of Ham'let, Prins of Den'mark.

Akt 3, Seen 2, Spiitshez 1-5. Tradzh'edeiz, p. 266.
1. Ham'let.

Speak dhe spitsch, ei prai juu, az ei pronounst' it tu juu, trij'qlei
on dhe tuq. But if juu moudh it, az man'i of juur plai'erz duu,
ei nad az liiv dhe toun'kreier nad spook mei leinz. Nor duu not
saau dhe aair tuu mutsh with juur hand, dhus, but yyz aal
dzhent-lei. For in dhe ver'i tongent, tem'pest, and, az ei mai sai,

1 For this word there is no external authority; I have adopted (cemz) for
the reasons on p. 451, note, col. 2.1. 18.
2 The contraction is harsh, but the
full pronunciation would be harsher, and the position of the accent seems
established by: Forsooth an inventory,
thus importing II8 3, 2, 49 (609, 124);
would testify, to enrich mine inventory
Cy 2, 2, 6 (952, 30).
This is adopted, in place of the modern *per*wig, because the quartos generally read *per*wig, and Miège, 1688, gives the pronunciation (*per*wig), which shows that the *i* in the *per*wig of the quarto of 1676 was not pronounced. The first and second folios have *per*wig, the third and fourth have *per*wig. The pronunciation (*per*ig) given by Jones, 1700, seems, however, to be really still older, as compared with French *perruque*, and the orthography *peruke*. The order of evolution seems to have been (*perryk*: *periig*, *per*wig, *per*wig, wig); compare modern *bus* from *omnibus*, and the older *drake*, Old Norse *andriki*, Matzner, 1, 165; Stratmann, 158.

Price seems to give (noiz) supra p. 134, a xvii century pronunciation confirmed by a xix century vulgarism, and indicating a xvii century (noiz), which is therefore adopted in the absence of direct authority (p. 979).

Notwithstanding the vulgar (the*eti*), which would imply an older position of the accent, this place is settled by Shakspere himself, see Ay 2, 7, 30 (214', 137), Kj 2, 1, 83 (338, 374), R 5, 2, 6 (377', 23).

4 All the folios read or *Norman*, but the quartos have *nor man*, which is adopted by the Cambridge editors. Both are manifestly erroneous. As Denmark in this play is at war with Norway, it is possible that Hamlet may have meant to put his enemies into the position of being neither Christian nor pagan, and that the right reading may have been or *Norwegian*, a Shaksperean word, see M 1, 2, 5 (788', 31); 1, 2, 13 (789, 49); 1, 3, 35 (790, 95), and easily confused by a composer with the better known word *Norman*, which however occurs in its usual sense in this same play, H 4, 7, 20 (839, 91).

5 On the insertion of the aspirate in this word, see supra p. 220. There is evidently a play on *humanity* and the old false derivation *ab-homine*, so that *abominably = inhumanly*.
4. First Plai' er.
    Ei hoop wii haav reform'd' dhat ūndī' erentlei with us, sir.

5. Ham' let.
    Oo, reform īt aaltunged'cer. And let dooz dhat plai juur klounz, speek ūno moor dhen īz set doun for dhem. For dheed bii of dhem, dhat wēl dhemselyv' laax, tu set on sum kwantiti of bar'en spektaa'turz tu laax 'tūu, doohow in dhe meen teim sum nes'eesari kwest' iun of dhe plai bii dhen tu bii konsid' erd. Dhat -s vīl' anus, and shooz a most pit'siful ambis' iun īn dhe fuul dhat yyy'ez īt. Goo maak juu red'ī.

VI.—Dhe Taam'īq of dhe Shroou.¹

1. Gruu'mio.
    Fei, fei on āal tei' erd dzhaadz, on āal mad mast'erz, and āal foul waiz! Waz ev'er man soo beet'n! Waz ev'er man soo rai' ed! Waz ev'er man soo weere! Ei am sent bifoort' tu maak a fei'er, and dheeci ar kum'īq aft'er tu warm dhem. Nou, weer ei not a lit' i pot, and suun not, mei ver' i lips meint friiz tu mei tiith, mei tuq tu dhe ruuf of mei mouth, mei hart in mei bel'ī, eer ei shuuld kum bei a fei' er tu thooirt 2 mīi; but ei with bloo'īq dhe fei' er shal warm mei self': for konsid' erīq dhe wedh' er, a āal' er man dhen ei wēl taak koould. Holaa'! hoo'aa'! Kur'tis!

2. Kur'tis.
    Whuu iz dhat kaalz soo koould' lei?

    A piis of cis. Īf dohu dout īt, dohu maist sleid from mei shoould' er tu mei hill, with noo greet' er a run but mei ned and nek. A fei' er, gud Kur'tis!

    Iz mei mast' er and hīz weif kum'īq, Gruu'mio?

5. Gruu'mio.
    Oo, ei, Kur'tis, ei, and dheer'foor fei'er! fei'er! kast on noo waat'er.

    Iz shii soo not a shroou az shii -z repoort' ed?

7. Gruu'mio.
    Shii waz, gud Kur'tis, bifoort' dhīs frost. But dohu knouost wīnt' er taamz man, wum' an, and beest; for it nath taamd mei oould mast' er, and mei nyy mis'tris, and mei self', fel'ou Kur'tis.

¹ Constantly spelled shrow in the first folio, and compare the rhymes, p. 960, under So.
² This is Smith's pronunciation, the only authority I have found. It is a legitimate form, from ags. pawan, comparable to (knoou), from ags. cnavan. The modern (thaa) implies an older (thaau, thau), which, however, is more strictly a northern form.
Awai! juu thrii-īnsh fuul! Ei am noo beest.

Am ei but thrii īnsh-ez? Whei dhei hōrn izzas fuut, and soo log am ei at dhe leest. But wīlt dhōu maak a fei'er? or shāl ei komplain on dhiī tu our mīstrîs, whunz hand, shii bi'iq nou at hand, dhōu shalt suun fīl, tu dhei kouuld kum-furt, for bi'iq slou in dhei not of'īs?

Ei prīdh-ii, gud Gruumio, tel mii, hon goo dhe world?

A kouuld world, Kurtis, in ev-verei of'īs but dhein, and dheer-foor, fei'er! Duu dhei dyy'ti, and naav dhei dyy'ti, for mei mast'er and mīstrīs aar āl'moost frooz' n tu deeth.

Dheer-z fei'er red-z! and dheer-foor, gud Gruumio, dhe nyyz!

Whei—Dzhak bwoi, hoo bwoi!—and az mutsh nyyz az dhōu wīlt.

Kum, juu are soo ful of kun'katsh'iq!

15. Gruumio.
Whei, dheer-foor, fei'er! for ei naav kआहt ekstreem' kouuld. Wheer-z dhe kuuk? iz sup'er red-z; dhe hōus trīmd, rush ez stroud, kob'webz swept, dhe serv'iqmen in dheer nyy fust'īan, dhe whēit stōk'iqz, and ev-verei of'ser nīz wed'iq gar'ment on? Bii dhe Dzhaks fai'er within', dhe Dzhīlz fai'er without, dhe kar'pets laid, and ev-verei thīq in or'der?

:Āl red-z, and dheer-foor, ei prai dhii, nyyz!

17. Gruumio.
First knoou, mei hōrs iz tei'erd, mei mast'er and mīstrīs fāaln out.

Hou?

Out of dheer sad'īz in'tu dhe durt; and dheerbei' hāqz a taal.

1 Hanmer transposes within and without, but the result is not very intelligible. All will be clear if we suppose Grumio to have been struck by an unsavoury pun as soon as he uttered Jakes fair, thinking of a jakes, so notoriously foult 'within.' The similarity of pronunciation is guaranteed by Sir John Harrington's "New Discourse on a stale subject, called the Metamorphosis of Ajax," meaning a jakes, 1596. The Jakes and Gills came pat, compare The Ba-bees Book of the Early English Text Society, p. 22, v. 90, "and iangylle nether with Iak ne Iyle," A.D. 1480.

Let -s nna -t, gud Gruum^io.

Lend dhein eer.

Heer.¹


Dheer!

22. Kur'tis.

Dhis iz tu fiil a taal, not tu heer a taal.

23. Gruu'mío.

And dheer'foor -t iz kaald a sens'ibl taal. And dhis kuf waz but tu knok at juur eer, and biseets² a list'niq. Nou ei bigin. Impre'mis, wii kaam doun a foul nil, mei master reid'iq bineind' mei mis'tris.

24. Kur'tis.

Booth of oon hors?

25. Gruu'mío.

What -s dhat tu dhii?


Whei—a hors.

27. Gruu'mío.

Tel dhou dhe taal! But nadst dhou not krost mii, dhou shuuldst haav hard nou her hors fel, and shii un'der her hors: dhou shuuldst haav hard in nou mei'reei a plaas; nou shii was bimuild³: nou hii left her with dhe hors upon' her; nou hii beet mii bikaaz her hors stum'bld; nou shii waad'ed thuur dhe durt tu pluk ním of mii; nou mii swoor; nou shii praid, dhat nev'er praid bifoör; nou ei kreid; nou dhe hors'ez ran awair; nou her brei'd'l waz burst; nou ei lost mei krup'er—with man' i thíqz of wur'dhei mem'ori, whítsh nou shaal dei in oblí'viun, and dhou return' unekspeer'ienst tu dheii graav.


Bei dhis rek'niq mii iz moor shroou dhan shii.

29. Gruu'mío.


Ei, and 'dhat dhou and dhe proud' est of juu aal shaal feind when hii kumz noom. But what taak ei of dhis? Kaal foorth Nathan'iel, Dzhoosef, Nîk'olaas, Fil'rîp, Waal'ter, Syyg'ersop, and dhe rest. Let dheerí nedz bii sliik-li koombd, dheerí blyy koots brusht, and dheerí gär'terz of an indí'ferent knít; let dhem kur't'si with dheerí left legz, and not prezyym' tu tutsh a neer of mei masterz hors-tail, tîl dheerí kis dheerí händz. Aar dheerí aal red'î?

¹ Here is pronounced (heer) for the play of sound in ear, here, there, hear.
² See supra p. 957, col. 2, at bottom.
³ Compare Smith's (tor-muil) = tur-moil, and Cooper's (mail) = moil, becoming (moil) in Jones, supra p. 134.
996 SPECIMENS OF SHAKSPERE'S PRONUNCIATION. CHAP. VIII. § 8.

Dheci aar.

Kaal dhem foorth.

Duu ju heer, noo! Juu must m tü mei maist'ër t'u koun'tenaans mei mis'très!

Whei, shii hath a faas of ner ooun.

Whuu knoous not dhat.

Dhou, it siimz, dhat kaalz for kum'panei tu koun'tenaans her.

Ei kaal dhem fuurth tu kred'it her. [Enter foour or feiv serv'iqmen.

Whei, shii kumz tu bor'oou noth'iq of dhem.

Wel'kum noom, Gruu'mió!

Hou nou, Gruu'mió!

What, Gruu'mió!

Fel'ooou Gruu'mió!

Hou nou, oould lad?

Wel'kum, juu; hou nou, juu; what, juu; fel'ooou, juu; and dhus mutsh for griit'iq. Nou mei spryys kumpan'ünz, iz aal red'ë, and aal thiçz neet?

Aal thiçz iz red'ë. Hou niir iz our mas'tër?

Jin at hand, aleiunt'ed bei dhis, and dheer'foor bii not—koks pas'ün! se'ilens! ei heer mei mas'tër.

1 Spelled maister in the folio. Two pronunciations (maister, master) may have prevailed then, as (meest'ër) is still heard in the provinces, (p. 982, n. c. 2).
ON
EARLY ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION,
WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO
SHAKSPERE AND CHAUCER,
CONTAINING AN INVESTIGATION OF THE CORRESPONDENCE OF WRITING WITH SPEECH IN ENGLAND, FROM THE ANGLOSAXON PERIOD TO THE PRESENT DAY, PRECEDED BY A SYSTEMATIC NOTATION OF ALL SPOKEN SOUNDS BY MEANS OF THE ORDINARY PRINTING TYPES.

INCLUDING
A RE-ARRANGEMENT OF PROF. F. J. CHILD'S MEMOIRS ON THE LANGUAGE OF CHAUCER AND GOWER, REPLITS OF THE RARE TRACTS BY SALESURY ON ENGLISH, 1547, AND WELSH, 1567, AND BY BARCLEY ON FRENCH, 1521,
ABSTRACTS OF SCHMELLER'S TREATISE ON BAVARIAN DIALECTS, AND WINKLER'S LOW GERMAN AND FRIESIAN DIALECTICON, AND PRINCE L. L. BONAPARTE'S VOWEL AND CONSONANT LISTS.

BY
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LEDIARD, BONAPARTE, SCHMELLER, WINKLER.
RECEIVED AMERICAN AND IRISH PRONUNCIATION OF ENGLISH.
PHONOLOGICAL INTRODUCTION TO DIALECTS.

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CORRIGENDA ET ADDENDA

In addition to those already given on the backs of notices to Parts I. and II. and back of title to Part III., containing all the errors hitherto observed that could cause the slightest difficulty to the reader.

* This star is prefixed to the Addenda. The additions promised for Part IV. at the back of the title to Part III., in the belief that Part IV. would conclude the work, are necessarily postponed to Part VI. The additions here given are all of small extent.

In PART I. pp. 1—416.

pp. 3–10, the symbols of palaeotype have been much extended, and occasionally corrected. See the subsequent list of Additional Palaeotypic Symbols, p. xii.

p. 11, lines 19, 22, in the Caffir words, for (u i) read (u ē).

*p. 29, table, col. xvii, for nh't read nh' t; and add to table: "(u) is put for (u) in the old pronunciations, owing to uncertainty."

p. 32, against 1647, read 38 Henry VIII.

p. 33, l. 13 from bottom, read Jean Pillot.

p. 41, l. 14 from bottom, for Ripon, read Chester.

p. 50, col. of Sovereigns, between Edw. VI. and Elizabeth, insert 1553 Mary.

p. 57, lines 15, 6, and 3 from bottom, read get, mare, (meē' i).

p. 67, l. 11 from bottom of text, for Mr. M. Bell's French nasals, read (BA, ōhā, ōhā, ōhā).

p. 80, l. 7, and p. 111, l. 16, read deēi (deoēi).

p. 93, col. 4, line 5, read endēvī.

p. 95, l. 2, read stoo'atri.

p. 99, l. 5, read hope hope (hoop).

*p. 111, l. 6, at end of sentence, add: "(see p. 817, note)."

p. 116, l. 1, omit and as it probably was in the xvi th century.

p. 131, l. 8 from bottom of text, read dhocht.

p. 134, l. 9 from bottom of text, read vai'īdh.

*p. 145, l. 11 from bottom of text, add: "See p. 976, l. 6."

p. 153, lines 9, 10, 11 from bottom, omit which.

p. 158, l. 9, read molten.

p. 159, l. 9, read āt, nāt, brāt, bāt.

*p. 173, l. 9 from bottom of second col. of note, for (s, ò), read (s, ō). At end of that note add: "Prince L. L. Bonaparte heard M. Fêline use (ò) for e mute; all references to his pronunciation must be corrected accordingly."

*p. 189, l. 7, read (bun, bun've); and at end of paragraph add: "M. Paul Meyer told me (30 April, 1871) that he suspected Falsgrave to allude to the Provençal method of using -o, for what in northern French is -e mute, and to have pronounced this o either as (-o) or (-ō)."

p. 190, last line of text, read (or'eindzhīz).

p. 192, last line, read 2.

p. 196, l. 12 from bottom of text, read differing nearly as (e, ë).

p. 198, lines 10 and 11, for uā, juā, read ōhā, jūhī.

*p. 201, l. 6 from bottom, add as a footnote: "Mr. F. G. Fleay says he knows two certain instances of Londoners saying (draar)."

*p. 204, note 1, add: "The passages adduced by F. L. K. Weigand (Woerterbuch der Deutschen Synonymen, No. 1068) seem to leave no doubt as to the historic origin of church from the Greek, through the canons of the Greek churches."

p. 215, l. 2, read (kon'diši'ion).
CORRIGENDA ET ADDENDA.

*p. 218, add at end of first column of footnote: "See also p. 922, col. 2, under suitor, and p. 968, col. 2, under $8.'"

p. 220, l. 11, italicise humble.

p. 223, note 1, l. 1, read Lehrgebäude.

p. 226, note 1, l. 1, after treatise, add: "(reprinted below, p. 815)."

p. 236, l. 4, read myvv.

p. 240, l. 2, read but.

*p. 247, l. 18, add as footnote: "See the investigation below, pp. 453–462, and pp. 820, 822, under ai, et."

p. 264, l. 7, read sauns.

*p. 265, note 1, add: "See p. 473, n. 1, and p. 1315."

p. 268, l. 3, read 53229.

p. 269, note, col. 1, l. 6, read mouiller.

p. 271, l. 13, read confuses.

*p. 281, l. 31, for: "The words do not occur in Gill, but lady does occur," read and add: "The words lady, worthy, occur in Gill, who writes (laa'idi, ladii'), see p. 935, l. 13, below, and (wurdbh'), see p. 909, col. 2, below; and lady also occurs . . . ."

*p. 282, l. 5 from bottom, add: "See p. 817, note." 

p. 283, l. 8, read melodye.

p. 284, l. 29, read Bie=(daî'e, di'vee).

p. 286, lines 6 and 11, read (ti'e, pi'rne).

p. 287, l. 13, omit it.

p. 288, note 1, line 4, read effect is.

p. 294, line last of text, read but (ee, oo).

p. 295, line last but one of text, read were.

p. 301, l. 10, read words in etc.

p. 307, l. 22, for (zu), read (su).

*p. 316, note 1, line 5, read an and en; and at the end of note 1 add: "See below, pp. 509, 825–828, and p. 828, note 1."

p. 319, last line of text, read world.

p. 321, l. 2, omit one neer'de.

+p. 323, l. 25, read graas.

+p. 325, l. 36, read naék'ten.

p. 325, l. last but one of text, read lorsque.

*p. 327, throughout the French transcription of M. Feline's pronunciation interchange (s) and (m), according to the correction of the meaning of M. Feline's symbols given me by Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, who heard him speak; thus v. 1, read (koe lo siel kelkoe zhur), and v. 8 read (mi bo koe), etc. See p. 173 in this list.

p. 327, note, last line, omit which.

p. 328, l. 7 from bottom of text, read sauts.

p. 330, l. 13 from bottom of text, for be aware, read beware.

p. 331, l. 17 from bottom of text, read désirs.

p. 336, commence note with 1.

p. 337, l. 9 from bottom, read kouth'.

p. 342, l. 10, read hadd'.

p. 343, note 3, line 2, read & an e.

p. 345, l. 9 from bottom of text, read restored.

p. 346, art. 14, ex., col. 2, l. 11, read set ham.

p. 351, line 5, read tesser.

"art. 35, l. 4, read Past.

"art. 38, line 4, read more, bettre.

p. 354, art. 51, ex., col. 2, line 7, read he let.

p. 357, l. 10 from bottom, read Tale.

p. 358, art. 65, under SCHAL, line 2, read (dialectic).

*p. 363, art. 82, ex., insert after v. 388: "[See note on v. 386, p. 700, below."

p. 366, l. 5, for new fr., read old fr.

p. 367, art. 92, l. 13, read then, and l. 14, read tyme.
CORRIGENDA ET ADDENDA.

p. 370, note 1, citation iii. 357, read This touchep.

p. 374, art. 108, ex., col. 2, line 1, read wt-æfter.

p. 385, col. 2, under, hevenriche, read heofounrice.

p. 386, col. 1, under ill, read ylè.

p. 388, col. 1, under lore, read lore.

"under-ly" line 6, read sodeinliche.

p. 392, col. 2, under ** Sleeve, read 16 sleeve 13152', slef ii 213'.

pp. 398–402, tables of probable sounds, etc., for (i, u), read (i, u) in several places; and also often to end of p. 415.

p. 400, under TH, read in two sounds.

p. 413, col. 2, l. 1, read Paa'ter.

"in Kree'doo, l. 1, read Iree'.

p. 415, v. 489, read Dîsen'te'es Ee. vel Aa.

In PART II. pp. 417–632.

*p. 439, note 6, add: "The text of the Bestiary has been again printed from the Arundel MS. 292, in Dr. Morris's Old English Miscellany, published by the Early English Text Society in 1872, vol. 49, pp. 1–25. The references to the numbers of the verses (not to those of the pages) given in the present book, pp. 439–441, hold good for this edition."

p. 441, l. 13, and p. 445, l. 10 from bottom of text, for n. 4, read n. 1.

*p. 442–3, add as footnote: "For corrections of some quantities, see p. 1270, note 1."


*p. 465, l. 38, add as footnote: "On the confusion of long i and 3, see note in Madden's Layamon, vol. 3, p. 437, which will be further treated in Part VI."

p. 468, translation, col. 2, v. 4, read hill.

p. 473, note 1, col. 1, l. 8 from bottom, for § 3, read § 1, p. 1171;—col. 2, l. 1, for p. 446, read p. 447;—l. 14, for § 4, read § 2 (the reference is to the notice which will appear in Part V.);—l. 18, read May (the month);—and for the pronunciations in lines 17, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, read: (mee, dee, weew, pee, shîp, slîp, mû, sh'ip, sh'îp, mëi, wî, dzh'îst, dszh'înt, br'd, pe'înt, nînt'ment).

*p. 474, l. 22, to the words "dède never appears as deide," add the footnote (3): "In the Cotton text of the Cursor Mundi, v. 1619, p. 100 of Dr. Morris's edition published by the Early English Text Society, we find deid rhyming to red; but the word is here the substantive deed, not the verb did, which is written did on v. 1608 above, rhyming to kydd. This deid is a mere clerical error for ded; the Fairfax, Götingen, and Trinity MSS. have all dede, and the Cotton has ded, v. 1952."

*p. 475, note 1, add to this note: "In Cursor Mundi, Cotton text, v. 1629, we have pe first was Sem, cham was the topeir,

And Iaphet highg þat yonges brojer,

where Dr. Morris writes 'yonges[t]', but this is unnecessary, see p. 1400, Halifax version, v. 12. Here we have a spelling topeir, which would have apparently rhymed to eir in Havelok. But it is a mere clerical error, not found in the other MSS., any more than the singular errors in v. 1973–4, I fel agh naman do til oþer

For ilkan agh be oþer brojer,

where oþer, oþier, occur in consecutive lines, and brojer is a similar error; oþer is the usual spelling in the Cotton MS., as in v. 1979, but we have brojer, toþer, v. 2031, with brejer v. 2043, etc. Nothing phonetic can be distinctly concluded from such vagaries."


p. 476, l. 1–19, see the remarks on p. 1310.

*p. 477, note 2, l. 3, omit more. Add to note: "On this dental t, better written (t), see p. 1096, col. 1, and p. 1137, col. 2, l. 16 from bottom."

p. 478, note 2, l. 5, read from giving.

*p. 484, note 1, add: "Another copy of the Moral Ode will be found in Dr. Morris's Old English Miscellany (E. E. T. S. 1872), p. 58, and again another in the Old English Homilies, second series (E. E. T. S. 1873),
p. 220. On p. 255 of this last is given a hymn to the Virgin, of which the first verse with the musical notes, and the second verse without them, are photolithographed opposite p. 261, with a translation of the music first by Dr. Rimbauld, p. 260, and secondly by myself, p. 261, of which the latter will appear in Part VI. of this book. To my translation I have added annotations, pp. 262-271, explaining the reasons which influenced me, and the bearings of this music (which is comparable to that of the Cuckoo Song, and Prisoner's Prayer, supra pp. 426, 432) on the pronunciation of final E, etc., the pith of which will also appear in Part VI."

*p. 487, l. 9, for attributes read seems to attribute. Add to note 1: "Was yate in line 16 of this note a misprint for yete? Did Thorpe mean that yet in Ormin would have been (i.eet) or (jiiit)? If (jiiit), then Thorpe consistently attributes modern habits to Ormin; if (i.eet), he makes one remarkable exception. There is nothing in his remarks which will decide this point, and hence I alter my expression in the text."

p. 490, l. 24, read further;—note 1, last line, read Ormin's.

*p. 495, col. 3, prâµhe, remove †, for this word is not oblique in v. 3475.

*p. 515, note, add at the end: "p. 541, and see especially note 2 to that page."

*p. 516, add to note 3: "More particulars respecting this MS., which has been re-examined for me by Mr. Sweet, will be given in Part VI. There is little doubt that it is wrongly taken to be Anglosaxon on pp. 518-522, but is rather Celtic. However, it certainly shews the correspondence of the sounds of Latin and Greek letters in this country at that time, and hence indirectly bears on Anglosaxon usage. The MS. has a Paschal table from A.D. 817 to 832, which places it in the 9th century."

*p. 518, note, col. 2, l. 8, after "teeth," insert: "see p. 1103, col. 1, and p. 1337, col. 2, on i. 25."—Both refer to the Sanscrit e.

p. 531. The following explanation of the words here quoted from Wace will appear as a note in Part VI.; it is taken from a letter of Mr. Skeat, date 1 Jan. 1872: "The cup was passed round. If a man drank too much, he was cautioned, 'Drink half' (only); if he kept the cup too long, the men two or three places off him sang out—'Let it come, where is the cup?' 'Drink hindeward' is drink backwards, i.e. pass the cup the wrong way; though it would commonly take the form: 'Ne drinke ge hindeward,' i.e. 'don't drink backward, none of your passing the cup the wrong way round.' I have heard 'Let it come' in a college hall; it is a most natural exclamation. I have said it myself! So instead of meaning 'may you have what you want' [as suggested supra p. 532, line 1], it is: 'may I have what I want,' which is human nature all over."

p. 534, conjectured pronunciation, v. 12, l. 3, and v. 13, l. 5, read æækht-e.

*p. 541, note 2, l. 4, add: "printed in an enlarged form in Appendix I. to Mr. Sweet's edition of King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care, printed for the E. E. T. S., Part II., 1872, pp. 496-504; in the Preface to this Part, pp. xxi-xxxiii, Mr. Sweet enters on the Phonology of Anglosaxon."

p. 543, l. 8, read (gweh, wh, w).

p. 547, l. 13, for "(a) final," read "s final."

p. 592, note, col. 2, line 2, read minimum.

*p. 600, col. 1, line 12, after hue, insert hew.

p. 601, col. 2, (O o), line 3, read heard in the.

p. 628, l. 3, read exist?—

In PART III. pp. 633-996.

*p. 637, l. 16, after "usual," add as a footnote: "Frequent instances of the interchange of (ii, ee, ai) will be found in the specimens from Winkler's Dialecticon, see below p. 1375, l. 21."

*p. 638, note, at end of note continued from p. 637, add: "Prince L. L. Bonaparte informs me that the real Portuguese sound of a is (æ), which is also nasalised (æa), see p. 1303, No. 23, vowels 8 and 9. Final and unaccented, this a is nearly (e)."
p. 639, note 1, col. 2, l. 11, add: "Mr. (now Dr.) Murray collated this MS. in Edinburgh in 1871, and informs me that the MS. has deye, and not dethe, or depe, which is a gross blunder of D. Laing's, as the y of the MS. is always dotted, and the p never is. He says that D. Laing's Abbotsford text has above 50 misreadings per page."

*p. 649, lines 7 and foll. The Alexandrines in Chaucer will be reconsidered in Part VI.;—line 12, after MSS., insert: "in retaining of hem;"—line 20, after "unanimous," add: "in inserting poure";—line 25, after MSS., insert as a footnote: "except the Cambridge, which reads—
With a threadbare kope as is a scholer, where the ts, which appears also in the Ellesmere and Hengwrt MSS., but not in the others, is an evident error."

p. 663, note 38, l. 13, read of (ee) for (ai).

pp. 680–725, in Chaucer's Prologue, make the following corrections, in addition to those pointed out in the footnote p. 724, they are mostly quite unimportant. In the Text, v. 2, perceed; v. 3, lyoun; v. 8, yronne; v. 13, palmeer's; v. 20, Tabbard; vv. 21, 78, pilgrimage; v. 24, welle; v. 25, yfalle; v. 29, weel; v. 49, Christendoom; v. 57, Palmivrye; vv. 64, 85, been; v. 72 gentel; v. 73, array; v. 85, chyvauchye; v. 99, servysabel; v. 104, pocok; v. 107, feth'res; v. 123, nose; v. 138, amiabl'; v. 141, dygn'; v. 167, clock', as; v. 169, brydel; v. 170, clere; v. 186, laboure; v. 189, prykasour; v. 202, stemed; v. 209, lymyntour; v. 224, pytawence; v. 226, sygne; v. 241, ev'ruch; v. 245 syke; v. 248, vytyale; v. 255, eer; v. 282, cheuysawnce; v. 308, lern', and; v. 326, wryting'.—In the Pronunciation, v. 41, add comma; v. 76, add period; v. 144, saukw which (wrongly corrected sakeb in footnote to p. 724); v. 152 add semicolon after strait; glas;—in the Note on p. 260, p. 693, for "So all MSS. except Ca." read "All MSS. insert pore except Ca."

p. 756, note, col. 2, lines 25 and 26, read "(lhh, ãhh, ljhh, ljhh) occur in the Sardinian dialect of Sassari, and (lhh) in the dialect of the Isle of Man." Observe that (lhh) does not occur in the dialect of the Isle of Man, as it is incorrectly stated to do in the note as printed.

*p. 763, note 2, add: "Winge is given for whine from Rochbury, see the comparative specimen in Chap. XI. § 2. No. 12. below. This was more probably the word alluded to."

*p. 768, add note to title of § 2: "This work was first seen by me in the British Museum on 14 Feb. 1599, from which day, therefore, the present researches should be dated."

p. 789, col. 1, arr. bold, read (boooud).

*p. 799, note 1, col. 1, lines 17 to 20. This is not a perfectly correct representation of the Prince's opinion, see reference on p. 1299, under (sh) No. 54; see also the additional note, given in this table of Errata, to p. 1296, line 1.

p. 800, note, col. 1, the Prince wishes to omit 2) and 3), lines 4 to 8;—col. 2, the notations (shr, shr), etc., are now (sh), etc., and (s), etc., is now (s), etc.

*p. 802, note, col. 1, line last, for Madrid, read Spain, although heard in Spanish America.—Add at end of note: "Prince L. L. Bonaparte considers that no buzzed consonant is found in Spanish, and hence that it is an error to suppose that (dh) or (zh) occur in it. He thinks b or v Spanish is (b) after a consonant, or when standing for Latin bb, and (bh), which he does not reckon as a buzz, after a vowel or when initial. The Spanish strong r, initial and after n, and rr between vowels, he regards as a Basque sound (r), p. 1354, col. 2, No. 203. In Basque the only ordinary r (r) is a euphonic insertion, as our cockney law(r) of the land, draw(r)ing room. The Castilian s he considers to be the Basque s, and it sounded to me as a forward dental s with a half lisp, possibly (th) of p. 1353, No. 143, or (s) of p. 1105, col. 1, l. 24 from bottom. These fine varieties are very difficult to appreciate by persons who cannot hear them constantly in the spoken language, from many different speakers."

*p. 803, last words of Hart, add as note: "This was Lord Eldon's favourite motto."

*p. 834, l. 25, add footnote: "The subject of modern, as distinct from ancient, French accent, has been considered in my paper on Accent and Emphasis,
Trans. of Philological Society for 1873–4, pp. 138–139, and by Prof. Charles Cassal, a Frenchman, ibid, pp. 260–276; but the views we have taken are disputed and stated to be entirely incorrect by most French authorities, and even by Prince L. L. Bonaparte, whose Italian education makes him familiar with the meaning of accent. The part played by Latin accent in French is the subject of an Étude sur le Rôle de l’Accent Latin dans la langue Française by M. Gaston Paris (1862), who also holds that M. Cassal and I are wrong in our views, but whose pronunciation, when tested by myself and Mr. Nicol, bore out what M. Cassal and myself meant to imply, so that there must be a radical difference of the feeling, rather than of the conception, conveyed by the word 'accent.' Hence the need of scientific researches, suggested in other parts of my paper on Accent and Emphasis. An advance towards a mechanical registration of the force of uttered breath in speech has been made by Mr. W. H. Barlow, F.R.S., in his Logograph, described in the Proceedings of the Royal Society, vol. 22, pp. 277–286, and less fully in a note to my Third Annual Address to the Philological Society (Trans. Ph. S. 1873–4, p. 389). The nature of Latin accent itself, whence, as seen through a Celto-Frankish medium, French accent arose, has been carefully considered and practically illustrated in my Practical Hints on the Quantitative Pronunciation of Latin (Macmillan & Co., 1874). The strange difference in the whole character of French, Italian, and Spanish pronunciation, and especially in the nature of accent and quantity in these languages, although all derived very directly from Latin, and although Spain and Gaul were celebrated for the purity of their Latin, next of course to Rome, these shews that the whole question requires re-investigation."

p. 866, note, col. 2, l. 4, read mead. In lines 7, 8, 9, a line has been dropped. The complete passage is printed on p. 1061, note, col. 1, line 10.

p. 918, line 15, read Shakspere was a South Warwickshire man.

p. 921, example of puns, "dam damn," l. 2, read (191', 33).

*923, col. 2, add to the example "foot, gown:"

"We have an echo of none as gown, that is (num) as (guun, gun) in TS 4, 3, 31 (247, 85), where Katerine says: 'I like the cap, And it I will have, or I will have none,' which Petruchio chooses to hear as gown, for he says: 'Thy gowne, why I; come, Tailor, let vs see't.'"

p. 923, to the examples of puns under A, add: "cate Kate TS 2, 1, 50 (238, 189–90). Observe that th in Katharina, as the name is spelled in the Globe edition, was simple (t). The folio has Katerina, and that Katerine was either (Kaa-trin), or more probably (Kaa-trin), whence (Kaat) was the natural diminutive."

*pp. 925–6, add to example of puns under OA, O, OO: "on one TG, 2, 1, 2 (24', 2); 'Speed. Sir, your Gloue.—Valen. Not mine; my Gloues are on.—Sp. Why then this may be yours: for this is but one.' This is conclusive for the absence of an initial (w) in the sound of one."

*p. 938, note 1, add at end: "See also Chap. XI. § 2. No. 11. for Derbyshire usage."

*p. 942, col. 1, before the last entry under Fourth Measure Trisyllabic, insert: To be suspected : framed to make women false. Oth. 1, 3, 86 (885', 404).

*p. 946, col. 2, add to the examples of well-marked Alexandrines in Othello: That came a-wooing with you, and so many a time. Oth. 3, 3, 31 (893, 71). Not that I love you not. But that you do not love me. Oth. 3, 3, 90 (899, 196).

Since guiltiness I know not; but yet I feel I fear. Oth. 5, 2, 16 (907, 39).

*p. 953, just before the heading Shakspere's Rhymes, insert as a new paragraph: "Since the above examples were collected and printed, the subject of Shakspere's metrical usages has received great attention. See the Transactions of the New Shakspere Society, 1874–5. See also Mr. Furnivall's essay on The Succession of Shakspere's Works and the use of Metrical Tests in Settling it, being the introduction to Miss Bunnett's translation of Gervinus's Commentaries on Shakspere (1874)."

p. 963, col. 2, under "caught her," l. 8, omit first ).
CORRIGENDA ET ADDENDA.

p. 980, note, col. 1, line 18. The Devonshire oo will be fully considered in Chap. XI. § 2. No. 11.
p. 986, l. 10 of Portia's speech, read "mer'si."

In PART IV. pp. 997-1432.

p. 1086, l. 16, read my (a) in the xvii th may have been (a, o).
p. 1114, col. 1, line 5 from bottom, read being, dr, rv.
p. 1167, col. 2, under sir, read (te'se).
p. 1180, col. 2, v. 29, read sansering.
p. 1221, col. 2, l. 19 from bottom, read (mun) or (nu'en).
*p. 1251, add to note continued from p. 1250: "Mr. Elworthy, of Wellington, Somerset, says he has never heard 1se as a pure nominative, but only is standing apparently for us and used as I. More upon this in § 2. No. 11."
*p. 1296, l. 1, after "in such case," add as a footnote: "The following remark of the Prince on this passage in the text was not received till this page had been printed off: "When the vowels (25e, 46o) lose their tonic accent in Italian, they do not become quite (29e) and (51o), but the original sounds still influence the vowels in their unaccented state, producing the intermediate sounds (28e) and (49o). This explanation seems to me quite logical, and it is in accordance with the sensations of every fine Tuscan and Roman ear. On the contrary, if the original vowel is (29e) and (51o), it remains unaltered when it loses the accent. Compare the e and o of bellina, collina (derived from bello, colle, which have open vowels), with the e and o of stelluccia and pollinca (derived from stella, pollo, which have close vowels). I had never the least doubt upon this point, but in my previous statements I did not take the present minute gradations of sound into consideration. It would certainly be better to pronounce bellina, collina with (29e, 51o) than with (25e), and (46o).—E. L. B.'"

*p. 1323, note, col. 2, l. 7, add: (abstracted below, pp. 1378-1428).
p. 1376, l. 24, read (jwntar Jet).
p. 1381, col. 1, l. 5, read saan-o.
p. 1393, col. 2, line 8, read por'sii, and see p. 1428, col. 2, Note.

PALAEOTYPE: ADDITIONAL SYMBOLS AND EXPLANATIONS.

The original list of Palaeotypic symbols, pp. 3-12, drawn up at the commencement of this work, has had to be supplemented and improved in many points during its course, and especially during the delicate phonetic investigations of Part IV. Each new point is fully explained in the text as it arises, and although reference is generally made to the place subsequently, it will probably be found convenient in using the book to have all these references collected together, as it is hoped they are in the following list, which follows the order of the pages in the book. The index in Part VI. is intended to refer to each letter and symbol in alphabetical or systematic order.

p. 419, note, col. 1, line 2, symbol of diphthongal stress: an acute accent used to mark the vowel which has the stress in diphthongs, when the position of stress is abnormal, as (ea). This use has been subsequently extended to all cases of diphthongs, and uniformly to mark diphthongs from p. 1991 onwards, see p. 1100, col. 2.
p. 419, note, col. 1, l. 16, symbol of evanescence: the mark 1, a cut [ ], shews that the following vowel is scarcely heard; 1 shew that all included letters are scarcely heard; excessively slight 1 see p. 1328 in this list.
p. 800, note, col. 2, symbols for advanced s, sh = (as, ash) and retracted s, sh = (ys, ysh), subsequently replaced by (s, sh) and (s, sh).
p. 998, l. 11, symbol of discontinuity: the mark 1, a cut ), used to shew absence of glide; this is rendered nearly unnecessary by an extension of the use of the symbol of diphthongal stress, p. 419 in this list.
p. 1090, at the end of text, the mode of reference to pages and quarter pages is explained; the two symbols introduced in the summary of contents are referred to seriatim below.

p. 1094, col. 1, L. 33, symbols of Goodwin's theoretical English ch, \( j = (k_1, g') \) where \((j)\) is turned \(f\), see also p. 1119 in this list.

p. 1095, col. 2, L. 30, symbol of advanced contact, changed from \((t)\) or \((\cdot)\) to \((,)\), as \((t, d)\) for \((tf, df)\) or \((t, d)\) for the dental \(t, d\).

p. 1096, col. 1, L. 20, and col. 2, L. 28, the use of \((t_4, d_4)\) for \(t, d\), with inverted tongue, supposed to be incorrect for Sanscrit, and use of \((t, d)\) for Indian \(m\t\text{d}{\qquad}d, t, d\) and \((t, d)\) for English \(\text{coronal} t, d\). In the Dravidian languages the inversion of the tongue, so that the under part of the tongue strikes the palate, seems to be more distinct, and \((t, t)\), which seem to be the same to a Bengalee, are apparently distinct as \((t\cdot, t)\) to a Madrasee.

p. 1097, col. 1, under \((uu)\); symbol of \((\cdot u)\) whispered, and \((\cdot v)\) hissed vowels, see p. 1128 below in this list.

p. 1097, col. 2, symbols for explosions \((\text{t}uu, \text{t}r\text{uu}; \text{t}r\text{ruu})\) and implosions \((\cdot t)\), see p. 1128 below in this list.

p. 1098, col. 1, under \((r)\); symbol for Bell's unruffled \(r = (r)\), the \((\cdot)\) being a turned mark of degrees \((\cdot)\). This may be extended to \((l)\), which indicates the same position. See p. 1341 below in this list.

p. 1098, col. 2, symbols for advanced or dental \(r = (r)\) and retracted \(r = (r)\).

p. 1099, col. 1, under \((ooi)\), symbol of indistinct vowel accompanied by permissive trill \((\cdot)\), so that \((\cdot a = o)\) or \((\cdot a = r)\) at pleasure. Bell's point glide is \((\dot{oc})\), my \((o')\), where \((\cdot)\) is a "helpless indication of obscure vocality," see p. 1128 in this list.

p. 1099, col. 2, Donders on glottal \(r = (r)\), where \((r)\) is turned \((x)\).

p. 1100, col. 2, L. 8 from bottom, symbol of widening the pharynx, as \((e_2)\) for \((e)\) with pharynx widened; supposed to be Irish.

p. 1102, col. 2, Land's exponent \((n)\), see p. 1292, col. 2.

p. 1104, col. 2, L. 3 from bottom; symbol of advanced \(s, sh = (s, sh)\), replacing \((s, s)\).

p. 1105, col. 1, L. 24 from bottom, \(s = (s)\), probably Spanish.

p. 1105, col. 1, L. 15 from bottom, retracted \(s = (s)\).

p. 1107, col. 1, L. 5, symbols of higher and lower positions of the tongue in uttering vowels = \((e', e''; e_1; e_1)\), and of close and open consonants as \((p_h, p_h)\);—line 28, symbol of more hollowness at back of tongue = \((e^2)\), as distinguished from \((e)\), see pp. 1100 and 1279 in this list;—line 14 from bottom, symbol of intermediary of two vowels, or doubtfulness, with inclination to first = \((e')\).

p. 1107, col. 2, Scotch close and open \((e', e''; e_1, e_1; o', o' ; o_1, o_1)\).

p. 1107, col. 2, last line; symbol of \(u\) with lips as for \((o) = (u)\).

p. 1111, col. 2, symbols for glides, open to close \((>\)\), close to open \((<\)\), and absence of glide \((\cdot)\), see p. 398 in this list.

p. 1112, col. 1, glottides; clear in \((\cdot)\), gradual in \((\cdot e)\).

p. 1114, col. 2, last line; symbol for rounding by the arches of the palate as in the parrot's \((p''h'\cdot s)\).

p. 1116, col. 1, symbol of medial length of vowels as in \((a^a)\), the superior and inferior vowels being the same, and hence distinct from the symbol of intermediaries as in \((e')\), p. 1107 in this list;—scale of quantitative symbols \((a, a^2, a, a, aa, aa, aa)\).

p. 1116, col. 2, symbol for variety of lip rounding, as in \((a_0)\) = tongue for \((A)\), lips for \((a)\), see p. 1107 in this list.

p. 1119, col. 1, L. 2, symbols for palatal explosents = \((k_j, g')\), see p. 1094 in this list.

p. 1120, col. 2, distinctions of \((k, k, k_j, t, t, j, t, t, t, t, t, t, t, t, p, p)\).

p. 1120, col. 1. Mr. Graham Bell's alteration of Mr. Melville Bell's symbols for \((s, sh)\);—col. 2, re-arrangement of palaeotypic symbols of cols. 2 and 3 in Bell's table, p. 14. See p. 1341.

p. 1124, col. 1, Goodwin's \(ng = (q)\), possible as original Sanscrit palatal nasal.

p. 1125, col. 2, to p. 1128, col. 1, Bell's rudimental symbols reconsidered and re-symbolised.
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p. 1128, col. 1, symbols of inspiration (\textimpres), implosion (\textimplos), click (\textclick), flatus (\textflus), whisper (\textwhis), voice (\textvoic).

p. 1129, col. 1, abbreviations of these by the omission of the 'support' (h), etc.

p. 1129, col. 2 to p. 1130, col. 1, symbols of glottides, clear (\textopen), check (\textcheck), wheezing (\textwheez), trilled wheez (\texttrplwheez), bleat (\textbleat).

p. 1130, col. 1 and col. 2, symbols of degrees of force, evanescent (\textevec), weak (\textweak), strong (\textstrong), abrupt (\textabrupt), jerk (\textjerk), and its varieties (\texth, \texth, \texth, \texth).

p. 1130, col. 1, to 1131, col. 2, symbols of glides, slurs, and breaks, glide (\textglide), break (\textbreak), slur (\textslur), relative force and pitch by inferior figures and superior accented figures.

p. 1133, col. 1, l. 1, symbol of short l + trilled r = (\textlr), Japanese intermediary.

p. 1146, col. 1, relative time by superior unaccented figures.

p. 1147, col. 2, symbol of advanced (\textadv) = (\texta).

p. 1150, col. 2, l. 10, symbol of Helmholtz's u = (\textu) = tongue for (\texta), lips for (\textu).

p. 1156, col. 2, table of the relative heights of the tongue for vowels.

p. 1174, bottom, table of practical glossee.

p. 1183, table of Pitman and Ellis's phonotypy, 1846 and 1873.


pp. 1197–1205. Mr. B. H. Smart's analysis of English sounds with palaeotype equivalents serving to identify the palaeotype signs.

p. 1232, Irish rolling r = (\textr), and bi-ental i, d = (\textit, \textst).

p. 1255, table of English dialectal vowels and diphthongs.

pp. 1258–1262, Glossic compared with palaeotypic writing of dialectal sounds.

p. 1264, suggestions for marking quantity, force, and pitch, in practical writing.

pp. 1279–80, combination of the signs for primary (\texte), tongue higher (\texte1), tongue lower (\texte0), tongue advanced (\texte), tongue retracted (\texte), whole back passage widened (\texte), part in front of palatal arches, only widened (\texte2), pharynx only widened (\texte3), all widened, but more above than below (\texte4), or more below than above (\texte5), height of tongue remaining, aperture of lips contracted to that for (\texta) in (\texte4), to that for (\textu) in (\texte3), and to that for (\textu) in (\texte0); rounding by palatal arches in (\texte4), giving 2916 forms of unasnasalised vowels.

pp. 1298–1307, Seventy-five palaeotypic vowel symbols grouped in families, and supplied with key-words.

p. 1328, line 12 from bottom of text, the slightest quiver = (\textllr).

p. 1333, col. 1, l. 11, symbol of check puffs = (\textz).

p. 1333, col. 2, symbol of inspired breath, oral (\texti), nasal (\textn), orinusal (\texton) fluttering (\texti\textj) and snoring (\texti\textn).

p. 1334, col. 2, l. 9, symbol of bleated consonants (\textb, \textd, \textg).

p. 1334, note on symbolisation, shewing the intention of palaeotypic as distinct from systematical symbolisation.

pp. 1341–4, new table of palaeotypic equivalents for Mr. Melville Bell's Visible Speech symbols, with subsequent explanations.

pp. 1346–9, new table of palaeotypic equivalents to Prof. Haldeman's consonants with subsequent explanations.

pp. 1733–7, table of Prince L. L. Bonaparte's consonants with palaeotypic equivalents, of which 164 marked * are new combinations of symbols already explained, and in some few cases entirely new symbols.
NOTICE.

When Part III. was published, I hoped to complete this protracted work in Part IV. But as I proceeded, I found it necessary to examine existing English pronunciation, received and dialectal, in so much greater detail than I had contemplated, and to enter upon so much collateral matter of philological interest, that I was soon compelled to divide that Part into two. Even the first of these parts, owing to other literary engagements into which I had entered when much briefer work was anticipated, could not be completed by the close of 1874, as required for the Early English Text Society, and hence a further division has become necessary.

Part IV. now contains the Illustrations of the xviiith and xviiiith centuries, an account of Received English Pronunciation, and the introductory matter to the new collections of English Dialects which have been made for this work, in order to register dialectal pronunciation with a completeness hitherto unattained and even unattempted, as a necessary basis for understanding the pronunciation underlying our Early English orthography, which was wholly dialectal. These collections themselves, which have been already made to a sufficient and by no means scanty extent, will form Part V., to be published in 1875. That Part will therefore be devoted to English Dialects. After it is completed, I contemplate allowing at least two years to elapse before commencing Part the Sixth and (let us hope) the Last. If I have life and strength (which is always problematical for a man who has turned sixty, and has already many times suffered from overwork), I propose in this last Part to supplement the original investigations, made so many years ago, when the scope of the subject was not sufficiently grasped, the materials were not so ready to hand, and the scientific method and apparatus were not so well understood. The supplementary investigations which have been made by others, especially Mr. Sweet in his History of English Sounds, Prof. Payne and Mr. Furnivall on the use of Final E, the late Prof. Hadley on the quantity of English vowels, and Prof. Whitney in the second part of his Linguistic and Oriental Studies, and others, with the criticisms friendly (as they mostly are) or hostile (as Dr. Weymouth's) which my book has called forth, will be examined and utilised as far as possible, and by their means I hope to arrive at occasionally more precise and more definite conclusions than before, or at any rate to assign the nature and limits of the uncertainty still left. I have no theory to defend. Many hypotheses have necessarily been started in the course of this work, to represent the facts collected; but my chief endeavour has been, first to put those facts as accurately as possible before the reader in the
words of the original reporters, and secondly to draw the conclusions which they seemed to warrant in connection with the other ascertained laws of phonology. But as, first, the facts are often conveyed in language difficult to understand, and as, secondly, the whole science of phonology is very recent, and the observations and experiments on which it has to be based are still accumulating,—so that for example my own views have had to undergo many changes during the compilation of this work as the materials for forming them increased,—my conclusions may be frequently called in question. Nothing is so satisfactory to myself as to see them overhauled by competent hands and heads, and no one can be more happy than myself to find a guide who can put me right on doubtful points. *Non ego, sed rés mea!*

In the present Part I have endeavoured to make some additions to our phonological knowledge, and I believe that my examinations of aspiration (pp. 1125–1146), and my theory of fractures and junctures (pp. 1307–1317), already briefly communicated to the Philological Society, are real additions, which will be found to affect a very wide philological area. The examinations of living Indian pronunciation (pp. 1136–1140), though merely elementary, together with the account of ancient Indian alphabets as collected, through Prof. Whitney's translation, from the *Athaśa Veda Prātiśākhya* (pp. 1336–1338), may also prove of use in Aryan philology. But one of the most important additions that I have been able to make to our philological knowledge and apparatus consists of those extraordinary identifications of Vowel Sounds in forty-five European languages, each guaranteed by an example (pp. 1298–1307), which, together with an almost exhaustive list of the consonants found in actual use (pp. 1352–1357), I owe to the linguistic knowledge and kindness of Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, who has worked for me as hard and ungrudgingly as any of my other kind contributors, whose names (*qua quae proascribere longum est*) are each given as their contributions occur, and—if ever I reach that *ultima Thule* of authorship, my much-needed, and still more dreaded indices—will be duly chronicled alphabetically and referred each to his own work. The number of helpers—ladies I am glad to think, as well as gentlemen, aye, and men and women labouring with hands as well as with head—who have so kindly and unstintingly helped me in this work, and especially in the collections which will form the staple of Part V., serve to shew not only the unexpected interest which so many feel in the subject, but the vast amount of good fellowship and co-operative feeling by which alone we can hope to build up the gigantic edifice of philology.

As my Table of Contents will shew, the present Part consists of a series of essays bearing upon the history and present state and linguistic relations of our language, which either appear for the first time, or are put into a convenient form for reference from sources not readily accessible to ordinary readers. For the English of the Eighteenth century Lediard's little known book, for a knowledge of which I am indebted to Prof. Payne, gives much interesting
matter (pp. 1040–1049); and Noah Webster's account of American pronunciations nearly a century ago, derived from forgotten essays of that lexicographer (whose dictionary has been so recently imported in revised editions that few think him to be so ancient), make a new link in the chain binding the Seventeenth to the Eighteenth centuries (pp. 1064–1070). The examination of Received Pronunciation, as represented by Mr. B. H. Smart, Mr. Melville Bell, Prof. Haldeman, and Mr. Henry Sweet (pp. 1090–1207), and the actual observations on unstudied pronunciations as noted by myself at the moment of hearing, and contrasted with my own usages (pp. 1208–1214), form a new datum in phonology, because they enable us to estimate the real amount of floating diversity of pronunciation at any time, out of which, though unrecorded by orthography, the pronunciation of a future generation crystallises, only to be again dissolved by a fresh menstruum, and appear in still newer forms. We are thus put into a position to understand those changes which go on among even the educated, and "hear the (linguistic) grass grow." The accounts of existing differences in American and Irish pronunciation (pp. 1217–1243), which are mainly Seventeenth century survivals as modified by environment, though necessarily very imperfect, bring still more strongly to light existing diversities where there is appreciable sameness, that is, diversities which interfere so little with intelligibility of speech, that they have been hitherto disregarded, or ridiculed, or scouted by grammarians and linguists, instead of being acknowledged as the real "missing links," which connect the widely separated strata of our exceedingly imperfect philological record. Beyond such initiatory forms of transition, are the past records of dialectal variety verging into species. For English— with the exception of Dr. Gill's most interesting little report on the dialects as known to him in 1621 (pp. 1249–1252)—these are reserved for Part V., but I have in the present Part IV. collected some of the results, and shewn their general philological bearing, as well as their special connection with the Early English Pronunciation, which is the main source and aim of my investigations; and I have also given the phonetic theories necessary to appreciate them more thoroughly (pp. 1252–1357). Thanks to the labours of the great Teutonic linguist Schmeller, I have also been able to shew the variations which interpenetrate one great branch of the High German dialects, the Bavarian (pp. 1357–1368); and, thanks to the extraordinary collection made by Winkler, just published in Dutch, I have been fortunate enough to give English readers a general view of the present state of those Low German and Friesian dialects to which our own Anglosaxon language belongs, as they have developed under merely native influences, without the introduction of any strange element, like Celtic, Norman French, and Old Danish (pp. 1378–1428). These modern dialectal forms are invaluable for a study of our Early English dialectal forms, for, although chronologically contemporaneous with the English of the Nineteenth century, they are linguistically several hundred years older. And
they enable us to appreciate the state of our own English dialects, which are in fact merely a branch of the same, left untouched by Winkler, because, like our own, these Low German dialects (with the exception of modern Dutch, which is a literary form of provincial Hollandish), have developed entirely without the control of the grammarian, the schoolmaster, and the author. To philologists generally, this wild, unkempt development of language is very precious indeed. The theory of vegetable transformation was developed by Goethe from a monstrosity. The theory of linguistic transformation can only be properly studied from monstrosities naturally evolved, not artificially superinduced. And for pronunciation this is still more emphatically true than for construction and vocabulary, for pronunciation is far more sensitive to transforming influences. Hence I consider that my work is under the greatest obligation to Winkler's, and that in devoting so much space to an abstract of his specimens, reduced to the same palaeotypic expression of sound which I have employed throughout, I have been acting most strictly in the interests of Early English Pronunciation itself.

Let me, indeed, particularly emphasise the fact that not even the slightest deviation has been made from the course of my investigation into English pronunciation by taking these dialects into consideration. As Mr. Green well says at the opening of his excellent Short History of the English People (which appeared as these pages were passing through the press):

"For the fatherland of the English race we must look far away from England itself. In the fifth century after the birth of Christ, the one country which bore the name of England was what we now call Sleswick . . . . The dwellers in this district were one out of three tribes, all belonging to the same Low German branch of the Teutonic family, who at the moment when history discovers them were bound together into a confederacy by the ties of a common blood and a common speech. To the north of the English lay the tribe of the Jutes, whose name is still preserved in their district of Jutland. To the south of them the tribe of Saxons wandered over the sand-flats of Holstein, and along the marshes of Friesland and the Elbe. How close was the union of these tribes was shewn by their use of a common name, while the choice of this name points out the tribe which at the moment when we first meet them must have been the strongest and most powerful in the confederacy. Although they were all known as Saxons by the Roman people who touched them only on their southern border where the Saxons dwelt, and who remained ignorant of the very existence of the English or the Jutes, the three tribes bore among themselves the name of the central tribe of their league, the name of Englishmen."

It is mainly owing to the dialectal differences of these tribes and places of their settlements in Britain (the history of which is given in an excellent epitome by Mr. Green) that the character of our dialects, old and new, was determined. But they did not all come over to Britain. Over the same Sleswick and Holstein, Jutland and Friesland, dwelt and still dwell descendants of the same people. Philologically we all know the great importance of the few ancient monuments which have remained of their speech preserved in monastic or legal literature. But these, as well as the oldest records of English in our own England (which I have hitherto called, and to prevent confusion shall continue to call
Anglosaxon), fail to give us enough foothold for understanding their living sounds. These we can only gradually and laboriously elicit from any and every source that offers us the slightest hope of gain. None appears so likely as a comparison of the sounds now used in speech over the whole region where the English tribes grew up, and where they settled down, that is, the districts so admirably explored by Winkler and those which we shall have before us in Part V. During the whole of this investigation my thoughts have been turned to eastern English for light. The opportune appearance of Winkler just before my own investigations could be published, was a source of intense delight to me, and though I was at the time overloaded with other work, I did not in the slightest degree grudge the great labour of abstracting, transliterating, writing out, and correcting those 50 pages at the end of Part IV., which indicate the nature of this treasure-trove, and I feel sure that all who pursue the subject of this work as a matter of scientific philology, and linguistic history, will be as much delighted as myself at the possession of a store-house of facts, invaluable for the investigation before them, and feel the same gratitude as I do to Winkler for his three years' devotion in collecting, arranging; and publishing his great *Dialecticon*.

Such are the principal divisions of the present Part and their bearing on each other. For some subsidiary investigations I must refer to other books which I have had to pass through the press this year, and which are published almost at the same time as the present pages. Helmholtz's great treatise, *On Sensations of Tone as a Physiological Basis for the Theory of Music* (shortly to be published by Longman and Co., from my English version, with notes and additions), contains the acoustical foundations of all phonology, and without studying the first two parts of this book, it is impossible to arrive at a due estimate of the nature of vowel sounds and their gradations (see below, pp. 1275–1281), and hence of the physiological cause of their extraordinary transformations. Although the preparation of my version and edition of Helmholtz's work has robbed me of very many hours which would in natural course have been devoted to the present, every one of those hours has been to me a step forward in the knowledge of sound, as produced by human organs and appreciated by human nerves, and hence in the knowledge of speech sounds and their appreciation by hearers. As such I recommend the work—the outcome of many years' labour by one of the first physiologists, physicists, and mathematicians of the present day—to the most attentive consideration of all scientific phonologists.

The other work is one of much smaller size and very little pretension. It is called *Practical Hints on the Quantitative Pronunciation of Latin* (published by Macmillan & Co.), and is the recast of a lecture which I delivered to classical teachers last June. It does not compete with Corssen's work in investigating the actual force of the Latin letters (except final M), but it takes up the two important questions of quantity, and musical accent in speech, and
endeavours to give practical exercises for becoming familiar with them, so as to appreciate a rhythm dependent on "length" of syllable and embellished by "pitch-accent," as distinguished from rhythm due to "force-accent" and embellished by "pitch-emphasis." It also contains a delicate investigation of the nature of the final M and the meaning of its disappearance, which may be of assistance in appreciating the disappearance of final N in English, and the disappearance of other letters in English and other languages so far as their natural sounds are concerned, and their simultaneous survival as affecting adjacent sounds. As such I must consider it to be an excursus of the present work, necessarily separated from it by the different linguistic domain to which it belongs.

The materials for Part V. are, as I have mentioned, all collected, some of them are even in type, and others made ready for press, but it was physically impossible to prepare them in time for Part IV., and the nature of the typography, requiring great care in revision, does not allow of the least hurry without endangering the value of all the work, which is nothing if not trustworthy. The extreme pressure of literary work which has lain on me since I began preparing this Part in March, 1873, and which has not allowed me even a week's respite from daily deskwork, must be my excuse if marks of haste occasionally appear in the present pages. It will be evident to any one who turns them over, that the time required for their careful presentation in type was far out of proportion to their superficial area. And a very large part of the time which I have devoted to this work has been bestowed upon the collection of materials, involving long correspondence and many personal interviews and examinations of speakers—which occupy no space in print, while their result, originally intended to appear in the present Part, has been relegated to the next. Hence, with a cry of mea culpa, aliëna culpa, I crave indulgence for inevitable shortcomings.

A. J. E.

25, Argyll Road, Kensington,
Christmas, 1874.
CHAPTER IX.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE PRONUNCIATION OF ENGLISH DURING THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

§ 1. John Wilkins's Phonetic Writing.

Dr. Wilkins, while Dean of Ripon (he was subsequently Bishop of Chester),¹ after inventing a phonetic alphabet for the purpose of giving a series of sounds corresponding to his Real Character, gives as a specimen of its use the Lord's Prayer and Creed, "written according to our present pronunciation." This is on p. 373 of his work, but on the occasion of his comparing the Lord's Prayer in 49 languages (which he unfortunately does not represent phonetically) with his own Philosophical Language (erroneously numbered 51 instead of 50 on his p. 435), he adds the phonetic representation of the English version, which differs in a few words from the former copy, no doubt through insufficient revision of the press, and omits the final doxology.

In the present transcription into palaeotype, I assume his vowels on his p. 363 to be (a a, æ æ, e e, i i, o o, u u, ə ə), although I believe that he pronounced (ə, i, u) in closed accented syllables rather than (A, i, u).² His diphthongs will be represented as he has done on his p. 363; his so-called diphthongs u, ər, on his p. 364, meaning (y, wu), will be written (i, u), to distinguish them from the long vowels (ii, uu). He has no systematic method of representing the long vowels. In the Creed and first version of the Lord's Prayer, he uses a grave accent to express length; in the second version of the Lord's Prayer, he uses an acute accent. Again, the acute accent in the first version and the grave in the second represent the accent on a short vowel in a closed syllable. The o seems to have been considered always long, as no example of short o is given on his p. 363, although it is once marked long in rof in the Creed. It will be always transliterated by (oo). The consonants were doubled without any special intention. The word body towards the end of the Creed he has written bodi, evidently a mistake for badi, as he does not use y in any sense, but employs a variation of it for (o). Virgin is evidently an error for Virdzin. All the errors, however, will be given in the following transcript, and the various readings of the second copy of the Lord's Prayer will be added in brackets. Afterwards will be given

¹ See an account of his book supra, p. 41, where he is erroneously called Bishop of Ripon, of which he was only Dean. He married the widow Robina French, sister of Oliver Cromwell.

² For the considerations which have influenced me, see supra pp. 68, 100, 177.
in palaeotype the pronunciation which Wilkins probably intended to symbolize. As this short specimen is the only instance that I have discovered of continuous phonetic writing in the xviith century, it has been thought best to give a minutely accurate copy in the first instance. One point only has not been attended to. Wilkins intended to represent (i) by the Greek ι, and has generally done so in the second version of the Lord’s Prayer, but in the first version and Creed i is are commonly used in place of ι. As this is a mere accident of printing, I have replaced ι, i by the single letter (i).¹ His dieresis when written over a vowel will be replaced by , made from , before the vowel.

Transcript of Wilkins’s Phonetic Orthography.

The Lord’s Prayer.

Our father which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come, thy will be done, on earth as it is in heaven, give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us, and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. Amen.

The Creed.

Our God and Saviour, Almighty God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, visible and invisible, and in Dzesas Kroist niz ooni son our Lord, whu waz konsceeved bai dhe nooli Goost, born af dhe Virgin Maeeri, sessended onder Pansios Poi-lat, wae krusiified ded send borned. Hi dessended into nel, dhe thard deai ni roos aegain from dhe ded. Hi aessended into heaven, huerer ni sitteth at dhe roit nend af God dhe faeader, fram nueens ni shal kom tu dzechad dhe

¹ This mark will in future be employed in place of (,), to denote discontinuity or absence of audible glide. The different kinds of continuity and discontinuity will be discussed and more completely symbolised in Chap.

Conjectured Meaning of Wilkins’s Phonetic Orthography.

The Lord’s Prayer.

Our father which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come, thy will be done, on earth as it is in heaven, give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us, and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. Amen.

The Creed.

Our God and Saviour, Almighty God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, visible and invisible, and in Dzesas Kroist niz ooni li son our Lord, whu waz konsceeved bai dhe nooli Goost, born af dhe Verdzhin Maeeri, sessended onder Pansios Poi-lat, wae krusiified ded send borned. Hii aessended into nel, dhe thard deai ni roos aegain from dhe ded. Hii aessended into heaven, wheer hii sit-eth at dhe roit nend of God dhe faeader, fram whens hii shal kom tu

XII. § 1, when considering Mr. Melville Bell’s Key Words of modern English pronunciation, under WH. The old (,) will then receive the distinctive sense of the ‘clear glottid.’


§ 2. *Noteworthy Pronunciations of the Seventeenth Century.*

The transition period of the xviith century, reaching from the death of Shakspeare to the death of Dryden, presents considerable interest. It is remarkable for the number of "slovenly" pronunciations as they would now be called, which were recognized as in use either by orthoepists or orthographers, the former to correct them, the latter to determine the "proper" spelling from the "abusive" sound. Spelling was in a state of transition also, and many orthographies recommended by the would-be authorities of this period are now discarded. Our sources take therefore two different forms, one determining the sound from the letters, and the other the letters from the sound. To the latter belong especially those lists of Words Like and Unlike, which Butler appears to have commenced (supra p. 876), and which have ever since occupied a prominent place in our spelling-books. Great importance was always attached to the difference of spelling when the sound remained, or was thought to remain, the same, as this difference was—nay, is—thought by many to present perfect means of determining meaning and derivations. It would have been desirable to fuse the two methods into one, but the indications, lax enough in vocabularies, were far too vague in the other lists, and hence they have had to be separated.

1. *Pronouncing Vocabulary of the Seventeenth Century, collected from Wallis 1653, Wilkins 1668, Price 1668, Cooper 1685, English Scholar 1687, Miege 1688, Jones 1701.*

A pronouncing vocabulary of the xviith century, though as much needed as one of the xiith, is much more difficult to compile. For the xiith century we possess a large collection of phonetically written words, which had only to be extracted and arranged, after their notation had been reduced to a single system. For the xviith century I have not been able to discover any systematic phonetic method of writing, except in Wilkins's *Real Character*, where it is applied to a very small collection of English words. The other writers have more or less precise or lax methods of representing individual sounds, but very rarely indeed combine their symbols so as to spell out complete words. Their observations generally tend to shew the pronunciation of some particular groups of letters, principally vowels, in the words cited as examples, and the pronunciation of the rest of the word has to be collected, as well as possible,—which is often very ill,—from similar observations respecting the other groups of letters in the word. This arose from
the authors writing for those who, being well acquainted with the various pronunciations of the words, only required to have one fixed upon for approval, or who knew how to spell the word except in the individual point under consideration. To a learner in the xixth century such a course, however, presents great difficulties, and in many cases I have felt in doubt as to the correctness of the pronunciation of the whole word, although that of a portion of the word was almost certain. In other cases, especially in theimportant works of Price and Jones, much difficulty arose from the ambiguity of their symbols. Thus if one were to say that ie was sounded as in lie and sieve, it would be difficult to guess that the first was (lai) and the sound (siv), although (oi, i) are two common sounds of i. Still the results are very interesting, because in this xvith century the pronunciation of English altered rapidly, and many words were sounded in a style, which, owing to the influence of our orthoepists of the xvith and xixth centuries, is now generally condemned, although well known among the less educated classes. It may be doubted whether our language has gained in strength, as it has certainly gained in harshness and in difficulty, by the orthographical system of orthoepy which it has lately been the fashion to insist upon, but as such a system is thoroughly artificial, and results frequently in the production of sounds which never formed an organically developed part of our language, it is rather to be regretted than admired.

The following is not a complete vocabulary, as that would be far too extensive, but it embraces all those words in Wallis, Wilkins, Price, Cooper, English Scholar, Miege and Jones, which struck me as being in some respect noteworthy, because they illustrate some Elizabethan usage or shew a transition from the xvrth century, or a peculiar but lost sound, or an early instance of some well-known sound now heard, or give the authority for some pronunciations now well known but considered vulgar or inelegant, or exhibit what were even in the xvith century reprobated as barbarisms or vulgarities.

1) Wallis does not furnish a long list, but the vowels in the accented syllables which he gives may be depended upon; in some cases of consonants and unaccented vowels I do not feel so secure.

2) Wilkins’s list is very short, and has been already given in the example of his writing. In this vocabulary the words are respelled to signify the sounds he probably meant to convey.

3) Price is uncertain, sometimes even in the accented syllables, owing to the defects of his notation. His short o has been assumed as (ə), but throughout this century (a, o) are difficult to distinguish, and perhaps (ʌ) prevailed more widely than at present. Even now watch, want, are perhaps more often called (watsh, want) than (watsh, want), the latter sounds being rather American than English, which, again, is to some extent evidence of their use in the xviith century.

4) Cooper is very strict but very peculiar in his vowel system, which has been sufficiently considered, supra p. 84.
5) "The complete English Scholar, by a young Schoolmaster," 8th ed. 1687, contains some words re-spelled to shew what the author considers their correct pronunciation, for a list of which I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Payne. These re-spellings I have generally annexed.

6) Miege being a Frenchman, and evidently but imperfectly seizing the English sounds, has to be interpreted by endeavouring to discover (not what were the sounds he meant to convey by his notation, but) the sounds which were likely to have excited in him the sensations betrayed by his letters. This is of course a difficult and a delicate operation, and I may have often blundered over it, so that I have frequently felt it best to annex either his own notation or the gist of his remark.

7) Jones furnishes the most extensive list, and in every respect the most remarkable part of the vocabulary, because his object was to lead any person who could speak, to spell, and therefore he has chronicled numerous unrecognized or "abusive" pronunciations besides those which were "customary and fashionable." By adding such observations as "abusively, sometimes, often, commonly, sounded by some, better," I have tried to convey a correct impression as to the generality of the pronunciation, so far as Jones's own statements go. I have not always felt perfectly confident of the correctness of my interpretation, owing to his ambiguous notation, and I am not quite clear as to the distinction which he draws between it, bit, which should be (it, bit)—a distinction of which no other author takes any notice; the first he considers as the short of ee (ii), and treats of under ee, the second he treats of in conjunction with ņ (ai).

The following abbreviations are employed:

| C  | Cooper, 1685.      | P  | Price, 1668.      |
| E  | English Scholar, 1687. | W  | Wallis, 1653.      |
| J  | Jones, 1701.      | Wk | Wilkins, 1668.      |
| M  | Miege, 1688.      |

A hyphen after a combination shews that it is initial; before it, that it is final, as emp-, -our. Small capitals imply the older spelling used by the next following authority. The alphabetical arrangement follows the present orthography. Words not wholly in Italics are to be read as in paleotype spelling. The position of the stress is almost always marked from conjecture.
ach s. etch P
ache v. ache P
ached aik'd aik't C
aecorn aek'orn C
aeq k' often J
aquit kwit J
acree ek'kar C
action=aiotchon aek'shen M
adhere =adheer J
adiu adiu' P, adiu C
adjourn edzhorn' C
adventure edven'tor C
affairs =afeerz' C
aflord afluurd' C, J
afraid affraid' afeerd', freed J
again regen ageen J
against aeginst' Wk, aegnent P,
against Wk, gained J
age edzh C
agnail æn'eel J
ai ay=æi, generally P
aig eet C
air æez-e C
aid æed eed J
al- l' often as loon for æloow' J
alarm lerom usual J
Albans :aa'benz J
almbie lem'vik usual J
Aligier ældzheer ældzhii' J
ail aal W, J
Alexander Alesen'dar J
ail al as a Francois un peu
long M
alley æl-e P, æl-i C
al'manack a'm'anack M
ammond a'm'mond C, J, æe'mon a'mun E,
aa'men J
almor æm'ær, aam'ær J
almost am'vst barbar c, aa'moost J
alms alamz J
am- m- often J
ambiguous ambig'ces sometimes J
amb aamz J
amendment æmen'ment J
anatomy nat'omi often J
anchor =enmek æ'kar M
ancient antient aen'shent C, auncient
aen'shent ou comme a simple anglois M
andiron aen'dwar J
Anglesey æeq'g'lese P
anguish æç'gwish J
ann- n- often as neel anneal
annoyance anoias nöiasen often,
niarias sometimes J
annual æn'ral occasionally J
anoit ænoint ænoint' C
anoas mon' aamn J
another aenod õr, often nodh'or J
answer æn aor C, M, J
anthem ænthjem' J
ancient antient æn'shent C
antique æn'tik C
ap p- often, as pokrïte apcorypha J
apostene impost'ain M
apopthegm aportoegm æp'othem, may
be æp'otheg'm J
apotecary aportoikari, pot'ikari usually J
appear æp'ir P, J
appetite æp'iti abusively J
apprehend aprehend' J
apprentice pr'en'tis usually J
approve æprav' P
apricot æprirkoek J
apron æe'porn C, E, M, J
ar r- often, as rith'metik arithmetic J
-orr or C, -er or J
Archibald ær'tshbaal J
-ard -erd -erd J
are æe' C, ær, not eer J
Armagh ærmæ J
Arnold ærnol J
arrand æraænd J
arrant ærant J
arrear æriir C
arrears æeez J
arrest rest J
arrow æru P
Arthur ær'thir J
artichoke æruftshook J
artificial ærtifish'ael, and in similar
words ci =sh C
-ory -ori J
au s- sometimes as ston'ish astonish J
as æz en a court M
asparagus spær'egos J
aspen æs'pan J
assume æshuam' J
asthma æsmæ J
assure æshuir J
atheism ætheizm, æ'theizm J
atheist ætheest, æ'theist J
att t- as people are apt to sound teent
for attain J
attorney ætorn'æ P, a'tourney ætor'n'æC
atheart æhært J
auburn æborn, may be æa'born J
auction æok'shan, may be æak'shan J
audible æd'ebel, æd'ebel negiliger C
audience ævidens may be æa'diens, sometimes
æadens J
audit æo'dit, may be æa'dit J
audit or æ'dit æ'dit or æ negiliger C
augment ægment, ægment negiliger
C, ogment, may be ægment J
angury æg'ært, æ'gært negiliger C
aunt =ain't ænt M, ænt ænt J
auricular æurk'vüler, æurk'vüler negiliger
C
austere æa'ster' J
authentic æuthor'ck æuthor'k
authentick æauthentick, æauthentik negiliger C
author a·tar J
authority a·thar·ete, a·thar·iti negli-
genter C, a·tor·iti J
av- v. often as vaant avaut J
avant-courier vant-cur·ri·erven'ker·ir J
avaries av·a·ris J
av·er ever aer·er se prononce ai M
aviary av·a·ri sometimes J
award a·var· at·ed a comme en françois M
awl a·l W
axletree eks·tri facilitatis causa C
ay ai C
azure a·shor J

B
babe baa'b'l en a long M
backward ba·kard J
bacon beek'n J
baitiff beel·l J
bain beem ba·nem C
bait beet C
baker beek·or C
balderdash ba·dor·desh J
baldric ba·l·rik J
balk ba·k P, J
balm baam J
balsam ba·l·sem en a long M
Banbury baim·beri J
bane bason W, been C
banish ba·nesh C
bankrupt baek·rap often J
banquet baek·ket J
baptism beeb'tizm sometimes J
bar beer W, C
Barbara Ber·bere = Bar·bare J
bare beaver W, beecor C
bargain beergen P, bærgen C
barge beaerdzh C
barley ba·li·C
baron ba·ren C
barrow ba·rou·P
basin bees'n P, bason bees'n C
baste baestil J
bate beaat W
be be P, beer C, M, J
be- bie J
beacon beek'n C
beadle biid·l J
bear v.s. beer C, P
bear s. = bare baer un ours M
beard beerd C, J, berd P, M, J
beast beest W
beastly beest·li J
beaten beet'n M
beau beaw biu J
Beavolere Biu·kleer J
Beaufort Biu·fort J
Beauvais Buum·vies J
Beaumont Bium·mont J

beautify biu·tifi J
beauty beuti·rectus, guidum biurti W,
biurti M
because bik·eretz· bikaaz· J
been bin J
begin big·ren· W
behaviour bik·er·v J
behold bimuld C
behave bik·av· P, bimuu C, M
bellows bel·oo· C
bellows bel·ooz, facilatatis causa bel·es C
Belus Beelas J
bench bentah P
beneath bineedh· P
benign bing·on J
Berks Berks J
besmear bismir· C, M
besom biss·om M
besought biseet J
betoken bitok·n C
betroth bithroth· P
beyond bivand C, bison J
bezor bieror J
bible bib·l C
bier beer bier J
Bilbao bll·boo, Bil·buu J
bird berd P, C
bittern bittou· C
birth borth C
biscuit bisket J
bishop bish·rop barbarè C, = boshop
bush·op pas du bel usage M, bus·op
sometimes J
blain bleen blee J
blaspheme blees·een· C
blast bllas·et C
blazon blezn· C
blea blee J
bleer-eyed bliir·oid P, C, M
blind blead C
blithe bllith C
blomary blom·ari J
blood bloud bled, ou = o court M, J
blood·i·ly bled··i C
bear buur C
board buord buurd tabula C, J
boil bail, bwoil (bwoil ?) nonnunquam
W, budl bail C, buu, sometimes
boil J
bold bould nonnunquam bould W, bould C, bouuld J
bole boul P
bolster boul·star P, buul·star C, bouul·
star J
bolt boul· boul J
bomb buum J
bombast bambaest· J
bone boon C
book bunk C
boor boor buur J
boose bowze bauz C
booth buut C
Bordeaux Bourdeaux Buurdoo J
borne burn bajulatus C, = bome boon porté M
born barn parturitus C, = born baarn we M
borough = boro boro M
borage bor-æzh J
borrow bor'oo P, baat'aa bor'aa som J
bough bau, boo J
bourn burn virulus C
brow bow areus, bow torqueo C
boul noul boul globus W, C, J, bowl
boul polumum W, hole buul patera C, boll boul J
boy boi, bwaï (bwoi ?) nonnumquant W, bwaï disyllabum C
bought baat C, boot baat sometimes boft J
brain brein C
brasier brasier bræsh'-ær, sometimes b्रæsh'-ær J
break breek P, breek C
breakfast brek'-west in some countries J
breakplate bres'-pleat J
breviary brev'ær sometimes J
brew bry W
brewess breu'ces P
bridge bredzh J
Bristol Brís-too P, J
broad braad C, ca =d M, J
broil braïl brai C, braïl sometimes J
brotherhood brëth'ørhood C
brought broot P, J
bruise bruiz C, bruiz J
bruit brie F
Buckingham Bak'-igem J
build bïld C, bïld J
bull bul M, J
bullion bol'-jan C
bumble bee am'-bl bï J
bwoy bwoy bai C, bai, buui J
bur bar C
borden bar'-dan J
burling bur'li g- barel'g- barel'sk- J
bury burt birt J
burthen bur'-ðen P
bury ber-i C, ber'-i M
busy b evils bivi C, M
business bivi'nes C
but but o court M

C

cabin kab'-ên J
Caiphas Keef'-as J
caitiff keét'-if C
caldron kaaá'dran kaa'darn J
calf kãaf C, J
call kãal W
calm kãelm P

campaign kempeæn' J
can kran W, ken C
candle kem'-1 J
cane keen C
cannot keent J
canoe canoo kæn'nù J
canonier keneneer- kenoniir' J
cap, kep, en ai bref ou en e ouvert M
capable kep'pebl C, kepm'bebl occ. J
capacity kepæ'lest C
cape kep C
caper kep'par C
capon kep'n C, kep'n o se mange M
car ker C
card kæoard C
care kep'or C, = caire kæar M
cared kæoard = card C
career kær'ær C
carking kepær'-q C
carp kep C
carrage kep'ær C, kær'-æzh occ. J
carriage kep'or, kær'en occasionally J
case kees C
cashier cashi're kæsh'iær J
cast keasest C
casually kepæz'-ëlti sometimes J
cater kep'ær C
catherine Ke-thërn E, kæth'ærn J
catholic kæth'-olik Wk
caul kãal W
cause kæaz comme a français M
causeway kàaz'-oë P
cautious kæouth'as, kæ'has neglicienter C
cavilling kep'lîq J
do- see- J
celestial sekJest', and in similar words
-sti =-sti C
censure sens'-ør C, sens'ør J
centauri sent'ærri C, sen'tær J
century sent'ærri C, sent'ær J
certain sēr'tem ? ai comme en certain M
(exception)
chaldrón tshãa'dron C, J, tshaa'darn J
chair tsher tsher J
crack tshaak C
chamois shamois sham'-ii J
chamberlain tsham'-berleen P
Chandaïs Shand'ois abusively J
chandler tsham-ler J
chaplain tshap'-leen P
chap tshaps abusively J
Charles Tshãar'ïz barborë C
charriot chariot tsher'et occasionally J
chasten tshen J
cheer chea'rer Išhir J
Chelesford Tshemz'för J
cherub tshér'ab W, tsher'ab J
-chester -tshesør J
cheveron tshéveron J
chez tshuí C, tshou tshou, may be tshin, sometimes tshaa J
chicken tshik'ən J
children tshid'rən J
chinney tshim'ne P
chirp tsherp J
chirurgeon sor'dgin sor'dzhin M
chisel tshel'zəl J
Chloe Clog Klō'ə C
chocolate tshok'ələt J
choir chor kwa'ir J
Cholmly Tsham'li J
chorister kwar'istər J
Christ krest W, Wk
christen kris'n J
Christian krist'zen W, krist'en some-
times J
Christmas krist'məs J
church tshartsh Wk
chuse tshuuz M
-cial, -shel J
-ciate -sheat J
cinque siq'kə
-cious -shəs J
circuit sər'kət C, sər'kiut sər'ket J
Cirencester Sis'ətor J
citron si'tərn C, si'tərm M
ci vil si'vəl
clarion klərən occ. J
clear klər P, M, J
clerk klərk J
clew kləu J
cliff klif J
climb klaim P
cloak kloak klək C
cloyer glə'star J
couch kootsh C
course kərs = course C
cobiuron kəbə'zərn kəbərn J
cochinel kush'inel J
cockney kək'nə P
codicil kədə'səl C
coffee kəsf həfə M
cognisance kənə'səns, kənə'səns J
cohere kənə'riə J
cohort kuurt J
cois kəsət C, quoit kəf J
coil kuul, koil sometimes J, quoil koil J
coin kən J
colander kəl'əndər J
cold kəuld nən'mənkwən kəuld W, kəuld P, kəuld C
coller kələ'ər and in similar words, -ier = sər C
Cologne kul'ven Cəl'len E
colonel kəl'nəl J
coltsfoot kəltsfut J
comb kəum J
combat kam'bet C
come kəm W, kom kəm C
comely kəmə'liə C
comfort kəm'fərt J
comfrey kəm'frə P
commandment kəmən'mənt J
committee kommit'ət komi'tə M
companion kompa'nən C
company kəmpəni J
complete kəmplət, komplekt J, M, J
compartment kəntrə'mənt J
commander kəmən'dər J
conceal kən'seəl J
conceit kən'set J, P, J
conceive kən'seiə P, conceiv kən'seeə
C, kənsevə'məsəlin M, J
concource kən'kərs C
condign kəndə'gən J
condition kəndish'un nələgentiəs W
conduit kəndui't P, E, kəndət C, kəndiut kəndət J
coney kən'ət P, J
cong kəndəzhe J
conjure kən'dʒər J
conquer kək'kər J
conscience kən'səns J
conspicuous kənspək'səs J
constable kən'stəbl abusively J
constitute kən'stədət C
consume kən'ʃənəm J
contagion kəntə'ʒən occ. J
contradict kəntrə'dikt C
controul kəntə'rlə P
contrary kəntə'reət C
convey kunvi P, kənvee C
copy kəp'ə C
cooksee kəps J
coral kərəl C, J
corrupt kərəp' often J
coroner krun'ər J
costly kəsəli J
couch kəu'tsh P, J
cough kəf W, P, = kəf həfə M
could kəuld P, kuuld C, kuud J
couldest kuust J
coulter kələ'tər C
counter kəntə're P, kəntri C, J
counterfeit kəntə'tefət C
coupon kəpəl C
courage, kərədʒəh C, J, kərədʒəh J
courier kəriər J
course kuurs W, P, C, koors ou = o un peu long M, kuurs J
court kəurt P, C, J
courtesan kərtə'sən C, kərtə'sən J
counsel kərtə'sən C, J, koors J
courtesy kər'təsə P, J
courtier kərtə'riə P, kuirtə'riə C
courtship kəurtə'ship C
cousin kəzn P, kəsən kəsən kəzn C, kəzən J
covenant kəvn'ət, kəvənən kəven J
cow kəu J
concord kəu'nərd occasionally J
coy kəi C
cure w'3n C, koz'en J
credle kreed'l C
cracy kreez'i C
credit kree'dit J
crevis kroe vis J
crimson krig's'n E
croney crone kro z'ni C
crosier kriu'z'er M, kroz'or
sometime's J
crouch kruutsh J
cruised kruis'fed Wk
cruise kriu J
cube kloob C
cuckow kuku'W P
cupboard kab ord J
Capet kiw bid sometimes J
cure kyrr W, kiwr C
curious kiu rios C
curtain kotteen P

cushion kush'en, kosh'en? cush'en E

daily dei lWk
dairy dei'ti C
dame deewem W
damosel dam sul C, dem zel J
damosn damasing dam's'n J
dance daens J
dandle den'l J
dandriff dandruff den der facilittis
cann C
Daniel Den el occasionally J
Daphne Daef'ne J
daet daert C
dash dash C
date dleet C
daughter daf'tor occasionally J
daunt daant, dent milius fortasse C, = daint dent M, dant daant J
Daventry Daen'tri Deen'tri J
day deel W, Wk, dee C
de'_Dec' J
dear dir W, P, C, M, J, der J
dearth derth C
debonair deban'er C
deceit deseat nonnulli deeseat W, desec't P, J
deceive desey V, W, P, decriev desey'v C, = desoev 'e masculin M, J
decoy dok'oi abusively J
deign deain P, deen J
Deitrel Daetrel J
deity deeti dai ti J
demeone demeen dimin J
deputy debiinti occasionally J
despair despeer C
desume doshum J
deter deter deter deter deter deteaser? e se prononce a M

devil dev'l C, div l div sometimes del as
in "del take you" J
diadem dai'vedzm C
diamond dai'mond di mund E
diaprogm dai'defram J
diary deer'i occ. J
dictionary diks keeri E, diks keeri cus-
tomary and fashionable J, hence the
old joke of a servant being sent to
borrow a Dik Snaer' asking for
Mister Ritch'shwer Snaer'
did dad barbare C
didst dist for speed's sake J
diphthong diphthong diph'thoq J
dirge der'dzhi C
distain distrein disteren J
discrete di skreet J
do duu rectius doo W, duu P, doo = doe C,
duu M, J
dole dool P
doll doult P,ault C
done daw W
door duu er sometimes J
dost duust J
doth duuth J
doubt dobl'C
double dobl et C, J
dough down dow C
doughty doot'i J
dove dav W, daw M, dav J
dosen doren douzen daw'zn C, daw'zn J
drachm drama C, drae'om, dram J
draught draat C, J
droll drool C, drol a francais M
drought = draut draut M, draut draat
droat J
dumb dem P
Dunelm Don'em J
Dunhill daq'il P
Dunstable Don'stul abusively J
dure dyrr W
Durham Dor em J
dwindle dwin'l J

e- ee' J
can can C
cern iir C, J
earl eerl C
carry eer'l'i C
cern ern C
carness ear'nest C
earth erth, earth barbar C = yerth
jorth pas du bel usage M
earwig iar'wig C
Eastcheap Eestsheep J
eastward eastward J
ebullion bolish'en often J
Ecclesfield Eg'laifild J
eologue eg log J
ecstasy eg stas'i J
<table>
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<th>PRONOUNCING CRANBERRY'S VOCABULARY OF XVII CENT.</th>
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<td>Edward Ed-ard J</td>
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<td>e'r e'er J</td>
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<td>effectual ef-tek-til oec. J</td>
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<td>ei never = ii J</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>eight eit P, eit vulgarite C, eit (?) J</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>eilet oilet J</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>either edh-or P, edh-or C, edh-or e</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>feminin M, oidh-or edh-or J</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>eke eck J</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ei-1- often J</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Eleanor Ellenor El'ner J</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>eleven eleven ilav-an J</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>em- m- often after 'the' or a vowel, as</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>mat'shan emulsion J</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>'em am them J</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>emb- b- often as bod'i embody J</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>embalm embalmil P</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>embolden emboldenil P</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>emp- p- often as peetsh empach J</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>en- n- often as nas'ough J</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>-en -on in eaten, sc., J</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>enamel emelil P</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>enamoured som'er'd J</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>end- d- as dem'-edzh endamaghe J</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>end ind barbaræ C</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>endeavour endeveær P</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>England Ilq'land P, J, Ilq'land J</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>English Ilq'lish P, J</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>engorge gordzh J</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>engrav engrævev J</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>enhance enhaans J</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>enough inof sat multum W, P, ensu</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>sat multa W. enaf quantitatem denotans, enou</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ensurum numerum denotans C</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>enviren envai-arn C</td>
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<tr>
<td>enroll enrollil P</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ensure enshuur J</td>
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<tr>
<td>ensure enshuuril J</td>
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<tr>
<td>entraile entraileil P</td>
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<tr>
<td>enthusiasm enthushaizm C, thiu-siesam J</td>
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<tr>
<td>Epithany Pl'en'si sometimes J</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>epistle pis'il sometimes J</td>
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<tr>
<td>epitome epit'ome M</td>
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<tr>
<td>-or -or C</td>
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<tr>
<td>ere eer C</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>err or C</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>es- s- often J</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>escape escapil P</td>
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<tr>
<td>escheow esthiaur P, estshoov estshoov may be</td>
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<tr>
<td>esthiaur J</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>esquire skwair J</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>-ess, -is, often in words of two syllables</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>as guil'dis goodness J</td>
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<tr>
<td>essay see J</td>
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<tr>
<td>estates stæats J</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>eternal iter'maal P</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Eton Eaton Eet'n J</td>
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<tr>
<td>etymology timal'oldži J</td>
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<tr>
<td>ev- v- often as værd'zhelst evanghelist J</td>
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<td>Evan Hyvan Evan J</td>
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<tr>
<td>every ev'ari J</td>
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<td>Eve Irv J</td>
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<tr>
<td>evo iiv M</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Evening Irv'ilq J</td>
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<tr>
<td>even iiven P, J</td>
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<td>evening ivrnq P, J</td>
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<td>evoil iivl C, M, J</td>
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<tr>
<td>evo en P</td>
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<tr>
<td>example ensæm'pl sãm'pl J</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>exsperate es-peræct J</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Eschequer Eschequer tskek-ór J</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>experience ekspe'erens sometimes J</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>exil ekstool P</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>extraordinary eks'tran, ordninari P</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>extreme = extrème ekstree'm M</td>
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<tr>
<td>-ey -e J</td>
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<td>eyelet oilet oilet sometimes J</td>
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<td>F</td>
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<tr>
<td>fable fee'bl C, =faible feæ'b'l M</td>
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<tr>
<td>faire fee'C, = faire feer feer see 'fare'</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>M by his rule, feer feer feer J</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>falchion faa'shan J</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>falcon faa'k'n J</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>falconer faa'k'nar C</td>
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<tr>
<td>fall faal C</td>
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<tr>
<td>fallow fiel'n P, fiel'aa commonly J</td>
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<td>Falmouth Fa'a'math J</td>
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<tr>
<td>falter faa'tor J</td>
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<tr>
<td>fare = faire feer M</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>farrier feor occasionally J</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>farthing feor'diq C</td>
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<td>fashion faesh'n o comme muet M, faesh-en J</td>
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<tr>
<td>fasten faa'sn J</td>
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<td>father fae'dher Wk, faa'dhar J</td>
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<tr>
<td>favour faev'nuur fae've'r J</td>
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<tr>
<td>fealty faal'ti C</td>
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<tr>
<td>fear fiir C</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>February feb'ori sometimes J</td>
<td></td>
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<td>feign feain P, feen J</td>
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<tr>
<td>felt felt e en ai M</td>
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<tr>
<td>feto fce'lo J</td>
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<td>female fe'maeal J</td>
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<td>foadoary fnd'ari C</td>
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<td>feof fef C, fef J</td>
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<tr>
<td>coffee fef'ilil P</td>
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<tr>
<td>ferulfe friil J</td>
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<tr>
<td>feu foid P</td>
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<tr>
<td>few feu rec'ius, quidam fiu W, feu P,</td>
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<tr>
<td>faa'barbaræ C</td>
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<tr>
<td>field filid C</td>
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<td>fieldfare feld-feer C, fiil-feær J</td>
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<tr>
<td>fiend fiind W, find J</td>
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<td>fight tet = fil C</td>
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<tr>
<td>figure fig'ar C</td>
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<tr>
<td>finger fioggar J</td>
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<tr>
<td>fir for C, fer a peu près comme e ouvert M</td>
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<tr>
<td>first forst P, C</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>fire fò'ar C, faire re comme er M, fò'ar J</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
fissure fish’er J
fivepence ‘fipens J
flake fleak C
flash flash C
flasket ‘flæskæt C
flaunt flaunt P, C, flænt flaunt J
flaw = fla fla M
flæs W
flood loud flæd P, flæd C, flæd J
floor flœor sometimes J
flourish flœr’i’sh C
foal foal C
foil fail sometimes J
foist fœst sometimes J
fold fold P, fold C
folk look J
follow fol’un P, J, fa1 faa’laa fol’aa com. J
folly fœl’i C
fonte for’ni J
fondling fon’liq J
fool fuul C
foot fuunt P, fut as distinct from fot, fot
barbarè C, fot, better fut J
force fuur C
ford fuord fuured P, J
foreign forrain for’en C, for’en e fem-
inin M
forfeit = far’fet C, for’fet e feminin M,
for’feet J
form fuurum classis C, fœrm faarm forme,
= fœrm foorm bone M
forsooth fœsath’, better fœsuuth’ J
forsewer fœrsewer’ C, forseer’ J
forsovere fœrsourer’ J
forth foorth fuurth C
forward for’ard J
four fuur C
fought foot J
fourth fourth P, fuurth = forth C, J
fracture = fracter frek’tor avec e fem-
inin, familier M
frac frail C
frankincense frek’wensens barbarè C
fraud fuood may be fraad J
fraudent fraud’ulent, fraa’deulent
negilenter C
frequent fre’kwent J
friend friund W, P, friund C, friund
frind frend J
friendly frend’i J
friendship fren’ship J
froise froiz sometimes J
frontiers frontieriz: P
frost fraas, fere semper producitur o
ante st C
froward frow’ard P, frow’ard J
fruit friut P, fruit C
frumenty for’mîti barbarè C, = for’miti
for’mîti M, for’mêti J
Fulks Fouks J
ful ful C, ful M, J
funeral fun’erel C
fur for = fir C
furniture for’nîtar C, J
furrier furrièr for’re sometimes J
further far’der C
fusilier fus’ilèer fus’ilièr J
fusitian fast’ièn P, fest’en sometimes J
future flüt’er J

G

gain gein P
Gain Gabriel sometimes J
gallantry gei’lri J
gallimafry gei’lmaa’fri J
galling geaun in Berks J
gallows gei’la E
gaol džheal džheal J
gash gash C
gasp geasp C
gastly gass’i J
gate gæt C
gave gæv gou barbarè C
gazette gæzæt C
gear gîr C, M, J
general, džen’er-al approche du son de
notre a M
gentle dren’t W
geniﬁcation džeg’teﬁ sometimes J
genius džem’etri J
Georgius Dzhor’dzhus J
gesture džest’er = jester C
get gæt W, git facililitatis causa C
gestus = h in bought, etc. P, desuavit
pronunciatio, retinetur tamen in scrip-
turæ, C
ghost goost C
ghostly goso’li J
girl gerl à peu près comme e ouvert M,
geri J
glance glaans P
glanders glaan’derz J
glebe gleeb J
glen glën C
Gloria glæ’ti Wk
Gloucester Glost’er J
glove glaf M
gn’- J
go gua retius goo W, gun P, goo C
gold goold nonnunquam gould W, gould
P, gould C, gould J
Goldsmith Guul’smith J
good good, P, gud C, god, better gud J
good-ly-ness gud’li-nes C
gough gudzh J
gourd goord P, gourd J
gourmet gorn’et C
grace grees C, = graige grees M
gracious grætious gree’esh C
grammar, greem’ex approche du son de
notre a M
grandchild green’tshaid J
PRONOUNCING VOCABULARY OF XVII CENT.

granddame græn'æm J
grandfather græn-fæd'hær J
grandmother græn-mæd'hær J
grange grænzdž C
grant grent C
grasshopper græs'opær J
grating greit-iq C
grey gree P
guácacum gwee-kām J
guardian gær'd-en occasionally J
gudgeon gougnon C
guess gheez ges J
guaid C
guild C
guildhall guil'dh-AAl C, goil'h-AAl J
guilt gwilf J
gurgeons gur'gi'ans grezh'-inz facili-
tatis causa C

H

ha l hæ C
hank hæk J
Hackney Hæk'ne P
hadst hæst for speed's sake J
hair hēr C
half hāl C, J
halfpenny hā'penny J
hallow hālu'P
halm hǎlm C, J
hamper han'per J
handkerchief hand'kerchief haq'-
ketcha floritiæ causa C, = hak-
tetcher haq'ketshar M, händ-kär-
tshar J
handle hænd'J
handmaid hænd'meod J
handel hænd'el J
handsome hænd'som J
hardly hǣrd'J
harpuses har'kibes J
harsh hēsh C
Harwich Harridžh J
hasten hæs'n J
hat, hæt e næ brief ou en e ouvert M
haunt hānt, hærnt melius fortasse C
hent hānt J
hau'boiz hoo J
haut-goué haut goust hoo goo J

haven heev'n C
hay hē C
hazelnut haslenut hēez'noot C
hazy heez'i C
he hii P, C, M, J
head hēd C
hear hīr W, P, C, M, J
heard hārd P, C, J, herd J
hearken herk'n a est conté pour rien M
heart hārt C, J
hearten mārt'n C
hearth hārth C
Hebrew Hē-bru J
hecatomb hék'atam J
Hector Ek'tar J
hedge edzh J
heifer hēf'er P, hēf'er C, hōf'er e fem-
inin M, hēf'er J
heigh hōl J
height hēt, hēet negligenter C, = hāt
hōit M, hōit meet, hēighth hōeth J
heinous hāinuous hēinos, hē'nos
negligenter C, hēc'nos J
heir hār P, C, hār e feminin M, =e r
after consomants J
herald her'ald C
herb hārb bardār C
Helen Hēlən J
hemorrhoids ē'm'erdž J
hence hān nee's M
her hōr P, C, hār e feminin M, =e r
after some J
Herbert Hēr'bart J
here hēr P, hīr re comme M, hīr J
heriot ē'riot J
hermit ēr'mit J
heron hārn J
hiccough hik'up J
hideous hid'ias hid'ias J
him im, often, as take im J
hire hōi'r J
his īz, often, as stop īs horse J
hither = hēder hōd'hær e feminin M
hoarse hōors C
hogshead hōg'shed J
hoise hōiz ēs sometimes J
Holborn Hol' AA'born P, Hoo'born J
hold hōuld P, hōuld C
holdfast hōolf'fast J
holiday = hōliday hōl'idee M
hollow hōl'AA hōl'AA commonly J
holm hōom J
holp hōop J
holpen hōop'n J
holster hōl'ster hōl'stem' hōof'stim' J
Holy hōl' C
homage om'redzh often J
hood hōd P, hōd', hōd, better hūd J
hord hūr'd P

CHA. IX. § 2.

1009
I

I = ai ai M
idle ai'da I W
immersion mersh'en J
imp- p- often, as pound impound J
impede impeed J
impost imp-oost C
imposthume impostum J
impugn impug'n J
incision insiz'hen C
inchipin insip'pin J
Indian Ind'zaen, sometimes Ind'en J
indict indis't en sonnant 'i ai M, J
inhabit inhabit usually J
inhibit inb'it usually J
inherit iner'it usually J
inhesion inhi'zhan C
inhospital inhos'pital usually J
injoin ind'zaen' C
injury ind'zeri J
instead insti'd J
interfere enterfeir en'terfeer P
interrupt interrup' often J
inv- v- often as vest invest J
inveigh invei P
inveigle inveeg'l C, invee' g'l é masculin M, J
inward in'ord J
iron ai'zern C, M, J, ern J
Isabel Iz 'bel J
isle sil J
is not 'ent? facilisitas causa C
issue ish'ru J
isthmus ist'mes J
Italian Itz'el'en occasionally J
it has tuaz J
it is tiz J
-ity -eti J

J

Jacquet dzhaek'et
jambbs dzhaamz J
James Dzhoe'mz C
Jane = D'une Dzheen M
January Dzhaen-or sometimes J
jar dar W
jasmine dzhes'min J
jaundice jaundies dzhaan'des C, dzhaan'dis J
jaunt dzhaant, dzhaent melius fortasse C, dzhaent dzhaant J
jealous ji'las zee'las? je-lus E
jealousie dzhee-las' P
Jenkin Dzhig'kin J
Jeffrey Dzhef're J
jeopardy dzhep'arde P, C
jerk jerk as sounded by some J
Jesus Dzhec'ses J
Jew Dhiu J
jewel dzhi'wel P
join dzhein dzhein C, dzhunin, sometime dzhein J
joint dzheint C
jointure dzhaein'tor dzhaein'tor C
jolt dzhaelt C
journal dzher'nal C
journey dzhorne P, dzhe'n'i C
joy dz'rl W, dzhal C
joy dzhal C
judge dzhaedzh Wk
juice dzhius C, dzhius J
Julian Dzhil'iain, a woman's name J
Jupiter Dzhii'bitor sometimes J

K

Kelmsey Kem'zi J
Kenelm Kem'ej J
kerchief kar'tshar J
key kee P, J
kidney kide P
klin kl J
kindle kin'l J
kindly kain'li J
kingdom kiq'dam Wk
kn -= kn, nh (?) C, n-, but may be sounded kn J
knaee nheev C
knead nheed C
knee nhii C
knew knyy W, nhii C
knoll nhul C
know knau, aii knoo W, nhoo C
known noun J

L

ladle lee'dl C
lady lee'di C
lamprey lemp'pre P
lame leem W
PRONOUNCING VOCABULARY OF XVII CENT. 1011

love lav W, lof M, lav J
loval lovel adverbly J
luncheon LUNCHION lunt'shen J
lure lu'rr C
lute lyyt W, liyt P

M
maggot =maiguet mag'et M
Maidenhead Meed'ned Meed'ned J
main meen C
maintain meen'ter C
major meedzh'or C
malign malig'en J
malkin MAA'kin peniculus C, Malkin, as
a name, MAA'kin P, J
mall maal C, =mell mel, jeu de paume M
Malmsay MAA'mz' J
mailsterer maal'sterer J
mane meedn C
manger meedzh'or C
mangi meedzh' C
mann man German C
Mantua Mantiu J
manuscript men'skr ipt, mæn'iuskrip
often J
many men 'i C, mæne sometimes J
margin maer'dzen J
marriage maer'edzh C, maeredzh J
marsh mash J
mask mæsk C
mason mees'n C
masquerade maes'kreod J
mastoł mast't J
maugre meog'or, may be maa'gor J
maund maund J
maunder maun'dor maan'der J
may-not meent J
Mayor MAJOR meer C, J
-me -m in monosyllables J
me miil P, mee C, M, J
mean mein C
meat meet W
measure mez'uur P, mesh'er J
Medes Meedz J
medicine med'sin P, M, med'sen C
meet mit C
merchant maer'tshent E, J
mercy mær'si J
mere meer miur J
mesne meseen meen J
metal meil C
mete meet -meat C, J
metre mietor J
Michaelmas Miil'mas? Miel'mas E
mice mizs barbaré C
minnow menow mæno J
-minster -mister J
mire maer J
misapprehend mis'eprend J
miscellaneous MISCELAN mæs'lin mæs'len J
miracle mærɛkl facilitateς causa C
might maaɛt med barbaru C
m- n- J
-tn -tn J
moiety moiti J-
moil mail moi C, mail sometimes J
moisten moisten J
molten molten P
Monday Muun-dee J
money manɛ P, man vi J
mongcorn mon-kɔrn J
monkey mɑq-kɪ P
monsieur mon-shiɛr-
mother motɔr J
mostly mosli J
mother madreør J
mouth muɛtsh J
would mʊld C
moulter muɛl-tɔr C
nourn nuørn W, C, J, mɔrn J
-nouth -nɔuθ J
move mʊv rectiɛs mʊv W, mʊv P, J,
mʊv C, M, J.
-ms -ms J
-mpt -mt J
Mulgrave Muhr-grævr J
murrion marɛn sometimes J
muse mɔz J
muse mʊyz W, mʊyz P
musquel mɑs-kɛt J
mustard, most'ard approche du son de notre a M
mute mʊyt W
myrrh mɪrkh mɔr C

N
naked nekɛd C
name nezom C
napkin nɛb-kɪn sometimes J
nation neɛ-siɛn P
nature neɛ-tɔr C = naiɛt neɛ-tɔr
familiar avec e feiminin M, neɛ-tɔr J
naught naaɛt occasionally J
nauseate nauṣeɛt nɑɛshɛt C
nave neɛvɪ C
-nch -nʃ J
-nδ -nδ when a consonant is added to
such as end in 'nd J
near niɛr W, P, C, M, J
need niɛd C
negro neɛgro J
neigh nɛi P
neighbour nɛi-bɔr neɛ-bɔr P
neither neɛd-ɛr naď-ɛr barbaru C,
nadjɛr e feminin M, naď-e r
needɛr J

nephew neɛ-fu, neviiu J
nether needɛr J
neuter neɛ-tɛr rectiɛs, guidum niɛ-tɛr W,
neuter P
new nyu, neɛ rectiɛs, guidum niu W,
niù P, niu J
none noon W
nor nor C
North Noɔr J
Norwich Nɔrdz h J
nostrel nɔstrel J
notable naɛvɛl C
notary noɛtɛr C
nought nɔt P, naf sometimes J
nourish norish C
now nau J
-nts -ns J
nunciation noo'shɛn J

O
oaf aw af oaf may be aaf J
oatmeal ɔtɛmill ɔn court M
oats oots, wats barbaru C
obey obɛi P, obɛɛ C
obeysance obɛɛsɛn C
oblige oblidiizɛ J
obscene obseeɛn J
ocean oɔsɛn C
of aɪ W
ogre aʊɡrɛ oʊɡɛr may be aʊɡɛr J
oil aɪl W, ail = I'll, isle C
ointment oɛntɛmɛnt C
Olave ɔlvɪv J
old oʊld, nʊmnʊmʊnmʊn oʊld W, oʊld P,
ould J
-on on C
-on on C
once ɔnsaʊnas, wɛns as in Shropshire and
some parts of Wales J
one oʊn W, C, wɛn J
onion ɔnɛn, and in similar words,
-on = on C, onɛn, sometimes onɛn J
only = only oʊnli M, J
opinion oʊpɛnɛn, pin ən by the vulgar J
-er -er C
ordinance orɛns J
ordinary orɛndi J
ordure aʊədɛr = order C
oster ˀɵɛr ɔzɛhɔr M
ostrich ostrich étstrɪdz h J
ostler hostɛl ɛzɛl ɔfɛn J
ought oʊt P, æt C = at æt M
-our = œur, -ɛr, -ar J
-ous -əus -uəs -əs J
out out C
over əvɛr J
cue ˀœʊ C
tui əul W
Owen Owɛn J

1012 PRONOUNCING VOCABULARY OF XVII. CENT.  CHAP. IX. § 2.
CHAP. IX. § 2. PRONOUNCING VOCABULARY OF XVII CENT. 1013

P

pageant paizh'ın J
pain peen C
pale pel C
pall-mall pel-mel J
palm paam J
Palmer gaan'or J
panch pan'ish J
papal pa:pal C
paper peep'or C
parade per'ed J
parliament pa'relament C, E, sometimes pa'relament J
parsley pa'reli p
pasquial pa'vil J
pass pas C
past paest C
pasture pas'tor = pastor C
pate pa'et C
path pa'ath C
Paul's church = Pól Poolz M, Poolzh-tshartsh Pols-church E, Poolz, Poolz, may be Paalz J
paunch pa'unch pa'anth C
pee pî M
pear = pair pêer une poir M
pearl peerl C
pedant pee'dent J
penal pêenal J
penny = peni pen'î M
pennyworth pen'worth pen'-worth E, pen-wardth, pen'-wardth J
pension = penchon on pêshan M
people pîpîl C, pep pipelines J
perceive perseev = e masulin M
perfect par'sef timese par'sek J
periwig per'wig J e en ai M, per'wig pêerig J
perjury pardzh'ar J
perpetual par'petuul sometimes J
Peter Pi'or J
Pharaoh Faa'oroo P, Feeroo J
phlegm = flême flem M, C, flem, may be fle'gâm J
phoenix feen'iks J
phrenetic ph'rentik fraen'tik J
phthisick tis'ikk J
piazzas piaa'tsheez J
picture pîk'tar = pîck her C = picture avec e feminin famillier M
Piedmont Piir'mont J
pillow pil'o p
pirk in pil'kin occasionally J
pignant pik'ant J
pique pîk J
piqueet pik'et J
piteous pit'oos M
poem poe'me poem J
point pînt pînt C
poise poiz sometimes J
poison poiz'n poiz'n C, poiz'n sometimes J
poll pool nonnu'nquam paul W, paul C
poltroon polt'ron: polt'ron J
poniard pon'iard J
Pontius Puns'ias Wk, Pan'huus J
pontoon pantum J
pour pôr = po'or C
poulterer pôul'tor C
poultees pôt'ees poul'tis J
poultry poul'tri C
pleasure ple'zuur W, ple'ziur P, plez'hor C, plez'hor J
poor pûr sometimes J
porcelain parsle' n
portreee poor'treee poort'rii J
possible pas'tebl facilitatis causa C
postscript pôskrip often J
pot pôwt nonnu'nquam W
pother pâð'hor J
potage par'adzh, some write porridge J
potsheerd pâtsheerd pat'sheerd C
plain pleen C
plaited pleeted P
plane pleean C
plausible plauz'âbl, plaa'iz'bl negli-genter C
pleursy ple'ürsi p
plexin pleev'n J
plough plôw plu C, ploo J
praise pâiz W, preziz preziz negligerenter C
prance prâns C
prayer prîer C
pre'- pree J
prebendary prebend J
precise prîsiz' C
prefer pri'fer C
pressure pres'hor J
prey prî J
priest prîst (? J
Priscian Prish'or C
prophesy pro'vessi J
prove pruv P, pruv M, C
provision prov'vi'an C
provel pro'vol proowl C
ps- s- J
psalm saam C, J
psalm saaan J
pt- t J
Pugh Piu J
pull pul C, pul M, J
pulley pul'e P
punctual paq'kal sometimes J
pursue porshu J
pursuit porshu J
puss püs M
Q
quality kwâl'iti C
qualm qua'am C, kwa'am en a long M, J
quart kwârt en a long M
question kwest'îan P
quadlibet kod'libet J
quoif koaf J

65
Rachael Read J

Raddish re- J

Raisins ree- J

Ralph Read J

Rarely ree-xit C

Receive resev C

Receipt resect C

Reckless rech-kes C

Recipe res-i J

Recruit rikrit C

Red rod e feminin M

Refuse rifnu verb P

Regard regard C

Rehearse resev C

Reign reen J

Reignage ree-jngzh M

Revis reen J

Relinquish reliq-kish J

Remove rimar P

Rencontre renkauntar J

Rendezvous ren-divuuuz ran-dy-vooz E

Rendevu J

Renew riinu J

Reprint recprint M

Rece reer J

Reward riir-ward P

Resurrection resereksian Wk

Restoration restoreshon J

Retach reacch relsh J

Reward reward C
come comme en françois M

Rheum rium C

Riband rib-øn J

Richmond Ritsh-mon J

Right right Wk

Righteous ro-øs-øøøs J

Road ro-t J

Risque rizg J

Roast rost roost C

Roastmeat roos-meet J

Roll roll nonnunquam roul W, roul C

Rome Ruum P, Ruum room C

Roof rof, W, C, M

Royal ro-øl abusively J

Rupture roptar C

Salad sal-let J

Salisbury Salisbury Saalz-beri J

Salt saalt P, C

Saltcellar saltseller, saal-seler J

Saltpetre saal-piterter J

Salmon saamon C, semen J

Saw seev P, saav C, J

Same seam W

Sanders saam-derz J

Saviour see-euivør P

Seaw seaa C

Says saies sext facilitatis causa C

Scaffold skofol J

Scof scof scof C

Scoif scoif C

Scour second C

Scourge skorzh P, C, skwardzh facil. C

Causa C, skordzh ou o court M, J

Score skuurs permuto C

Scream skream C

Scrivener skreøøøøør P

Scroll skromul C

Scrupulous skreapelas facilitatis causa C

Scummer skømrø barbarø C, =skimer, skimvør M

See see J

Sea søøøø, see C

Seat seel W

Search seertsh C

Sear sør C

Seer seeør C

Season seezøn C, seezn J

Seat sect W

Sin sin J

Seize seez C, J

Seive seevr C

Seize seez, nonnulli sæiz W, seez P, M

Sercagio serekelioo J

Sere =sereøøe seereøøn M

Serve serzge serdzh P

Servant serzdheøønt P

Servant serzdheøønt P

Sergius Serdzhuus J

Serous seots C

Servant seørønt e en ai M

Service servis barbarø C

Sevennight =sønøt seønøt M, sønøt J

Shadow shedøøøør P

Shall shal Wk, shaal, signum modi C, shal M
shalm shaam C, J
shambles shaam-bliz J
she shii P, C, M, J
shear shear C
shears shi'rz M, J
shepherd she'pard J
shew shu, shu C, shoo shoo, may be shi J
shire shir C, J
shirt short C, short P, approche du son de notre A
shoe shuu P, shoo shuu C = chok shau M
should should P, shuul C, shuud J
shoulder should-er C
shouldest shove
shrewd Shrewsbury
simile sim-ul
sigh saith, un son qui approche fort du
th en anglais M, sai soith J
simple sim-ple J
sincere sin-seer P, J
-sion -shon J
sir sor P, C, ser à peu près comme a ouvert M
sirrah sar'a C, sara approche du son de notre A
sirrup sor-op C
skeleton skele-ton ske-le'tan J
skink skink skik' J
slant slaa'nt J
slouch slun-tsh J
-sim -sam J
snow scoow, alii scoow W
snow scoow recti-us, quidam sniu, W
so scoo C
soft saaf J
Scho Sooooor often J
soil sail sometimes J
sojourn sazd'harn J
sold sold, alii sold W, sould C
soldier sood'erar P
soldier soul'daror P, sood'zher l met M,
souldier sood'zher J
Solms Soonz J
Solomon Saal-aammon J
some som W
Somerset Sao-m'eset J
somewhat sam-what J
son son W, Wk
soot suut P, sat C, sat, better suit J
sorrow sor'P
soul soul, alii soul W, soul P, soul C,
soul J
source suurs W, C, M
source suus J
Southwark Sath'work J
sovereign sover'n J
Spanish Span'ard sometimes J
spaniel spen-erl C, J
spear spir C, M
sphere = sphère sfeer M, J
spindle spin'l J
spoil spoil sometimes J
stalk staak C
stamp stamp barbâre C, stomp abusively J
stanch staantsh J
stead sted a est conté pour rien M, stiid J
stein steel W
steam stim J
Stephen Steev'n J
stir stoor C, stir à peu près comme a ouvert M
-stle -el J
Stockholm Stok-noom J
stomach staam'ak J
stood stod P, sted C, stod better stud J
stool stooz stoup C
strange streezd'h C
stranger stre'n'dar a non tam requiritur
quam agra' vitatur W, streen'dzar C
strut strout abusively J
subtil sat'il P = soltle sat-l M, sat'al J
subtility sat'il'ti P
sucour seker P
sue shu J
suet s'set C, shuuet J
suer shuur = sure, or perhaps seur, as
shur is only "facilitatis causa" C
sugar shag-ar (?) facilitatis causa C,
shuur-ar J
suit suit P, sute siiut C, shuut J
suitable siiutebbl C
suitor suter suter C
supreme siuprema J
sure shuur facilitatis causa C, = churé
shuur M, shuur J
surfeit sar'fat C, sar'fat e feminin M
survey sarvei P
suiture siut-ar C
swallow swuelu P
sweat sweer, see forswear farsweet C
seer J
sweet sweet C, set J
Sweedes Sweedz J
swollen soohn J
sword sword P, suurd C
sworn suurr C, soorn J
syncope siq'kope J
syntagm sin'tam J
system sisteem J

T

table teeb'l C
tail teel C
Talbot Ta'bat J
tale teel C
talk taak rectiús talk W
Tangier Tandzheer Tandzhiir J
taper tee-par C
tar ter C
tare = taire teer M
tores teerat C
tart teart C
taunt taunt P, C, J, tant J
tassels taa'selz en a long M
tea thea tec J
tea tew W
tear teer laero, tiir lacyma C
team tiim J
tear teers J
temptation tempta'sian Wk
ten = tinn tin M
tent tec'net J
tenure ter'or = tenor C
terranea tereen J
terrible ter-ebl facilitatis causa C
Thames Temz J
dath = dath en a court M
thir'd thard Wk
thisher = doder dhaedh or e feminin M
the dhee C, dhe J
Thebes Theebz J
their dhee J
Theobaed Thee-obæld P
there dhee J
thes dheez W, J
they dhai P
Thomasin Tom'zin J
thought thot P
thousand thauz'zn C
twopence = thri-pinnshrip'ins familiar C
M, threpens J
treshh thashh barbare C
through throo J
thwart short J
thyme = taim M, J
"ti- ante vocalem sh C
thirr ters C
Tinder tan'dar barbaré C
t'sion = shan J
tissue tish'uu J
to tuu M
tobacco tabaco abusively sounded some-
times with an 's, tobehk'o tobehk-o J
toil toil W, toil toil C
told tould P, tould J
toil tool, nonmenquam toul W
tomb tuum C, M, J
took tak, better tuk J
torture tartar ter-ter C
touch tuuthsh tash J
tough tof W, too J
toward tu'ard P
tovel toul J
toys toiz W
traffique trafíg J
transient = traingient træn'zhient M,
træn'zhent C, træn'shent J
travail trav-cell P
traveling trav-ilij Q
treasure treesh'or J
treble treeb'l J
trifé troif'll W
triplhong triph'ong trip'thaq J
troll trowl trou J
trouble trebl'C, J
trough trof W, troo ou = o un peu long M, J
travel truel barbaré C
tree triu C
tranceon tran'shiin J
trendle tron'l J
turquoise tark'eez? J
twang tooq J
Tweed Twedd Twiul J
two tuu C
twopence = topins top'ins familiar M,
top'ins J
tune tyyen W
Tyre tai-ar C
U
u, la prononciation commune de l'u
voyelle en Anglais est la même qu'en
français (suppr. p. 182) iu M
ugly ougly ag'li P
-un -um, may be -om J
unconth ank'宇th C, ankath J
up ap C
uphold opould J
upholster poul'sterer poul'sterer J
up to ap tu barbaré C
-wer -ar C, -er or, may be sounded -iur J
us = eus æ M
use = yuse jinz pas du bel usage M
useless iu'zles barbaré C
usual iu'zhial C, = hizh'ial iu'zhial M
usury jeue'zre barbaré C
V
valley va'li P
vaguish vaq'kish J
vapour veep'o C
vary ve'er C
vault vait vaat a leap J
vaunt vaunt C, J
veil veel J
vein vein P, veen eu comme en français
M, veen J
vengeance vourd'hejens P
venison veen'zen P, veen'zn M, ven'zen J
venue vewenee veeniu J
verdict vordikt vordait J
verjuice vardhiz'is P, vardhizës C,
vardzhës E, J
vial vai'al P
victuals vit'iz facilitatis causa C,=
vittles vit'iz M, vit'alz vit'alz J
view yyy W, viu C
villain, vil’èn ai comme en villain M, an exception to his rule
villany vil’ñ J
virgin ver’dh ñ J
virtue varty, à non tam requiritur
guam agré evitatur, W
viscount voi’kount J
vision viz’iõn P
voyage vó’edzh eye-age E
dvolatile vol’atil J
evouk vu’ish J
vouchsafe vu’utsaef J
voyage vó’edzh abusively J
vulgur vul’ger J

W
wafer weèr’õ C
waif weef weel J
wainscot ween’z钾ot P
wast’band WAST’BAND wë’s’bend J
waistcoat WAST’COAT wës’koot C
walk waak, reë’iis walk W, waaK Ç, J
wallow wôl’õ P
Walter Wa’ter J
wane ween C
war waar C
warden waár’dn C
warm waarim C
warren waar’n C
was was, waz en a court M
wash wash en a court M
wasteful WAST’FUL wës’s’ful C
watch waatsh wash C, watch en a court M
water WAA’ter C, = oudar WAA’ter M, WAA’ter J
wattle WATL’le WAA’l C, WAT’l en a court M
we wii P, M, C, J
weel wël C
wean ween C
weer weer C
tewery wër’õ P, wiiri, ware’ bar’aré C
Wednesday Wenz’dëcí P, wëns dez’ee M, J
weight wëst P, wët ei comme en français M
were wëre = wear C, weer J
Westminster Wës’mástor J
wh = hou wh M
what what en a court M, wët, better what J
when = hoinn whin M, wen, better when J
whence = hoinnce whïns M
where wheer J
wherry Whirry where’ C
whether whëd’ñr bar’aré C, wheéd’ñr J
why whai P
wên wët = P, huit W
widow wid’ù P

will wël, wál bar’aré C
who whu Wk, whwu P, huu C, J
whole hool W, J
whom wham P, huum C, J
whoop hûp up J
where nuur P, ç, J
whorl hurt’l J
whose huuz J
Winchcomb Winsh’kóm J
wind wënd wëntus C
wield wèl’d wëld C
willow wîl’õ P
Wiltshire Wilt’shir J
windmill wim’ël J
wine wain C
Windsor Wìn’zor J
winnower wîn’ú P
with wëth cum, wâth bar’aré C
wood wód J
woe wôu = woo C
wolf wulf wolf C, ulf J
woman wàm’en P, E, um’èn J
womb wûm C, M, uum J
women wënr’men P, wim’en C, = ouimenn
wim’en M, wim’en J
wonder wuond’or wûnd’or C
wo- o- uu- u J
woo wòe uu J
wood wëd P, wad C, wod, better uód J
woof wèf, better uñf J
wool wël P, wul C, wál, better ul J
Woodstead Usted
Worcester Wûst’or, Wëst’or, Ust’or, J
word wàrd J
world wûld P
worldly wârd’l J
worldly war’l J
down wûrn C
worsted wûrstèd genus panni, wàsted
facilitatis causa C, = ousted wustèd M
would wûld P, wûld C, wûd J
wouldst wûst’ed bar’aré C, wuust J
wr- r- may be wr- (P) J
wrestle WRESTLE res’l J
raft ra’th C, ra’th on a long M
wast’band vis’bend riz’bën J
wrought root P, J

X
Xantippe Sentípî J

Y
ye jii P, J
yea jii W, C, JAA rustic, see jii ii J
year jii P, J, iir J
yeast jiist iist J
yellow jól’õ J
yeoman ye’m’n en’man E, see’man
jii’m’n ir’man by many J
yes jii M, is J
2. Words Like and Unlike.

Lists of this kind ought to supply the place of an investigation into the puns of the xviiith century, comparable with that already given for Shakspere (supra p. 920). But their compilers had so much at heart the exigencies of the speller, that they often threw together words which could never have been pronounced alike, but were often ignorantly confused, and they sometimes degenerated into mere distinguishers of words deemed synonymous which had no relation in sound. This is particularly observable in Price's lists, in which like and unlike words are all heaped together in admirable confusion. Cooper is the most careful in separating words which were really sounded exactly alike from those nearly alike, and those absolutely unlike. But the earliest collection, and in many respects therefore the most important, is that by Richard Hodges. The full title is:

A special help to Orthographie: or, the True-writing of English. Consisting of such Words as are alike in sound, and unlike both in their signification and Writing: As also of such Words which are so neer alike in sound, that they are sometimes taken one for another. Whereunto are added diverse Orthographical observations, very needfull to be known. Publisht by Richard Hodges, a School-Master, dwelling in Southwark, at the Midle-gate within Mountague-close, for the benefit of all such as do affect True-Writing. London, printed for Richard Cotes. 1643. 4to. pp. iv. 27.

In this the exact and approximate resemblances are distinguished, and at the conclusion the author has given a few instances, unfortunately only a few, of various spellings of the same sound, when not forming complete words. These are reproduced, together with some extracts from his orthographical remarks, which relate more strictly to orthoepy. He had, like most such writers, individual crotchets both as to spelling and sound, and had an intention, probably never carried into effect, of treating orthoepy, as shown by a short table of sounds with which he closes his brief work. Many of his instances are entirely worthless, but it was thought better to reproduce them all, marking with an asterisk those to which more attention should be paid, and to gain space by simply omitting his verbal explanations, where they were not absolutely necessary, or did not present an interest of some kind. Nothing has been added, except a few words in square brackets [], and the original orthography is reproduced.
Owen Price's list has also been given complete, but the explanations have been similarly reduced. On the other hand, the whole of Cooper's chapter on the subject has been reprinted, restoring only the position of some words which had been accidentally misplaced. His orthography, which was also designed as a model, has been carefully followed.

I. Richard Hodges's List of Like and Unlike Words.

1. Such words as are alike in sound and unlike both in their signification and writing, are exprest by different Letters, in these examples following:

A

assent, ascent, a sent or savour. a piece to shoot withall, a piece, apiece. a loud, allow'd, aloud. aught, ought. air, heir. an arrow, a narrow. an eye, a nigh, an I. a note an oat-cake. *a notion, an ocean. *annise, Agnes a woman's Christen name. an idle person, Anne. Alas, a los (lasse) or a Maid. altar, alter. a ledge, alledge. a lie, allie. a light, alight. a lot, allot. a loan, alone. a lure, allure. adieu, a due debt. he adjourn'd me to do it, ajourn'd-stool. a judge, adjudge. *as soon as she came in, she fell into a swoon. avel, al (ail). assault, a salt-eel. assigne, a signe. attained, a tainted piece of flesh. attired, a tired jade. a mate, to amate or daunt. a maze, amaze. a rest, arrest. a peace blossom, appease. a peal, appeal. a tract, attract. abbetter, a better colour than the other. *appear, a peer. *a wait-player, await, a weight. awry, a wry-mouthed Plaise. a quaint discourse, acquaint.

cal (call), cauld. *course, corpse. *courses, courseth, corpses. *coul'd, could. collar, cholcer. a culler of apples, a colour. cousin, cozen. council, counsel. *common, commune. cockle and darnel, cochele-shel. champion, the champain field. *choose, chuweth. a crue or company, the cock crew. did chase, the chase. *you come, he is come. crues or companies, a crue or pot. a cruel master, wrought with crewel. consent, concert, consent of music.

D

*dam, to damne. *fallow-deer, dear friend. deep. Diep a town so call'd. *diverse men, skilful divers. *a doe, his cake is dough. descendion, dissension. dollar, dolour. dolphin, the dauphine of France. the deviser of this, multiply the quotient by the divisour.

E

*Easter, queen Hester. *John Eaton hath eaten, a scholar of Aeton. eight, ait (islet). *earn, yern. emerals, emerods. exercise, exercise. *I eat my meat to-day, better than I ate it yesterday.

F

did feoff, was fee'd. *your fees, she feoth. I would fain, she did feign. did finde, were find.' felloes, fellows. Philip, filip. the fold, hath foal'd. fore-tell, fourtold. forth, fourth. *furze, furreth, furs. foul, fowl. Francis, Frances. *freece, friese-jerkin, shee freeth him. *to kil a fle, to play of (off) the skin. fleas, fleath, flyeth. to fleer, a fleer' away. flour, flower. *flours, floureth.

G

I guest, a very welcome ghest. a ghost, thou go.at. *jests, gesst, jesteth. *ox-guts, the gauls, he gaulteth. *a
gage or pledge, to gauge a vessel. a gill-cup, guilt. groan, wel-grown. to gister, a cyster. a guise, Mr. Guy's man.

H

I
I, eye. incite, in sight. inure, in we, in your account.

J
jest, gest. gests, jests. to jet, a jet-stone. *the juice or sap, a joice to bear up the boards. a jakes, Mr. Jaques. gentle, a gentil or magot. a jointer, a tool to work whithal, a woman's jointure. *a jordan, the river Jordan.

K
Mr. Knox, hee knocketh many knocks. *kennel, the chante. to kil, the brick-kilne.

L
the Latine-tongue, a latten-ladle. *the cow loved very loud. *take the least, lest hee bee angry. lemons, lemons. lesson, lessen. *litter, the hors-licter. *the lees of wine, to lease or loose ones labour. leapers that can leap, lepers full of leprosic. io, low, lore, lower. a luster after evil things, a bright lustre. out-lawed, laud.

M
manour-house, in a good maner. he hanged his mantle upon the mantel-tree. Medes, meads. meat, to mete. *a message, the messuage. *a meater that giveth meat to the cattel, a corn-meter, a meteor in the air. Martin, martene. Mr. Marshal, martial. *more and bewail, his corne was mowen. noe or more, to move. the cat did move well, amongst the corn-mouns. *hawksmues, he much his hawk, to muse. mite, might. a good minde, under-mined. Maurice did dance the morice. *murrain murioun a head piece. *millions, musk-melons.

N
*Nash, to gnash. for nought, the figs were naught. nay, neigh.

O
O, oh ooe. gold-ore, oar, the over of a debt, oars, overs. *ordure, order. our, hour. ours, hours.

P
to pare the cheese, a pair. pause, paus, pawes, paweth. the palat of his mouth, he lay upon his pallet. Paul, pal (pall). parson, person. *pastor, pasture. *praise, preys, prayed, prath. the common pleas, please. *Mr. Pierce did pearce it with a sword, the scholar did parse and construe his lesson. *she weareth her patens, letters patens. pillars, eater-pillars. pride, bee pride. *profit, prophet. the propper of it up, a proper man. *he hath no power to powre it out.

R
rain, rein, reign. *reins, reigns, reigneth, raineth. a noble race, did raise the wals. the raites of the sun, to raise. ranker, ranceur. red, hast thou read? *a reddish colour, a radish root. *reason, raisin. *reasons, reasoneth, raisins. *ream, realm. *reams, realms, Rhemes the name of a place. *Mr. Rice took a rise, the rice. rite, right, write, a wheel-wright, Wright. *rites, rights, wheel-wrights, righteth, writeth. *the rine wherein the brain lieth, the rinde of a pomegranate, the river Rhine. Roe, a roe-buck, a rowe of trees. roes, rowes, he roweth, a red-rose, Rose. *when there was a rot amongst the sheep, I wrote him a letter. hee caught [misprint for raught = reached] it from of (off) the shelf, when hee wreath with me. *a riding rod, when I rode. *i rode along the road, hard-roed, my daughter Rhode, rowed space. roads, Rhodes. *the highest room, the city of Rome (roume). *round, sherovven him in his ear. *a tiffany-ruff (ruffe), a rough garment. *ring, wring. rug, wrung. hee rued, so rude, the cheese-rack, ship-wrack.

S
stight, steight. he was no saver in buying, a sweet-savour. savers, savours, savourth. *the seas, to seize. *ceasing
from strife, cessing him to pay. *cease, cef (cesse) him so much. seller, wine-cellar. *the one sutler, was subtiller than the other. signe, either a sine or tangent. *censor, censer, censure. the third century, an herb century. *he did shee the sheep, in Buckinghamshire. cite, sight, site. cited, quick-sighted, wel sited. *a syren or mermaid, Simon of Cyrene. *a lute and a cittern, a lemon or a citron. Mount-Sion, a scion or graf (graffe). *a sink to convey the water, the Cinque-ports. *so, to sowe the seed, to seue a garment. *the sole of a shoo, the soule and body. *the soles of his shoes, he soloth his shoes, souls and bodies bought and sold, the shoes were sol’d. *very sound, he fell into a swoun [compare assoon, a swoun above]. strait, straight. sole, slow. *a sore, hee swore or swear. sly, Sligh. a hedge and a stile, a style or form of writing. did soar, the sower. *to shoot an arrow, a suite of apparel, a suit in law, Shute a man’s sirname. *shoots, sutes of apparel, suits in law, shooteth, sutheth, non-suetheth. succour, blond-sucker. some, sum (summe). sun, son (sunne, sonne).

Such words which are so neer alike in sound, as that they are sometimes taken one for another; are also exprest by different Letters, in these examples following:

A
ask, ax, acts. Abel, able. amase, amace. al-one, alone. actions, axioms. arrows, arras. advice, advise. Achor, acre. ant, aut. accidence, accidents. as, as (asse).

B
(to play at) bowls, (to drink in) boles. baron, barren. barrow, borrow, borough. Boysse, boys. bath, bathe. hands, bonds. bare, bear. begin, biggin. breath, breathe. bauble, Bable, bable (babble). bile, boil. Bruce, bruise, brewis (brews), brewhouse. (the little child began to) batte (when his father went to the) battel. bore, boar. arrant, errand. bowes (and arrows), boughs. bittern, bitter. bolster, bolsters. both, boote. best, beast. (your book is not so wel) best, boast. boots, boats.

tenure whereby a man holdeth his land. there, their. *turkeys, a turquoi. time, thyme. the tide, tied together. toe, towe. toes, you Toe the wool. toad, fingred and toad, he toved his barge. tolle the bel, pay tol (toll). I told him. I tolte the bel. too, two. to. tract, I tractk him. a treatise, diverse treaties. *I had then more work than I could do. thrown, throne. *it was through your help that I came thorow. throat, if he throwt away.

V
vain, vein. *a venter or utterer of commodities, to venture. *centers, ventures, ventureth. vial, viol.

W
*a way, to walk in, a weigh of cheese. ways, weights, weighteth. *water, Walter. *waters, wattereth, Walters. wait, weight. *waits, weights, waiteth. *if you were, you would wear. a witch-tree, a witch. *wood, would. *he woode her, he was woode. *a wad of straw, wond to die withall.

Y
*yew, you and I, Y and I are vowels. *yews, ese. your, put this in ure, a bason and evere. yours, basons and everes, he in-wreth himself. yee that are wise, yea.

C
copies, copise. coughing, coffin. (when hee) cough’t, caught. coat. cummin. coming. ches (chesse), chests. chaps. chaps. char, chair, cheer. capital, capitol. currents, currants. consequence, consequents. cost, coast. causes, causeys.

D
dun, done. (he was but a) dunse, dusns. decent, descent, dissent. dispensation. disappoint, discomfort. (backs and) does, (one) dose. device, devise. decease, disease. dust, (why) dost (thou). dearth, death, deaf. desert, desert.

E
east, yeest. earn, yern. (you must) either (take out of the hedge the) ether (or the stake). ears, yeers. els, else.
eminent, imminent. even now, inow, inough. Eli, Ely.

F
false, fals. froise, phrase. fares, fairs. fens, fence. fought, fault. follow, fallow. fur, fir. farm, form, fourm (to sit upon). Pharez, fairies. farmer, former. (a small) the (may) thee. fins, fiends.

G
gallants, gallons. garden, guardian. glaf (glasse), glor (glasse). gesture, jester. (a) jerkin, (never left) jerking (his horse).

H
Howel, howl. hole. whose, hose. homely, homilie. hallow, hollow. guel (guese), ghests. whores, hoarse, horse. his, hif (hisse). hens, hence. holly, hol. Hepher, heifer.

I
James, jamb. ingenious, ingenuous. impassable, impossible. imply, employ. it, yet. idol, idle. inough, inow. eyes, ice. Joice, joys.

K
know, gnaw. known, gnawn. knats, gnats.

L
lines, loyns. lowe, low. lower, (why do you) lowre. (the) lead (was) laid, (he) led. (the) leas (were added to his) leave. lies, lice, loth, loathe. leases, leasoses.

M
Marie, marry, marrow, Morrow. mines, mindes. mince, mints. mis (misse), mists. (to) mowe, (a) mough (of corn). maids, meads. mowre, more. moles, moulds. myrrhe, mirth. (a) mouse, (barley) moughs. morning, mourning. (hawks-) mues, (a) muse. mistref (mistresse), mysteries.

N
neither, nether. none, nonce. needles, needlef (needlesse). (his) neece (did) neose. never, neer.

O
once, ones. owner, honour. ought, oft. owne, one, on.

P

R
reed, reade. wrought, wrote, rote. raise, raise. rasor, raiser. rat, rot. real, ryal, royal. reverent, reverend. wroth, wrath, rathe.

S
(when they had filled their) sives (with onions and) cives. sthes, sighes. science, scions. signet, cygnet. cypreff (trees), ciphers (habbands), ciphers. sirra, surrey. sowe (seed), sow (and her pigs). sower, sower (grapes). Sows, sowse. sores, sourse. sleeves, sleeves. seeth, seethe. say, sea, sex, sects. sted, stead. slowe, slough. spies, spice. saws, sause. sense, sents. seas, cease. seizing, ceasing. (why do you wear out your) shoes (to see the) shewes f society, satietie. sloes, sloughs. Sir John (sent for the) surgeon (chirurgeon). Cicile, Sicilie. Citicia, Silesia. sheep, ship. sins, since.

T
tens, tense, tents. tensths. tonges, trough, trophie. tome, tombe. tost, toast. thy, thigh. trope, troop (troup). thou, though.

V
volley, valley, value. vale, vail. vacation, vocation. verges, verjuice. vitals, victuals.

W
wilde, wield. weary, wory (the sheep). whether, whither. wiles, wildes. (they took away the fishermens) weels (against their) wils. wines, windes. wick, week. (thou) wast, waste. wicked, wicket. wrest, wrist. (the man that was in the) wood (was almost) woode. wist, wisht.
Examples of some words, wherein one sound is exprest diverse ways in writing.

*Sea* -ted, con-cei -ted, cea-sing, se-i -zing, se -rious, See -va, ce -dar,
Manas -seh, Phari -see, Wool -sey, sche -dule.

*See* -ded, suc-cet-ded, sie -lings, over -se -ers, pur -sey or fat men, mer -cie (or mercy).

*Si* -nister, sy -nagogue, Sci -pio, Scy-thian, Cy -pri -an, ci -vil, Ce -cil,
Se -vern, pur -su -vant.

*Si* -lence, ci-ted, quick-sigh -ted, sig -ning, sci -ence, sy -ren, Cy -renc,
sa -ti -city.

These syllables aforegoing, may suffice, to give a taste, of al the others in this kinde.

touch is to bee pronounc’t short like
tuch.

Ra-chel, in the Old Testament, where the last syllable thereof is pronounc’t like the last syllable in sa-chel.

ch in architect must not bee pronounc’t like k: nor in any word beginning with arch . . . . arch-angel . . . is only excepted.

win-der and wil-der where the first syllable in either of them must bee pronounc’t long as in wine and wile . . . . some men cal the winde, the wind . . . . in the word wil-der-nes, it must be pronounc’t like wil.

[ea] short, as in these words head,
read, stead, hea-dy, rea-dy, stea-dy . . . . it is therefore . . . . very meet to put an e in the end of some such words, as in reade, the present tense, to distinguish it from the short sound of read, the proper imperfect tense.

al words of more than one syllable ending in this sound us . . . are written with ou, but pronounc’t like us, as in glo -ri -ous, etc.

it is our custom to pronounce al, like au, and to write it in stead thereof, as in baik, walk, talk, stalk, chalk, malkin, calf, calkers, falcons; as also, in almond, alms, halm, balm, palm, calf,

shalm, psalm, malmsay; and in like maner in these words, namely, in calf, half, salve, salves, calve, calves, halve, halces: as also in scalp, scalps.

the sound of ee before some letters is exprest by ie as in field, shield, fiel’d, Priest, piece, grief, griest, thief, thieve, chief, atchieve, brief, relieve, relief, siege, siege, Pierce, fierce, bile, lieutenant, which is to be pronounc’t like lief -tenant.

howsoever wee use to write thus, leadeth it, maketh it, noteth it, raketh it, perfumeth it, etc. Yet in our ordinary speech . . . . wee say leads it, notes it, takes it, perfumes it.

But I leave this, as also, many other things to the consideration of such as are judicious: hoping that they will take in good part, whatsoever hath bin done, in the work aforegoing: that so, I may bee incouraged yer long, to publish a far greater, wherein such things as have bin heer omitted, shall bee spoken of at large. In the mean time (for a conclusion) I have thought it good, to give a taste thereof, in the syllables and words following: wherein are exprest the true sounds of al the vowels and diphthongs, which are proper to the English-tongue.

The true sounds of al the short and long vowels, are exprest in these examples.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Short Vowels</th>
<th>Long Vowels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ad lad, ade lade</td>
<td>ai day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ed led, ead lead</td>
<td>eu dew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>id rid, eed reed, ide ride</td>
<td>oi coy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>od lod, aud laud, oad load</td>
<td>oi coi-ness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ud gud, ude gude</td>
<td>ou cow</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
To the above miscellaneous remarks of Hodges, may be added the following quotation from Edward Coote's *English Schoolmaster*, 4to. 1673, the exact meaning of which it is difficult to discover, but which seems to imply some old scholastic tradition in the spelling out of words, recalling the village children's celebrated method of spelling *Habakkuk* as: *(on iitsh ô'nô ÀÀ, ô'nô bii ô'nô ÀÀ, ô'nô kii ô'nô kii, ô'nô uu ô'nô kii.)* Probably many similar traditions were still in existence in the "dames' schools" of a few years ago.

Rob. What if you cannot tell what vowel to spell your syllable with, how will you do to find it? as if you would write *from*, and know not whether you should write it with a or o.

Joh. I would try it with all the vowels thus, *fram, frem, frim, from;* now I have it.

Rob. But Good-man Taylor your Clerk when I went to school with him, taught me to sound these vowels otherwise than (methinks) you do.

Joh. How as that?

Rob. I remember he taught me these syllables thus: for *bad, bed, bid, bod, bud*, I learned to say, *bate, bit, bite, bode, bude*, sounding a *bed* to ly upon, as to *bid* or command, and *bid*, as *bide*

long, as in *abide*; *bud* of a Tree, as *bude* long, like *rude*: for these three vowels, *a, i, u*, are very corruptly and ignorantly taught by many unskilful Teachers, which is the cause of so great ignorance of the true writing in those that want the Latin tongue.

Joh. You say true; for so did my Dame teach me to pronounce; *for sa, se, si, so, su, to say, sa, see, si, soo, sow*, as if she had sent me to see *her sow*: when as *se* should be sounded like the *sea*; and *su* as to *sue* one at Law.

[In a marginal note it is added:] Let the unskilful teachers take great heed of this fault, and let some good scholars hear their children pronounce these syllables.

II. Owen Price's Table of the Difference between Words of Like Sound.

A

*Abel, able. abët, ëbbët. accidence, accident, incident. accoun, accompt.*

dore, achor the first valley, the Israelites entred, in the land of Canaan, *acorn.* *ffectiën, afféctiën.* all, *avol.*

*Ale. ail. illey, aily, ai to lèvell, alins. alids ough, wo is me, a *Lass,* dialis, aloes.*

Alexander, *alexanders,* or alichard *a plant. alôud, allèwed, dîlar, dîter.*

Amnon, *Amnon. ãmplë, ãmbëlë.* *angël, ângël to fish with hook, and line, ènèl. ènnum, ènnalës. ardëusse to stir up, drroofes dârs.*

ascent, assënt, consent. *às, ashes any fuel burnt to dust, ask a tree, ask to enquire. acts, az. asp a serpent that kills with its looks, hapse of door. assemble, résembëlë, dissemble. ant, aunt, *austere,* oyster. avry, airy windy empty. *arrant, meer, very, right, errand business that one goes about. assdy to try, prove, essay a trial, attempt.*

assistants, assistance, ascërtain, to make sure, *a certain sure.*

attach to apprehend, arrest, attâque to face about; to charge with a ship. attîtint, attain.

B

*Dabble, bable* a toy fit for children.

*Bachelour of Arts, bacheler* one unmarried. *bacon, bëcon.* *badge, batch.*

*bag, ball, bawl, bawl.* *bay a colour, bay an harbour for ships. baiz thin cloth, baiés a garland, or leaves of bay tree. bait meant to allure or entice with, make bate that sets folks by the ears, beat to strike. *bund* an armie, a tie, bond obligation, bill, imprisonment. *bane poison, misérëa, bënes report* made of matrimonie. *bannen, panner.*

*Bärbera a woman's name, Bärberie a part of Africa, bärberre a tree. bërk, bërque a little ship. battle, battel a fight, battles die in a College. òttlement, battledore. bee, be, is, are. bèaver castor, bèver food eaten between dinner and supper. bèen wast, were, bëen a hutch to keep bread in, beer, bier.*

*bëllows, bëllies, bënefite, bënefit.* beryf defile, *berwëy discovers, betrey, bëseëch, bësiëga. body, baddy.* *boll to wash in, bowls to play with, bowls to drink in.*

*bore, bore to pierce, bore the long hole in the gun. booch that we read in, bëek a deer, bëch of clothes to be washed.*
boult to range meal with, bolt a great arrow, door bar. bow to shoot with, bough, bow to bend. boys little lads, buogs great logs of wood floating in the bay to guide in the ships. burnt, brunt an assault, encounter. bury, berry, buy, by and by. biggin a little coife, begin. böaster, bolster a great pillow. breach, brèches. breed, bred that is reared, breed. brain, brow, boar's flesh, bran.

C
Cabinet, cèbin. qualm suddain fit, calm still, quiet. Cales or Cadiz a city in Spain, Callis a town in France, châlitie. caul a dress for a womans head, caul of a beast, call to name, cale so the Scots call cabbage. cæmons rules for men to walk by, çannon a great gun, çanon a Catholic man. capacious, capable. capitél, capitoul. carriage, carrets or carots, charriot. carrier one that carries, carriër a gallop with full speed. cavalier a horseman, caviller a wrangling, cáptious fellow. centorie a plant, centúrie any 100 years of the ages of the churches. sentinol one that watcheth in a garrison, kénnel, cînnel, chânnel. châttel a mans personal estate, cattel tame beasts. case, cause. censor a reformer of manners, çensor a permeating pan. chafe, chaff. chance, change. chapters as those in the Bible, chapters the heads of the pillars of the vail Exod. 36, 38. chare or chore, a small household business, cheer to make merry, chear comtenance, or good victuals, chaire a seat to sit on. chap a narrow chink, cheap. champion, campaign large, even fields. check, chick, check one side of the face. chest, chess, cheese. child, chill. cider drink made of apples, cedar. clamour, clamber. cittern instrument of musicck, citron a fruit. cloy, claw. claves, close. clasp, claps he clappeth. coat, quote, cote a little plat of inclosed ground, cottage. choleric, collar, scholar, collier, colour. could, cold, cool'd gallop, collop a rasher of bacon. comb to kemb ones head with, honey-comb, come. comment, comet a blazing star. cònmo, common publick, commune to talk, converse together, common a ground not enclosed, common a scholars allowance in meat, cûmin an herb, cuminseed the seed thereof. complice a partaker, accomplisht, confis or confects dried sweet meats, comfort. considerate, considerable. carol a song, coral a red shrub that children rub their gums with. crownor or córoner that makes inquest after a murther, corner a by private place. colônel a commandant of a thousand, cólonie a plantation. consumption, consummation. counsel advice, s-e-l, council the Kings council, or a synd of learned men, c-i-i. course rough, corse dead body, course to go a hunting, curse to wish evil to one. cousín, côzen. current that will pass, as good money, current a stream, corants small raisins. crâsie infirm, sickly. erased crackt, distracted. crôcodile monster in the river Nîlus, cockatrice serpent that kills with its very smell. cox a mans name, cooks do crow.

D
Deféction, defect. defir, differ. diamond, diadem. diary, dairy. damn to condemn, dam up to stop, keep out the light, dam a stopping of the water before a mill, dumping a nosyman vapour out of the earth. dame a mistress, or any beast that brings forth young. damsín a little black plum, dâmosel a brave young virgin. deceased, diseased, deëses départure. deer, dear. détie, dity. delíte, dèlitate, dèlilate. démen à to behave, demain the means of a Lord, or a Catholic, demand, démour, dëmr. désart wilderness, désert to forsake, désert merit, descent, dissent, dücent. dëstrous, dësirable. discònsfort, discónsfit. disgest to concoct victuals, digest to set in order. dew small drops from the skie, due a debt, adieu. dint or dent, din, dive to eat about noon. dissolve, désolate. doe, do, døugh, døw. doth as he doth give, doeth he maketh. drain, drawn. dray a sled, draw. Don Sir, master in Spanish, don. doest thou dost make, dost a sign of the second person, as thou sayest or dost say, dust powder.

E
Ear, wherewith one hears, ear to till ground, or to plough, ears of corn, ere before, year 12 months. early, yearly. earn, yern to be moved to compassion, yarn. earth, eartheth. east where the sun riseth, west, bame, ease. egg to provoke, to set on, egg which the hen layeth, edge, hedge. eider a tree, elder more old. Elizèer, Eldâzer. embassador, embassage. emerald, emeroids, pearls. eminent, imminant. encigement, engagement. ephra, ephod. epoch, epod a sort of verses. Esther, Hester a
Saxon Idol, Easter, yesterday, expérim-
•ent, expérience. eyes the windows of the 
head, iced.

F
fair, fare, far, fear. fashìon
mode, manner of apparel, fashions or
fary, running botches upon horses.
fain, feign, favonourer, faviourite.
felon a thief, fellon a swelling sore on
the finger. fled, finis, findes he find-
eth, fine. fillip, Philip. flee to shun, 
avoid, fleo to pull off the skin, fìe a small
creature that doth fly, fìe a small
skipping creature, fìece the wooll of
one sheep. fleet navy, fleet swift, fit
to waver, fithe, fix or flux bloody
issue. floor, floor fine meal, flower
of a plant. fool, fool, fool, fool'd, fold.
foo'd a shallow passage in a
river, afford. fore, four. forth,
fourth, friese shag'd cloth, freese to
congeal. Friery where Friers live,
fery, fery. froise a small pan-cake,
phrase. furse fine, hairy skins, furz
prickly shrubs. fundament, foundation.

G
Gantlet a souldier's buf, or iron glove,
Gantlop two ranks of souldiers that
scourge a malefactor that is condemned
to run between, with his back stritk.
gard or great hem of a garment, guard 
a company of men that defend or secure
ones person. guardian a tutor, or one
intrusted with a fatherless child, gárden
an inclosed piece of ground. gentiles 
heathens, gén talk a magot, génle mild,
generous, tractable, gentiel curious in
apparel or carriage. gesture, jester.
gist where the King lodges in his
journey, or progress, jest. glutinous,
glutonous. gloster, glyster or clutter,
cluster. God, good. grass, grate to eat
grass, grace. gray a colour, grey a
badger, an earth hog. Greece a coun-
try, greese a small ascent, steps on the
floor, ambergris a perfume, grist corn
brought to be grinded. grin to wry
the mouth, grind to bruise small, as we
do corn. groan, groved. guess, guest.
gun, gone.

H
Hail God save you, hail stones, hail
to lug, to draw. hair, heir, hare. air,
are they be. hy to make hatch, hay,
high, highth loftiness, highness. heart,
hart. hartsthorn a long leaved plant.
hartsthorn which the hart bears. here,
hear. heard I did hear, hard solid,
stiff, herd a drove of small cattel.
hearing giving ear to, herring a sea-fish.
heron a man's name, hern a crane.
heaths, heavens. horse, hoarse, horse.
hallow, hollow, hollo to baw1. holy,
holy. hole, whole. home, whom. hore
a frizzling frost, whose. hew to cut,
to fell trees, hue visage, physisnomie.
hu and cry, hugh a mans name.

I
Jamb, James. idol, idle. jove.
Jewish, juice. imply, employ. im-
poster a great cheater, impostor one
that takes the names of such as are
absent, or tardy. inelte, insight. in-
considerate, inconsiderable. inn, in.
Job, Job. Joise a womans name, re-
joice, joist a little beam in building.
itch, itch. its his, it's it is, 'tis it is.
judge, judged, judicious, judicial.

K
Kean, ken, kin, kindred. kill, chyle.
keel, kiln. knead, need.

L
Ladder, leather. lamb, lame. launce,
to cut off dead, rotten flesh, lanch to
put out a ship from harbour. last that
they make shoes upon, last after all the
rest, farthest, last to endure, hold out.
latron tin, Latine Roman language.
leaden, Leyden. league, leg, liegeman.
leaper, leaper, leopard. lease (with a soft,
s) to pick up shotted corn, lease (with
a hard, s) an indurture, writings, least
smallest, less smaller, lest a note of for-
bidding, as lest I chastise you. leaman
concubine, whore, lemon a kind of an
apple. legion, legends. liturgie, lethargie,
lessen, listen. lies false tales, lye small, biting worms. limber weak,
linner one that draws pictures. limn,
limb. line whereby we work, or write
straight, loin flank, hanch. Lions a
town in France, lion a fierce beast,
lorn a great cross beam. letter, litter,
litter a sedán carried between two
horses. lose to let go, to let slip un-
known, lose (with a soft, s) to undo, to
slack, loose (with a hard, s) debaucht,
lew. lost, loss.

M
Main might, chiefest, main- prize,
sureship, bail, mane of a horse. mare
that breeds colts, maior the chief ruler
of a citie, major a commander by one degree higher then a Captain, more, Moor a marsh, Moor a man's name. mansion a chief house of abode, manchet a little white loaf. manner fashion, manners good carriage, manière a great farm by heritage, mawe to dung the ground. map, mop. March the first moneth, March to go as scoulders go together, Mars, March a Moor. married, married. Martin, martyr. Mercer, merchant. mace, mass. mast the biggest pole in the ship, maste acorn. meat food, mete to measure, meet fit, convenient. message, méssage, meteor. mete, might, write, mind, mine. mince, mint. minister, minister, minister. moat a deep pond about a house, note the least dust. mortar made of lime and sands, mortar that we pound any spice in. mo more, mow. rice of corn, move to cut down hay, or corn. mounltainbank, Mountague.

N
Naught bad, naughty, nought nothing. Nazarene, Nazarite. neither lower, weathermost lower, neither none of them. nesh tender, effeminate. neee one sister's, or brother's daughter, nice curious, delicate. may, neigh, neigh. none of purpose, none. the first part of the moneth in the Roman accompt. news, nose, noise. notorious, notable.

O
Our to row with. ore metal not refined, o're for over. odour sweet smell, adder the pap of a cow. offer with a double, a, after a word of action, as to cut off, to draw off. office of the word it belongs to, with one, a, as the fear of God. one the first in number, own. once, one's. our. Hour. Ho, o or ough a note of exclaiming or bewmoaning, ove.

P
Palate, palliate, pallet a little low bed to be roled up. paws, pause. pails, paies kind of stakes. pale a compass, appale to discourage. panes, pains. pattern coppie, patent, pattens wooden soals. patience. pease a grain of corn, poises weights, to a clock, or jack, peace, peach, piece part. pear, pare, pair, repair. person the word man used with some reverence, parson a kind of minister. pebble, people. pens, pence. Pilot, pilat, pirate. pistol, pestil wherewith we pound in a mortar, epistle. pittish an object of pittie, pittiful one given to pittie. place, place a little broad fish, plad a course cloak, such as the Hilders wear, plat a small parcel of ground, plait to set the hair in order, plot a cunning design. play a game, a comedy, plea a defence, excuse. Common please, please. plus, over-plus, nonplus. pottle, bottle. precedent a pattern to authorize any action, precedent foregoing. Président a head of a College, or chief Ruler. price, Praye. prize, praise. principal, principle. private, prives small trees. privie to, privies. pörtend. pretend. poor one in want, pore to fix ones eyes, and mind upon any thing. pour to shed, to throw down, power might. pray, prey, py. puppies, puppets.

Q
Quadril strife pickering, quadrant of glass. quarrie, querie. quench, quince. queen, queen.

R
Rack, wrack ruine, rays, raise. rise (with a soft, s) when one lifts up ones self, rise (with a hard, s) the original, rise a sort of corn. raise, race. reach to fetch a thing to one, retch to stretch, rich, wretch. refine, refuse off-scurring. relict, reliques. reveal, rével, revile, rival, rivel. rain, reign. reins of the back, reins of a bridle. raiser, one that stirreth, rasour that we shave with. read I have read, red. real, royal. réverent, réverend. right, rite, write. roe, row as slaves do in a boat, row or rew of trees, row. Romans, romance. Rome the chiebest City in Italy, rone to rage, and tear all before one, room a space, a chamber. rough ruggid, course, boisterous, ruff plaide together, as a ruff band, rough-cast. rule, rowel.

S
Sale, sayd. salve, save. same, Psalm. Saviour, savour. Satan, satten smooth, silken stuff. scarce, scars. scent, sent. school, scholars, scullers little boats. see, sea an ocean, see the Pope's jurisdiction, as the sea of Rome. seal as to seal a letter, or writing, siel to plaister the roof of a room. season possession, season opportunity. sect, set. sects, sex. seareant one that arresteth men, surgeoan chirurgeon, that heales wounds, Sir John a Knight's name, share, shear, sheer, shire. shave, sheave as of corn, sheathe, shive
a slice of bread, cieve that we winnow corn with, sheep, ship, shell, shield, show a brave sight, show to manifest, shoe, Shiloh, Siloe, Siloah, shoot, short, shovell, shole as a shole of fishes, shut, soil, sink, five, five, cinque ports have townes, sin, sing, sign, sited, sighted, cited quoted, sith seeing that, sithe that we mow hay with, soethe to boyle, sledge the smith's great iron hammer, sled a dray that drag things in, sloe, slow, smutch to bemshear, as with soot, much a great deal, mich to play the trewant, so, sec. soar to fife high like a kite, sore a young deer, sore painful, tender, galled flesh, some, summ as summ total, s-o-n the father's son, s-u-n the shining sun. Spaniard, spanie a shag'd dog, spear spear, spies, spice, spit, spittle that we spit out, or an Almes house. staple, staple as staple commoditie, staple of the door, staple the length of the wool. stars, staves black birds that do mischief the pigeons, stairs, statute, stare, stead, bedstead, steed a stately horse. steel that men edge tools with, stile a form, or faculite in writing. steer a bullock, steer to guide a ship. stood did stand, stud a small post in a tear wall. storie, historic, straight even, quickly, straight a distress, perplexitie. succour, sucker. suit to agree with, suit in law, or of clothes, sweet the fat of beef, or mutton. second to faint, sound entire, without flaws.

T
Tales, tails, talons, tallies, talent, taber a small drum, or timber, tapper a stately wax candle. tar, tares, tears drops from the eyes, tear as to tear cloth, break, cut, teach, learn, thems subjects that we descant upon, teams of horses. thiser, there, their, thorow as to break thorow all, through by means of, throw to cast. thrush, trust, thyme or tymne, a sweet plant, time,attle, title, tittle a point. to a sign of a verb, t-o-e the foot's toe, too, as too much, too also, two, tow, tomb, tome. tongues languages, tongs a pair of tongs. torn that turners do make, torn rent, turn to move round. track the picture of ones footsteps, track to follow one, step, by step, tract a handling of this, or that point. treaty a parley concerning peace, treatment, treatise, treatie conference concerning peace. true, truths, truss, trust, turban the Turk's great linnen Cap, turbet a byrt, a great sea fish.

V
Vacation, vocation. v-a-i-n empty foolish, v-e-i-n in the body. veil or covering, vale to put off, to submit, as to vale bonet, vale or valley. vetch a sort of corn, fetch to bring. volley. vial a great cup, vol an instrument of musick. visage feature in a face, wizard a false kind of face, to cover ones face. vital, vituals. umble the inwards of a Deer, humble. umple, empire. us, Us Job's country.

W
Wait, weight, waits, the courtie mu-
csicians, waits waiteth. Waites the true Britain's countrie, wales great thrids in hair stuffs, walls, bewail. walk, awake, waites a parish festival time, walks, wand, wan, wain. wardship, worship, way, weigh. wear, were, weares, dams where they catch fish. wicked, wicket. wilie cunning, un-wounded awkward, wild untame, wold to turn a sword about. win, wind that blows, wine. wipe to rub off dirt, weep to shed tears. witch one that by a compact with the Devil doth bewitch, witch a trap to catch vermin, which that, who. wo alas, woe to be a suitor to a mistress. wood dying stuff, wood fresh, timber. wrap, rap. writ, write, wheelwright. wrote, wrought, rote. wrench, rinse to wash slightly.

Y
yea, I. yet, It, wit, yest a tree in the church yard. ewe, you. yolk of eggs, yoke that oxen draw under, oak. yore in old time, ever a small neck'd pewter pot.

III. Cooper's Lists of Words Like and Unlike and Introductory Remarks.

De Variis Scripturis.
1. Quedam scribuntur vel cum e vel s; ut dace apua, ice glaciers, farce farcio, race stadium, rice oryza, sauce condimentum, cesser censor, scarce vix, scissors cisers forfex, cellar colla, sinders scoria ferri, sives porrum sectile, civez zibethum, sluse emissarium, source fons, syder melites, nounse nutrio, penel penicillus, chace lucus, fugo, etc.
C. Cooper's Words Like and Unlike.

I.

Voces quae eandem habent pronunciationem, sed diversam significationem et scribendi modum.

A

All omnes, awl subula.
altar altare, alter muto
are sunt, air aer, heir, hæres, ere long statim
ant formica, aunt amita
ascent ascensus, assent assensus
assault invado, a salt bit bolus salitus

B

baies lauri, bais pannis villosus
ball pila, baul vocifero
bare nudus, bear fero
be sum, be apes
berry bacha, bury sepolio
bil’d rostratus, build adifico
bitter amarus, bitto butio
bowes torquet, boughs rami, bowse
perpoto
bread panis, bred nutritus
brocz frondo, browz palpebrae
borne portatus, bourn rivulus
buy emo, by per

C

calendar lævitias præsertim panni,
Calendar calendarium

call voce, caud omentum
censer thuribulum, censor censor, censure judico
century herba centaria, century centuria sive spatium centum annorum
chair cathedra, chare negotiolum
chas’d fugatus, chast castus
chevs masticat, chuse eligo
clause clausula, claves unguis
cuat tunica, quote cito
cozen illudo, consin germanus
chord chorda subtensa, cord funis
collar capistrum, choller bilis
comming veniens, cummin cuminum
cool’d refrigeratus, could possem
coughing tussiens, coffin sandapla
coarse levidades, courseerus

counsel consilium, council curia
colors colores, cullers ovis rejicula
car’d curabam, card pectino.

D

dam mater, dann condemno
dear carus, dear fera
dissension dissensio [no second word given]

66
doe dama, do ago, dovo massa farinaria
don factus, dun tuscus
dew ros, due debetius

E

emerald smaragdus, enrods hemorhoides

F

flea pulex, fly vel flea excorio
steam phlebotomum, phlegm vel steam
phlegma
forth ex, fourth quartus
fair pulcher, fare ligiro
for abies, fur pellis, far longè, furz
genista spinosa
fit aptus, fight pugnabat

G
gest gesta, jest jocus,
jester jocator, gesture gestus
gost vadas, ghost spiritus
grow gemo, grown acerius

H

hair crinis, hare lepus
hake screo, hawk accipiter
hart cervus, heart cor
hard durus, heard auditus, harda grex
hear audio, here hic
holy sanetus, wholly totaliter
hev scindo, hue color
hy festino, high altus
higher altior, hire stipendium
hollo vocifero, hollow concavus

I

ire ira, eyer observator
insight prospectus, incite incito
i'te volo, Isle insula, oil oleum
in in, inu diversorium
jerkin tunica, jirking flagellans

L

lamb agnus, lamm verbero
lead plumbug, ted ductus
lease charta redemptionis, leach ternio
canum
leaper saltator, leper leposus
lesen diminuo, lesson lectio
least minimus, lest that ne; (sed potius
vice versâ least ne)
leman pellex, lemon malum hesperium
limb membrum, lium miniculor
lo en, love humilis
line linea, loin lumbus
lustre splendor, luster lustrum

M

manner mos, manour predium
male mas, mail lorica

meat cibus, meat metior
message nuncium, message villa
mouse (mouse) mures capto, mous familìa
muse meditor, mues acceptionem in er-
gastulum compingit, sea mews fulicea,
myfe cum foramen per sepimentum

N

nether inferior, neither nee
nought malus, nought nihil
a notion notio, an ocean oceanus

O

O interjectio vocandi, oh doloris vel
vehementie, ow debo
oar remus, oar ore balluca, o're super
our noster, hour hora
own agnoscio, one unus
order ordo, ordure stercus

P

pair par, para rescindo, pear pyrus
pause pano, paws ungués
pastor, pasture pasceum
pleas causa, please placeo
picket her cam clegit, picture pictura
prophet propheta, pearl commodum
pray precor, pray prada
plum prunum, plum perpendicularis
pour fundo, power potestas

R

rain pluvia, reign regno, reins renes
raise suscito, raises radii
ranker oldior, rancour odium
race stadium, rase expungo
vare rarus, rear attollo
read lectus, red ruber
read lego, read arundo
raison uva passa, reason ratio
right rectus, rite ceremonia, write scribo,
cart-wright carpenterius
ry scale, very obliquus
roce cupreolus, row series
rote memoriter, wrote scripsi
ruff sinus, rough asper

S

say loquor, say pannus rasus
savor parsimonicus, savor sapor
seas maria, seize apprehendo
self vendo, cell cellula
seller venditor, cellar cella
sight visus, site situs, cite cito
size senio, size glutino
season tempestas, seinin possessio
seat sedes, deceit fraus
share pars, shear tondeo
shoo calceus, shew demonstro
Tacks clavi, affigat, tach uncina, tax tributum
tenor, tenure tenura
their suus, there ibi
tine tempus, thyme thymus
tide fluxus et reflexus maris, ti'd ligatus
to ad, too stupua
toes digitus pedis, toe sadudam solvo
tower furris, towe sbubolo
tract tractatus, track't per vestigia
secutus
throne solium, thrown jactus
tire lasso, ty her ligato illam
V
vein vena, vain inanis
vial phiala, vol pandura
W
ware merces, wear tero, were essent
weigh libro, way via
weight pondus, wait expecto, waits
spodiumales
woo proco, wee calamitas
woohchdum, hoop viero
vse usus, use utor, evs oves fœminæ
ever aqualis, ure assuetudo
yca iga, ye vos
Sequentes item distinctuan-
trur, quas autem omnes non dis-
tinguunt.
bruit lama, brute brutum
desert meritem, desert cremis
down lanugo, down deorsum
soul sordidus, soul volucris
friese pannus villosus, freez congelo,
semper freez liberat
moat lossa, mote atomos
savoury satureia, savoury sapidus vel
odoratus
II.
Voices que diversum habent
sonum et sensum sed candem
plerumque scripturam; quæ ta-
men melius hoo modo semper dis-
tinguuntur
acorn glans, a corn granum
attack obsideo, attach prehendo
bore ferebam, boar aper
born parturitis, borne latus
bow torqueo, bone arcus
boul globus, bowl patera
convert converto, convert proselytes
form forma, foarm classis
guest hospes, gest gesta, jest jocus
gst adipisor, jet gagates
gives dat, gives compedes
lead plumbum, leade duo
light residi, light lux
live vivo, alive vivus; lived vixi, long-
lived longævus; lives vivit, lives vitae
now accurus, nowe meto
past praeteritus, paste pastillus
rebël rebell, rebel rebellator
Rome Roma, room vago
sow sus, sowe swo
sing cano, singe umburo
tear lacryma, teare lacero
tost agitatus, taste panis tostus
wast eras, waste consumo
wild efferatus, wild' volui
fist triental, fist branchiae
Exemplorum sequentium pri-
or sonum habent f, posteriora,
que scribuntur cum s finalli,
sonum z.
Vfæ usus, us utor: abus abusus, abuse
abutor
clofe clausus, clofe clando
crufe pocillum, cruse preder
diverfe diversi, divers urinatores
dofe dosis, dose dormito
else præterea, eils ulme
excufæ apoligia, excuse excuso
faile falsus, fails cadit
hi's bibile, his suus
loof remissus, loose solvo
premifes premisse, premise premitto
refuæ quisquiae, refuse abnuo
houfe domus, house stabulo
moufe mus, mouse mures capto
loufe pediculus, louse pediculis capto
brefs as, braze subero
glafe vitreum, glaze invitreo
grofe gramem, groze pasco

III.
Propria nomina cum commun-
ibus, que eundem vel affinen
habent sonum.
Achor, acre juger
Bede, bead corona, bede tree azedarach
Barbara barberry oxyacantha
Brux, brooks rivuli
Cain, cane canna
C. Cooper's Words Like and Unlike.

D
Dauphin, primogenitus regis Galliae, dolphin, delphinus
decent, docens, descent, descensus
door, actor, door, ostium

E
exercise, exerceo, exercise, conjuro

F
fellows, socii, fellies, apsides
file, limo, foil, sterno
fence, septimentum, fenae, paludes
find, invenio, find, daemon
flax, linum, flaves, flocculi
floor, pavementum, flower, flos, flour
pollen
fold, plico, foal'd, peperit, equa
froiz, vel, phrase, fRICTA, phrase, phrasis

G
glister, mico, glyster, vel, clyster
garner, granarium, gardian, gardianus,
gardener, hortulanus

H
hence, hinc, hens, gallinae
home, domus, whom, quem
hollow, cavus, hallow, sanctifico
hose, caliga, whose, cujus

I
idol, idolum, idle, ignavus
employ, impendo, simply, intimus
ingenious, ingeniatus, ingenuus, ingenuous
inure, assaysco, in your, in vestra
juice, succus, joico, transtrum

J
lain, positus, lane, viculus
latin, latinitas, latinius, orichalcum
lettice, lactuca, lattice, transenna
lesour, locator, lesser, minor
laud, laudo, out-law'd, proscriptus
leaf, folium, leave, libertas

K
may'st, possis, mast, malus
medal, sigillum, fusile, medle, tracto
mines, fodine, minds, mentes
mole, talpa, mold, humus
mown, gemo, mown, messus
mower, messor, more, plus
melon, melo, million, 100000 sive

L
may'st, possis, mast, malus
medal, sigillum, fusile, medle, tracto
mines, fodine, minds, mentes
mole, talpa, mold, humus
mown, gemo, mown, messus
mower, messor, more, plus
melon, melo, million, 100000 sive

M
may'st, possis, mast, malus
medal, sigillum, fusile, medle, tracto
mines, fodine, minds, mentes
mole, talpa, mold, humus
mown, gemo, mown, messus
mower, messor, more, plus
melon, melo, million, 100000 sive

N
moy of, possis, mast, malus
medal, sigillum, fusile, medle, tracto
mines, fodine, minds, mentes
mole, talpa, mold, humus
mown, gemo, mown, messus
mower, messor, more, plus
melon, melo, million, 100000 sive

O
moy of, possis, mast, malus
medal, sigillum, fusile, medle, tracto
mines, fodine, minds, mentes
mole, talpa, mold, humus
mown, gemo, mown, messus
mower, messor, more, plus
melon, melo, million, 100000 sive

P
moy of, possis, mast, malus
medal, sigillum, fusile, medle, tracto
mines, fodine, minds, mentes
mole, talpa, mold, humus
mown, gemo, mown, messus
mower, messor, more, plus
melon, melo, million, 100000 sive

Q
moy of, possis, mast, malus
medal, sigillum, fusile, medle, tracto
mines, fodine, minds, mentes
mole, talpa, mold, humus
mown, gemo, mown, messus
mower, messor, more, plus
melon, melo, million, 100000 sive

R
moy of, possis, mast, malus
medal, sigillum, fusile, medle, tracto
mines, fodine, minds, mentes
mole, talpa, mold, humus
mown, gemo, mown, messus
mower, messor, more, plus
melon, melo, million, 100000 sive

S
moy of, possis, mast, malus
medal, sigillum, fusile, medle, tracto
mines, fodine, minds, mentes
mole, talpa, mold, humus
mown, gemo, mown, messus
mower, messor, more, plus
melon, melo, million, 100000 sive

T
moy of, possis, mast, malus
medal, sigillum, fusile, medle, tracto
mines, fodine, minds, mentes
mole, talpa, mold, humus
mown, gemo, mown, messus
mower, messor, more, plus
melon, melo, million, 100000 sive

U
muy, must, possis, mast, malus
medal, sigillum, fusile, medle, tracto
mines, fodine, minds, mentes
mole, talpa, mold, humus
mown, gemo, mown, messus
mower, messor, more, plus
melon, melo, million, 100000 sive

V
muy, must, possis, mast, malus
medal, sigillum, fusile, medle, tracto
mines, fodine, minds, mentes
mole, talpa, mold, humus
mown, gemo, mown, messus
mower, messor, more, plus
melon, melo, million, 100000 sive
§ 3. Conjectured Pronunciation of Dryden, with an Examination of his Rhymes.

Dryden was born in 1631 and died in 1700. The date of his pronunciation, acquired when he was a young man, therefore coincided with the publication of Wallis's grammar, 1653. But as his chief poetical works did not appear till much later, it is possible that he took advantage of the change of pronunciation going on to give greater freedom to his rhymes. Still his own pronunciation must certainly be looked upon as that of Wallis or Wilkins. As
Wallis is the last of those who advocate the use of (yy) in English to the exclusion of (iu), it will be perhaps safest to assume that Dryden agreed with Wilkins and subsequent orthoepists, in saying (iu) and not (yy). He lived at a time during which long a passed from (ææ) to (ee), but he most probably retained his youthful habit (ææ) to the last. His use of a, ea could not have inclined more to (ii) than Jones's, perhaps not so much. But we may perhaps assume that all the words with ea collected above, p. 86, were generally pronounced with (ii), though in any case of necessity they retained their older sound of (ee). He probably read ai, ei always as (ee) or (ee).

With regard to Dryden's rhymes, the notices on p. 87 show that, although he allowed himself much liberty, they were not so imperfect as our present pronunciation would lead us to conclude. But as those notes referred to a particular case of ea, it will be convenient here to review the rhymes in one of Dryden's most finished poems. For this purpose I select the first part of Absalom and Achitophel, containing about 1000 lines, written in 1681, just about the time (1685) that Cooper published his grammar.

1. W did not act on the following a to labialise it, so that wand land, wars scars, are perfect rhymes (wend lend, waer skærz), and in care war, doar' d barr'd (keær war, dekleær bard) we have only a long and short vowel rhyming, as is constantly the case. Embrac'd taste rhymed perfectly as (embrææst, treæst), not according to our present pronunciation.

2. With proclaim rhyme name fame tame, that is, according to Cooper, (-ææm) rhymes to (-æem), or, if we give the older pronunciation, (-æem) rhymes to (-ææm), which was certainly sufficiently close for Dryden, who may even have called the first (-ææm).

There are only three such lines in the whole piece.

3. The rhymes theme dream, please these, break weak, great repeat, bear heir, are perfect (ee, ee). Again, fears ears, fear hear are perfect (ii, ii). But fear bear (ii, ee) is imperfect, unless he here took the liberty of giving fear its older sound (feær). In the rhyme spares tears (ææ, ii), he may have also taken the liberty to say (teerz). The rhymes care bear, wear care, (ææ, ee), were sufficiently close for Dryden.Appear where (ii, ee) present a decidedly bad rhyme, unless he chose to say (whir'), which is possible, as the pronunciation still exists dialectically.

4. The group years petitioners, fears pensioners, please images, please griev-ances, great yet, supreme them, declaim Jerusalem them, must all be considered forms of (ee, e), or long and short vowels rhyming, although at that time years fears were (iirz, fiirz). In receive prerogative (ee, i), sweet fit (ii, f), the intention was the same, the wide (i) being made to do duty as either (e) or (i).

5. Civil devil was a perfect rhyme (i, f); but sense prince, pretence prince, (ee, e), seem to point to a well-known Irishism, and the close connection of Irish pronunciation with the xviiith century leads us to suppose that such words would be generally accepted as rhymes.

6. The Y final seems to have been doubtful in value. From Spenser's time to our own we have found poets taking the liberty to rhyme it as (ii) or (ii), and as the Irish of the present day are said to pronounce final y as (ii), we may, as usual, presume that this pronunciation was rife in the xviiith century. In the present poem we have y final taken as (ii) in free liberty, be democracy, decree royalty, me liberty, degree university, be lunacy; and as (ii) in tie posterity, sky nativity, why property, wise enemies, by husbandry, cry theology, cry royalty, high extremity, desipe indignities, cry tyranny, die posterity, high destiny; I liberty, cry liberty, try anarchy, by company.

7. The following rhymes were per-
fect (si, ai) according to a prevalent use in the xviiith century, smiles toils, design join, join coin. Gill gives (wind) for wind, ventus, and poets have always taken the liberty to rhyme it, as Dryden does, with bind, behind. The rhyme flight height was perfect (si, ai) according to Miege, but Cooper has (need), Jones (meet, heedth). Clearly there was a diversification of pronunciation of which the poet availed himself.

8. The (ou) of the xviiith century, when generated by a following i or e, was so often considered as (oo) by the orthoepists of the xviiith century, although the usage varies, that we need feel no surprise at the rhymes soul pole, grewen throne, own throne, mould bold, overthrow foe, soul control, blow foere. But gold sold, gold old, were at that time (gould, ould ould cold), and the rhymes belong to the same category as choose depose, poor more = (uu, oo), (though, as the Expert Orthoepist, 1704, says that poor is pronounced as o long, the two last words may have been perfect rhymes to Dryden), or good load, shook broke yoke, look spoke = (u, oo), of which took flock = (u, A), would scarcely be deemed a variant. Cooper heard blood, flood as (blud, fluid), so that that pronunciation must have been sufficiently prevalent to pass the rhyming of blood with flood, wood, good. And as a wound is still often called a (wound), we need not wonder at finding bound wound.

9. No distinction was made in rhyme between (eu, in), if indeed the distinction had not become altogether obsolete. Poets allow (iu, uu) to rhyme, considering the first as (jui) or (juij), but the fact that they are now felt not to be genuine rhymes at once discredits the common theory that long u is now (juij). The first element receives so much stress that it cannot degenerate into (j). Accordingly we find the rhymes anew pursue, Jesus accuse, few true, must choose, rul'd cool'd.

10. The rhyme remove love was at that time perfect in some mouths as (a, o), but thong tongue, song string, were probably quite imperfect as (A, o), although (thoq, toq) may still be occasionally heard, and in some dialects all these words end in (-aq). But son crown (san kroun) was altogether unjustifiable at that period.

11. The r seems to have excused many indifferent rhymes. Afford suord, which now rhyme as (afoond soord), then rhymed as (afoord suord), but affords words, mourn'd return'd, were (uu, o), sword lord, court sort, were (uu, A), scorn return, born turn, were (A, o), board ahorr'd, restore'd lord, were (oo o), First curs'd was probably perfect as (o o). Art desert was perhaps considered a perfect rhyme. In none Absalom the vowels perhaps agreed as (oo), but as the consonants were different, the result is only an assonance.

The following rhymes of Dryden, and other authors, who, having acquired their pronunciation in the xviiith century, must be reckoned in that period for the present purpose, have been taken from the appendix to Walker's Rhyming Dictionary, where they are given as "allowable rhymes," or Prof. Haldeman's Felix Ago (supra p. 866 note), where they are cited as anomalies. The authors with their dates are as follows:

Addison, 1672—1719.  Herrick, 1591—1674.
Butler, 1612—1680.  Oldham, 1653—1683.
Cowley, 1618—1667.  Philips, 1676—1708.
Crashaw, d. 1650.  Parnell, 1679—1717.
Creech, 1659—1700.  Prior, 1664—1721.
Dryden, 1631—1700.  Rowe, 1673—1718.
Garth, 1672—1719.  Waller, 1605—1687.

The rhymes are arranged, very nearly, in the same categories as those just considered, and the numbers prefixed to the groups will therefore generally be sufficient to point out their nature. This
review will shew, that it would not be possible to infer identity of vowel sound in apparently rhyming words in the xviiith century.

1. Wan man, Dryden. care war, Garth. hard reward, Parnell. prepares Mars, Granville. marr'd spar'd, Waller. plac'd last, Dryden. haste last, Waller. made bad, Dryden. This is the common rhyme of a long and short vowel (ææ, æ). 2. Complaint elephant, Prior. faint pant, Addison. Those differ only from proclain name in having the second vowel (æ) short, instead of (ææ) long.

3. They sea, Dryden. defeat great, Garth. great heat, Parnell. neat great, Parnell. please ease images, Wycherley. praise case, Parnell. train scene, Parnell. steal fail, Parnell. bears shears, Garth—are all practically perfect (ee, e) or (ee, ë). State treat, Dryden. errs cares, Prior. retreat gate, Parnell. place peace, Parnell. theme fame, Parnell. are wear, Wycherley—are only (ee, ææ). here share, Garth. years shares, Garth. hear air, Milton—may have been taken as (ee, ææ) and (ee, ee), instead of (ii, ææ) and (ii, ee).

4. Ear, murderer, Dryden. great debt, Dryden. express cease, Dryden. rest feast, Dryden. contemns streams, Dryden. dress'd feast, Dryden. express cease, Dryden. eat regret, Prior. digest feast, Prior. please tell, Prior. east, west, Addison. threats beats, Creec—

8. Doom Rome, Butler. throne gone, Dryden. lead abroad, Dryden. good food, Parnell—were probably perfect rhymes, and : stood blood, Butler, Dryden. may have been so, but: floods gods, Dryden. along hung, Dryden—were anomalous, yet evidently not felt as very bad; to these belong: straw'd blood, Dryden. rode blood, Dryden. and: sow plough, Dryden. shew bough, Dryden. inclose brows, Dryden. flow'd vow'd, Dryden. plow low, Philips. stone down, Waller, were perhaps felt as (oo ou) rather than (oo ou), and were therefore not far from (uu, uu) in: soon town, Dryden. you allow, Blackmore. now you, Crashaw. pow'r secure, Garth, so that they connect the former with: grunt shut, Dryden. proud blood, Garth, or (uu, a). The rhyme (oo, uu) or (oo, u) is found in: home Rome, Butler. looks provokes, Dryden. gone soon, Dryden. store poor, Dryden. throne moon, Dryden. look yoke, Dryden. spoke took, Prior. Rome home, Rowe. door poor, Parnell. shoals, fools, Garth.

5. Dress'd fist, Dryden. flesh dish, Dryden. heaven given, Prior—are the usual (e, ë).

6. See energy, Rosecommon.
7. Defile spoil, Dryden. declin'd joint'd, Dryden. decline disjoin, Garth. join design, Butler. vine join, Covelley—were perfect rhymes; and weight flight, Dryden, may be compared with height flight.

The character of the good parson has been selected as a specimen of the conjectured pronunciation of Dryden, because it can be compared directly with the original of Chaucer, Chapter VII, p. 704, both as to matter and sound, and Dryden's version scarcely differs from Chaucer's more in the first than in the second, if the results of the preceding investigation be adopted.
Æ Gud Pærsn,
imitated from Tshaa'ser ænd enlærdzhd.

Æ per'ish priest wæz af dhe pil'grim treeen;
Æn aa'fal, rev'rend, ænd relæzh'sæ men.
Hîz aiz dæfuad' æ ven'æræbl grææs,
Ænd tshaer'ti itself' wæz ïn hîz fææs.
Rætsh wæz hîz sool, dhoo hîz ætæir' wæz puur;
Æz Gæd hæd kloodhîd hîz onæ æmbæs'sædor,
Far sotsh an erth hîz blest Redii'mor boor.
Æf siks'ti sîræz hîi siimd; ænd wël mæt læst
Tu siks'ti moor, iht dheæt hîi livd tuu fæst;
Reföind' hîmself' tu sool, tu karb dhe sens,
Æend mææd aalaams'æ sin af ææ'stinens.

Jet hæd hîz æspækt noth'iq af sër'e,
Bot sotsh æ fææs æz præmis' hîm sînseet.
Nøth'iq rezërved' ar so'len wæz tu sii,
Bot swiit regæærdz' ænd pleæz'iq sæqk'tiij:
Mœld wæz hîz æk'sent, ænd hîz æk'sæn frîi.
With el'okwëns inææt hîz tæq wæz æærdmd,
Dhoo hææs dhe pree'sept, jet dhe pree'tshor tshæærmdd.

Far, let'iq doun dhe guuld'n tsheen fram høi,
Hîi drîu hîz ændiæns øøp'word tuu dhe skæi:
Ænd æft' widh noo'li' hîmz hîi tshæærmdd dheer îirz,
(Æ miu'zik moor melow'dës hææn dhe sfeærz).

Far Dææ'vid left hîm, when hîi went tu rest,
Hîz leáir; ænd æft'er hîm, hîi soq dhe best.

Hîi boor hîz greet komish'en ïn hîz lük,
Bot swiit'li' tem'pærd aa, ænd saft'nd aal hîi spook.
Hîi prææsht dhe dzhaiz af høvn ænd pëenæs af hël,
Ænd wææmd dhe sîn'or with bekem'qæq zeel;
Bot an æternæl mærs'i lœvd tu dwel.

Hîi taat dhe gas'plenæd'ør dhaen dhe lâa,
Æend foerst hîmself' tu dræiv'; bot lœvd tu drraa.

Far fiir bot frîiz'ez mœindz; bot lov laik heet,
:Egæææz' dhe sool sëbloim tu siik nor neææt'îb seet.

Tu thræts dhe stöb'ørn sî'n'or æft iiz hææd:
Ræpt in hîz kroîmz, ægeæns ot dhe stærm prepæærd;
Bot when dhe mœld'er beemz af mærs'i plee,
Hîi melæts, ænd throuæz hîz kæmb'roes kloek æwee'.
Loit'iq ænd thæn'dør (hevnæ ærtæl'øræi).
Æz mær'bindzhørz biffor' dhe: aalaæ'ti flœi:
Dhooz bot prøkleem' hîz stœl, ænd disøpiir',
Dhe stil'ør sound sœksûdiz'; ænd Gæd iz dheer.

Dhe tœidhz hîz pær'ish frîi'li' peed, hîi tæk,
Bot ne'er siud, ær kærst with bël ænd bük;
With pææ'shens beert'iq râq, bot ært'iq noøn,
Sins ev'ri mæn iiz frîi tu luæz hîz oon.
Dhe kan'tri tshərlz, əkər'diq tuu dheer koind,
( (Huun gradzh dheer diuz, ənd lov tu bii bınəind;)
Dhe les hii sæt hiz əf-rəiq, pinsh't dhe moor,
And preezd ə priist kanten'ted tu bi puur.

Jet əf hiz lit'l hii hæd əm tu speer,
Tu riiid dhe fəm'ish't, ənd tu kloodh dhe béeer;
Far mart'foid hii wæz tu dhæt digrit,
Æ puur'ər dhæn hɪmsəlf ə hii wud nət sii.

Triu priists (hii seəd), ənd preetsh'ərz əf dhe wərd,
Wer oon'li stiu'ordz əf dheer soə'ren lard;
Noth'iq wæz dheerz, bot əal dhe pəb'lik stoor,
Intrəsted ritš'əz tu reliiv' dhe puur;
Huu, shud dheer steel, far wənt əf hiz reliif,
Hii dzhədzhd hɪmsəlf əkəm'pləs with dhe thiif.

Woid wæz hiz pər'ish, nət kəntrək'ted kləus
In strii'ts, bot hii ənd dheer ə streq'liq həus;
Jet stə li hii wæz ət nənd, without rekwəst',
To serv dhe sək, tu sək'ər dhe ədist'rest',
Temp'tiəq, an fut, əloən, without afəriot';
Dhe dæən'dzherz əf ə dərk teməst'məuəs nəit.

: Aal dhiis dhe gudd oəld məen pərfoormdə əloən;
Nat speəəd hiz pəenəz; far kiə'reest nəd hii noən;
Nat dərəst hii trəst ənəd'həər with hiz kəər;

Nat rood hɪmsəlf tu Poolzh, dhe pəb'lik feər,
Tu tshəf'ər far pər'femrent with hiz guuld,
Wheer bish'əprəks and soə'niikurz ər soəld;
Bot diuz'li wætsh't hiz flak bai nəit ənd dəe,
Ænd fram dhe prəul'iq wulf rədii'mdə dhe pree,
Ænd nəq'gri sent dhe wə'li fəks əwəe.
Dhe prəud hii təəmd, dhe pən'ətent hii tshiird,
Nət tu rəbiuk' dhe ritəshəfən'dər fiərd.

Hiz preetsh'əq mətsh, bot moor hiz prək'tis rəət,
(Æ ləv'iq sər'mən əf dhe triuths hii təət:)
Far dhiis boi riulz əvər' əhəf hii skəəəd,
Dheet əal mət sii dhe dək'trən whiθsh dheer nəəəd.

Far priists, hii seəd, ər pət'ərnz far dhe rəst,
(Dhe guuld əf hevn, nuu beer dhe Gəd əməpət')
Bot when dhe prəsh'əs kəin əz kəpt ənkleen',
Dhe seə'reenz əm'əədz hiz noo əaq'gər siin.

Hf dheer bii foul, an nuum dhe pəp'l tɾəst,
Wel mee dhe bæəs'ər brəə kəntrəkt' ə reəst.

Dhe prəl'veest far hiz hoo'li ləif hii preezd;
Dhe wər'ləi pəmp əv prəl'əsə əspəizd'.

Hiz Səə'viər kəəm nət with ə gəa'dəi shoo,
Nət wæz hiz kiə'dəm əf dhe wərəld biləu.
It has not been considered necessary to add the original, as the orthography of the first edition was not readily accessible, and other editions are easily consulted.

As contrasted with the Shaksespearean examples pp. 986-996, observe, the change of (a, aa) into (æ, ææ), the separation of (o, oo) into (A, oo), the entire absence of (yy) and of the guttural (kh), the complete change of (ei) into (æi), and (ou) into (au), with the absence of (ai, au), or rather their absorption into (ee, ʌa).

As contrasted with our modern pronunciation, observe the existence of (ææ), still heard in Bath and Ireland, in place of (ee, ʌe'j), the existence of words like (nee sect) v. 32, still heard in Ireland and the provinces, in place of (mit sitt), and similarly (seven't sinseet') v. 12, these (dheez), the broad (ee) which has quite given way to ( ʌe, ʌe'j) except before (a), where it does not usually exceed (ee), the pure (iir, ʌor, uur') in place of our modern (ii, oo, uu). The use of (A) in place of (o) is probably more theoretical than real; indeed many orthoepists still regard (o, A) as identical. The clear (æ) after (w), as in (wær), not (war), is noticeable, together with a few special words, as: of (Af) still used by elderly speakers, last fast (last faest) still often used by refined speakers in the north, golden (gould'm) still heard from elderly speakers, artillery (art'le) now hardly ever used in educated speech, true (tru), truth (trith), rule (ru'il) not unfrequent, at least in intention, provincially, sovereign (əv'ren) an obsolescent but not quite obsolete pronunciation. Paul's (Poolz) is quite lost, and so is worldly (war'li), at least in intention. Of course many peculiarities, as pointed out in the vocabulary, do not occur in this example, such as -ture (-tor). The transitional character of the pronunciation is very transparent.
CHAPTER X.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE PRONUNCIATION OF ENGLISH DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

§ 1. Some English Orthoepists of the Eighteenth Century.

The pronunciation of the xviii th century is peculiarly interesting as forming the transition to that now in use, and as being the "old-fashioned" habit of speech which we may still hear occasionally from octogenarians. Those who, like the author, can recollect how very old people spoke forty or fifty years ago, will still better understand the indications, unhappily rather indistinct, which are furnished by the numerous orthoepists of the latter half of the xviii th century. In the present section some of those which had not been consulted in Chap. III. will be noticed, and a specimen of Buchanan's pronunciation will be given. In the next, two American orthoepists will be considered. These are especially interesting, because the pronunciation preserved in New England is older than that of the mother-country.

To Mr. Payne I am indebted for an acquaintance with Lediard's Grammar, which devotes 270 pages to a consideration of English pronunciation and orthography in 1725. As the author had studied Wallis's treatise, and explains the pronunciation by German letters, it seems advisable to give rather a full account of his conclusions.

T. LEDIARD'S ACCOUNT OF ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION, 1725.

From: Grammatica Anglica Critica, oder Versuch zu einer vollkommenen Grammatic der Englandischen Sprache, in welcher . . . eine neue Methode, die so schwer gehaltene Pronunciation in kürzer Zeit zu erlangen, angezeigt . . . . wird . . . . durch Thomas Lediard, N.C.P. & Philol. Cult. Hamburg, 1725, 8vo. pp. 976, and 82 unnumbered introductory pages of dedication, preface, contents and laudatory German verses!

In the preface he complains of Theod. Arnold, who, in his Neue Engl. Grammatica, Hanover, 1718, endeavours to distinguish the (to Lediard) identical vowel sounds in: "feign, few, fewel brewe, winter pinte, mother modest, Rome come, good root, foot tooth, round moun, could mould, youth young, fume tune, burn pull, pulse bull, due spue.

Lediard remarks that "the English pronounce more in the front of the mouth and softer, than the Germans, who rather use the back part of the mouth, while the French are intermediate. In rapidity the French are fastest, Germans slowest, and English intermediate." The following citations are abridgments, except when the words are between inverted commas, in which case they are full translations; the palaeotype and passages in [ ] are interpretations or interpolations.

A

I. 1. Long a like German äh or French ai in mais; [that is, (ee), in-
tended for (eœ), because he uses ä without the prolonging ă, for a short in glad, had, yet this (eœ) is suspicious because of Wallis, as name nåhm, shade schäbd, face fahs, etc. When unaccented, as short a or e, [that is, (e, e)], as private previät, courage kurrädsch (kärreddh), desolate dessolat. 2. many mâhni, to quadræte quâdâhte [the e is not meant to be sound]-ed., Mary Mähri, except water walter, [ah should be (ae), but is meant for (AA). Observe many (mææn). Only the principal examples are given.] 3. hussa hossâh (moæœæœ). 4. plague plâgh. 5. In -ange, as change tschahnânsch, range ränhânsch, angel ândschel. In angelical, orange only as short a (æ). 6. In -aste=âñsth (æœst), as chaste paste, haste, waste.

II. Like German a, or rather more lengthened almost like German ah, [meant for (AA)], 1. in -all = -ahl (AAA), as all, call, wall, small. But Mail in the mail game, and shall have short ä (a). 2. in derivatives as already, wasnut wahnlot; but challenge, tschällendsch, tallow, tällo, galloves gallus [possibly (œlæs) and not (œlæs)], but observe not (œlæls), and see OW below], callovs källus. 3. in bald bahl, scalded skahlled. 4. in walk wahlk, talk tahlk, chalk tschahlk, but in these and similar words î is not heard in "rapid" pronunciation. 5. in false, balsam, palsy. 6. in mail, salt, hall, exalt, but shalt schält. 7. in -war- in one syllable, as war, warm, toward taward (tawârd), reward, warn, dwarv; but in warren, warrant with a (A) short. 8. in quarter, quarter.

III. These two principal sounds of A are long, and each has its short sound, as short åh and short a in German, thus: as short å (æ) in can, man, rash, but as long a (AA) in watch, was, wash [meant for short (A), see V. below].

"The short å (æ) really approaches short å, and has as it were a middle sound between å and a, [that is, (æ), lies between (e) and (a),] and the difference is therefore best heard ex usu or from a native Englishman."

IV. Short a as a short å (æ). 1. In monosyllables, as glad, had, man, rash, hard hård, march märstb, branch bräntsch, dance dans [i.e. these words have short å (æ)], and this generally before r, n]. 2. in derivatives German Dechemân, gentleman dechentelmân; barley båli, partridge pärtïdsch, chamber tšâmbær, [compare Moore's rhyme: amber chamber, supra p. 859], 3. in -arje, -anche, 4. in -al, as general deschenerâl, altar altâr. 5. in a-, as again gâm (gegon) abroad abbraad (abbraàd).

V. Short a is sometimes pronounced as German a, [properly (o), meant for (A) or (o)]. 1. After gu, as qualify qualifie, quality qualitii, [here (kæoe) was certainly also in use, see vocabulary] qualm qualm, quantity, quarrel, squabble, squander. 2. after w, as wand, wawal, wan, sound, wander, want, was, wash, watch, swab, swaddle, swallow, swan. Except, quack, quadrâte, quâg, quandary *, quash *, squash *, waft *, wog, waggon, wox, which belong to IV., [that is have (ae); observe * words.]

E

I. Alphabetical name th (ii) has the sound of long German ï, and is then called e masculine. 1. in -æ, as be, he, me, she, we, ye jih, except only the, which has short e (e), not to distinguish it from thee, but because it is always atomic. 2. in e- as Eve, even, evil ihvil, Eden, Egypt, equal ihquíl. 3. before a following vowel, as idea iidiâh, Chaldeans, Deity, Masoleum mosoliquí, [probably (moossóli-am)]. 4. ending a syllable, as in Peter Píther, etc. 5. in the following monosyllables here hier, Mede Mïhd, Coryt Kriht [compare Jones, 1701, supra p. 85], a mere, to mete, mere-admiral, scene sîhn, scheme skîhm, sphere, these dhîh [pronoun]. "To these should be added there, were, where, which by bad habit are called dhâhr, wâhr, hwâhr." [Lediard was therefore of the school of the Expert Orthographist, supra p. 88.] 6. in adhère, austere asthir, blaspheme, corere, complete, concede, concrete, convene, extreme, impede, intercede, interfere, Nicene, obscene absishn, precede, recede, replete, receive, severe, sincere, supersede, supreme. Except extremity, severity, supremacy, spherical, discretion, etc., which have German e (o).

II. E masculine is pronounced short as German i [probably (i), in Hamburg and North Germany (i) for (i) is common in closed syllables]. 1. in en-, as embärk imbärk, encourage inkurredâsh, English English, enjoy indskâli, ename insu. Except embers, emblem, embryo, emperour, emphasis, empire, emprise, encomist, enmity, ennable, enter, enthusiasm, entity, entrails, envoy, envy, envy and derivatives. 2.
Ending a first syllable, as elect ict. Also in yes, yesterday, devil, Sevil [observe this (r̩s, d̩v̩l, S̩v̩l), but (r̩s) occurs below]. 3. in -e when heard. 4. in the middle of poly-syllables, "where it is read quite short, or is almost quite bitten off," as atheist, courteous, every ever, pitty peitti, righteous reitius, soverain soverain.

III. E feminine, like the French, only before r, where it has "an obscure sound almost like German ë (ø), or a very short obscure e as in her, vertu," etc.

IV. E neuter as German ë [I interpret by (ø), but really (a) is common in Germany, as however Lediard uses ë confessedly (e) for (æ), I think it best to sink (e) altogether and use (æ, e) in the interpretations], as in end, etc. 1. in -en very short, bitten off, and little heard, as open op'ın, often aft'n [observe the e]. 2. Short or elided in -ed.

V. [About e mute, -le, -re, genitive -es, etc.]

I. Long i as German ei [(ai)], as many in England still pronounce, but we are not to suppose that Lediard would have distinguished (ai, ai, ah, oi). The examples agree with present usage, except that live-long has i short in Lediard, and sometimes i long now. "Finepence is commonly but wrongly called fipens" (fpns?). In child, mild, wild, find, bind, behind, kind, grind, bind' bleed. But build bld, guild gld, windlass windlass, Windsor, vestind. Use i when ld, nd belong to two syllables. Some call the wind wind, others weird. 4. before gh which is then mute. "The Scots, and some Northerners retain the guttural sound of gh, but this is considered a fault and should not be imitated. In sigh, gh is by some pronounced in the throat, but with a sound not unlike English th" [supra p. 213, note]. Diamond deymond [in two syllables].

9. Fire feier, etc., but shire schirr, cashire kashirr, frontire franhirr [that is cashier (kashir'), frontier (franti-r')].

10. Christ Kreist, clumb kleim, indietment indictment, print point, tith teith, withth reith [now (taidh, roidh)].

II. [Short i generally possesses no interest. Notice] long th ð (ð) in Price [explained as German boy, a kind of baize], gentile or genteel, oblige some say obsolete according to rule, pique, shire, fatigue fatigue, intrigue intrigue.

III. A middle sound between French e feminine and German ë, before r only, as in bird, etc. In sirrah, i is almost pronounced as short ë (ser æ), as hither, thither, arithmetic, mithridate, the ë before th is almost short e. The ë is quite "swallowed" in business bassiness, chario t scherrot (isher ot), carriage kärrdsch, marriage, medicine medsin, parliament, ordinary arhdmarri, spaniel spänell, venison vensen.

O

I. As a "long German o or oh, a Greek œ, or the French au" [probably (oo), possibly (oo), certainly not (ou)]. 1. [The usual rule], as alone alohn, etc. Exc. above, dove, glove, love, shove, with "a short u, but somewhat obscure, almost as a middle sound between short o and short u" [that is, (o, a) as between (o, u)]. Also except in atome, come, custome, done, none, [not (noon) but (nun)], shone (shen), some. Except when o sounds as long German u or uh (uu) in behove, move, prove, approve, disprove, improve, reprouve, lose, done, Rome, whose; and as a in gone gan (gan). 5. In -dome, -some as (s). 3. Use o in o, ho, fro, go, ago, ha, lo, mo, no, pro, so, to, unto, tho' altho' ; "the words to, unto seem to belong to the other rule [II.?]; but as the majority bring them under this rule, I content myself with noting the difference" [this sound of to as (too) or (to) should be noted, it is not uncommon still in America]. Except, to do, two, who with long u (uu); twopence is tuppens (t̩p̩ns). Use o long [and not the diphthong (ou, au)] in old, bold, etc., and o long, not short, [that is (oo) not (A, ö) or (AA)] in ford, hord, sword, divorce, force, porch, forge, park, form a bench, forlorn, shorn, sworn, torn, worn, forth, fort, port, deport, effort*, export, import*, purport*, support*, transport*, sport, except when the * words are accented, as by some, on the first syllable.

II. Short o like short German o [properly (o), or (o), not (A) or (o)], and Lediard clearly means to distinguish the sounds]. 1. at the end of an unaccented syllable, as absolute absolut, 2. in o-, as obey obah, etc. 3. "In the beginning and middle of the following words, although they have the short accent, and must hence be
excepted from rule III.; *obit, ocean, omen, once, onion, oral, other, toward, to wardly, associate.* [That is, these words have (o) or (u) short, not long, (oo), nor (o), as some have now, and not (a, o), as in the next rule.]

III. Short o is pronounced as "a short quick German a, not as M. Ludwig thinks from the palate, but from the throat, like German a, but short and quick" [properly (a), meant for (A) or (o)].
1. on an, ox achs, etc., except onber, ombre, and only.
2. in con-, com-, cora, etc., except when com- is followed by b or f, as in comb*, combine*, confit, comfort, etc., and also in compact*, company, compass, compassion*, compatible*, compendious*, compile*, complexion*, comply*, compleat*, compliance*, etc., in which o is an obscure u (o) [the *words have now (o)]. In other words short a is used, as competent* kamptent, complement, comprehend, etc. Conduit kundit (ko ndit).
2. [Rules for o before two consonants as (a, o) except the following when o is a short u (o), borough, brother, chronicle*, colony*, colour, columbine*, cony, coral*, covenant, cow, dozen, floris*, govern, hony, mony, mother, plover, ston, stoner, [the * words have now (o)] woman "in which o is not so obscurely uttered as in the others," except women wimmen. 5. [Much is passed over as of no interest, hence the numbers of the rules, which are those of the original for convenience of reference, are not always consecutive.] The short u (o) is also heard in afront, amongst, attorney, Monday, monger, mongrel, monkey, pommel [as now].

IV. English o is pronounced as a short obscure u (o).
1. in -dom, -son, see exceptions to I. 1. 3. after w, as wulf [this and woman seem to belong to the same category, but wood is further on said to have short u, so that short u (u) and short obscure u (o) are sometimes confused by Lediard], won, wonder, word, etc., except woof woof, won't wont, worn worn, wont want [often (wont)], wot wat, wobm wuhm.
5. Rather short and obscure in the last syllables of almond, bishop, butlock, etc. 7. In front [some say (front) even now], monk, month, son, spong, songue [F], solk [jolk].
V. English o is a long u or uh (uu), in tomb, womb, whom, and words otherwise excepted.

VI. "Finally English o is pronounced like German e, but very short, obscure and almost bitten off." 1. in -on, including -ion, -or, -ot, as bacon, bikhren or bëck'n, button butt'n, lesson less'n, anchor ank'r, senator senat'r, faggot fagg'it. 2. in the terminations -tron, -fron, -pron, -tron, in which ro is pronounced as er, but rather quick and obscure, as chaldron shald'ern [(ta sherd)l?]. saffron safférrn [(swi errn] apron àpern, citron* sittern, patron* pattern [no longer usual in the *words].

The o is almost mute in damosel damseld, fauleoner fahkner, ordonnance ordnanzs, paysonous, prisoner, reasoning, reckoning, rhetorie, seasonable; and one, once, are wun, wuns (won, wens).

Rule (a). Long U is pronounced iu (id) after b, c, f, g, h, j, m, p, s, but su may sometimes be suh.
Rule (b). Long U is a long German u or uh (uu) after d, l, n, r, t. In gradual, valuable, annual, mutual, u may be either in or uh.

I. Long English u is pronounced as in, o, or uh (uu) according to accent. 1. according to rule (a), as in abuse abjuh, huge hiuhdsch, June Dschihuohn, as uh in seduce seducks, exclude, minute minuht, rude, Brute, conclude, obtrude. 2. as in or rather juh (sju) in the beginning of words, as union juhnion. 3. except duet, punish, punice, study, tuly [?] short and like obscure o (o), in busy bissi, bury berri.

II. English short u has an obscure sound between German u short, and o short (a) [in the usual places, I only mark a few]. 2. in bulk, bumbast; except where it is a German short u (u), as in bull, bullet, bullet, bullock, bully, bulrush, bulwark, bush, bushel, butcher, cushion, full, fallage, fuller, fully, pudding, pull, pullet, pully [all as now]. 3. in -um, -us.

III. English short u is very short, obscure, and almost like an obscure e, in -ule, -ure, as glandule, globule, ma cule*, pustule, schedule, spatule, eurule; adventure, benefacture, censure, conjecture, conjure* magically, dispose, failure, future, grandure, incloure, manufacture, nature, perjure*, posture, rapture, scripture, sculpture, tincture, torture, venture, verdure, vesture, etc. [all now with (iu) except the * words occasionally]. Except rule* and the following in -ure, which follow rule
(a.), adjective, adjective, assure, assure, azure, 
conjure, treat, curc, demure, dure, en-
dure, epicure, impure, insure, insure, bare, 
mature, obscure, procure, pure, secure, 
sure\* [all now with (iu) except the * 
words (ruul, shuul)].

[After thus going through the vowels 
by the spelling, he proceeds to describe 
their formation; but as he has scarcely 
done more than translate Wallis, ap-
parently ignorant that Wallis's pro-
nunciation was a century older, I feel 
it useless to cite more than the fol-
lowing remark in an abbreviated form.] "According to Mr. Brightland 
and others, the English express the 
sound of French u by their long u, 
and sometimes by eu and ew. I cannot 
agree with this opinion, for although 
the English perhaps do not give the 
full sound of German u to their long u 
after d, l, t, n, r, t, yet their sound cer-
tainly approaches to this more closely 
than to the French u, which has induced 
me to give the German u as its sound, 
contrary to the opinion of some writers. 
After other consonants English long u is 
(iu) and has nothing in common with 
French u."

Digraphs.

Æ, as ih or iê (ii) in: ara ihra, 
Caeres, Caesar, shhsair, perineum, etc.; 
as e (c) in equinox, equinox, estival, 
eavity, calibrate, quaestor, praemunire, 
etc.; as i short, when unaccented, in 
equator, aquilibrious, aquinoctial, 
aquinal.

AI, "as åh or English long a, with 
a little alettesound of a short å" [is this 
from Wallis, supra p. 124? it is very 
suspicious]. 1. in aid åhd, ail, aim, air, 
etc. 2. in affair affæhr, bail, complain, 
etc. Except as e (c) in again, against, 
waives ot wenskait; as short å (a) in 
railly rilli, raillery riller; as long å 
(ee) in raisins rehism, and as å (ii) in 
chair tabler (tshhïr). As a short e or 
i or a sound between them in the mid-
dle or end of words, especially in -ain, 
as complaisance kamlpsius (kompli-
sa-ns), curtall körtïl (kor-tïl), captain 
käptin, chamberlain tsbamberlin 
(tshæmberlin), fountian, mountain, 
plantain, purslain, villain, etc. Afired 
is erroneously called àfferd (Æffyrd).

AU. I. like åh (AA) in audience, 
vault, etc.; like å (æ) [æxe], marked long 
in aunt åhnt, daughter [øj], dawn dåhnt, 
draught dråfft, jaunt, haunt, jaunt, 
laugh, santer, taunt, vaunt; like short 
a (A, å) in fawcett fasset, sausage sas-
sidsch (so-sidzh). Some call St. Paul's 
Church Pohls Tschortbsch, but it is 
a pure corruption of pronunciation 
among the vulgar [but see supra p. 
206]. II. unaccented, like short Ger-
man a, as causality kasâlliti.

AW as AU, but Lawrence is Larrens. 
AY as AI, in Sunday, Monday, etc., 
the ay is very short, almost like a short 
e or i, as also in holy-day hallide 
(ho-lide.)

EA. I. The commonest pronunciation 
of ea is that of German ië or ie 
(ii), when long and accented, as appeal, 
appease, bead, bequeath, cheap, conceal, 
dear, decease, eat, entreat, feast, feaver, 
grease, hear, heav, impeach, leaf, league, 
mead, meaweals, near, pea, peace, quai-
ness, reap, reason, sea, season, teach, 
treason, veal, wear, weak, weapon*, 
yea*, year, zeal, etc. [see supra p. 88, 
observe the * words.] "Most gram-
mars err greatly in the pronunciation 
of this diphthong, but rather where 
this first rule applies, than where, in 
the opinion of some, ea should be pro-
nounced êh (ee). Perhaps, as Mr. 
Brightland observes, this, with an after-
sound of English a, was the old natural 
nunciation. I know also that at 
the present day ea is so pronounced in 
the north of England. For the usual 
pure pronunciation of English, how-
ever, it is a vitium... How Herr 
König, ... who had been established 
for many years as a teacher of languages 
in London, could have missed it, I 
cannot understand." Except in fear, 
beard*, break, eart*, early*, great, 
pear, steaks, swear, wear, which are 
pronounced with long e (ee). [Observe 
the * words.] II. Short, or unaccented, 
like short German e (e), as, already, 
bread, cleanse, dead, endeavour, feather, 
head, lead, leather, lineage [?], meadow, 
pleasure, potsheard, realm, sergeant, 
steady, tread, treasure, wealth, weather. 
III. But if short ea is followed by r, it 
is called å (a), as earn* årn, wrongly 
pronounced jern (jorn) by some, earnest*, 
earth*, hearken, heart, hearth, learn*, 
pearl*, etc. [Observe the * words.] 

EAU, is juh (ruu) in beauty buhti, 
etc., but beau is boh (boo). 

EE, generally long, as, ih, ie (ii), as 
in bleed blith, etc.; short or unaccented 
as short t (t) in been* bin, creek* 
krick, breech, sreevech* ouv skritsch-aul, sleek*, 
three-pace, coffee, committee*, congee*, 
elemsinarian, floce, love*, pedigree*,
Pharisee*, raree-show, Saducee*; [Observe the * words, here and in future.]

EI, 1. as ih or i (ii) in conceit, conceive, deceit, deceive, inwight* inivgel, leisure*, perceive, recite, seize [observe * words]; 2. as eh (ce), or as some say ah (ce) in eight, siege, freight, heinous, heir, inwight, neigh, neighbour, reign, rein, straight, straighten, their, weigh, weight.

3. as ei (ai) inilet-hole, height, slight, slighted. 4. as short e (e) in either, edder, neither neither, foreign farren, peeress.

5. as short i (i) in counterfeit, forfeit, surnait, seignior.

EO (e) in Geoffrey Dschefri, jeopardy, leopard, (ii) in people, (AA) in George Dschahrensd, yeoman jemman or jie-man (jemman, jie-man).

EU, EW, as long U, namely (uu) or (uu) according to preceding consonant, but in chew*, sec, sheu, sewor, by some as oh (oo).

YE, accorded as (ee) in convey, grey, obey, prey, purvey, survey, they, whey; as (ai) in eylet-hole, key-day*; and as (ii) in key: unacquainted as (i) in abbey, abbi, etc.

EYE, as (ai) in eye.

IE. 1. as (ai) in erie, die, dric, fie, flie, tie, pie, tie, trie, vie, etc.; eris, etc.; to allie, certifie, defie, demie, etc.; II. as (ii) in aggrieve, atchieve, believe, chiefly, chiefed, field, grief, griev, liege, mischievous (mistshii-vas), piece, relieve, shrice, thiefe, thieves, wieldy, yield, longer in the verbs in -iere, than in the substantives in -ie. As short (i) in mischief, orgies, friend*. Hauckker-chief hankrcher. III. as short (i) in armente, boife, etc., better written with -y.

IEU, only in foreign words, as (uu) in lieu, adieu, as (ii) in monsieur*, and as (if) in lieutenant*.

IEW also as (iu), as in view viu.

OA as (oo) in abroach, etc.; as AA in broad, abroad, groat graht; as (aee) in goal, goaler, which [according to Lediard, p. 94, n. 55] is the right spelling, not goal; as (a) short, in oatmeal* attmihl, and as (a) in cupboard coochet.

OE, initial as (ii), as oceonomy; final as (oo), as crowe [a crow-bar], doe, foe, foe, sloe, toe, voo; as (uu) in canoe, to toe [to coo], shoe, to voo [to woo].

OF, OY, "are pronounced as aey [possibly (a+ai), meaning (ai)] in one sound," as avoid, boisterous, choice, cloister, exploit, moist, noise, oyster, poise, rejoice, soil; boy, bacy, coy, destroy, employ, hoby [haubois], joy, toy, Troy, etc. Except as ei (ai) in anoint anointed, appoint appente, boil beil, broil breil, coif keil, coin by some kucin (kwaic), embrai, foil, hoist, join, joint, joiner, jouister, joist, loin, loiter, point, poison, rejoinder, spoil, toilet by some tuelet (twai-let).

OO never at end of a word except too; long as (uu) in aloof, galoon, patacoon, etc.; as (oo) in door, floor, moor moor; short as (u) in book, brook, foot, forsooth, good, etc. [as now]; as short o (a) in blood, flood sometimes written bload, fload. Swoon ssanu [(saun), or (swan)] which is common now] and its derivatives.

OU. I. long and accented as German aun (au), in about, doughty, drought*, plough, a wound*, etc. Except as o or oh (oo) in although, boulter, boul, controld, course, court, courtier, discoures, dough, four, fourth, joll*, jowl, mould, mow, mount, multier, poulter, poultice, poulty, to pour, scource, shoulder, slough* a bog, for slow, not quick, has a w, soul, soul'd, though; and as long o or ah (aa) in fourty, fourteenth, cough, trough, bought, brought, nought, ought, sought, thought, wrought; and as long u or uh (uu) in to accenture, bough*, cartouch, could, gauge, groupe, rendezvous, should, sould, through, would, you, your, youth. It is now customary to write coud'd, shoud'd, woul'd and pronounce as cood, shood, and wood with the short accent. Coup, scoup, soup, troup are now written with oo.

II. as an obscure u or midlleton between o and u (a), 1. in adjourn, bloud blood, country, couple, courage, double, enough, froun flood, flourish, journey, nourish, rough, scoure, tough, trouble, young. 2. In -our, -ous as armour, behaviour, behâviour, courteous curtius, dubious dubbius, etc.; except devoyr divaur, hour aur, flour faur, our aur, and diflour diflohr, four fohr, pour pohr. 3. In -mouth as in Dartmouth, etc. In borough, concourse as short o.

OW. 1. as au (au) in advow, bow bend, rovel, etc. [as now], except as (oo) in bow arcus, bowl a cup, jowl, shower fone who shews?, meaning not given, and others as now]. II. as short (o) in arrow, galower [written (ge-lau)], under A. II. 2. the rest as now. Knowledge hnaleds, acknowledge achnalledsch.

OWE, now generally ou.

UE at end of words, as long U.

UI as (iu) in cuirass, kiurâs, juice,
pursuit, suit siuht, suitor siutor, etc., 
"although these last three may be just 
as correctly pronounced pursuit, suit, 
suitor," [that is (sui) as well as (su)]
; as (uu) in brusie, bruit bruht, cruise, 
fruit, recruit rekuht; as short (i) in 
build bild, circuit sörkt, conduit kundit, 
verjuice verschis.

OUY is pronounced by some aey (ai) 
and by others incorrectly ey (ai),
only found in buoy.
UY as (ai) in buy, etc.
YE, used to be written for ie in dye, 
yse, etc.

Consonants.
[Of the consonants it is not necessary 
to give so full an account, but a few 
words may be noted.]

C. Verdict verdit, indiät indiät, 
victuals vittels. Ancient änschi-ent, 
species spieschi-es, ocean osche-an. 
Victous visschi-us, physician phisschien, 
sufficient suffesschi-ent, precious 
preesschi-us, but society sosseetie.
Scene ssien, scepter scepter, but skeleton 
sskeleton, sceptick sskepckt. Draehm 
dräam, yahv† jät (mät). Schism ssissm.
D. Almond amon, handsome hänsen, 
friendship fremischip, ribbon ribbân, 
wordly [worldy?] worlli, hand-maid hännahld, 
Wednesday Wendsiäh. Come and see kuän sih, go and fetch goän 
fetsch, stay and try stäh an trey, etc.
F. In houswife, sherriff, f is soft like 
v, and in of the f is omitted, and o is 
pronounced as a very rapid a (ə).

Gemini deschemini.

G = (g) in gibbous, heterogeneous, 
homegeneous. GH initial (g), final, or 
followed by i is not pronounced, ex- 
cept in cough, enough, rough, tough, 
traugh, draught, where it is ff (f), 
and sigh*, drough*, height*, where it 
is th. Apothegm äppothem, phlegm* 
flhm (flihm). Initial q before n sounds 
as an aspiration or h, not like a hard 
g, as gnash not gnäsch, gnat* 
hnät not gnät, gnaw* hnäh not gnah,
gnoman, gnostick. See under K. G is 
hard (g) in impugn, oppugn, repugn.
In bagnio, seignior, gn retains the sound 
of Spanish ñ, Italian gn (nj).

H is not pronounced in heir, honest, 
honor, hospital, hostler, hostile, hour, 
humble, humour, Humphrey and 
derivatives, but is pronounced by some in 
hereditary; herb is called erb by some, 
and hyerb in one sound, (yherb?) by 
others. H is also not pronounced in 
John, Ah, Shiloh, Sirrah, etc.

K before n at the beginning of a 
word is only aspirated, and spoken as 
an h; as knack hnäck, knave hnavè, 
knife knief, knee hnie, knot, know, 
kumycle, etc. "M. Ludwick says that 
k before n is called ʃ; Arnold and 
others declare that it is pronounced d. 
But any one experienced in English 
pronunciation must own, that only a 
pure gentle aspiration is observable, 
and by- no means so hard and unplea- 
sant a sound as must arise from pre- 
fixing d or t to n." Did he mean 
(nnhii) for kne? Compare Cooper, 
supra p. 208 and p. 544, n. 2.

L is not pronounced in calf, half, 
balk, tawk, walk, folk, balm, calm, calve, 
to halve, etc., almond, chaldiron, falcon, 
falconer, falechion*, malkin*, salmon, 
salvege*, soldier, halfpenny-worth háh-
poth (nheepoth). In could, should, 
would, l is heard only in sustained 
pronunciation.

N is not pronounced in -mu, in kil(n), 
in tene(n)pt, gover(n)ment.

PH is p in phlebotomy*, diphthong, 
triphthong, and v in nephew, phial viahl, 
Stephen. Phantasm, phantastick, phan-
tasy, are now written with f.

QU is k in banquet*, conquer, con-
queror, liquor, equipage*, exchequer, 
masquerade, mauret masket, paraquete, 
piquet, piquant, and a few others. C 
is now written in quot, quines coines, 
quoit, quintal, but que remains in cinque, 
opaque, oblique.

R agrees entirely with German r, 
extcept that it is not heard in marsh, 
marshy, harsets haslets; nor in the 
first syllable of parlour, partridge, RII 
in rhapsody, rhetorick, rhime, rhomb, 
rhume, etc., is pronounced as r.

S is hard = (s) in design, resign, cisar, 
desolate, lysard [lizard], rosiss, pleasant, 
visit [this is according to a rule, cer-
tainly not now observed, that s after 
a short accented vowel or diphthong is 
doubled in pronunciation]. S is hard = 
(s) in dis-arm, trans-act, vis-dom. In 
isländ, viscount, s is mute and i = (ai).
S is hissed, almost like German sch (sh) 
in sue, suet, suit, sugar, sure, and 
compounds, but some say ssu (siu) and 
others ssuh (suu); and in nasoate, 
nasus, Asia, Silesian, enthusiasm*, 
enthusiast*, effusion, occasion, hosier, 
rosier, and their derivatives *Astiatick, 
etc.; also in Persia, transient, mansiön, 
Russia, passion. "After a shortly ac-
cented vowel or diphthong the reduplica-
tion of sch must be observed, especially 
in the termination sion, as in decision,
provision." [Did he say (dis'i'shan) and not (dis'i'shan)?] T is sounded (sh) in patience, portion, etc., but (t) in fustion, mixtion, etc., and as (th) in righteous reitschus, courteous, bounteous, covetous kovatschus, virtuous vortschus, etc., and is not pronounced in facts faks, neglects and similar -ets, nor in -sten, -sten, -ste, as often ahf'n, soften sah'n, hasten hähss'n, listen, castle kass'l, pestle, whistle, bustle, etc., and also in malster, mortgage. [There is no mention of -tare, -dure = (tsher, dzer), but the inference from the u rules is that they were called (-tar, -dor), and this is confirmed by gesture gerscher, ordure ahdur, pasture pastur, partur centur, given below, p. 1049, in the words of the same sound, etc.]

TH in "rapid speech" is pronounced as d or dd in apothecary", [t not d below] burthen, fathom", fother, murther, pothor. Th is "for euphony" pronounced t in fifth*, sixth*, twelfth*. Th is (th) in with. Th is (dh) in than, that, tho' through, etc. [that is, (theo), as in Scotch, was unknown to him.] Th is (t) in Thames, Thanet*, Theobald*, Thomas, Thomsen, etc., in thill, thiller, [till, teller?], thyme, and, "according to some," in anthem*, apothecary*, [see th as (d) above], authority*, authorize* [not author*].

"V, in English called ju consonant, is not merely much softer than f, but also than the German v, but not so soft as the English or German w, and is therefore better to be explained as French v. German beginners in French find some difficulty with this French v. All German grammars which I have seen express English w by German ve, without indicating any distinction. But I find a sensible difference, namely, that the English w is not so hard, so that I am able to regard German ve as a middle sound between English v and w, and hence, in order to indicate the sound of German ve to an Englishman, I would express it in English by ve, and I am certain that he would hit it off better than if I were to write a simple w. Pronounce p and allow the breath to escape from the mouth, and you have f, ph or Greek φ. Pronounce b, and allow the breath to escape through a horizontal slit or split, and you form v. The difference between German and English v consists in the greater compression of the breath, and its passage through a narrower opening for the German sound, which makes it harder, so that it approaches f more nearly." [He really heard the same sound for German v as for f.] "On the contrary, the English in pronouncing their v give the breath greater freedom and compress it less, on allowing it to escape. The Spaniards make such a little difference between their b and v in speaking, that they often use them promiscuously in writing. This sound was unknown in Greek, where φ most nearly approaches it. The English w is made by allowing the breath to escape by a round hole. The German ve seems to be a medium between English v and w, the air escaping through a rounder hole than for English v, and a flatter hole than for English w." [See the descriptions of (w, bh, v) supra p. 513, note 2. I have quoted this passage at length from pp. 149 and 156 of Lediar, because his observations were made at Hamburg, and Lepsius and Brücke ascribe the sound of (v) instead of (bh) to North German ve. This careful distinction shews that (bh) was certainly heard in Hamburg in 1725.]

W is not pronounced in answer änser, awkward* ahkord, huswife housewife bussiv, sweltry sultrui, swoon* sasam, sword ssohrd, "but in swear, sworn, sworn, some consider it to be distinctly spoken."

In WH the w is "little or scarcely heard, as in wreck, wrench, wrist, wrong, wrong, in which I can only find a soft aspiration (eine sehr gelinde aspiration) before r, so that w must not be pronounced, as Herr Ludwig thinks, like w in the Germ. Wrangol" (bhra'qul).

"WH is pronounced as huw, or rather as German hu, but so that the u rapidly yields to the sound of the following vowel, as what huht, when huen, which huidsch? [w], who huuh? [w], why huyeh." Except whole, wholesome, where, in which w is not pronounced.

X is ksch (ksk) in complexion kumplekschion, anxious anskschius? [ä], etc. "X as a consonant at the beginning of a word, or syllable, sounds as German jota. but somewhat softer, and not so guttural as it is heard from some Germans especially in Saxony, but almost like a short German i when it is rapidly pronounced as a separate syllable, as yard, yes, you, jërd, jes, yuh, or better
i-ar'd, i-es, i-uh, with a very rapid and scarcely perceptible 'i' [that is (3) and not (zh)].

Z is a soft (gelindes) sch [that is (zh)] in brazier, glazier, grazier, ozier.

Accent.

[As some 50 pages are devoted to accent, I shall note all those words in which any peculiarity is observable. He distinguishes a long accent which he marks å with the grave, but as in a note he says that others use the circumflex å, employing the grave for his å acute or short accent, I shall for convenience use å for his long, and å for his short accent. I do not consider it necessary to give his rules. I merely cite the words.]


Dëbônàïr, rônàmance, lèvant, bômbàrd, usqueâbâugh, ôctâve, çocêñêal, humêct, âpôgie, rûpêriè, întûre, tûrmôil, mêmôirs, çâmôïs, ràgôo, sçrutôre, tam-Îôur, capûch, çàdûkê, rîdîcie, îm-Ìôrtûnë, nôctûrn. Aûvôtë, gûntète, lagète, etc.

Stûpefàctic, bêfnêctôr, pômànder, légîslâtour, nômënlâture, utënsîl, cîmîrê, dômêstîcy, cîlànûdîne, mûchêto, dôctîral, âgrîcultûre, bítûmë.

Phâlîëctêry, amphiûthêtôr, cêlêbriôus, cêlêbritêt, çomêdiàn, acá démiàn, sôlêm-ûial, suûpêndûns, homôgênaë, homô-ûgenûs, hûmyêÌal, dysûntêry, màjû-ûstatête, lôn-gëvity, llûbidînius, fastîdïous, çonçûspïçêblô, çhîrûrgeôn, çhûrûrignë, épîcûriûn.

Vesîcatôry, mûdîfîçëblô. Pòrppûtîtôry, suûpêrêrogàtûry, mûnoçyâblë, rûféréndûry, spûrituûlize. Âonçëiôn-ûblënsë, pûllàìûlary.

Conjûrè conjûre, àugust n. àugûst a., âbût n. âbût, çêmënt n., çônsèrv n., çônsûlt n., çônvoç n. çônvôy v., çêssày n. çêssày v., çrôqûïent a. çrôqûïent v., mûnûre n. mûnûre v., ôvèrnàtch n. ôvèrnàtch
As Lediant agrees so much with the Expert Orthographist in respect to EA, it is interesting to compare the two following extracts, one only 1 year later, and the other about 30 years later. These diversities of opinion and experience are most instructive in shewing, first the overlapping of pronunciations, and secondly the ignorance of orthoepists as to varieties of pronunciation, or their habit of simply discrediting as "vulgar" or "faulty" all pronunciations with which they are themselves not familiar.


T. What is the proper sound of the diphthong ea?

L. Ea has the sound of a long, in bear, pear, near, swear, wear, etc. [that is, as in mate, pate, etc.]

2d. A short in earl, heart, learn, pearl, search [that is, as in mat, mart, cart].

3d. Ea has the sound of e long in appear, dream, read, sea, seem, speak, veal, [Bailey has not mentioned what the sound of e long is, but as he says e is sounded like ee in certain words, he, me, we, here, these, even, besom, Ely, Eee, fealty, Peter, we must presume he means (ee), and not (i)]; but some of this last kind have the a changed with the e final as compleat [complete], supreme [supreme; this confirms the view just taken, compare also 6th.]
4th. *Ea* has the sound of *e* short in *brest*, etc.

5th. *Ea* has sometimes the sound of *ee* in *beam*, *dear*, *hear*, *steal*, *year*. [This is therefore the exceptional, not the general pronunciation, compare 3rd.]

II. From a "Narrative of the Journey of an Irish Gentleman through England in the year 1752, p. 156. Privately printed for Mr. Hy. Huth, 1869." Mr. Furnivall, who kindly furnished me with this extract, remarks that the Additional MS. 27951 in the British Museum is probably by the same writer, and gives an account of his visits to England in 1758, 1761, and 1772. "By listening to her conversation [that of a lady passenger, in whom "the court lady reigned in every action"], I gained a better taste for the polite world, excepting one point in pronunciation, to wit, that of calling *A* *E*, and saying *EE* for *E*; but this was a thing I could not readily reconcile myself to, for I remember when I first went to school my mistress made me begin with my great *A*. Whether it was that the letter was bigger in dimensions than its brother vowel *E* that follows it, I cannot tell; but I am very certain she never made me say *E*. I was so very defective, or [failed] by too blunt a clipping, that my fair tutoress said she was afraid I would never make any hand on't. She assured me she was not above eight or ten months arriving at that perfection, which I am sure would cost me my whole life without making half the progress."

Buchanan has already been frequently referred to. He was much ridiculed by Kenrick, 1 who is particularly severe on his Scottishisms, and very unnecessarily abuses his method of indicating sounds. Kenrick himself is not too distinct; but as he does not trust entirely to key-words, and endeavours to indicate sounds by a reference to other languages,—the sounds of which he probably appreciated very indifferently,—it will be best to give extracts from his explanations of the vowels. The conjectured values are inserted in palaetype, and some passing observations are bracketed. Among these remarks are introduced a few quotations from Granville Sharp. 2

**Dr. Kenrick's Vowel System, 1773.**

1. *cur* sir her monk blood earth = (o) 14. meet meat deceit ... ... = (ii)
2. *town* noun how bough ... = (au) 15. fit yes busy women English guilt ... ... = (i)
3. *bull* wool wolf push ... ... = (u) 16. why nigh I buy join lyre hire = (ai)
4. *pool* groupe troop ... ... = (uu) Add to the above the indistinct sound, marked with a cypher thus [o], as practised in the colloquial utterance of the particles *a* and *the*, the last syllables of the words ending in *en*, *le* and *ve*; as *a* *garden*, *the* *castle*, etc., also in the syllable frequently sunk in the middle of words of three syllables, as *every*, *memory*, *favourite*, etc., which are in

5. call hawl caul soft oft George 1 *William Kenrick, LL.D.* A New Dictionary of the English Language; containing not only the *Explanation of Words*, with their *Orthography*, *Etymology*, and *Idiomatical Use* in Writing; but likewise their *Orthoepia* or Pronunciation in *Sæcuc*, according to the present Practice of polished Speakers in the Metropolis, which is rendered

obvious at sight in a manner perfectly simple and principally new. Lond. 1773. 4to.

6. *cloth* ... ... ... = (aa) 2 *An English Alphabet for the use of Foreigners*, wherein the pronunciation of the Vowels or Voice-letters is explained in Twelve Short general Rules with their several Exceptions. 1786. 8vo. pp. 76.
versification sometimes formally omitted in writing, by the mark of elision.

Under one or other of the numbers composing the above table, are comprehended all the species of distinct articulate sounds contained in the English language. Not that they differ altogether equally in quality; several differing only in time. There are no more than eleven distinct vowel sounds of different qualities in English; ten of the numbers specified in the table being expressed by the long and short modes of uttering our five vowels; as exemplified in the following words:

A. \( \text{bar'd} \) [bar'd]
E. \( \text{met} \) [mæt]
I. \( \text{hit} \) [hɪt]
O. \( \text{not} \) [nɔʊt]
U. \( \text{pull} \) [pʊl]

The other six sounds are either always short as \( u \) in \( eur \), or always long as \( o \) in \( note \), or double as \( i \) or \( y \) in \( lyre \); \( u \) in \( lure \); \( ow \) in \( town \) and \( oi \) in \( joy \); most of which long sounds seem to partake of two qualities, not so equally blended in them all, as to pass without our perceiving the ingredients of the compound. Thus \( I \) or \( Y \) appear to be a commixture of the long \( e \) [previously defined as \( a \) in \( mate \)] and short \( i \) [in \( hit \)]; \( U \) of the long \( o \) [\( a \) in \( mate \)] and short \( u \) [in \( pull \)]; \( O W \) of the short \( o \) [in \( not \)] and long \( u \) [in \( pool \)]; and \( O \) most palpably of the short \( o \) [in \( not \)] and \( i \) [in \( hit \)].

[Dr. Kenrick's appreciation of diphthongs was evidently very inexact. See numbers 2, 6, 9, 16, in the following explanatory remarks on the vowels in preceding table.]

1. \( \text{U in } eur. \) It is always short, and bears a near, if not exact, resemblance to the sound of the French \( eur, cœur, \) if it were contracted in point of time. \( \text{It is not to be supposed that the sound was exactly the French (a) or (s). It is more probable that Kenrick pronounced the French sounds as (a) or (s). \text{G. Sharp says: } "O has the sound of a short } u \text{ in } af-front, etc. \text{ (In the dialects of Lancashire and some other places the } o \text{ is pronounced according to rule in many of these words) } \ldots \text{ ov-er } \ldots \text{ etc., and their compounds, etc., except } dis-ov-er, \text{ re-ov-er, which are pronounced according to rule. } \ldots \text{ One is pronounced as if spelt } won." \]

2. \( \text{OW in } town. \) The long and broad \( ow, ou, \) and \( u \), as in \( town, noun, cucumber \) [the old sound of this word remaining, notwithstanding the change of spelling. Sharp also says: "U is like the English ou in the first syllable of } cu-cumber," p. 13.] This sound greatly resembles the barking of a full-mouthed mastiff, and is perhaps so clearly and distinctly pronounced by no nation as by the English and the Low Dutch. The nicer distinguishers in the qualities of vocal sounds consider it as a compound; but it has sufficient unity, when properly pronounced, to be uttered with a single impulse of the voice, and to pass for a distinct sound or syllable, I consider it only as such.

3. \( \text{U in bull. } \) The French have this sound in \( fol, sol, trou, clo\]u; the Italians I think everywhere in their \( u. \)

4. \( \text{OO in pool. } \) Nearly as the sound of \( douze, epoue, pove, rouc, doux, \) and the plurals, \( sola, sols, \) do from \( sol, fol, trou, etc. \) [The difference between 3 and 4 is only meant to be one of length. The French generally recognize the lengthening of the vowel as the mark of the plural. G. Sharp says: "OO is not pronounced so full, but partakes a little of the sound of a short } u \text{ in } blood, \text{ flood, foot, good, hood, stood, soot, wood and wool. } OO \text{ has the sound of } o \text{ long in } door \text{ and } floor. \text{ Door and floor are pronounced by the vulgar in the Northern parts of England as they are spelt, for they give the } oor, \text{ in these words, the same sound that it has in } boor, \text{ moor, poor,} \) and \( "O \text{ is sounded like } oo \text{ in } tomb \text{ and } womb, \) \text{ (wherein } o \text{ is silent,) } lo-ser, \text{ gold, whom, and whose. In the northern parts of England the words gold, who, whom, and whose, are pronounced properly as they are spelt."

5 and 7. \( \text{A in call and O in not. } \) This sound is common in many languages, although the distinction of long and short is preserved in few or none but the English. The French have it exactly in the words \( ame, pas, las, \) etc. \text{ [This is a distinct recognition of the English habit of pronouncing French. See Sir William Jones's phonetic French, supra p. 835. But it does not follow that the French said anything broader than (a). Mr. Murray, a native of Hawick, informed me that when he and a friend first studied my Essentials of Phonetics, they were exceedingly puzzled with the distinction I drew between (a) and (AA). They could find no distinction}
at all, and thought it must be fancy on my part. Mr. Murray now recognizes that he then pronounced (aa) in place of both sounds. Compare Prof. Blackie's confusion of (aa, AA), supra p. 69, n. 3. G. Sharp calls the French a the "English diphthong aw," and says that a "has a medium sound between aw and the English a, in fa-ther, and the last syllable of pa-pa, man-ma, and also in han't (for have not), mais-ter and plas-ter; and is like aw in hal-ser (wherein l is mute), false and pal-sy. A has the sound of aw likewise before i and it, as in bald, cal-dron, al-tar, etc., in all primitive monosyllables ending in il (except shall and mall, which are pronounced according to rule), as in all, gall, fall, etc., and before lk (wherein k is mute), as bark, stalk, walk, talk, etc., but before if, ln, tev, and before nd in words derived from the Latin word mando, it is sounded like the Italian a, only somewhat shorter, as in half, calm, safe, command, demand, etc." Here "English a" seems to mean (ee) and (aa) to be considered intermediate between (ee) and (AA)."

6. [EW in new.] This sound, variously denoted in letters, by u, eu,ue, ew, and even eau, as in duty, seed, true, new, beauty, when slowly uttered, is evidently a compound of the long i [ea in heat] and short u [u in pull]; but when pronounced sharp and quick with a single effort of the voice, is no longer a diphthong, but a sufficiently single and uniform syllable; whose quality is distinctly heard in the words above mentioned; as also in the French words du, une, unir, prun, eu (yy). [Now here we observe first that the analysis of the diphthongal sound is (iu), instead of (eu), as before, supra p. 1051 c. 1, and secondly that the recognition of French u does not perhaps imply more than that the diphthong became extremely close (that is, both the elements and the connecting glide very short), and that Dr. Kenrick did not know any better way of pronouncing French u. That Dr. Kenrick generally recognized a close and open pronunciation of the diphthongs is evident from his remarks on 2 and 16. Still the cropping up of the French u a century after Wallis had apparently noted it for the last time, is curious and interesting. I have myself heard it spo-radically, not reckoning provincialisms.]

8. [O in no.] The French have it in Dôme, os, repos, faune, maux, fauls. [This indicates a long (oo).]

9. [OY in joy.] This sound approaches the nearest to a practical diphthong of any in our language . . . A vicious custom prevails, in common conversation, of sinking the first broad sound entirely, or rather of converting both into the sound of i or y, No. 16; thus oil, oil, are frequently pronounced exactly like isle, itie. This is a fault which the Poets are inexcusable for promoting, by making such words rhyme to each other. And yet there are some words so written, which, by long use, have almost lost their true sound. Such are boil, join, and many others; which it would now appear affectation to pronounce otherwise than bile, jine. [This is important in reference to rhymes.]

10, 11. [A in hard and and.] The French have it short in alla, race, fuisse; long in abattre, grace, age, etc. The Italians have it long in padre, madre, and short in ma, la, allegro, etc. It is somewhat surprising that men of letters, and some of them even residing in the Metropolis, should mistake the simple and genuine application of this sound. "The native sound of A," says Dr. Bayly, "is broad, deep and long, as in all, aw, war, daub; but it hath generally a mixed sound, as in man, Bath, Mary, fair, which are sounded as if written maen, baeth, etc." But who, except flirting females and affected fops, pronounce man and Bath as if they were written maen, baeth, or like Mary, fair, etc. [Dr. Kenrick would seem therefore to have really pronounced (a) and not (ae), considering the latter sound as effeminate. It is curious to see Gill's Mapseyes and Smith's malerie art and urbanisms loguentes (supra p. 90) cropping up as Kenrick's 'flirting females and affected fops.' In all ages refinement has apparently led to the same mincing, that is, closer form of vowel sounds, with the tongue more raised, or brought more forward. G. Sharp ought to agree with Kenrick, when he says: "A has a short articulation of the English aw, or rather of the Italian a, as in add, bad, lad, mad," for this seems to preclude (ae). He also says that e is like short a in yellow, known yet, but only as vulgarism.]

12, 13. [AY in bay and E in met.] The short sound is nearly or quite the
same as the French give to their e in the words elle, net, poët, etc. At the same time it is observable they give it to the combinations et and ai and oï, as in pleine, plaine, disoit. The French extend it also nearly as much as the English long sound in the words nês, des, elês, parler, fondés, amat, dirai, etc. . . . . The protracted or long sound of the short e as in met, let, etc., is in fact the slender sound of the a. [This confuses the close and open sounds, and renders it probable that Kenrick pronounced (ee, e), and not (ee, e).] Break is generally sounded like brake, make, take, but few, except the natives of Ireland or the provinces, say ate, spake; but eat, speak, agreeably to No. 14. [Here we have a recognition of the (ee) sound of ea still remaining, and of the occasional (ii) sound of ea in break, supra p. 89. G. Sharp says that "a as like the French ai in dû-gel, bass, cum-brick, Cim-bridge, dûn-gore, and mond-gor;" that are is spoken "as if spelt air," and that in a-ny, ma-ny, a "sounds like a short e or foreign e."]

14. [EE in meet. This was clearly
(ii).]

15. [I in fit.] A contraction of the long sound of e or ee in me or meet. This is plain by repeating the words fit and foot, pit and peat, mit and meet; in which the similarity of sound is very perceptible. [This ought to give (i) and not (i), yet there is very little doubt that (i) was said, and the distinction not recognized. G. Sharp says that e is like i short in England, pretty, yes and yet.]

16. [Y in why.] As at present uttered by the best speakers in the metropolis, it is the sharpest, shrillest, and clearest vowel in our language; altho' it has the appearance, when slowly pronounced, of being a compound of the a or e and i. I do not know that any other language has it equally clear, single and distinct. I have elsewhere observed that our Scottish linguists say it has the sound usually denoted by awëe, but the error of this is obvious to every Englishman. The French however come near it in the interjection ahi! which they pronounce quickly as one syllable, without the nasal twang that attends the words fin, vin, and some others, bearing a near resemblance. [Kenrick is very peculiar about his diphthongs. Many Englishmen, however, as we have seen in the case of Smith (p. 112) and Gill (p. 114), considered long i as a single sound. Kenrick's admissions point to (ai), rather than (ei) as his diphthong. G. Sharp is very peculiar, and would seem to have two pronunciations, possibly (ei, ai), or thereabouts, as in the present Scotch-English; he says: "There are two ways of sounding the long i and y (though both long), the one a little different from the other, and requiring a little extension of the mouth, as may be seen by comparing the following words, viz. I and aye, high and high-ho, by't (for by it) and bite, sigh'd and side, strive and strife, etc., but this difference, being so nice, is not to be attained but by much practice, neither is it very material. . . . I is English, or long, like the Greek ei, or something like the French i before n in prince."]

It did not enter into the scheme of either Buchanan or Kenrick to give specimens of pronunciation in a connected form, but an example of their two systems of pronunciation is furnished by the following transcription of the passage from As you Like it, which was given in Shakspere's conjectured pronunciation on p. 986, and is here rendered according to the best interpretations I can effect of the symbolized pronunciation of each separate word in Buchanan's Vocabulary and Kenrick's Dictionary.

**Buchanan, 1766.**

: Aal dhii wörd -z æ steedzh
Æнд æal dhii men ænd wim'în
miir'li pleë'ivr.
Dhee hæv dheer ek-sïts ænd
dheer en'trïñsez,

**Kenrick, 1773.**

: Aal dhii wörd-z ee steedzh
And æal dhii men and wim'en
miir'li pleë'orz:
Dhee hæv dheer eg'zïts ænd
dheer en' transez,
Buchanan.

Ænd wæn mæn ðin niz toim pleez mæn' ð peartæ, Híz ækts biu'iq sev' n eedzh'ez. Æt fôrst dhiu in' fînt Miû'iq ænd piuk'iq ðn niz nars'ez æærmz, Ænd dhen dhiu whoin'iq skuul'boi widh niz sætsh'íl Ænd shoim'iq marr'iq fees, kriip'iq loik sneel ãnvil'iq'î tu skuul. Ænd dhen dhiu lov'îr Soith'iq¹ loik fôrnis widh æ wootful bæl'îd Meed tu niz mis'tris ði-bru. Dhen, æ sould'jîr Ful ðv streendzh oodhz, ænd beeredd laik æ perd, Dzhel'æs ðv on'îr sædn ænd kwik in kwærl'îl Siik'iq dhiu bab'l repiutee'shan Liv'n ðn dhiu ken'onz mouth. Ænd dhen dhiu dhæst'îs ðn feer round bel'î widh guud keep'n laind, Widh oiz siviir' ænd beerd ðv foormil kät, Ful ðf waiiz sâaz ænd mæd'îm ìnstîncez, Ænd soo nîî pleez niz peartæ. Dhiu sikst eedzh shifts Ìn tu dhiu liin ænd slip'îrd pæntælûn', Widh spekt'sklz on nooz, ænd poutsh on soid, Híz juuthful nooz wel seevd, æ wôrdl tuu woid For niz shrqk shaqk, ænd nîz big mæn'li vois, Tørn'iq ægen' tu tshaidl'îsh treb'l, paips Ænd whis'lz ðn niz sound. Læst siim ðv aal, Dheæt endz dhiu streendzh ivent'ful mîst'orî Íz sêk'send tshaidl'îshnes ænd miir abliv'vën, Sanz tiith, sanz oiz, sanz teest, sanz ev'ri thîq.

Kenrick.

And won man ðin niz taim pleez man'î paarts Híz ækts biu'iq sev'n eedzh'ez. At fôrst dhiu in'fant Ìvylîng and pyyk'iq ðn dhiu nars'ez aarmz. And dhen dhiu wain'iq skuul'baì with² niz satsh'el And shain'iq marr'nîq fees, kriip'iq loik sneel ãnvil'iq'îl too³ skuul. And dhen dhiu lov'ør Sai'iq loik fôrñas, with a woor'fîl bal ad Meed too niz mis'tris ai'brau. Dhen ee sool'vør Fuul ðv streendzh oodhz⁴ and biird'ed⁵ laik dhiu paard, Dzhel'æs in hann'ur,⁶ sæd'n ænd kwik in kwaat'el, Siik'iq dhiu bob'l repyytee'shan Liv'n ðn dhiu kan'onz mouth. And dhen dhiu dhæst'îs, ðn feer round bel'î with guud keep'n laind, With aiz seviir' and biird ðv faarm'äl kät, Fuul ðv waiz sâaz ænd mæd'ørn in'stansez; And soo nîî pleez niz paart. Dhiu sikst⁹ eedzh shifts Ìnta dhiu liin ænd slip'îrd pæntælûn, With spek'tak'îlz an nooz and pautsh an said, Híz jyyth'fôl⁶ nooz, wel seevd, ee wôrdl tuu waid Fár nîz shrqk shaqk; ænd nîz big man'li vais, Tørn'iq ægen' toord¹⁰ tshaidl'îsh treb'l, paips And wîs'tîlz¹¹ in nîz saund. Last siim ðv aal, Dhat endz dhiu streendzh ivent'fôl mîst'túri Êz sêk'send tshaidl'îshnes, ænd miir abliv'vën,¹² Sanz tiith, sanz oiz, sanz teest, sanz ev'ri thîq.
Notes on the Preceding Specimens.

1. This is the first sound Buchanan gives, but he adds that (sai'-i) is a better pronunciation.
2. Kenrick says (with) or (with), hence the first must be regarded as the pronunciation he prefers.
3. Kenrick says too or (ta), by the latter possibly meaning (to).
4. Kenrick gives (oath) as the singular, but says nothing of the change of the sound of th in the plural. He notes the change in the plural of youth, but not in those of half, wolf.
5. "(Bird), and sometimes, but I think wrongly (bark)."—Kenrick.
6. Kenrick marks h mute in honest, but not in honour. This is probably the misprint of a Roman II for an italic H.

Kenrick has neglected to mark the pronunciation of this word.
8. Kenrick merely says: "from the adjective," and hence leaves it in doubt whether he said (sikst) or (siksth).
9. The initial (i) is retained, as Kenrick has not marked it mute.
10. Kenrick writes: "To'ward, To'-wards," and adds: "This word is not usually pronounced as one syllable." But then immediately writes "To-wards," which should imply one syllable having the vowel in no.
11. Kenrick writes WH, but as he has nowhere explained what he means by this combination, and as almost all the words beginning with wh are spelled WH, where the H indicates that it is silent, it has been so assumed here.
12. "Or (abliv-ian)."—Kenrick.

Joshua Steele's Vowel System, 1775.

Joshua Steele was an ingenious orthoepist, who, with much success, endeavoured to write down speech in respect to accent, quantity, emphasis, pause and force. It did not enter into his scheme to represent quality, but in the preface to his work he makes the following remarks, already partially quoted (supra p. 980, note 1, col. 1), for the recognition of the French u in English, and worth preserving in their connection.

The complete title of the work is: Prosodia Rationalis; or, an Essay towards Establishing the Melody and Measure of Speech, to be expressed and perpetuated by Peculiar Symbols. The second edition amended and enlarged. 4to. pp. xviii. 243. London, 1779. With dedication to Sir John Pringle, Bart., President of the Royal Society, from Joshua Steele, the author, dated Margaret Street, Cavendish Square, Sept. 25, 1775. It is in the form of remarks on "the musical part of a very curious and ingenious work lately published at Edinburgh, on The Origin and Progress of Language," and correspondence with the author of the same, who is not named, but only called 'his l—p.' A transcription of some of his examples of writing the melody of speech is given in my paper on Accent and Emphasis, art. 20, n. 1, Philol. Trans. 1873-4, p. 129. The following extract is from the preface of Steele's work, pp. viii—xiii.

The puzzling obscurity relative to the melody and measure of speech, which has hitherto existed between modern critics and ancient grammarians, has been chiefly owing to a want of terms and characters, sufficient to distinguish clearly the several properties or accidents belonging to language; such as, accent, emphasis, quantity, pause, and force; instead of which five terms, they have generally made use of two only, accent and quantity, with some loose hints concerning pauses, but without any clear and sufficient rules for their use and admeasurement; so that the definitions required for distinguishing between the expressions of force (or loudness) and emphasis, with their several degrees, were worse than lost; their difference being tacitly felt, though not explained or reduced to rule, was the cause of confounding all the rest.

In like manner, there still exists another defect in literal language of a similar kind; that is, there are in nature, neither more, nor less, than seven vowel sounds, besides diphthongs; for which seven sounds, the principal nations in Europe use only five characters (for the y has, with us, no sound distinct from the i), and this defect throws the orthography and pronunciation of the whole into uncertainty and confusion.
In order to distinguish what are vowels and what are not, let this be the definition of a vowel sound: vide-licet, a simple sound capable of being continued invariably the same for a long time (for example, as long as the breath lasts), without any change of the organs; that is, without any movement of the throat, tongue, lips, or jaws. [Mr. Melville Bell, to whose kindness I am indebted for the knowledge and use of this curious book, apparently had this passage in view when he wrote (Visible Speech, p. 71): "A 'Vowel' is a syllabic sound moulded by a definite and momentarily fixed, or tense, configuration of the free channel of the mouth, and creating no oral sibilation or friction in its emission. A vowel without a 'fixed' configuration loses its syllabic effect, and becomes a 'glide'; and a 'glide' with sibilation or friction in the oral channel becomes a 'consonant.' Consonants, like glides, are merely transitional sounds; but their configurations may be 'held' so as to receive syllabic impulse, in which case a consonant without a vowel has the effect of a syllable. All vowels make syllables." Both definitions miss the distinctive character of vowels, given supra p. 51, and now capable of further discrimination, by Donders's and Merkel's recognition of a constant pitch for each vowel which modifies the timbre of the vowel at other pitches.]

But a diphthong sound is made by blending two vowel sounds, by a very quick pronunciation, into one.

So that to try, according to the foregoing definition, to continue a diphthong sound, the voice most commonly changes immediately from the first vowel sound of which the diphthong is composed, by a small movement in some of the organs, to the sound of the vowel which makes the latter part of the said diphthong, the sound of the first vowel being heard only for one instant. For example, to make this experiment on the English sound of u, as in the word use, which is really a diphthong composed of these two English sounds ee and oo; the voice begins on the sound ee, but instantly dwindles into, and ends in, oo. [Presumably (iu).]

The other English sound of u, as in the words ugly, undone, but and out, is composed of the English sounds au and oo; but they require to be pronounced so extremely short and close together that, in the endeavour to prolong the sound for this experiment, the voice will be in a continual confused struggle between the two component sounds, without making either of them, or any other sound, distinct; so that the true English sound of this diphthong can never be expressed but by the aid of a short energetic aspiration, something like a short cough, which makes it very difficult to our Southern neighbours in Europe. [Here he seems to confuse a diphthong, in which there is a real succession of vowel sounds and a connecting glide (supra p. 51), with the attempt to pronounce two vowels simultaneously. Hence this sound of u should rather be written (a*^u) with the link (*) p. 11, than (au), which is a diphthong into which we have seen that many orthoepists analyse owe, certainly a very different sound from any value ever given to u. Now (a*^u), if we omit the labial character of both vowels, as there is certainly nothing labial in u, gives nearly (e*^o), which can scarcely differ from the sound (a), which lies between them, as may be seen best by the diagrams on p. 14. Hence we must take this sound to be (a), which still exists in very wide use.]

To try the like experiment on the English sound of i or y, as in the first person, and in the words my, by, idly, and fine (both of which letters are the marks of one and the same diphthong sound composed of the English sounds au and ee), the voice begins on the sound au, and immediately changes to ee, on which it continues and ends. [Presumably (ai), as defined also by Sheridan. It is curious that Steele has altogether omitted to notice oy, and hence escaped falling under the necessity of distinguishing by, boy, for example. Possibly he would have written (haii, baai), supra p. 107, l. 4 from bottom of text. He was presumably an Irishman.]

The English sound of e, in the words met, let, men, get, is a diphthong composed of the vocal sounds A and E (being the second and third vowels in the following arrangement), and pronounced very short. [Here again his diphthong is used for a link, and the result seems meant for (a*^e), and although this should give (ah), it is possible he meant (e), see diagrams p. 14. He does not seem to have been
aware of the sound of (a), or at any rate have confused the sounds (a, o).]

In order the better to ascertain the tones of the seven vocal sounds, I have ventured to add a few French words in the exemplification; in the pronunciation of which, I hope, I am not mistaken. If I had not thought it absolutely necessary, I would not have presumed to meddle with any living language but my own; the candid reader will therefore forgive and correct my errors, if I have made any in this place, by substituting such other French syllables as will answer the end proposed. [A palaeotypic interpretation is annexed. We must suppose that his French pronunciation was imperfect.]

The seven natural vowel sounds may be thus marked and explained to sound

in English as the words.

α = all, small, or, for, knock, lock, occur = (Λ, ο).

α = man, can, cat, rat = (a)

ε = may, day, take, nation = (ε).

ι = evil, keen, it, be, inequality = (ι).

ο = open, only, brake, hole = (ο).

ω = fool, two, rule, tool, do = (uu)

u = {tune, supreme, rare in English}

Diphthong sounds in English.

αι = I, fine, hire, life, ride, spy, fly (a long sound) = (αι)

αι = met, let, get, men (a short sound) = (αι

ιω = you, use, new, due, few (a long sound) = (ιω)

ιω = how, bough, sow, hour, gown, town (this diphthong is sounded long, dwelling chiefly on the latter vowel) = (αι)

The letters and sounds, which in modern languages pass under the names of diphthongs, are of such different kinds, that they cannot properly be known by any definition I have seen: for, according to my sense, the greatest part of them are not diphthongs. Therefore, that I may not be misunderstood, I will define a proper diphthong to be made in speech, by the blending of two vowel sounds so intimately into one, that the ear shall hardly be able to distinguish more than one uniform sound; though, if produced for a longer time than usual, it will be found to continue in a sound different from that on which it began, or from its diphthong sound. [This shews a perfect confusion between linking two sounds into one, and gliding on from one sound on to another.

And therefore the vowels, which are joined to make diphthongs in English, are pronounced much shorter, when so joined, than as single vowels; for if the vowel sounds, of which they are composed, especially the initials, are pronounced so as to be easily and distinctly heard separately, they cease to be diphthongs, and become distinct syllables.

Though the grammarians have divided the vowels into three classes: long, short, and doubtful; I am of opinion, that every one of the seven has both a longer and shorter sound: as α is long in all, and short in lock and o (lack and ac) = (Λ, Α)?

Α is long in arm, and short in cat = (aa, a)?

ε is long in may and make, and short in nation = (ε, ε)?

ι is long in be, and short in it = (ι, ι)?

ο is longer in hole than in open [often (op'-n) dialectally]; long in corrode, short in corrosive [which Lediard accents corrosive supra p. 1048, c. 1, l. 5 from bottom.] = (οο, ο)?

ω is long in fool, short (by comparison) in foolish = (uu, u)?

υ is long in tune and plus, and short in super and du = (ιυ, ιυ ).
But the shortest sounds of o, ω, and u are long in comparison with the short sounds of the four first vowels [that is, are medial?].

The French, the Scotch, and the Welsh, use all these vowel sounds in their common pronunciation; but the English seldom or never sound the u in the French tone (which I have set down as the last in the foregoing list, and which, I believe, was the sound of the Greek ἄνακολο), except in the more refined tone of the court, where it begins to obtain in a few words.

I have been told the most correct Italians use only five vowel sounds, omitting the first and seventh, or the a and the u. Perhaps the Romans did the same: for it appears by the words which they borrowed from the Greeks in latter times, that they were at a loss how to write the η and the υ in Latin letters.

As the Greeks had all the seven marks, it is to be presumed that at some period they must have used them to express so many different sounds. But having had the opportunity of conversing with a learned modern Greek, I find, though they still use all the seven marks, they are very far from making the distinction among their sounds which nature admits of, and which a perfect language requires: but all nations are continually changing both their language and their pronunciation; tho' that people, who have marks for seven vowels, which are according to nature the competent number, are the least excusable in suffering any change, whereby the proper distinction is lost.

§ 2. *Two American Orthoepists of the Eighteenth Century.*

i. Benjamin Franklin's Phonetic Writing, 1768.

Dr. Franklin's scheme of phonetic writing (supra p. 48), though hasty and unrevised, is too interesting to be omitted. His correspondence with Miss Stephenson contains a common sense, practical view of the necessity and usefulness of some phonetic scheme, and gives short convincing answers to the objections usually urged against it. The spelling would have required careful reconsideration, which it evidently never received. But in the following transcript it is followed exactly. As a specimen of the English pronunciation of the earlier part, although written after the middle, of the xviii th century, it is of sufficient importance to justify the insertion of the paper at length in this place. The symbols are, as usual, replaced by their palaeotypic equivalents, and for convenience of printing the following table given by Franklin is somewhat differently arranged, although the matter is unaltered.

Table of the Reformed Alphabet.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names</th>
<th>Manner of Pronouncing the Sounds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(o)</td>
<td>old. The first vowel naturally,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and deepest sound; requires only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>to open the mouth and breathe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>through it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>John, folly; au, ball. The next</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>requiring the mouth opened a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>little more, or hollower.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e)</td>
<td>man, can. The next, a little more,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i)</td>
<td>did, sin, deed, seen. The next</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>still more.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(u)</td>
<td>tool, fool, rule. The next re-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>quires the lips to be gathered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>up, leaving a small opening.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(o)</td>
<td>um, un; as in umbrage, unto, etc.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and as in er. The next a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>very short vowel, the sound of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>which we should express in our</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>present letters, thus uh; a short,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and not very strong aspiration.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n)</td>
<td>hunter, happy, high. A stronger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>or more forcible aspiration.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(g)</td>
<td>give, gather. The first con-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sonant; being formed by the root</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of the tongue; this is the present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hard g.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(ki) keep, kick. A kindred sound; a little more acute; to be used instead of hard c.

(i^sh) [sh] ship, wish. A new letter wanted in our language; our sh, separately taken, not being the proper elements of the sound.

(i^q) [ng] ing, repeating, among. A new letter wanted for the same reason. These are formed back in the mouth.

(end) end. Formed more forward in the mouth; the tip of the tongue to the roof of the mouth.

(f) art. The same; the tip of the tongue a little loose or separate from the roof of the mouth, and vibrating.

(teeth) teeth. The tip of the tongue more forward; touching, and then leaving, the roof.

(deed) deed. The same; touching a little fuller.

(ell) ell, tell. The same; touching just about the gums of the upper teeth.

(ess) essence. This sound is formed by the breath passing between the moist end of the tongue and the upper teeth.

(ez) [es] wages. The same; a little denser and duller.

(th) think. The tongue under, and a little behind, the upper teeth; touching them, but so as to let the breath pass between.

(th) [dh] thy. The same; a little fuller.

(ef) effect. Formed by the lower lip against the upper teeth.

(ever) ever. The same; fuller and duller.

(b) bees. The lips full together, and opened as the air passes out.

(pi) peep. The same; but a thinner sound.

(em) ember. The closing of the lips, while the e is sounding.

Remarks [by Franklin, on the above table].

(o) to (ra). It is endeavoured to give the alphabet a more natural order; beginning first with the simple sounds formed by the breath, with none or very little help of tongue, teeth, and lips, and produced chiefly in the windpipe.

(g, k). Then coming forward to those, formed by the roof of the tongue next to the windpipe.

(r, n, t, d). Then to those, formed more forward, by the forepart of the tongue against the roof of the mouth.

(l, s, j). Then those, formed still more forward in the mouth, by the tip of the tongue applied first to the roots of the upper teeth.

(th, dh). Then to those, formed by the tip of the tongue applied to the ends or edges of the upper teeth.

(f, v). Then to those, formed still more forward, by the under lip applied to the upper teeth.

(b, p). Then to those, formed yet more forward, by the upper and under lip opening to let out the sounding breath.

(m). And lastly, ending with the shutting up of the mouth, or closing the lips while any vowel is sounding. In this alphabet c is omitted as unnecessary; k supplying its hard sound, and s the soft; k also supplies well the place of z [evidently a misprint for q], and with an s added in the place of x: q and x are therefore omitted. The vowel u being sounded as oo (uu) makes the w unnecessary. The y, where used simply, is supplied by i, and where as a diphthong [so spelled in the original], by two vowels; that letter is therefore omitted as useless. The jod j is also omitted, its sound being supplied by the new letter (sh) i^sh, which serves other purposes, assisting in the formation of other sounds;—thus the (sh) with a (d) before it gives the sound of the jod j and soft g as in “James, January, giant, gentle” (dsheems, dshaia3nt, dshahenni, dshoie^n, dshentel); with a (t) before it, it gives the sound of ch, as in “cherry, chip” (teheri, tship); and with a (x) before it, the French sound of the jod j, as in “jamais” (zsheeme). [Dr. Franklin’s knowledge of the French sound must have been very inexact.] Thus the g has no longer two different sounds, which occasioned confusion, but is, as every letter ought to be, confined to one. The same is to be observed in all the letters, vowels, and consonants, that wherever they are met with, or in whatever company, their sound is always the same. It is also intended, that there be no superfluous letters used in spelling; i.e. no letter that is not sounded; and this alphabet, by six new letters [meaning
(a, ə, sh, q, th, dh)], provides that there be no distinct sounds in the language, without letters to express them. As to the difference between short and long vowels, it is naturally expressed by a single vowel where short, a double one where long; as for "mend" write (mend), but for "remain'd" write (remeen'd); for "did" write (did), but for "deed" write (did), etc.

What in our common alphabet is supposed the third vowel, i, as we sound it, is as a diphthong, consisting of two of our vowels joined; (a) as sounded in "unto" and (i) in its true sound. Any one will be sensible of this who sounds those two vowels (a i) quick after each other; the sound begins (a) and ends (i). The true sound of the (i) is that we now give to e in the words "deed, keep." [Here the editor observes: "The copy, from which this is printed, ends in the same abrupt way with the above, followed by a considerable blank space; so that more perhaps was intended to be added by our author. B. V."]

**Examples.**

So¹ hwen som Endshel, boi divoin kamænd,
Uihð roiziq tempests sheeks e gilte Lænd;
(Satsh æz ÁV leet or peel Briteniae paest,
Kælm and sirin ni draivz dhi fiurías blaest;
And, pliiiz’d dh’ Almeitis ardors tu perförm,
Raids in dhi Huørulwind and dairekts dhi Stärhm.

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¹ Dr. Franklin is not consistent in marking the long and short vowels. His peculiarities and errors are here all reproduced. Sir William Jones (Works, 4to. ed. 1799, i. 205), after giving his analysis of sound for the purpose of transliterating the Indian languages, adds: "Agreeably to the preceding analysis of letters, if I were to adopt a new mode of English orthography, I should write Addison’s description of the angel in the following manner, distinguishing the simple breathing or first element, which we cannot invariably omit, by a perpendicular line above our first or second vowel:

Só hwen sm énjel, bai divain câmánd,
Wedh raisiñ tempests shéces a gilte land,
Sch az ÁV lét ór pél Britanya pást,
Cálm and sirín hi draivz dhi fiúryas blást,
And pliiiz’d dh’ Almeitis árderz tu perförm,
Raids in dhi Huørulwind and dairekts dhi Stärhm.

This mode of writing poetry would be the touchstone of bad rhymes, which the eye as well as the ear would instantly detect; as in the first couplet of this description, and even in the last, according to the common pronunciation of perform."

The following is probably the meaning to be attached to Jones’s symbols, leaving his errors as they stand, but supplying the (a) occasionally omitted in accordance with Sanscrit custom, and not inserting accents. It is very possible that though he wrote signs equivalent to (a, i, é, é), he actually said (w, i, é, é).

(Soo hwen som eendzhel, bai divain kamænd,
Wedh raisiñ tempests sheeks a gilte land,
Satsh æz ÁV leet oor peel Britanya ja paast,
Kælm and sirin ni draivz dhi frurías blaest,
And, pliiz’d dh’ Almeitis árderz tu perförm,
Raids in dhi Huørulwind and dairekts dhi Stärhm.)
Correspondence between Miss Stephenson and Dr. Franklin.

Diir Sør,

Kensiqtan, September 26, 1768.

oi nevä trænskræb'd iur ælfæbet, &c., nuith shi thiink mæit bi AV
sørvis tu dhöz, nu uish tæ ækuaïr æn ækiuret pronændisheň, if
dhæt kuld bi fiks'd; bot oi si meni inkanviiënensis, æz uel oz dif-
klætis, dhat uuld1 øtend dhi briqiq iur leters and ærthagrañ inu
kamön iæs. Aal aur etimalodshiz uuld be last, kansikuëntl iui
culd nät asorten dhi miiniq AV meni uords; dhi distënshon tu,
bittuïn uords AV diffrënt miiniq æn similær saund uuld bi dis-
trääid, ænd Aal dhi buks ælredi riten uuld bi2 iusles, anles u liqv
rœters pðblisht nu iidishens. In shart oi billiiv u imet let piüpipl
spel an in dheer old ue, ænd (æz ui fœnd it ësiisët) dui dhëi seem
aurselves. With ease and with sincerity I can, in the old way,
subscribe myself, Dear Sir, Your faithful and affectionate Servant,

Dr. Franklin.

M. S.

Answer to Miss S • • •

Diir Mædem,

dhi Absdshèkshon iu meek to rektifoiq aur ælfæbet, dhat iu
uil bi øtended wið inkanviïensiz ænd diffræktiz, iz e naurerul uen;
far it aluæz akorò huon eni refar-

Probably the difference between Franklin and Jones was more apparent
than real. In perform, however, Franklin evidently adopted the
pronunciation which Jones disliked. On
Jones's sensitiveness to rhyme see
suprà p. 366, note, where a line has
been unfortunately omitted. For the
sentence beginning on l. 7, col. 2, of that
note, read: "The Seven Fountains
of 542 lines has only affrod-Lord. The
Palace of Fountaine of 506 lines has
only shone-sun, and stood-blood."

The passage selected as an example
by both Franklin and Jones is from
Addison's Campaign, lines 287–291;
and is parodied thus in Pope's Dunciad,
3, 261–264:

Immortal Rich! how calm he sits at ease
Mid snows of paper, and fierce hail of cease;
And proud his Mistress' orders to perform
Rides in the whirlwind and directs the storm.

1 Probably meant for (wuld). It is one of the inconveniences of the use of
(i, u) for (j, w), together with (ii, uu)

2 The words (disträäid, ænd Aal dhi
buks ælredi riten uuld bi) are omitted in
the copy of this letter in Franklin's
works, vol. 2, p. 361, and are here
restored from the quotations of Miss
Stephenson's words in Dr. Franklin's
reply, pp. 364–5, so that they contain
his spelling rather than hers.

3 There are several letters preserved in
Franklin's works addressed to Miss
Stephenson or Stevenson. One dated
17th May, 1760, begins: "I send my
good girl the books I mentioned to her
last night," and gives advice in reading,
shewing that she was then very young,
but that Franklin had been in the
habit of talking with her about litera-
ture and language.
meshon iz propozed; huedher in rilidshon, government, laz, and
ingen daun æz lo æz rods ænd huil kerdhish. dhí tru kuestshon
dhen, is nat huedhór dheer uil bi no difikaltiz æt inkānviniensiz,
bet huedher difikaltiz mē nat bi sormanted; and nuedhór^1
dhi kanviniensiz uil nat, an dhí huol, bi grété dhan dhí inkān-
vinieniz. In dhis kes, dhí difikaltiz er onli in dhi biginiq æv
dhi prēktis: nuen dhé er uans overkom, dhi advancedshez er laestiq.—
To øidhór in æt mi, nu spel uel in dhi prezent mod, òi imæshin
dhi difikalti æv tshendhiq^2 ðhat mōd far dhi nu, iz nat so grét, bet
dhæt ui mœt perfektli gīt ðer it in a uiks reitiq. Æz to dhoz hu
du nat spel uel, if dhi tu difikaltiz er kampērd, viz., dhat æv
titshiq dhem tru speliq in dhi prezent mod, ænd dhaet æv titshiq
dhem dhi nu ælfæbet ænd dhi nu speliq ækardiq to it, òi æm kan-
fident dhaet dhi lærter uuld bi byi^3 fær dhi liist. dhé nœtäræli fal
into dhi nu method ælreadi, æz match æz dhi imperfekshan æv dher
ælfæbet uil edmit æv; dher prezent bëd speliq iz onli bœd, bikaz
kantreri to dhi prezent bœd ruls: òndor dhi nu ruls it uuld bi gud—
dhi difikalti æv lorniq to spel uel in dhi old uē iz so grét, dhat fiu
ætén it; thauænds ænd thauænds reitiq æn to old edsh, uidhaut
ever bœiq ebil to æknuør it. 'Tiz, bisoidz, e difikalti kantimumæi
inkiriq, æz dhí saund graeduæi veriz mor ænd mor fram dhi speliq;
ænd to farenorç^4 it mëks dhi lorniq to pronans aur laequesh, æz
riten in aur buks, ælmast impasibl.

Nau æz to dhi inkānviniensiz iz menshon.—dhi först
iz, dhæt æal æn æu etimalodshiz uuld bi last, kan-
sikuæntli ui kuld nat aserteen dhi miiniq
av meni uœrds.—etimalodshiz er æt prezent veri ænsaeteen; bet
satsch æz dhé er, dhi old buks uuld stil prizər dhem, ænd etimalo-
dshiz^5 uuld dhær foind dhem. Uœrds in dhi kors æv tyim,^6 tshendsh
dher miiniq, æz uel æz dher speliq ænd pronansieshan; ænd ui du
nat luk to etimalodshi far dher prezent miiniq. If ai shuld kal e
meñ e Neev æn æne Vilen, ni uuld æaerdill bi safuðsib with^7 moa telig
him, dhæt uon æn dhí uœrds orðishinaæi signifaid onli æ laed æ
særvaent; ænd dhi ædhor, æn ændor pluæmaæ, ær dhi inæbeitaent æv
e viledsh. It iz fram prezent iuæsdh onli, dhi miiniq æv uœrds iz
to bi detormined.

1 This word seems to have exercised
the Doctor very much, this is the third
orthography in a few lines. He meant
(whedhær) of course.
2 Meaning (tshendzhuq) changing.
3 Franklin's character for (a) is y,
and consequently his printer easily
confuses it with y; (byi) is an error for
(bai). Several of the errors here copied
may be due to his printer, and cannot
be corrected by the original MS.
4 "Dr. Franklin used to lay some
little stress on this circumstance, when
he occasionally spoke on the subject.
A dictionary, formed on this model,
would have been serviceable to him, he
said, even as an American;' because,
from the want of public examples of
pronunciation in his own country, it
was often difficult to learn the proper
sound of certain words, which occurred
very frequently in our English writings,
and which of course every American
very well understood as to their mean-
ing. B. V."—Note to Dr. F.'s Works,
5 Meaning, probably etymologists
(etimalodshists) in his spelling.
6 Meaning (teiim) time. See above,
note 3.
7 The (w) and the (th) are both slips.
He meant (uidh) in his spelling.
Iur sekond inkavin niens iz, dhaet dhi distinkshon bituin uerds av diferent miiniq and similær saund uuld bi distraed.—Dhaet distinkshon iz already distraed in pro-
aunsiq dhem; aeui riilo an dhi sens selon av dhi sentens to aesarleen, nuish av dhi severel uerds, similær in saund, ui intend. If dhi iz sofishent in dhi ræpiditi av diskors, it uil bi mutsh mor so ir riten sentens, nuish më bi red lezshurli, aeintended to mor pærtikulerli in kes av difikælti, dhaen ui kæn ætendt to e paast sentens, nuail e spikar iz noriyiq 1 os ælaq with nu uouns.

Iur thard inkavin niens iz, dhaet aal dhi buks ælredi riten uuld bi iusles.—dhis inkavin niens uuld ouli kom an græduæli, in e kors av edshes. Iu ænd ci, ænd ædær na uiviq riders, uuld nærdli farget dhi iusd av dhem. Pïpip uuld long lorn to riid dhi old rætiq, dho dææ præktist dhi nu.—Ænd dhi inkavin niens is nat greater, dhaen nuæt nes æktueli næpends in æ similær kes, in Iteli. Farmerli its inhæbitænts aal spok and rot Lætit: æz dhi lequedsh tshendshed, dhi speliq falo'd it. It iz tru dhaet æt prezent, e mûr onlærm'd Italien knat 2 riid dhi Lætit buks; dhe dhe er stil red ænd æðærstuł boi meni. Bot, if dhi speliq næd nevor bin tshendshed, ni uuld nau nèv faund it møtsh mor difikol to riid and ryit 3 iz on laqædsh; far riten uerds uuld nèv næd no riłęshen to saunds, dhe uuld ouli nèv stud far thiqs; so dhaet if hi uuld ekspres in rætiq dhi æidia ni næz, nuen ni saunds dhi uord Vescovo, ni møst iuž dhi leterz Episcopus. —In shart, nuætever dhi difikoltiz ænd inkavin niensiz nau er, dhe uil bi mor ÿzili sammaunted nau, dhan niræftor; ænd som toim ar ædær, it møst bi don; æur rætiq uil bikaæ dhi seem uild dhi Tshoininiz, æz to dhi difikælti av larniæq and iuziq it. Ænd it uuld ælredi nèv bin søtsh, if ui næd kæntinud dhi Sakson speliq and rætiq, iuzed boi our forfathers. òi æm, mai dîr frind, iurs æfek-
shæntæli, B. Franklin.

Londæn, Kreven-striit, Sept. 28, 1768.

ii. Noah Webster's Remarks on American English.

Noah Webster's English Dictionary has so recently become popular in England that we can scarcely look upon him as belonging to the xviiith century. But having been born in Connecticut in 1758, his associations with English pronunciation in America are referable to a period of English pronunciation in England belonging quite to the beginning of the xviiith th, if not even to the latter half of the xvirth century. The recent editions of the Dictionary all shew a "revised" pronunciation, so that the historical character of the work in this respect is destroyed. The following extracts from a special and little known work by the same author are valuable for our purpose, as they convey much information on the archaisms which were at least then prevalent in America, and distinguish in many cases between American and English pronunciation.

1 Either (noræiq) meaning (nor-oi,iq) or (norëiq) meaning (nor'ëiq).  
2 Probably (kænat) cannot.  
3 Meaning (roil) wrote, see p. 1062, n.3.
Title. Dissertations on the English Language: with notes, historical and critical. To which is added, by way of Appendix, an Essay on a Reformed Mode of Spelling, with Dr. Franklin's Arguments on that Subject. By Noah Webster, Jun., Esquire. Printed at Boston for the Author, 1789. 8vo., pp. xvi., 410. Press-mark at British Museum, 825 g. 27. Dedicated "to his Excellency Benjamin Franklin, Esq., LL.D., F.R.S., late President of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania," Hartford.

In Franklin's Works (London, 1806, vol. 2, p. 351), under date 26 Dec. 1789, there is a letter from Franklin to Webster, acknowledging and praising this book, and drawing attention to the following Americanisms as having been adopted subsequently to 1723. Improved for employed or used, as "a country house many years improved as a tavern; a country gentleman for more than thirty years improved as a justice of the peace." "A verb from the substantive notice. I should not have noticed this, were it not that the gentleman, etc. Also another verb from the substantive advocate: The gentleman who advocates or who has advocated that motive, etc. Another from the substantive progress, the most awkward and abominable of the three: the committee having progressed, resolved to adjourn. The word opposed, though not a new word, I find used in a new manner, as, the gentlemen who are opposed to this measure, to which I have also myself always been opposed.

If," continues Franklin, addressing Webster, "you should happen to be of my opinion with respect to these innovations, you will use your authority in reprobating them." The words are still all in use in America; and to notice, to advocate, and opposed are common in England, where even to progress is heard. The point of interest is that in the use as well as in the pronunciation of words, elderly people are being continually offended by innovations which they look upon as deteriorations, but which constantly prevail in spite of such denunciations.

In the following paragraphs all is Webster's writing, except the passages between brackets and in paleotype. The pages of the original are also inserted in brackets as they arise.

[Note at back of contents, p. xvi.]

The sounds of the vowels, marked or referred to in the second and third dissertations, are according to the Key in the First Part of the Institute. Thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>o</th>
<th>u</th>
<th>y</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First sound, late, feet, night, note, tune, sky</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>hat, let, tin, tun, glory</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third</td>
<td>law, fraud</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth</td>
<td>ask, father</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifth</td>
<td>not, what</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sixth</td>
<td>prove, room</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[p. 83] Thus i in fit has the same quality of sound as ee in feet. . . . The other vowels have also their short or abrupt sounds; a in late [p. 84] has its short sound in let; a in cart has its short sound in carry; a in fall has its short sound in folly; oo in foot its short sound in full. O is sometimes shortened in common parlance, as in colt; but the distinction between o in coal and colt seems to be accidental or caused by the final consonant, and not sufficiently settled or important to require a separate consideration. . . . [Here we have the usual difficulties (ii, i) or (i, i)? (aa, a) or (aa, a)? (AA, A) or (AA, O); (uu, u) or (uu, u)? Perhaps colt was (kolt), not (kolt), in the pronunciation referred to. This point will be again alluded to when touching on present American English, Chap. XI. § 1.]

The letters, i, u and y are usually classed among the vowels; but the first or long sound of each requires, in pronunciation, two positions of the organs of speech, or rather a transition from the position necessary to form one simple sound, to the position necessary to form another simple sound. We begin the sound of i nearly with the same aperture of the glottis, [a mere error arising from necessary ignorance of the mechanism of speech, the glottis being closed for all vowels,] as we do the broad a or aw. The aperture however is not quite so great. We rapidly close the mouth to the position where
we pronounce ee, and there stop the sound (ai?). This letter is therefore a
dipthong.

U also is not strictly a vowel; nor
is it, as it is commonly represented,
composed [p. 85] of e and oo. We do
not begin the sound in the position
necessary to sound ee, as is obvious in
the words salute, salubrious, revolution;
but with a greater aperture of the
mouth and with a position perfectly
easy and natural. From that position
we pass to the position with which we
pronounce oo, and there close the sound.
It must however be observed that when
these letters i, u, are followed by a con-
sonant, the two sounds of the dipthong
are not clearly distinguishable. We do
not, in fight, hear the sound of ee;
nor the sound of oo in cube. The con-
sonant compresses the organs and closes
the sound of the word so suddenly, that
the ear can distinguish but a simple
vocal sound. And notwithstanding
these letters are dipthongs, when con-
sidered by themselves, yet in combina-
tion with consonants, they are often
marks of simple sounds or vowels.
[This may only indicate an insufficient
power of analysis. The dipthongs
were perhaps only much shorter in
these cases, that is, had the second
element, and the connecting glide much
shorter, giving a compressed effect.
But cube, which is now really (kiub),
with a long second element, may have
been squeezed into (kyb), by the “link-
ning” of its elements as (i*u=y) very
nearly. Similarly fight may have reached
(fast), as (a*e)=(e) very nearly. See
further remarks on long u near the end
of these extracts, infra p. 1069.]
The short sound of i and y is merely
short ee. The sound of u in tune is a
separate vowel, which has no affinity
to any other sound in the language.
[Can this be (yy)? Compare Steele’s
tune, p. 1057, and Kenrick, p. 1052,
No. 6.]
The sound of oi or oy is dipthongal,
composed of the third or broad a and
ee. [We have then the old difficulty in
separating long i from oy, both being
made (ai) or (ai). p. 86] The sound
of ow or ow is also dipthongal,
 compounded of third a and oo. The sound
however does not require quite so great
an aperture of the mouth as broad a;
the position is more natural, and the
articulation requires less exertion (au?).
[p. 88] The vowels therefore in
English are all heard in the following
words, late, half, half, feet, pool, note,
tun, fight, truth. The five first have
short sounds or duplicates, which may
be heard in let, hat, hot, fit, pull; and
the letters i and u are but accidentally
vowels. The pure primitive vowels in
English are therefore seven.

The dipthongs may be heard in the
following words: lie or defy, due,
voice or joy, round or now. To these
we may add un in persuade; and per-
haps the combinations of w and the
vowels, in well, will, etc.

[p. 92] Webster remarks that i has
its first sound in bind, find, mind, kind,
blind, grind. But wind has the second
short sound of i. Then in a footnote,
p. 93, he adds: On the stage, it is
sometimes pronounced with I long, either
for the sake of rhyme, or in order to be
heard. Mr. Sheridan marks it both
ways; yet in common discourse he pro-
nounces it with i short, as do the nation
in general.

[Cambridge, danger, and perhaps
manger. Also angel, ancient have (ee).]
In this all the standard authors [p. 94]
agree, except Kenrick and Burn, who
mark a in ancient both long and short.
The English pronunciation is followed
in the middle and southern states [of
America]; but the eastern universities
have restored these words to the
analogy of the language, and give a its
second sound (a). It is presumed that
no reason can be given for making these
words exceptions to the general rule,
but practice; and this far from being
universal, there being many of the best
speakers in America, who give a in the
words mentioned the same sound as in
anguish, annals, angelic, antiquity.

In the word chamber, a has its fourth
sound (aa). It is necessary to remark
this, as [p. 95] there are many people
in America who give a its first sound
(ee), which is contrary to analogy and
to all the English authorities. [Mr.
White, supra p. 908, c. 1, in a note on
LL 5, 1, 5 (150, 22), says: “The iso-
lation of the Englishmen of New England,
and their consequent protection from
external influences, caused changes in
pronunciation, as well as in idiom, to
take place more slowly among them
than among their brethren who re-
mained in the mother-country; and
the orthoepy for which the worthy
pedant contends, is not very far re-
moved from that of the grandfathers
and great-grandfathers of the present generation in the more sequestered parts of the eastern states. The scholars among these, as well as those who had received only that common-school education which no Yankee is allowed to lack, did not, for instance, in Holofemian phrase, speak could and would fine, but pronounced all the consonants, could and would; they said sword, not sore'd; they pronounced 'have' to rhyme with 'rave,' not hav, —'jest,' which used to be written j est, jeest to rhyme with 'yeast,' —'pert,' which of old was spelled e a r t, p e e r t: and in compound words they said for instance 'clean-ly,' not cen-ly, and, correctly, 'an-gel,' 'cham-ber,' 'dan-ger,' not ane-gel, chame-ber, dane-ger. Their accents yet linger in the ears of some of us, and make the words of Shakespeare's pedagogue not altogether strange." As regards chamber see Moore's rhyme: amber chamber, supra p. 859, col. 1."

[p. 96] I consider these terminations tion, sion, cion, cial, cian, as single syllables.

[p. 103] In the eastern states there is a practice prevailing among the body of the people of prolonging the sound of ɪ in the termination ive. In such words as motive, relative, etc., the people, excepting the more polished part, give ɪ its first sound (ai?). This is a local practice, opposed to the general [p. 104] pronunciation of English on both sides of the Atlantic . . . . [In footnote to p. 104] The final e must be considered as the cause of this vulgar dialect. It is wished that some bold genius would dare to be right, and spell this class of words without e, motive . . . .

[p. 105] In the middle states . . . many people pronounce practise, pru- dice with ɪ long. I know of no authority for this beyond the limits of two or three states.

Another very common error, among the yeomanry of America, and particularly in New England, is the pronouncing of ə before r, like a; as marcy for mercy. This mistake must have originated principally in the name of the letter ʀ, which, in most of our school-books, is called ar. This single mistake has spread a false pronunciation of several hundred words among millions of people. [In a footnote] To remedy the evil in some degree, this letter is named er, in the Institute.

In a few instances this pronunciation is become general among polite speakers, as clerks, sergeant, etc. [In text] To avoid this disagreeable singularity, some fine speakers have run into another extreme, by pronouncing ə before r, like u, marcy. This is an error. The true sound of the short ə, as in let, is the correct and elegant pronunciation of this letter in all words of this class. [But (mər-sɪ) can now only be heard in Scotland.]

[p. 106] There is a vulgar singularity in the pronunciation of the eastern people, which is very incorrect, and disagreeable to strangers, that of prefixing the sound of ɪ short or e, before the diphthong ow; as know, piover or peower. This fault usually occurs after p, c hard, or those other consonants which are formed near the seat of ɛ in the mouth. . . . But the most awkward countryman pronounces round, ground, etc., with tolerably propriety.

[Webster then remarks on the New England drawl, and attributes it to its "political institutions"!] [p. 108, note, he speaks of] the surprising similarity between the idioms of the New England people and those of Chaucer, Shakespear, Congreve, etc., who wrote in the true English style.

[p. 109, he speaks of] the very modern pronunciation of kind, sky, guide, etc., in which we hear the short ɛ before i, keind, or kyine, skye, etc. [he compares it to the eastern kown, vew, and adds:] Yet, strange as it may seem, it is the elegant pronunciation of the fashionable people both in England and America [but he strongly disapproves of it].

[p. 110] Some of the southern people, particularly in Virginia, almost omit the sound of r, as in wære, there. In the best English pronunciation the sound of r is much softer than in some of the neighbouring languages, particularly the Irish and Spanish, and probably much softer than in the ancient Greek . . . . [This omission of the r, or its degradation to (ɪ, ə, ɛ) is still very prevalent in America as in England, if we may judge from Yankee books of drollery, but its prevalence in Webster's time indicates that it was at least well known in England in the xvith century. See supra p. 974.]

It is a custom very prevalent in the middle states, even among some well-bred people, to pronounce off, soft, drop,
crop, with the sound of a, aft, soft, drop, crap. [p. 111] This seems to be a foreign and local dialect; and cannot be advocated by any person who understands correct English. [In a note on this passage, p. 383, he adds:] The dialect in America is peculiar to the descendants of the Scotch Irish. [In Sheridan's Trip to Scarborough, acted in 1777, a refashionment of Vanbrugh's Relapse, 1697, we still meet with, rat, tard, stap, Gad in oaths, and Tem in an address; egad is in the School for Scandal, and may be heard still, and in Dorsetshire we shall find many such cases.]

[p. 111] In the middle states also, many people pronounce a t at the end of once and twice, oncest and twicest. This gross impropriety would not be mentioned, but for its prevalence among a class of very well educated people; particularly in Philadelphia and Baltimore.

Fetch for fetch is very common, in several states, but not among the better classes of people. Caught for caught is more frequent, and equally barbarous.

Skroud and skrouge for crowd, are sometimes heard among people that should be ashamed of the least vulgarism.

Mought for might is heard in most of the states, but not frequently, except in a few towns.

Holpe for hope I have rarely heard, except in Virginia, [where, in a note, p. 384, he says] it is pronounced hope. "Shall I hope you, sir?"

Tote is local in Virginia and its neighbourhood. In meaning it is nearly equivalent to carry.

Chore, a corruption of char, is perhaps confined to New England.

[In a note on this passage, p. 385, he remarks the use of darn pronounced darn for great, severe in New England; also ax for ask there.]

[p. 388] Shot for shut is now become vulgar. In New England we frequently hear because to this day. It is pronounced beeaze. The vulgar pronunciation of such is sikh.

[p. 112] The pronunciation of w for v is a prevailing practice in England and America; it is particularly prevalent in Boston and Philadelphia. [p. 113] Many people say woe, wesset, for vowel, vessel. [In a footnote he says:] I am at a loss to determine why this practice should prevail in Boston and not in Connecticut. The first and principal settlers in Hartford came from the vicinity of Boston. Vast numbers of people in Boston and the neighbourhood use w for v, yet I never once heard this pronunciation in Connecticut.

[p. 114] The words shall, quality, quantity, qualify, quadary, quadrant, are differently pronounced by good speakers. Some give a a broad sound as shot, quality, and others its second sound as in hat. With respect to the four first almost all the standard writers [who in a footnote are named as Kenrick, Sheridan, Burn, Perry and Scott] agree to pronounce a short as in hat, and this is [p. 115] the stage pronunciation. It is correct, for it is more agreeable to the analogy of the language; that being the proper sound of the English a which is heard in hat or bar. [Hence Webster ought to have said (rat) and not (uet), like Kenrick.] With respect to the two last, authors differ; some give the first (ee), some the second (e), and others the fifth sound (o). They all pretend to give us the court pronunciation, and as they differ so widely, we must suppose that eminent speakers differ in practice. In such a case, we can hardly hesitate a moment to call in analogy to decide the question, and give a in all these words, as also in quash, its second sound (w). [In a footnote he observes:] The distinction in the pronunciation of a in quality when it signifies the property of some body (a?) and when it is used for high rank (e?), appears to me without foundation in rule or practice.

[p. 115 text] The words either, deceit, conceit, receipt, are generally pronounced by the eastern people either, nither, devise, consate, receive. These are errors; all the standard authors agree to give et in these words the sound of ee. This is the practice in England, in the middle and southern States.

[p. 116] Importance is by a few people pronounced imp'ortance, with the first sound of o (w). . . . It seems however to be affectation, for the standard writers and general practice are opposed to it.

Decisive for dec-i-sive is more affectation.

Raisin for raisin is very prevalent in two or three principal towns in America.

Leisure is sometimes pronounced
leisure and sometimes lezhure; the latter is the [p. 117] most general pronunciation in America.

Dictionary has been usually pronounced dissonant.

One author of eminence pronounces de
tile in three syllables def-t-i-le. In this he is singular; . . . all the other authorities are against him.

With respect to oblige, authorities differ. The standard writers give us both oblige and obleege, and it is impossible to determine on which side the weight of authority lies.

[p. 118] Some people very erroneously pronounce chaise, shna in the singular and shase in the plural. [The pronunciation (poo shee) for post chaise was familiar to me in London fifty years ago.]

Our modern fashionable speakers accent European on the last syllable but one. This innovation has happened within a few years. [p. 119] Analogy requires European and this is supported by as good authorities as the other. [Footnote p. 118] Hymanean and hy
denate are, by some writers, accent ed on the last syllable but one, but erroneously; other authorities preserve the analogy.

[p. 119] Rome is very frequently pronounced Room, and that by people of every class. The authors I have consulted give no light upon this word except Perry, who directs to that pronunci a tion. The practice however is by no means general in America. There are many good speakers who give o its first sound (oo). It seems very absurd to give o its first sound (oo) in Romish, Romans, and pronounce it ao in Rome, the radical word.

[p. 120] In the pronunciation of arch in many compound words, people are not uniform. The disputed words are archangel, archetype, architecture, architrave, archives . . . The sound of ch in chart is likewise disputed.

[p. 121] There are many people who omit the aspirate in most words which begin with wh, as white, whip, etc., which they pronounce wite, wip, etc. To such it is necessary to observe that in the pure English pronunciation both in Great Britain and New England, for it is exactly the same in both, h is not silent in a single word beginning with wh. In this point our standard authors differ; two of them aspirating the whole of these words, and three mark-

ing h in most of them as mute. [Kenrick always marks h as mute, or wh= (w).] But the omission of h seems to be a foreign corruption; for in America it is not known among the unmixed descendants of the English . . . In this class of words w is silent in four only, with their derivatives; viz. who, whole, whope, whore.

[p. 122] One or two authors affect to pronounce human and about twenty other words beginning with h, as though they were spelt yuman. This is a gross error. The only word that begins with this sound is humor, with its derivatives. In the American pronunciation h is silent in the following, honest, honor, hour, humor, herb, heir, with their derivatives. To these the English add hospital, hoister, humble; but an imitation of these, which some industriously affect, cannot be recommended, as every omission of the aspirate serves to mutilate and weaken the language.

[p. 123] The word yelk is sometimes written yolk and pronounced yoke. But yelk is the most correct orthography, from the Saxon gealke [spelled geolea, geolea, from geolu yellow, in Ettmüller, p. 418] ; and in this country it is the general pronunciation.

Ewe is, by the English, often pronounced ye; which is sometimes heard in America. But analogy and the general corresponding practice in this country . . . decide for yew.

The English speakers of eminence have shortened the vowel in the first syllable of tyranny, zealous, sacrifice, etc . . . . [that is, made it (i, e, o) respectively, as is now the general English custom]. This pronunciation has not spread among the people of this country [that is, presumably, they make it (ai, ii, oe) respectively] . . . . Many people in America say pat-ron, mat-ron; whereas the English say either pa-tron or pa-tron, ma-tron [p. 124] or mat-ron, but all agree in saying pat-ronage. In patriot, patriatism, the English give a its long sound, but a great part of the Americans, its short sound. [This is similar to the use of pro-verbs for prov-verbs which Mr. White, Shaksper's Works 3, 226, says "still lingers in New England."

Wrath the English pronounce with the third sound of a or aw (AA), but the Americans almost universally preserve the analogous sound, as in bath, path [(aa) or (aw)].
[p. 125] In the middle and southern states, fierce, pierce, tierce, are pronounced ferce, perce, terce. To convince the people of the impropriety of this pronunciation, it might be sufficient to inform them, that it is not fashionable on the English theater. [p. 126] The standard English pronunciation now is ferce, perce, terce [which is now, 1871, unknown in the South of England; see supra p. 105, n. 1], and it is universal in New England.

The English pronounce leap, lep; and that in the present tense as well as the past. Some of our American horsemen have learnt the practice; but among other people it is almost unknown.

In the fashionable world, heard is pronounced herd or hard. This was almost unknown in America till the commencement of the late war [that of Independence], and how long it has been [p. 127] the practice in England I cannot determine. ... That herd was not formerly the pronunciation, is probable from this circumstance; the Americans were strangers to it when they came from England, and the body of the people are so to this day. To most people in this country the English pronunciation appears like [p. 128] affectation, and is adopted only in the capital towns. [It is implied that the Americans say heard, like Dr. Johnson, supra p. 624, note, c. 2.]

Beard is sometimes, but erroneously, pronounced beerd. General practice, both in England and America, requires that e should be pronounced as in were, and I know of no rule opposed to the practice.

Deaf is generally pronounced deaf. It is the universal practice in the eastern states, and it is general in the middle and southern; though some have adopted the English pronunciation def. The latter is evidently a corruption.

[p. 131] Gold is differently pronounced by good speakers. [He decides for (goold) in preference to (guml.)]

[p. 133] Similar reasons and equally forcible are opposed to the modern pronunciation of wound [as (wound); he decides for (wound), p. 134] There is but a small part even of the well-bred people in this country, who have yet adopted the English mode [(wound)].

[p. 136] Skeptic for sceptic is mere pedantry. [He apparently refers only to the spelling, but as he instances the spelling scene, scepter, he perhaps said (sep'tek.).]

[p. 137] Sause with the fourth sound of a (aa), is accounted vulgar; yet this is the ancient, the correct and most general pronunciation. The au of the North Britons is much affected of late; souse, haunt, vaunt; yet the true sound is that of aunt, jaunt, and a change can produce no sensible advantage.

[He decides in favour of accenting advertisement, chastisement on the last syllable but one, and acceptable, admirable, disputable, comparable on the last but two, and says, p. 141.] The people at large say admirable, disputable, comparable, and it would be difficult to lead them from this easy and natural pronunciation, to embrace that forced one of admirable, etc. The people are right, and, in this particular, will ever have it to boast of, that among the unlearned is found the purity of English pronunciation. [He admits repugnance as an exception. He decides for accessory, p. 142.]

[p. 143] Immediate is so difficult, that every person who attempts to pronounce it in that manner will fall into immediate. Thus commodious, comedian, tragedian, are very politely pronounced commodious, commonian, tragedian [which he denounces, and requires -di- to form a distinct syllable].

[On pp. 147-179, he has a disquisition on the pronunciation of d, t, and s before u, as (dzh, tsh, sh), to which he is strongly opposed. The argument goes to shew that it was then common in England and not in America. But the only parts which it is necessary to quote are the following. After citing Wallis's account of long u (supra p. 171), he says on his p. 151:]

This is precisely the idea I have ever had of the English u; except that I cannot allow the sound to be perfectly simple. If we attend to the manner in which we begin the sound of u in flute, abjure, truth, we shall observe that the tongue is not pressed to the mouth so closely as in pronouncing e; the aperture of the organs is not so small; and I presume that good speakers, and am confident that most people, do not pronounce these words flute, abjure, truth. Neither do they pronounce them floote, abjoore, trooth; but with a sound formed by
an easy natural aperture of the mouth, between ū and oo; which is the true English sound. This sound, however, obscured by affectation in the metropolis of Great Britain and [p. 152] the capital towns in America, is still preserved by the body of the people in both countries. There are a million descendants of the Saxons in this country who retain the sound of ū in all cases, precisely according to Wallis's definition. Ask any plain countryman, whose pronunciation has not been exposed to corruption by mingling with foreigners, how he pronounces the letters ū, ū, ū, ū, th, and he will not sound ū like eu, nor oo, but will express the real primitive English ū. Nay, if people wish to make an accurate trial, let them direct any child of seven years old, who has had no previous instruction respecting the matter, to pronounce the words suit, tumult, due, etc., and they will thus ascertain the true sound of the letter. Children pronounce ū in the most natural manner; whereas the sound of ĭu requires a considerable effort, and that of ū, a forced position of the lips. Illiterate persons therefore pronounce the genuine English ū much better than those who have attempted to shape their pronunciation according to the modern polite practice. [p. 189] In modern times, we have, in many words, blended the sound of ū with that of eu, or rather use them promiscuously. It is indifferent, as to the pronunciation, whether we write fuel or jewel. And yet in this word, as also in new, brew, etc., we do not hear the sound of e, except among the Virginians, who affect to pronounce it distinctly, ne-ew, ne-oo, fe-oo. This affectation is not of modern date, for Wallis mentions it in his time and reprobates it [supra p. 159].

[It would be difficult to imagine the sound from the above description. Years ago the sound was a source of great difficulty to me, because Americans refused to consider ū as (iū) or (yū). I have not been able to study the sound sufficiently, but it sometimes seems to be (en), at others (yu) or (æ). See supra p. 980, n. 1. Webster says in a footnote, p. 127:] The company that purchased New England was, indeed, called the Plymouth Company, being composed principally of persons belonging to the County of Devon. But many of the principal settlers in these states came from London and its vicinity; some from the middle counties, the ancient kingdom of Mercia; and a few from the northern counties. [And he adds:] There is not the least affinity between the languages of New England and the specimens of the Devonshire dialect given in the English Magazines. [But this sound of ū seems to be in favour of a West of England origin; as it is not pure xvii th century. The next point of importance is, p. 156:]

But another inconsistency in the modern practice is the introducing an e before the second sound of ū in tun; or rather changing the preceding consonant; for in nature, rapture, and hundreds of other words, ū is changed into tsh; and yet no person pretends that ū in these words has its dipthongal sound. . . . [p. 157] I believe no person ever pretended that this sound of ū contains the sound of e or y. . . . and I challenge the advocates of the practice to produce a reason for pronouncing natshur, raptshur, cop-shur, which will not extend to authorize not only tshun, tshurn for tun, tewn, but also fatshal for fatal and immortal for immortal. Nay the latter pronunciation is actually heard among some very respectable imitators of fashion; and is frequent [p. 158] among the illiterate, in those states where the tshū's are most fashionable. . . . I am sensible that some writers of novels and plays have ridiculed the common pronunciation of creature and natur by introducing these and similar words into low characters, and spelling them creater, nater, [which he considers a mistake, because the sound is -ur and not -er final, even when written a, e, i, o; adding, p. 159:] Liar, elder, factor are pronounced liur, eldur, factur, and this is the true sound of ū in creature, natur, rapture, legislature, etc. [See supra p. 973, under URE.]

Noteworthy Pronunciations of the Eighteenth Century.

To form a better notion of the melting of the pronunciation current in the xviith century into that of the xviiiith, which is the direct source of the pronunciation now in use, I have collected many noteworthy pronunciations from the writers above named.

1) The Expert Orthographist, 1704, exhibits an early form of the genuine xviiiith century pronunciation, which partly was an anticipation of what became current fifty years later, and partly retained the old forms. The marked peculiarity is in the words containing ea, which were forced into (ii) beyond what afterwards received the sanction of use. Not too much value is to be attributed to this writer as representing the general pronunciation of the period. At most he bears the same relation to Jones, that Hart did to Smith in the xviith century. But there is this difference, that Hart was a travelled, educated man, and the Orthographist was evidently a third-rate English teacher, unused to educated society.

2) Dyche, 1710, is of but very limited use, as he merely describes the sounds in the accented syllables of a few words, and does not symbolize them with sufficient accuracy. The sounds here given are therefore rather guesses than transcripts in several instances.

3) Buchanan, 1766, was not only a Scotchman, but had many Scotch proclivities, which render his vocabulary suspicious in parts. Thus, it cannot be supposed that the English language had short (i) and not (i), in competition and similar words, which is a thoroughly Scotch peculiarity, or that any but a Scotchman called drunken (druk'n). There seems reason to suppose that many, perhaps most, perhaps all, of Buchanan's short o's, here marked as (o), were pronounced by him as (o), thus post could hardly have been (pəst), although it could not be marked otherwise in accordance with his notation, as this pronunciation will not harmonize at all with (puust, poost) given by others, whereas (pəst) would only be a Scotch pronunciation of (pəst). Nevertheless, the completeness and early date of this attempt to "establish a standard for an elegant and uniform pronunciation of the English language," has rendered it necessary to go through the whole, and select such words as on any account seemed worthy of preservation.

4) Franklin, 1768, has only left us the fragment printed in the preceding section. A few words have here been selected, and their orthography has been corrected so as to represent what Franklin apparently meant to convey.

5) Sheridan, 1780, commences a series of pronouncing dictionaries, which will here be carefully passed over, but his near approach to Buchanan and Franklin, and his peculiarities, which must represent some pronunciations current during that period, dashed
though they be with his own orthoeptic fancies, rendered him the proper termination of these researches. All the words taken from Buchanan have therefore been compared with Sheridan. Ker-
rick’s peculiarities can be sufficiently judged from his descriptions of the vowels, given above. Hence it has not been thought necessary to add his pronunciations to Sheridan’s, with which they were so nearly contemporary.

Lediard’s were collected subsequently to the completion of this index, and have not been added, they are however so arranged on pp. 1040–9, that they can be easily referred to.

The letters O, D, B, F, S, placed after the pronunciations, refer to these authorities in order. The transcript has been made after much consideration, but there are some doubtful points. It is probable that the (o) assigned to the Orthographist and Dyche, did not differ from Sheridan’s (A). It is only Buchanan who seems to make a difference between (o) and (A), and, as we have seen, this may have arisen from his saying (o) and (A).

A
abeyance ābē-i-ān S
abolition ābō-lī-shōn B, S
abroad ābrō-ad B, S, O
abstruse ābstrōo S
absolve āb-sō-lv B, S
abundant ā-bund-ānt B, ā-bend-ānt S
academic ā-kōdē-m-sēl B, ā-kōdēm-šēl S
academician ā-kōdē-mi-shân B, ā-kōdēm-mi-shān S
acclain āk-klēm B, S
acclamation ā-klē-mē-shōn B, ā-kle-mē-shēn S
acclivity āk-klī-v-ītī B, ā-kllī-vītī S
ache āk B, S
acknowledgment āk-nōl-i-džh B, ā-knal-i-džh S
aerē ē-ki-rz O, B, S
actual ā-k-tū-l B, ā-k-tūl S
adagio ādā-gīō B, ādē-gā-zhōo S
adhere ād-hīr ād-hīr O, B, S
adjudicate ād-jū-dike ét B, S
adjudge ād-jūzhūr B, S
adulation ād-u-lā-shōn B, S
adventure ād-vēnt-‘yār B, ād-vēnt-‘shō B
aerial ā-ē-rē-s ā-ē-rēs S
aerie ā-ē-rē B, S
ah ā-ē B, S
all āl B, S
almond ā-lō-mōnd O, ā-lō-mānd B, S ā-lō-mānd S
almone ā-lō-mōn B, ā-lō-mōn S
almost āmō-st B, āmō-st B, S
alms āl-mām B, āl-mām S
alternate āl-tē-rānt B, āl-tē-rānt S
amatory ē-mō-tō-ri B, ā-mā-tō-ri S
amber ōm-br B, ōm-bar S
amenable āmēn-ābl B, āmēnābl S
amiable ā-mē-jābl B, ē-mā-ēbl S
amnesty ām-stē B, ām-nē-stē S
among ām-āq O, S
amour ā-mōr B, āmōr S
anarch ān-ārk B, ā-nērk S
angel ān-džhēl B, ēn-džhēl F, ēn-
džhēl S
anoint ān-ōnt O, ān-ōnt B, ān-ōnt S
answer ān-sār B, ān-sēr S
ant ānt B, S
antic ān-tik B, S
antique ān-tik B, ānti-kē S
auxious āk-wē-shōs B, āk-wē-shōs S
any ān-ē B, S
aorst ār-ēst B, ār̄-ēst S
apostle āp-ōstl B, āp̄-ōstl S
appoint āp-ōint O, āp̄-ōint B, āp̄-ōint S
apparel āp-p̄rl B, āp̄-p̄rl S
approve ā-prōv O, ā-prōv B, S
April ā-prōl B, ē-prōl S
apron ā-prōn O, ā-prōn B, ē-prōn S
aquatic āk-wāt-ik B, S
arable ār-i-l B, ār̄-i-l S
arch ār-kēst B, S
architect ār-kītēkt D, B, ār̄-kītēkt S
are ē B, ēr F, ēr S
area ēr-e B, S
arm ār-m B, S
armada ār-mā-deē B, S
arsenal ār-nā-nil B, ār-nā-nil S
Asia ā-sē-nil B, S
ask āsk S, S
askance āsk-āns S, āsk-āns S
aslan ā-s-lānt B, ās-lānt S
ass ās S, S
asthma ā-sth-mā B, ās-t̄h-mā S
asylum ās-ē-lām B, ās-ē-lām S
athletic ā-thlē-tik B, ē-thlē-tik S
atrocious astro-shas B, S
augury a'gar-i B, a'giurf S
aunt aent D, aent B, aent S
austere aastir-i O, B, S
avenue aevniu B, avviiniu S
avoidyposse ayerdapoiz B, ayer-de-
paiiz S
await eewt B, sweet S
awkward aawkward B, aa'kard S
avil alal B, S
axiom a'ksiam B, ak'sham S
azur eez'jar B, ee'zher S

B
baechanais bek'indo B, bek'endelz S
bacon beek'non B, S
bagnio ben'yo B, ben'voo S
balcony bal'koni B, balkoo'ni S
bald baidal D, B, S
balderdash bal'dirdash B, baal'derdash S
ball baalal D, B, S
balm beem B, S
banquet biekq't et D, biekq'it, B, biekq'it-
wis S
baptize beptaiz' B, beptaiz' S
bard beoaer B, S
barrier be'oer B, ber'er S
base bees B, S
basin bees'n B, S
basis bee'ziiz B, bee'sisis S
base bases in music, bos a mat, S
baste beest B, S
bastion be'stjan B, be'stshan S
bath beath B, beath S
bathe beedh D, B, S
bear beer O, B, D
beard bered O, beerd B, berd S
Bedi Biid O
behave biehuuv O, S
beneign bain'ino B, biinain' S
bequeath biekweeth B, biekwidh S
besom beizzon D, biiz'am B, S
bestiality bestia-li'ti B, bestsha-li'ti S
beyond byond O, biijond B, biijand S
bind boind D, baind S
bird berd B, S
blanch bleaensh B, blants S
blank bleaqk B, bleaqk S
blash blast B, S
blaspheme bleas-fim B, O, B, S
blood blod O, B, S
boatswain boors'n B, boorsen S
boil boil O, bail B, bail S
bold boald B, boold S
boltsprit boors'sprit B, S
bolster bols'ter B, boll'star S
bottle boul'ter boultar O, boul'tar S
bombard bombard B, bambaerd S
bombezius bambaizin B, S
book buuk B, S
borage bar'idzh B, S
border bar'dir B, baarder S
bore boro B, S
bore baoa B, baam S
bore buurn O, boorn S
bore baoa B, bar'oo S
bosoem bozem B, bozem F, buuzam S
bough bou B, bau S
bought boot O?, bat B, baat S
boul't boul't B, boul't S
bourn born B, buurn S
bouze bouz B, buuz S
bouze booz buuz B, S
bow bau bau B, boo bau S
bowl boul O, (glove) boul, (vessel) boul-
D, boul B, boul S
boy bai B, baa S
branch braansh O, braansh B, braansh S
brass brases B, S
brasier breezair B, breece'har S
bravo brevo B, bree'vo S
break briiuk O, B, S
breakfast breekfast O, breek'fast B,
breek'fast S
breeches breetches brish'iz B, S
Bristol Bris'tol O, D
broad brood B, braad S
brocade brookeed B, brookeed S
broil broll O, broil B, brol S
brooch brountsh B, S
broth broth B, braath S
brought broot O?, brat B, bream S
bruisse bruiz O, bruuz B, S
brute brunt B, S
brumal briu'mul B, bruu'mel S
build bield O, B, S
buoy boi B, bwi S
burgh borg B, bar'oo S
burglary barglerei B, barglerei S
burial bargjelal D, berg'al B, berael S
bury bery B, beri B, beri S
bush bush B, S
bustle bas'l B, S
busy biz'i B, biz'i S
 butcher butsh'ir B, butsh'er S

C
cabal ka'baal B, kaabal S
cadaverous kadevarous B, kadave'reers S
cadet keed't B, kadet' S
cadi kadii' B, keedi S
Calais kael's D
calculate kel'kiuleet B, kel'kiuleet S
caldron kaeldron B, kaal'dran S
calf kaaf O, kaef B, S
caliber kaal'ber B, kalii'ber S
calk kaak B, S
call kaal D, B, S
calm caam O, kaam B, kalm F,
keam S
calx kaalks B, kelks S
cambrie kém'brik B, kém'brik S
Canaan ke'neen D
canine keenain: B, kenain: S
canoe ken- B, kena\'u: S
cantata keen'teet\'e B, S
capacious kep'esh-as B, kepe'esh has S
capillary kep'ii-eri B, kep'ili\'aeri S
capoush kep'oush B
caprice kepriis B, kepriis: S
capricious kep'ir'ish-as B, S
capture kep'tar B, kep'ther S
capui-kin kep'tuhiin D, kep'ashiin: B, kep'ishiin: S
caprice kepriis B, kepriis: S
carriage kaar'ge B, kaar'get S
caravan kaar'vean B, S
caraway kaar'wee B, kaar'wee S
card kaard B, S
carmin kaerm\'in B, kaer'main S
carnation kornel-\'en B, kaemri\'jan S
carte-blanche kert-blassh B, kaert blassh S
caroule\'e kaartz\'hush B, kaar'tuash S
carriage kaar'eedzh O, kaar'dzh D, B
ke\'er idsh B, S
carriage kaar'in B, kaar'jan S
castle kaa\'s\'t B, kaa\'t S
casual ka'z\'iul B, ka'z\'ual S
casually ka'z\'iul\' B, ka'z\'ual\'i S
casually ka'z\'iul\'i B, ka'z\'ual\'i S
casual kaa'z\'in\'st B, S
catarh\'e kaet\'ar B, ke\'eter: S
causeway kaa'\(\)\'s\(\)i B, kaas\'wee S
cavi 1 kaa\'\(\)v B, kaa\'\(\)v S
ceiling cielin\'g si'li\'in B, si'li\'i\(\) S
cement n. sim'\(\)nt B, sem\'\(\)nt S
cement v. si\'\(\)mnt: B, si\'\(\)mnt: S
censure se\'\(\)n\'s\(\)er B, ser\'n\'shar S
centenary sen't\'neeri B, sen'ti\'neri S
ceruse si'\(\)ru S, ser\'\(\)us S
chaff tshaaf B, S
chagrin sha'guin\' B, S
chair te\'er B, S
chaise she\'ez D, B, S
chaldron tsaal'dorn D, tsha\'\(\)drin B, tsha\'\(\)drin S
cabinet te\'aem'\(\)b\(\)r B, te\'aem'\(\)bar S
champeign shem\'pen B, S
candelier-chan\'de\(\)ler shan\'del\(\)\'er S
candlor tshaen'dl\(\)r B, tshaen\'d\(\)r S
cang tshaen\'dzh D, tshaen\'dzh S
chant tshaen\'t B, tshaent S
chaos ke\'au\(\)s B, ke\'a\(\)s S
chaplain tsha\'\(\)plin D, B, S
tchaps tshaeps B, tshaeps S
chariot tshaer'it D, B, tshaer'ot S
charriole\'er tshaer\'ol\(\)ir B, tshaer\'ool\(\)ir S
chart keaer B, S
charter tshaer\(\)tir B, tshaer\(\)tar S
chasm ke\'am B, ke\'am S
chasten tshaest'\(\)n B, tshaest'n S
chastisement tshaest\(\)aiz'm\(\)nt B, tshaest\(\)iz'm\(\)nt S
charlatan tshaer'la\(\)tin B, tshaer'laten S
charcoal tshaer kal B, tshaer'ool S
Cherubim Tshaer\(\)iubim D, B, Tshaer\(\)iubim S
chivalier sheva\'\(\)lir D, she\(\)va\'\(\)lir S
choch tshuun B, tshuun tsha\(\)a S
chicane tshi'keen B, shi'keen S
chicane\'ry tshi'keen\'ri B, shi'keen\'ari S
chicken tshik\'n B, tshik\'n S
chimera koimii\(\)r e B, kaimii\(\)r e S
china tshin B, tshec'ni S
Chinese Tshaenimiz F
chirp tshirp B, tsherp S
chives tshaiv\(\)z B, shoiv\(\)z S
chocolate tshok\'l B, tsha\(\)k\(\)val\(\)st S
choir k\(\)s\(\)air D, k\(\)s\(\)air B, k\(\)wair S
choker koo'l B, k\(\)lar S
cholic kol\(\)ik B
chord k\(\)ard B, kaard S
chorister kwee\'\(\)rist\(\)ar O, D, k\(\)wee\'\(\)rist\(\)ar S
chorus kroe B, kroos S
chough tshauf B, S
Christ Kraist B
christen kri\'e\(\)n B, kri\'en S
-cial = -shel 0
-cian = -sheen 0
-cient = -shent 0
-cious = -shos 0
circuit ser\(\)k\(\)t B, sir\(\)k\(\)\(\)t B, ser\(\)k\(\)\(\)t S
citrone sit'\(\)e\(\)rn O, sit\(\)\(\)rn B, S
-ivet siv\(\)\(\)t B, S
civil siv\(\)l D, B, siv\(\)l S
civilly siv\(\)l B, siv\(\)l S
cleret kler\(\)it B, klaer\(\)it S
Claude kloo\(\)d D
cleanly klin\(\)\(\)l B, klin\(\)\(\)l S
cleanse kliniz B, klenz S
clerk klerk B, kle\(\)erk S
climb klaim D, B, S
close kloo\(\)z B, S
closely kloos B, kloos\(\)l S
cloth kloth B, kla\(\)ath S
clothes kloo\(\)d B, S
cloyster glis\'ter B, glis\'ter S
cocks\(\)woin koks\(\)\(\)n B, kak\(\)sen S
corehe koon\(\)i\(\)r S, B, S
coin kain O, kain B, kaain S
colander kaw\(\)\(\)n\(\)d B, kaw\(\)\(\)n\(\)d S
cold kould B, kooled S
colon kaw\(\)n B, kool\(\)\(\)n S
colonel kaor\(\)n B, kaor\(\)n B, kaor\(\)n S
colony ku\(\)\(\)n\(\)i B, ku\(\)\(\)n\(\)i B, ku\(\)\(\)n\(\)i S
colour ku\(\)lor O, ku\(\)lor B, ku\(\)lor S
coli kolt B, koolt S
colter kaul’tir B, koal’tar S
columbine kal’ombain O, kol’ombain B, kal’ombain S
comb kuum O, koon D, B, S
combat kam’bat O, kom’bat B, kam’bat S
comfort kam’fort O, B, S
command koamand O, koamend’ B, kamend’ F, koamend’ S
committee ko’miti B, kamiti S
companions ko’pan’ion B, kom’pan’ion S
company kom’pany B, kom’puni S
compass kom’pis B, kom’pes S
competition kom’ptish’an B, kom’pek’ti’ sh’an S
complacency kom’plei’s’i’ns B, kom’pleer’ sensi’ S
complaisance kom’plai’sens B, kom’plee’ zens’ S
complete kom’pliit’ O, B, kom’pliit’ S
completions kom’plish’an B, kom’pliish’an S
compose kom’pooz B, kom’pooz S
corct cor’tiit O, B, kansiit’ S
conchoit kon’koj’id B, kaq’kaaid S
concise kon’soi B, kansai’ S
conclude konkl’iid’ B, kankl’iid’ S
condign kon’dain’ B, kain’dain’ S
conduit kon’dit O, D, B, kard’wit S
coney kon’vi B, cony kon’ii S
congé kon’dzhi’ B, kon’dzhi’i S
congeries kandzh’itiz B, kandzh’itriz’i S
conic kon’ik B, kan’ik S
conjecture kon’dhek’t’er B, kandzh’ek’t’- shar’ S
courage v.n. kan’dzhar D, B, S
cucchini kon’kor D, kaq’koir B, kaq’kor S
conscience kon’shan’iz B, kan’sheens S
conscientious kon’sie’n’is’hos B, kan’sheu’ shas S
constable kan’stibl B, kon’steb’l S
construct kon’struu B, kan’ster S
contrite kon’troi B, kan’trai’it S
conversant kon’vers’int B, kan’vers’ent
convers’ence kon’vers’ons B, kan’vers’ens’ S
couquette kok’et B, kook’it S
corn kor’ B, kaarn S
coronet krou’or D, kor’or’ B, kar’nar S
corps korps B, koor S
corse kors B, koers S
cost kast B, S
cotton kot’n B, ka’tn S
covenant kav’n’ent B, kov’venent S
covey covy cov’i B, kovi S
covard kou’erd B, kou’ard S
covardice kou’erd’is B, kou’ard’is S
Cooper Kuupar D
coy kai B, kai’i S
coyness kov’iins B, kai’iins S
couch koutsh B, kautsh S
cough kof O, D, B, kaf S
could kuid B, kud S
couler kaul’tar O, B, koul’tar S
country kon’tri B, kan’tri S
couple kou’pl B, S
courier kav’ier B, kuir’seer S
course koors B, F, S
court kuart O, koert B, S
courtezan kortezeen’ O, kortezeen’ B,
kortezeen’ S
cousin kouz’n O, koi’z’n B, kaz’n S
creature krii’tor O, krii’tor B, krii’thar S

Crete Kriit O
crew kriu B, kruu S
crook kron’i B, kroo’ni S
croup krap B, kruup S
croupade krappeed’ B, kruueped’ S


cruude kriud B, kruud S
cruise krizu B, kruuz S
cuced’ kaks’aid B, S

cukew’ kok’wu B, kukuu’ S
cukawnder kau’komber O, kau’kombir B,
ku’komar S
cuir’ass kiares’ B, kiares’ S
cuir’asser kiares’s’iir B, S
culture kol’tuur B, kal’thar S

cupboard kap’boord B, kob’ard S
czar koeer B, zeier S

D

damn dam B, S
damosel dam’sel D, dam’sel B, dam’zil S
dance dans B, S
danger dan’dzhar B, dian’dzhar S
daughter daa’ter D, daa’’ter B, daa’ter S
def dif O, def B, def S
deanery diin’ri B, diin’’ri S
debarach dibaaash’ B, S
debarashe debosh’iir’ D, debosh’iir’ B,
debosh’iir’ S
deberture diben’ter B, diiben’tehar S
debt deb D, B, dit S
decade dik’eed B, dek’eed S
decree disiit’ O, B, S
decision disiz’jan B, diisiz’h’en S
decisive disiz’iv B, diisai’siv S
deign deen D, B, S
delay del’deepsh B, deliuudz’h S
dernier der’niir’ B, dernzeer’ S
desert desaart dez’art B, dez’art S
deserve dizere’v’ dizere’v’ B, dizere’v S
despotic dispo’tik B, despa’tik S

destroyed distrïd’ B, distrïd’ F,
distraïd’ S
devil dev’iir D, B, S
devious dev’iios B, dii’vios S
diamond da’mend B, da’mend S
different dɪfrɛnt, dɪfˈrɛnt S
dioecean diəˈsiːən, diəˈsiːən S
diphthong dɪfˈθɔŋ B, dɪfˈθɔŋ S
dirge dərˈdʒeɪ, dərˈdʒeɪ B, dərˈdʒeɪ S
discern dɪsˈkɜrn, dɪsˈkɜrn B, dɪsˈkɜrn S
discipline dɪsˈplɪn B, dɪsˈplɪn S
discomfit dɪskəˈmɪt ˈbɪt, dɪskəˈmɪt ˈbɪt S
discourse dɪsˈkɜrəs, dɪsˈkɜrəs B, S
dishabille dɪʃəˈbɪl ˈbɪl B, dɪʃəˈbɪl ˈbɪl S
dishvelled dɪʃˈvɛld B, dɪʃˈvɛld S
diverse daɪˈvɜrs B, daɪˈvɜrs S
divorce dəˈvɜrs ˈoʊ, dəˈvɜrs ˈoʊ, ˈdɪvɜrs ˈoʊ

dole dəl B, dʊəl S
doleful dəˈlɛl B, dʊəl ˈfʊl S
dolt dəlt B, dʊlt S
door dʊr ˈoʊ B, S
drama ˈdraːmə B, ˈdraːmə S
draught dˈrɑːt ˈoʊ, dˈrɑːt B, dɹˈɑt S
droll dˈrʊl B, dɹˈʊl S
droller dˈrʊlər B, dɹˈʊlər S
drought dˈraʊt B, dɹˈɑt S
droughty dˈraʊθtɹi B, dɹˈɑθtɹi S
drunken drʌŋkˈn B, dr eruptˈn S
drunkenness drʌŋkˈnəs B, dr eruptˈnəs S
dwarf dɔːr ˈwɔːft, B, S

e-a- (e, ii) as in xixth century, except
in the words cited
ebon ˈɛbən S
ebony ˈɛbən ˈbʌni B
Eden ˈeɪdn O
Edinburgh ˈedənˈbɔːrə D
effigy ˈɛfɪdʒi B, ˈɛfɪˈdʒiː S
effort ˈɛfərt O, ˈɛfərt B, ˈɛfərt S
effrontery ˈɛfroʊˈtɛrɪ B, ˈɛfroʊˈtɛrɪ S
egotism ɪɡˈəʊtɪz ˈbɪ, ɪɡˈəʊtɪz ˈbɪ S
ei = e in veil, either, key, convey (ii) ? D
eight eθt B, eθt S
either ˈɪðər O, əɪˈðər B, F, əɪˈðər S
eleven ˈɛləvn ˈo
encore əˈnɔːkər B, əˈnɔːkər S
despair ɪnˈdəvɜr O, ɪnˈdəvɜr B, ɪnˈdəvɜr S
diagram ɪnˈɡrʌs S

engage ɪnˈɡrɛs B, ɪnˈɡrɛs B
enough əˈnɔʊf ˈoʊ, əˈnɔʊf ˈoʊ, əˈnɔʊf ˈoʊ
enow əˈnɔʊ B, əˈnɔʊ S
ensusənt əˈnɔsəstˈeɪk B
enrol əˈnɔrl ˈrɔl B, ɪnˈrʊl S
environ ɪnˈvərərn ˈoʊ, ɪnˈvərərn ˈoʊ
ere ər ˈoʊ, S
erenite ərˈnɛmt B, ərˈnɛmt S
escholot əˈʃoʊlət ˈbɪ, əˈʃoʊlət ˈbɪ
escholar skɔrˈbɪ, skɔrˈbɪ S
escholarship ˈskoʊləʃɪp B, ˈskoʊləʃɪp B
esperant əˈsɛpərənt B, ˈɛspərənt B
esperantist əˈsɛpərənt ˈɪst B, ˈɛspərənt ˈɪst B
essex ɪˈsɛks B, ˈɛskɛˌɪtər S
exequor ɪˈsɛkˌwɜr B, ɪˈsɛkˌwɜr B
execute ɪˈskɛkwət B, ɪˈskɛkwət B
exhaust əˈkwɔːst B, əˈkwɔːst B
exhort ɪˈkʰɔːrt B, ɪˈkʰɔːrt B
exit ɪˈkɛt B, ɪˈkɛt B
extravagant ɪˈkstrəvæɡənt ˈoʊ, ɪˈkstrəvæɡənt ˈoʊ

F
fabric ˈfɛbrɪk B, ˈfɛbrɪk S
fabrication ˈfɛbrɪˈkeɪʃən B, ˈfɛbrɪˈkeɪʃən B
facon ˈfɑkən ˈbɪ, ˈfɑkən ˈbɪ
father ˈfæðər B, ˈfæðər B
farthing ˈfɑrθɪŋ B, ˈfærθɪŋ B
fast ˈfɑst ˈfɒst S
father ˈfæθər B, ˈfæθər B
fatherly ˈfæθərli B, ˈfæθərli B
fatherlike ˈfæθərkəˈlaɪk B, ˈfæθərkəˈlaɪk B
fatherhood ˈfæθərˌhoʊd B, ˈfæθərˌhoʊd B
fatherly ˈfæθərli B, ˈfæθərli B
fatherlike ˈfæθərkəˈlaɪk B, ˈfæθərkəˈlaɪk B
fatherhood ˈfæθərˌhoʊd B, ˈfæθərˌhoʊd B
fatherly ˈfæθərli B, ˈfæθərli B
fatherlike ˈfæθərkəˈlaɪk B, ˈfæθərkəˈlaɪk B
fatherhood ˈfæθərˌhoʊd B, ˈfæθərˌhoʊd B
fatherly ˈfæθərli B, ˈfæθərli B
fatherlike ˈfæθərkəˈlaɪk B, ˈfæθərkəˈlaɪk B
fatherhood ˈfæθərˌhoʊd B, ˈfæθərˌhoʊd B
fatherly ˈfæθərli B, ˈfæθərli B
fatherlike ˈfæθərkəˈlaɪk B, ˈfæθərkəˈlaɪk B
fatherhood ˈfæθərˌhoʊd B, ˈfæθərˌhoʊd B
fatherly ˈfæθərli B, ˈfæθərli B
fatherlike ˈfæθərkəˈlaɪk B, ˈfæθərkəˈlaɪk B
fatherhood ˈfæθərˌhoʊd B, ˈfæθərˌhoʊd B
fatherly ˈfæθərli B, ˈfæθərli B
G

gallant adj. gal'd-int B, gal'vnt S

gallant n. gel'ant B, S

gallows gel'as B, S

good (goal in O) dzheel B, O, S

gap gsep B, S

gape gap' B, S

garden gar'dn B, greard'n B, S
gauge geedzh D, gaadsh B, geedzh S
gentian dzhen'shin B, dzen'shaen S

George dzhardhs B, dzhaardzh S

Gent Gant D

ghost guust O, goost B, S
gibbous gib'oas B, S

gill dzhil B, S
gills gil' B, S

girl gerl B, gerl S
glebe glib O, B, S
glede gleid O, S

glow gliu B, S

gnat met D, B, S

gnaw naa D, B, S

gold guuld B, S
gone gon D, B, gan S

gossip gosp'ap O, gosp'ip B, gash'ip S
gauge gundzh O, gundzh S

Gough Gof D

Gourd guurd O, gourd B, guurd S
govern govern' B, govar'N

government govern'mint B, gavarn'ment S
grand graend B, grand S
grandeur graend'or B, green'dhor S
grange green'dzh D, S

grant graent B, S
gross greas B, S

great grit O, greet B, greset S

great great B, graat S
grocer gross'or B, groser S
group grup B, S

groveling grov'liq O, grov'liq B, grav'liq S

guerdo gwer'den O, gwerd'en S

guttural got'urul B, got'urel S

gymnast gymn'astik B, dzhimastik S

haunch (hanch in O), haansh O, B, heentsh S

haunt haunt B, haunt haunt S

hautboy how'bqi B, how'baai S

hearken her'kn O, her'kn B, S

heart heart O, heart B, S

heaven hev'n O, D

height heet O, B, hait S

heinous neen'as B, hi'nas S

heir eer O, B, S

hemorrhoids em'veroidz B, hem'oo'aidz S

her hir B, S

herb erb D, B, herb S

herbage er'bidz B, her'bidz S.

herbal er'bil B, her'bel S

here hur O, B, S

heritable er'tibl B, her'itabl S

hero hur'a O, hur'oo S

heroine hur'oin B, her'ooin S

heroism hur'oism B, her'oism S

hern hur on B, hern S

heterogeneous het'erogeniul O, net'er-o-dzhan'ul B, het'rodzhin'ul S

high hai D, B, hai S

hoard (hoard in O), hoard D, hoard B, S

Holborn Hol'born O, D

hold hould B, hould S

honest on'ist B, an'ist S

honey hon'i B, hai'ri S

honour an'ir B, an'or S

host host B, hooist B

hostler ost'hir B, astor S

hough hof D, hak S

housewife haz'if B, haz'wif S

hovel hovel O, hov'il B, hav'il S

hover hov'er O, hov'er B, hav'er S

huge huudsh B, huudsh S

humble am'bl D, ambl B, am bl S

humor i'mar B, S

huzza huzza B, S

hyena hai'ena B, hai'j'ne S

H

h—mute in honour, honourable, herb,

heir, honest, humble, D

habitual neeb'erial B, neeb'ial S

haft neeft B, neft S

half haaf O, haef B, S

halfpenny neep'ini B, neepeni S

halleshy neel'irdz B, nela'luva S

handkerchief han'd-kirtshir B, haq'kerishir S

handsel han'sel B, C

harlequin har'al'kin B, haer'lekiin S

haste neest D, B, S

hasten neest'n D, B, S

I

idiot id'jet B, id'jet S

impugn im'paq B, impiun' S

incisive ins'iziv B, ins'ai'isziv S

indict indait' B, indait' S

indictment indait'ment D

injure in'dzhor B, S

inspires ins'paiz' O, inspaiz' B, in'spaiz' S

instead instd' B, insted' S

invalid adj. invel' el B, S

invalid n. invelilid' B, S

inveigh inve' O, invi' B, invee' S

inveigle invir' B, inveeg' S

iron airon O, D, a'orn B, a'orn S

is iz B, S

Isaac is'zæk D
isle oil B, ail S
issue is'ju B, iv'shu S
isthmus ist'mas B, iv'mas S

J
James Dzhiimz O
joint dzhaento B, dzhaent S
Japan dzheepen' B, dzheepen' S
jeopardy dzhep'ardi O, dzhep'ardi B, dzhep'ardi S
jewel dzhuur'ld B, S
John Dzhoen J
join dzhoen O, dzhoin B, dzhain S
joint dzhoint O, dzhaint B, dzhaint S
jointure dzhoin'tor B, dhaain'tshar S
jolt, jolt' dzhoul B, dzhool S
jolt dzhoul't B, dzhool't S
justle dzhast' B, S
justle dzhast's B, S
Julie dzhuns B, S
juncture dzhäqk'tar B, dzhäqk'tshar S
June Dzhuun B, S
justle dzhas'l B, dzhas'l S

K
kali ke'lo B, ke'li S
key kii O, B, S
kith kii O, D, B, S
knave neev B, F, S
knoll nool noyl O, nal S

L
lanch laansh O, laensh B, laentsh S
language laeq'widb B, laeq'wedzh F, laeq'widzh S
lath laath B, leath S
laudanum laad'nam B, lad'nam S
laugh lef O, D, leef B, lef S
laundry landry leen'addr B, keen' dri S
laurel laatl B, larl S
learning leerniq B, lerniq F, lerniq S
leave leevi B, levi S
lecture lek tar O, lekt'or B, lek'tshar S
leaveard liiward B, liuward S
leisure leez'hor B, leez'tor B, lezhur F, liizhar S
leopard lep'ard B, lep'ard S
lessee (leasse in O) liisii O, leisii B, S
lessor (leassor in O) liisor O, lesor S
listen liis'n B, S
lieutenant liuent'enent O, liuten'ent B, liu'tent S
loath laath B, looth S
loth loodh B, S
loan loan O, loan B, laain S
London Lon'en B
lost lost B, last S
lough lof O, lak S
lustring lu'strik B, liu'strik S

M
machine mæshiin' D, B, S
magazine magavz'in' O, B, S
maijn maelah B, maelah' S
matkin maal'kin B, maa'kin S
maul maal B, mael S
malmsey maæmsi B, maam' zii S
maniac maen'ayæk B, maen'ayæk S
mare meer O, meer B, S
marine marin' B, S
marestahl mær'shal D, mær'shel B, mær'shel S
mangle maan'dzhar O, meandzhar B, meandzhar S
mantra men'to B, men'to S
many men'B, men'I S
marchioness maerc'tshon'ez B, maerc'tshon'ez S
marriage mærdzhdh D, B, S
mass (mAash in O) miish O, mæsh B, S
mass mæs B, S
meacock mii kok O, mi'kak S
medicine med'sh in S, B, S
medioity midz'ok'riti B, needzhak'riti S
memoir mimoir' B, meema'air mii'mwat S
mere miir O, B, meer S
miniature mnu'ietiur B, mnu'itshar S
minister min'istir B, min'istar S
minute adj., mainiut' B, miniat' S
minute n. min'at B, min'i t S
misery miiz'ti B, miiz'ori S
misprision mispriz'ən B, mispriz'ən S
mistress mis'tris B, S
mail moil O, mail B, maail S
moiety moovit B, mævo'eti S
Monday Man'mi B, Mon'dee S
Monmouth Man'math D
monsieur mon'siuur B
moor moo O, B, S
more moor O, mooor, S
most muost O, most B, moost B
mould mauld B, mould S
moul't mault B, moilt B
move moov muuv O, muuv D, B, S
move n. mou O, mau S
mushroom mash'truun B, mash'truum S

N
natural nat'jur'l B, natural F, natsh'zel S
nature nee'tar O, nee'tar B, nee'tshar S
navy nev'i B, neev'i S
neigh mii B, nee S
neighbour nee'bour O, ne'dhir B, neid'h S
new niu B, nuu F, niu S
numio nem'sha B, man'shee S
nuptial nap'shail O, nap'shel B, nap'she
O

obligo oblîidz'h d, oblîish d oblîidz'h b
oblîidz'h oblîidz'h s
oblique oblî k b, oblâik s
obscene obsîn o, b, absîn s
occasion ake'z'ân b, ake'z'han s
of ov d, b, av s
of c, af s
oil oil o, oil b, aâl s
ointment ointment o, oint'mint b, aâint'ment s
ones wên s, wâns s
one on wan d, wên b, wan f, wan s
one-eyed wên-ôl'ul b, wan'lad s
oneness wên'nis b, wãn'nis s
onion aân'vân b, s
only òn'l'ul b, òn'li s
oordl ar'd'ul b, aârd'âl s
owel aân'wel o, òs'ul b, òwl s
oyer ôz'ir b, aâîr s
eyes oos'îz b, oôîs s

P

poîm paam o, paàm b, pàm s
palsy paàl'zi b, paâl'zi s
parliament paér'limt d, paèr'limt b, paèr'limt s
passed paest b, f, s
patent peêt'nt b, paêt'nt s
patentee peêt'n'î b, paêt'n'î s
path paeth b, s
perfect pa'rif d, perfet b, perfekt f, perfikt s
peremptory perèm'tôrî b, perêmtôrî s
perfection perèf'sk'en b, d, perèf'sk'en s
perfectly pa'rif'tî b, pa'rif'tî s
perform pa'fôrm b, f, perfa'rm s
pervig perèvîg b, per'vîg s
pervour pe'z'dhôr b, s
pervorse pèrs'v'rs b, pèrs'v'rs s
pervert pe'vôrt vèr'vert b, vèr'vert s
pestle pe'stl b, pe'stl s
petal pe'tel b, pe'tel s
petard pe'târd b, pe'te'târd s
phalanx pe'la'n'ks b, fe'e-la'ks s
Pharaoh pe'faôr d
philosophy foilos'î b, filàs'î S
phlegm fleim d, fleim b, s
philosopher fložh'zhan b, floo'geist'on s
philosophy foilos'î b, filàs'î S
platha pe'la'n'z'â b, pièz'â s
picture pi'k'tôr o, pik't'or b, pik't'ôr s
pier pièr b, S
pierce pièrs o, pers pièrs b, pers s
pin pin b, pin s
placeard pleèk'ârd b, pleèk'ârd s
plain pleet b, s
plea plîi o, b, s
plough plôu b, plou s
point point o, point b, paàint S
poison poîzn o, poîzn b, paà'tzn S
police polîs'î b, polîl'î S
pool poûl o, pool b, S
pomegranate pàm'grâ'n'ît O, pàm'grâ'n'ît b, pàm'grâ'n'ît S
pommel pâm'el d, pâm'îl b, s
pomp pàmp b, s
poniard poin'tôrd b, pàn'jôrd S
poor poor o, puûr b, s
porch poôr'îsh S
porpoise pàr'pôiz pôr'pôz b, paârg'pôz S
port pôrt o, port b, poôrt S
post pûst o, post b, poost b
posture pos'tûr b, paâst'shôr S
pothe r paðh'îr b, paðh'ôr S
poultry poul'tîs o, poul'tîs b, pool'tî S
pour pûr o
precise prîse'zî b, prîs'î s
premier pèrm'îr b, prem'îr s
prescience prèc'sîns b, pri'shêns s
pretty pre'tî b, prîtî S
process prèss'î b, prèss'î s
profile pro'foil b, proôfîlî s
prologue pral'ôg o, pral'ôg S
prove prôv prûv o, prûvô d, b, S
prout prôul b, praul S
prude pûrôd b, pruad S
psalm psàlm o, psàm b, S
ptisian tîs'ian b, tìza'n s
pudding pud'în b, pud'îq s
puiése pùir'zn b, pùnî s
pumice pùr'mis b, s
pure pûûr o, piûr b, s
pursue pùrsôû b, S
pursuivant pôr'sîv'ent b, pôr'sîv'ent S
push pus'ô b, S
put put b, put S

Q

quadrangle kwèd'reaq'g'1 b, kwèd'reaq'g'1 S
quadrant kwèd'rent b, kwè'd'rent S
quadrille kwè'd'rel b, kêdré'l S
quadruped kwàd'riûped b, S
quaff kwàf b, S
quality kwàl'üti b, kwâl'üti, kwâl'üti persons of high rank, S
qualm kwàlm o, kwàalm b, kwàwem S
quandary kwàn'déri b, kwândéri S
quantity kwànt tîti b, kwànt'tîti S
quantum kwàn'tâm b, s
quarrel kwàr'îl b, kwàr'îl S
quarry kwàrr'i b, kwârt i S
quart kwàrt b, s
quarter kwàrt'ôr b, kwaârtôr S
quash kwàsh b, kwàsh S
quarto kwàr'tô b, kwaârtô S
quatrein kwàat'treën b, kwàa'trîn S
quay kîi o, kwee b, kee S
queen kwi'n B, S
drawn queen kwi'in B, S
question kwest'jon B, kwest'shan F, kwest'shan S
quire kair B, kwair S
quof' kof' B, kwaif' S
quoit kait B, kwai't S
quoth kloth B, kooth S
R
ragout reeg'nus' B, reeg'n S
railery reel'eri B, rel'eri S
raisin reez'n O, ree'zin B, ree'zn S
rant recent B, rent S
rapier reep'pir B, reep'piir S
rapine reep'pin B, rep'pin S
rapture reep'tjur B, rep'tshur S
ratio rasha' B, reasha' S
reason ree'zan B, rii'zn S
receipt resesct' resis't B, riisist' S
recipe res'ipi B, res'ipee S
reign reen O, B, S
rein reen O, B, S
rendard ren'eward B, ren'ward S
rendevous ren'divuz B, ran'deevu S
rer riar O, reer B
reserved resir'vid resir'vid B, rizer'vid S
resin res'zn B, S
resource risours' B, riisuurs' S
revert rivart' rivert' B, rivert' S
ribband rib'ban D, rib'ban B, rib'in S
rigging rig'gin B, rig'git S
roguelaure raku'lo B, rak'loo S
roll rool raul O, raul B, rool S
romance roomens' B, S
Romane Ruam Ram O, Ruam B
ronion ron'jon B, ran'jan S
ruin ruost O
rouge roudzh O, roudsh B, ruuzh S
rough raf' O, D, B, S
rule riul B, ruul S
rust ruiz B
rustle rool' B, S
ruth roth B, runth S
s
saffron saef'ron O, D, B, saef'ron S
salmon saim'non O, sem'non D, B, S
safe saile B, S
salve saav O, sav'e B, selv S
sausage saes'idsh B, ses'idzh S
scale skal'd B, D, S
scare sker' O, skers B, skers S
scath sketh B, sketh S
scene sien O, B, S
sceptic skep'tik D, B, skept'ik S
schedule sed'iul B, skedzh'uul S
scheme skiim O, B, S
schism sizm D, B, S
scoff skof B, skaf S
scold skould B, skould S
scotch skootsh skotch B, skatsh S
scrivener skriv'ner O
scroll skroul skroul O, skroul B, skrool S
scourge skardzh O, skoardzh B, skardzh S
scrutaire skriutoor B, skrutoor' S
sea sii O, B, S
seamstress siim'stris B, sem'stris S
scearc sers B
seize siz O, B, S
sensuous sen'siuous B, sen'shuas S
serene sirin' B, F
sergeant ser'dzhint B, ser'dzhent S
servant ser'vont serv'vit B, serv'vent S
severe siv'ur O, B, S
sew sii did sow O, soo does sew B, S
sewer shoor B, siu'er wai'or, shoar'
watercourse, sou'or one who sews S
shalt shaa'it B, shael S
shawn (shalm in O), shaa'm O, B, S
shepherd shep'ird B, shep'ard S
sherd sheerd B, shed S
shew shiu did shou O, shoo does shou B, S
shire shiir O, B, shair S
shirt shart B, S
shoe shau B, S
shorn shuurn O, sharn B, shaarn S
short shart B, shaart S
should shuud B, shud S
shouder shaul'dor O, shoul'dir B, shoold'er S
shrew shroo O, shroo B, shruu S
sigh saith, better soi B, saih S
sick sik B, sik S
sign sain D, B, sain B
signior sinior D
signitory sev'or B, sin'oori S
sin sin' B, sin S
since sien D, B, S
sirocco sirok' O, sirak'vo S
sirrah sier'z O, si're B, sier'z S
sirup sirop B, serup S
sixth siskt B, siksth S
skeleton (skeleton in D), skel'etan D, skel'eten B, skeler'tan S
slander slae'endir B, skender D
slant slaen't B, skent S
sleight sloit B, slait S
slough slof' B, slu B
sloven sloven B, slov'n S
smouldering smoul'driq B, smool'deriq S
sojourn sood'zharn B, S
soul soyled B, soold S
sold sould B, sould S
soldier sould'ir B, soold'or S
sonata sooci'tae B, soonee'tae S
soot soot' D, B, S
sootiness sat'inis B, sat'inis S
sooty sat'i B, suuti S
soul sool B, S
Pronouncing B, sueable suitress suitor sue sudden supremacy supra supra- supinity support supra- supremacy supreme surd surmise sure surmount surfaces sure

nullip tiu'lip B, tshu'lip S
tumid tiu'mid B, tshuu'mid S
tumour tiu'mor B, tshu'mor S
tumult tiu'malt B, tshu'malt S
tune tiu B, tshuun S	
tutor tiu'tor B, tshuu'tor S
tyrant tair'rint B, tair'zent S
twelve-month twel'm-th B, twel'month S
twelvepence twel'pens B, twel'pens S
twelvepenny twel'pen B, twel'penny S
twopence tap'pens B, tap'pens S
typify taip'iifi B, tip'iifi S
tyannice tair'anaiz B, tair'anaiz S
tyannous tair'anas B, tair'anas S
tyranny tair'eni B, tair'eni S

U
union iu'n B, S
unlearned onl'ærned' B, onl'ærnd' F, onl'ærnd S
untrue antru' B, S
uphold oph'ould' B, oph'ould S
usquebaugh osh'ibaa' B, osh'weebaa' S
usual iu'zvil B, iu'zhuel S
usurer iu'zair B, iu'zhar S
usurious iu'zvrites B, iu'zhuurites S
usury iu'zvri B, iu'zholil S

V
vacuous veek'iuas B, veek'iuas S
valet va'lit B, va'let va'le S
Vaughan Vaan D
vein veen B, S
venison ven'zun O, D, ven'sun S
everdict ver'dikt D, ver'dit B, ver'dikt S
verjuice ver'dzhus B, ver'dzhus S
vermicelli ver'mel'l B, ver'mistsel'li S
vicious viis'mas B, S
viuiterler viu'tler D, viu'tler B, viu'tler S
viuitals viu'tz B, B, S
village viu'ilsh B, viu'eldzh F, viu'ilsh S
villain viu'lin B, viu'len F, viu'len S
virile viu'riil B, viu'raiil S
virility viu'ril'i B
virtue viu'tiu B, veer'tshu S
viscount viu'kaunt B, viu'kaunt S
voyage voov'idsh B, voov'idsh S

W
wabble waeb'l B, waeb'l S
wand wad B, wad S
waft waft B, S
waftage waaf'tidsh B, waaf'tedzh S
winecoct wen'skoct O, wen'skoct B, wen'skoct S
walk waak B, S
wallow wawl op B, wawl S

V
walnut waal'nut B, S
wan wun B, S
wand wend B, wand S
wander waan'dir B, waan'dor S
want waant B, want S
wanton waant'n B, waant'n S
war waat O, B, S
ward waart O, B, S
warn waarn B, O, B, S
warn waarn O, B, S
warrant waar'tint B, waar'tent S
warnen waaren O, waaren'B, waaren S
was waaz B, waaz S
wash waash B, wash S
wasp wasp B, wasp S
wast waast B, wast S
waste weest D, B, S
watch waqt B, waqt S
water waat'or O, D, waat'or B, waat'tor S

W
wattle waet'l B, waet'l S
weapon waip'n O, B, waep'n S
wear weer O, B, S
Wednesday Wenz'dee D, Wenz'di B, Wenz'dee S
weight weet O, B, S
were weer O, wer B, wer S
where wheer O, B, S
whistle whis'l B, S
who huu B, S
whole whool B, F, hool S
whom huum B, S
whose huuu B, S
why whai B, hway S
windpipe win'peip B, waing'paip S
windlass wiin'lis B, wiin'les S
windmill win'mill B, waing'mill S
withhold withhould B, withhoold S
wold wodd B, S
wolf wulf B, B, wulf S
woman waom'O, waom'in B, woom'an S
womb woom D, wuum B, S
women woom'in B, S
won won B, wan S
wont won B, wont S
woo wu B, S
word woor B, ward B, S
work woork B, wark B, S
world woorld O, world B, S
worm woom worm O, worm B, S
worry woori O, war'i B, S
worship woorship O, warship B, S
worst woorst worst O, woorst B, worst S
worsted wuursted warsted O, warsted B, wurs'tid S

W
wort wort B, S
worth woorth B, S
would wu B, uuld F, wuld S
wound wound O, B, wuund S
The following rhymes from poets of the xviii th century have been collected from Walker and Prof. Haldeman (supra p. 1035). The names and dates of the writers are:

Beattie 1735—1803 | Falconer 1730—1769 | Lyttelton 1709—1773
Broome 1689—1745 | Fenton 1683—1730 | E. Moore 1712—1757
Churchill 1731—1764 | Gay 1688—1732 | Pope 1688—1744
Cotton 1707—1788 | Gifford 1757—1826 | Smollett 1721—1771
Cowper 1731—1800 | Goldsmith 1728—1774 | Somerville 1692—1742
Croxall d. 1752 | Gray 1716—1771 | Tickell 1686—1740
Darwin 1731—1802 | Hoole 1727—1803 | Warton 1728—1790
Eusden d. 1790 | Johnson 1709—1781 | Watts 1674—1748

It must not be forgotten that these writers were greatly influenced by the pronunciation of the xvii th century, in which some of them were born, and to which their parents all probably belonged, and hence they might be apt to consider those rhymes which would have been correct in their parents' mouths even more correct than others which they now permitted themselves. It was a century of transition for ea in especial, and probably also for a, the first travelling from (ee) to (ii), and the second from (ææ) to (ee). “Glorious John” Dryden, who died at the beginning of the century, was looked upon as a model of versification until Pope gained the ascendent, but Pope was certainly materially influenced by Dryden’s usages. Bearing this in mind, we must expect the rhymes to present nearly the same character as those in the preceding century, and our examination of Tennyson and Moore (pp. 858-862) shews how potent the influence of the xviii th century writers still remains.

The arrangement is therefore the same as for Dryden, p. 1034, and the xvii th century, supra p. 1036. The numbers point out the same groups as in those cases.

1. Car war, Pope. regards rewards, Gay. far war, Darwin. afar war, Falconer. star war, Beattie. care war, Pope. square war, Darwin. are war, Cowper. safe laugh, Pope. glass place, Pope. must made, Pope. take track, Pope. past waste, Pope—would probably never have been used, had they not been an heritage from the preceding century. But Pope may have had an antique pronunciation.

2. As ai and a long had both become (ee), these rhymes need not be noticed.

3. Wear star, Pope. plain man, Pope. remain’d land, Pope. air star, Pope. far air, Johnson. appear regular, Pope. err singular, Pope—must also seek their justification in the usages of the xvii th century. The pronunciation of the preceding or succeeding century only renders the rhymes worse.

4. Waves receives, Pope; take speak, Pope; shade meal, Pope; race peace, E. Moore; were now perfect rhymes, and past feast, E. Moore, was apparently justified on the authority of the preceding, although it had long ceased to have its old meaning (ææ, ee), and had
become (æ, ee) or (æ, i). Obey tea, Pope; away sea, Pope; convey sea, Warton; full’d reveal’d, Gay; display sea, Gay; airs, ears, Gray; sphere bear, Pope; sphere there, Pope; ear repair there, Pope; were all perfect, although the (ii) sound had begun to be acknowledged for (ee, e). But: there transfer, Fenton; here refer, Pope; were fear, Eusden; steer character, Pope; field hold, Pope; were remnants of the xviith century usage. Heath death, Pope; death heath, Beattie; drest feast, Pope; break neck, Pope; yet complete, Cotton; decay’d fled, Lyttelton; were all rhymes of a long and short vowel (ee, e) and: feel mill, Pope; ship deep, Falconer; rhymes of long and short (ii, i), doing duty for (ii, i). Perhaps: receives gives, Pope; steals hills, Warton; were (ee, i) standing for (ee, e); and: stretch beech, Gray, was a confusion of the two last cases.

5. No instances of (e, i) have been collected; but they were no doubt sufficiently common.

6. With: high pillory, Somerville; fry jealousy, Pope; buy dispensary, Pope; sky company, Pope; we may class: eyes rise precipice, Pope; rise precipice, Pope; wise inconsistencies, Pope; delight wit, Pope; revive live, Pope. But: winds finds, Croxall, is justified by the still persistent “poetic” pronunciation of wind as (wond). We of course find also: free liberty, Pope, and many such instances.

7. Joined mankind, Pope. refin’d join’d, Tickell. join divine, Pope. join line, Pope, Churchill, Falconer. shine join, Beattie. thine join, Lyttelton. join thine, Gifford. soil smile, Falconer. guile toil, Smollett. smile toil, Johnson. smiles toils, Hook. These were in accordance with received pronunciation, but: vice destroys, Pope, seems to be a liberty. Weight height, Pope, Falconer, was regular as (wect, neat).

8. Such rhymes as: none own, Pope, which was perfect, or else (oo, ou), seem to have led poets to use: known town, Gay; brow grow, Pope; brow woe, Croxall; vows woes, Pope; power store, Beattie; own town, Pope; adores pow’rs, Pope, although they were (oo, ou) at best. We have also (oo, o) treated as if it were a rhyme of a long and short vowel, in: sun upon none, Pope; lost boast, Pope; show’d trod, Pope; gross moss, Pope; coast tossed, Falconer; thought wrote, Broome. Also the old rhymes of (oo, uu) depending upon the still older (oo, oo) in: took spoke, Pope; boor door, Goldsmith; and even: assure door, Watts. The usual confusions, likewise an old tradition, occur in: blood wood, Pope; blood good, Pope; stood blood, Falconer, Pope; mood flood, Warton; wood blood, Gay; wood blood, Darwin; broad flood, Cotton. And to the same tradition is perhaps due the rhymes of come with (oo) or (uu): home come, Pope; doom come, Pope; dome come, Pope; come room, Pope; come tomb, Warton; bloom come, Gifford. The following rhymes were perfect: doom Rome, Pope; tomb Rome, Darwin; gone stone, Croxall; house vows, Pope. Perhaps: house vows, Churchill—where vows is the French (vu)—was only meant to be absurd; still it may have been in use as a slang term at the time.

9. No instances of (eu, iu) or (iu, uu) have been noted, but the latter were not all uncommon.

10. Groves loves, Pope. grove love, Johnson. rove love, Smollett. grove above, Gay. throne begun, Pope. moves doves, Pope. prove love, Pope. fool dull, Pope. These seem to have held their ground from pure convenience, as did also: flung along, Pope; long tongue, Pope; songs tongues, Watts. Full rule, Pope, is only a short and a long vowel rhyme (u, uu).

11. The influence of (r) is apparent in: horse course, Pope; sort court, Pope; board lord, Pope; resort court, Pope; borne return, Pope; worn turn, Pope. But in: observe starve, Pope; desert heart, Pope; ermine charming, Gay; we have also a xviiith century tradition.

12. Nature creature, Gay; nature satire, Gay, Gray; fault thought, Pope; were perfect rhymes (neeeter kreeeter seceter, faat thaat); and perhaps in: call equivocal, Pope, the last word was pronounced with (AA) for the occasion, at any rate such rhymes were an ancient tradition, as they were common in Spenser. Even: still suitable, Pope, is half justifiable, as the -ble here is only a -bil obscured. But could: caprice nice, Pope, have ever rhymed as (keapriss’, naiss) or as (keapriss’, niss)? Of course: eve grave, Warton, was a mere license, and: arms warns, Goldsmith, was perhaps meant for an assurance.
CHAPTER XI.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE PRONUNCIATION OF ENGLISH DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

§ 1. Educated English Pronunciation.

On referring to Chapter I., pp. 18 and 19, the reader will see that in thus endeavouring to give an account of the Pronunciation of English at different periods, I have been throughout thoroughly aware that there was at no time any approach to a uniform pronunciation. On referring again to p. 408, it will be seen that my attempts were really limited to discovering the value of the letters employed, which I believed to be pretty uniform within the boundaries of England. This value of the letters seems to have been based on the ecclesiastical pronunciation of Latin, and considering that Latin letters were introduced by priests, and that priests were long the only scribes (shewn by our modern use of the word clerk), such a conclusion has some a priori probability. In Chap. VI. it will be seen that the actual diversity of pronunciation gradually overpowered orthography, which, after the successful phonetic effort of the xviiith century in introducing the distinctions ee, ea and oo, oa, subsided into tradition and printing-office habits. In Scotland indeed an approach to systematic orthography developed itself at the conclusion of the xvth century, and this thenceforth distinctly separates the Scotch from the English orthography. ¹

¹ Suprà p. 410, n. 3, and Mr. Murray's Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland (1873, 8vo., pp. 251), p. 52, where he says that on comparing the older extracts from the Brus, preserved by Wyntown, with the later MS. of 1489," we find "as ay, ei ey, yi, oi oy, ui, oui, for the old a, e, i, o, u, ou, Ags. æ, e, i, ë, ù." And he attributes this to "a defective pronunciation of the diphthongs ai, ei, oi, etc., whereby the second vowel was practically lost, and the combination treated as simple long æ, e, ë," referring to a similar custom in Gaelic, and "even where the second vowel is audible, it is not with a distinct i sound as in Eng. ay, oil, . . . . but rather an obscure vocal glide, like the e in the words drawer, layest, weighed, sayeth, seest, prayer, and so easily disappearing altogether. The same pronunciation appears to have been given in central and north-eastern Scotland to the Ags, and French diphthongs," thus awă-eh for awny, ră-en for rain, chôes for choice, etc., "imperfect diphthongs" which "still characterise the Scotch dialects." Then "ay, oi, ei, being looked upon merely as ways of expressing long æ, e, i, they began to be extended to all words with long vowels, where there had been no original diphthong. . . . Hence the alternative forms mad made maid mayd mayde, tas tase tais tays, etc., found often in the same page of works belonging to the transition period." No reader of this work should fail to study Mr. Murray's, to which frequent reference must be made in the present chapter. The diphthongal theory here intimated will come again under consideration, when reviewing the dialectal relations of the vowels, in § 2, No. 6, iv. below; but as the other dialects were not literary after the fifteenth century, they did not influence orthography.
Orthoepists as a rule ignore all this. It would have been impossible to learn from Hart that \textit{ai} had any other sound in his day than (ee), and yet we know from other sources that (ee) was not even the commonest pronunciation of \textit{ai} at that time. The Expert Orthographeist allowed only four words in \textit{ea} to have the sound of (ee). No doubt he considered such a sound in other words to shew ignorance or vulgarity; for the “polite” sounds of a past generation are the \textit{bêtes noires} of the present. Who at present, with any claims to “eddication,” would “\textit{jine}” in praising the “\textit{pints of a picter}”? But certainly there was a time when “\textit{ed}duca\textit{tion}, \textit{join}, \textit{poyn}t, \textit{pichter},” would have sounded equally strange.

Moreover in past times we are obliged to be content with a very rough approximation to the sounds uttered. When in the xiv\textsuperscript{th} century I write (e), it is possible that speakers may have rather, or may have occasionally, said (\textit{e, e, u}). My (o) in the xv\textsuperscript{th} century may have been (\textit{o, o}), my (\textit{o}) in the xvii\textsuperscript{th} may have been (\textit{e, o}), and so on. But at the present day, with the language in the air around us, surely it must be easy to determine what is said? It is not at all easy. There is first required a power, not acquired without considerable training, of appreciating utterance different from one’s own. It is indeed remarkable how unconscious the greater number of persons appear to be that any one in ordinary society pronounces differently from themselves. If there is something very uncommon, it may strike them that the speaker spoke “strangely” or “curiously,” that “there was something odd about his pronunciation,” but to point to the singularity, to determine in what respects the new sound differs from their own, baffles most people, even literary men, even provincial glossarists, who apply themselves to write down these strange sounds for others to imitate. At any rate there has been hitherto evinced a general helplessness, both of conception and expression, that shews how much special education is necessary before we can hope for real success in appreciating diversities of utterance.

But this overcome, the mere observation is beset with difficulties. The only safe method is to listen to the natural speaking of some one who does not know that he is observed.\textsuperscript{1} If possible the pronunciation should be immediately recorded in some phonetical system intelligible to the listener, as in palaeotype, and the name of the speaker and date should be annexed. This is most conveniently done during the delivery of sermons or lectures. The only objection

to this course is that a preacher or lecturer knows that his style of speech is liable to be criticized, and he may therefore indulge in rather a theoretical than a natural delivery. This is especially the case with professed orthoepists, whose pronunciation will necessarily labour under the suspicion of artificiality. And again this plan is of course only possible with educated speakers, who are mostly fanciful in their pronunciation. It is never safe to ask such people how they pronounce a given word. Not only are they immediately tempted to "correct" their usual pronunciation, to tell the questioner how they think the word ought to be pronounced, and perhaps to deny that they ever pronounced it otherwise;¹ but the fact of the removal of the word from its context, from its notional and phonetic relation to preceding and following sounds, alters the feeling of the speaker, so that he has as much difficulty in uttering the word naturally, as a witness has in signing his name, when solemnly told to sign in his usual handwriting. Both forget what is their usual habit, because they have long ceased to be conscious of the required efforts in speaking and writing, as in any other ordinary exertion of the muscles. I have myself found it extremely difficult to reproduce, for my own observation, the sounds I myself ordinarily utter; and yet I have undergone some training in this respect for many years. Uneducated persons, from whom we thus endeavour to elicit dialectal sounds, are simply puzzled, and seldom give anything on which reliance can be placed.

Observations on such sounds are extremely difficult to make. It is only persons of phonetic training who have lived long among the people, and spoken their language naturally, such as Mr. Murray for Scotch, that have had a chance of acquiring a correct conception of the sounds by hearing them unadulterated, and even then there is danger of their not having been able to throw off their former habits enough to thoroughly appreciate the received English sounds with which they would compare them.² When a stranger goes among the country people, they immediately begin to "speak fine,"

¹ A dear old friend of mine called me to task many years ago for saying (lek'tshə), she had "never heard" (that's the usual phrase, and this lady, who was far from being pedantic, spoke with perfect sincerity, though in obvious error) "any educated person use such a pronunciation; she always said (lek'trùur) herself." Of course, as we were talking of lectures, in the next sentence she forgot all about orthoepy, and went on calmly and unconsciously talking of (lek'tshə) herself. This one out of many instances is recorded, because it made a great impression on me at the time.

² Hence one of the great difficulties of key-words. Each pronounces them according to his own habit, and thus frequently confounds sounds essentially distinct. This has been a source of great difficulty to myself when endeavouring to collect information respecting English dialects, and is one of the impediments in the way of using a uniform spelling, as glossic, for dialectal purposes. Collecting country words is looked upon as an amusement, not as laying a brick in the temple of science; and, curiously enough, an accurate appreciation of their sounds is one of the last things thought of, and one which few glossarists give themselves any trouble about. Yet it requires great care and much practice, and its neglect renders the glossaries themselves records of unknown words, as for the extinct Forth and Bargy dialect.
or in some way accommodate their pronunciation to his, in order to
be intelligible, or grow shy and monosyllabic. An attempt to note
their utterances would drive many to silence. It is seldom an in-
vestigator is so fortunate as Mr. Nicolas Wyer, whose Dorset
experiences I shall have to record. I endeavoured on one occasion
to learn something by accompanying a gentleman, resident near
Totness in Devonshire, while he was speaking to his own workmen,
and listening with all my ears to their replies, noting them from
memory immediately on my return to the house. But this is
obviously a fragmentary, although a comparatively safe, method, and
consumes much time. The usual and quickest, but not the safest
plan, is to catch a person of education, as a clergyman or surgeon,
who has had free intercourse with natives, or else a native born,
and collect the sounds from his lips. In the first case, however,
they are diluted by false impressions, as when one learns French
pronunciation from a German. In the second they are apt to be
faded memories, much spoiled by exposure to the light of received
pronunciations. It is for these reasons perhaps that we seldom find
every word in a dialectal specimen written phonetically. Many of
the little words, which failed to attract attention, are passed over,
and of those written phonetically only the most striking parts are
indicated, and the writer seeks to deviate (like Mr. Barnes in his
second series of Dorset poems) as little as possible from the usual
orthography. This is all very well for one who knows the dialect
already. For an outsider it is merely tantalising or misleading.

But, even with phonetic training, and willing and competent
teachers, it is difficult to hear the sounds really uttered, if only a
short time is at command. We know, by the frequent mishearing
of names, or of unexpected words, although every sound in them
is perfectly familiar, how extremely troublesome it is to catch new
combinations of old sounds. When both sounds and combinations
are strange, as in a dialect or foreign language, this difficulty is
materially increased. The sounds of language are very fleeting.
Each element occupies a very minute part of a second. Many
elements are much hurried over, and all are altered by combination,
expression, pitch, intonation, emotion, age, sex, national formation.
We hear as much by general effect, rather than by the study of
individual elements, as we often read a manuscript rather by the
look of words than by the forms of their letters. Hence if the lan-
guage is unknown, both spoken and written words become unin-
telligible. The ear must have lived among the sounds, to know
them instantaneously at the most hurried encounter, to be able to

1 See Mr. Murray's remarks on modern Scotch orthography (ibid. pp. 75–
77), which, he says, "to the actual spoken language bears precisely the
relation that is borne to Chaucer's English by a modernized version of his
writings, using the present English spelling, except for obsolete words, or
where prevented by the rhyme." In fact, "three-fourths to nine-tenths of
the words are old friends" to the eye of an Englishman; but if he gets a
Scotchman to read, "not more than three words in a hundred would be heard
as the same as the English words with which they are identified in spelling." Numerous corroborations will occur hereafter.
eliminate individualities and know generalities. One of the great dangers that we run in attempting to give a strange pronunciation, is to confuse the particular habit of the individual with the general habit of the district which he represents. Every speaker has individualities, and it is only by an intimate acquaintance with the habits of many speakers that we can discover what were individualities in our first instructor. Not only has age and sex much influence, but the very feeling of the moment sways the speaker. We want to find not so much what he does say, as what it is his intention to say, and that of course implies long familiarity, to be gained only by observation. (See especially the previous remarks on pp. 626–629.)

The difficulties of determining the exact generic pronunciation of any language or dialect at any time, the knowledge indeed that from individual to individual there are great specific varieties, by comparing which alone can the generic character be properly evolved, must make us content with a rather indefinite degree of approximation. It is not too much to say that most phonetic writing is a rude symbolisation of sound. It answers its end if it suffices to distinguish dialects, and to enable the reader to pronounce in such a way that the instructed listener shall be able to determine the dialect which the speaker means to imitate. Hence, really, only broad generic differences can be symbolised by an outsider. But the speakers themselves feel, rather than accurately understand, the errors committed in this imitation, are aware of differences, although they can seldom name them, which distinguish sub-dialects, villages, cliques, individuals. And these differences are as philologically important, as, geographically, the streamlets which, trickling down the mountain-side, subsequently develope into rivers. It is only by a strict investigation of the nature of fine distinctions that we can account for the existence of broad distinctions. Hence phonologists occasionally endeavour to symbolise even the smallest. Their success hitherto has not been too great. But they have at any rate produced weapons which few can wield. Hereafter, perhaps, when phonetic training is part of school education,—as it should be, and as it must be, if we wish to develope linguists or public speakers, or even decent private readers,—ears will be sharpened, and distinctions about which we now hesitate will become clear. Then we may learn to separate the compound speech-sounds heard into their constituents, as surely as the conductor of a band can detect the work of each instrument in a crashing chord. In the mean time we must do something, however little, vague, and unsatisfactory it may appear, or the foundations of our science will never be laid.

My object in the present section is to examine, so far as I can in a small compass, the pronunciation at present used by educated English speakers, without attempting to decide what is "correct." That I have not even a notion of how to determine a standard pronunciation, I have already shewn at length (pp. 624–630). But such a determination is really of no interest to the present inquiry. We merely wish to know what are the sounds which educated
English men and women really use when they speak their native language. Considering that Mr. Melville Bell has noted sounds with greater accuracy than any previous writer, I shall take first the 26 words in which he condenses "the English Alphabet of Visible Speech," and carefully examined them, not for the purpose of determining the values of the letters (supra pp. 567-580), or the expression of the sounds (supra pp. 593-606), although the tables of these already given should be constantly consulted, but of determining; so far as possible, the actual sounds used in speaking English, and the method of putting those sounds together. Properly speaking these lists should also be supplemented by another, containing those words which are variously pronounced, but to give this at full would be almost to write a pronouncing dictionary. I shall, however, furnish a few lists of varieties which I have actually heard and noted, and some passages carefully palaeotyped after Mr. M. Bell, Prof. Haldeman, Mr. Sweet and myself. After this consideration of educated, or artificial, literary speech, I will in the next section take up that of uneducated or natural or organic local speech, known as English dialectal pronunciation. Although my notes on this part of my subject may appear almost too full, yet they are really both imperfect and brief, considering that dialectal speech is of the utmost importance to a proper conception of the historical development of English pronunciation, just as an examination of the existing remains of those zoologic genera which descend from one geological period to another, serves to shew the real development of life on our globe.

The object of the following examination is to determine as precisely as possible the phonetic elements of received English pronunciation (23, b), and I shall for brevity constantly refer to the preceding pages where they have been already incidentally noted and explained, and shall adopt the style of reference employed in the indices. A number followed by the letters a, b, c, d, signifies the first, second, third, or fourth quarter of the corresponding page; the addition of ab, ba; bc, cb; cd, dc, indicating lines near the divisions of those quarters. If the letter is accentuated, the second column is referred to. Thus (23, b) means, page 23, second quarter, and (51, d') page 51, fourth quarter, second column.

AN EXAMINATION OF MR. MELVILLE BELL'S TWENTY-SIX KEY-WORDS TO ENGLISH SPEECH-SOUNDS, AND OF THE RELATIONS OF THOSE SOUNDS.

Summary of Contents.

1. One. (w w o w), relations of (w b h), Prof. March's (w), Welsh w, Latin v. (o a), Welsh y, Dutch u, French eu, German o. (n), English and continental (t t, d d, n), Sanskrit cerebrals or coronals, and dentals. (d d, n, n th), Synthesis (w e n).

2. Two. (t t). (u u, u u "u auw). Synthesis (tuu, th un, th un, tduu, "tduu).

3. Three . (th th th thh), Trilled and untrilled r (r r, r h r r). (i i, i, i i "i i), Synthesis (thri, thrhri, th d h ri).

4. Four. (f th ph). Diphthongs with (i, i, e ca oo au, i t e e 60 au, i ne i e e u, u u u, u u, AA AA). Rapid (f a). Synthesis (fool), length of first element of (oo).

5. Five. Diphthongs of (oi) class, (o i u h i, ai ai ai, a a, a a, a a, a a).

Greek eu ai, (y a h i a h y a h a h).
The (oi) series (ūi, ū, ūi, ūi or ɔ'i) (v, f) relations to (blh, ph), German and Dutch w, v, f, (n), Hungarian v, f, Sanscrit v. Synthesis (b'iv, v'ówr), English final (v-f, -zvs, -dtht, -zhsh), German initial (sz-).  
6. Six. (s sh, s sh, t s tš) Spanish s, z. Basque s, (i i) Dutch i, (k k). Synthesis (sks).  
7. Seven. (v x e e, e e e e e e) (n, n n, l'm 'n 'j). Synthesis (sev'n).  
8. Eighth. (ee e ē e e ē e ej) Dutch ce ej; when (ee) tends to (ee'). Final mutes (t t' t' t' t' 2). Glides > <, initial (t <), medial (t > t), final (t > t'). Synthesis (set ee'jt), initial glottides (ee; ee 2).  
9. Book. (p b, t d, k g, p ii b ii, p ii 'bii 'bmii, b ii, b, "p, 'bıp"). Dutch rule for p b. (u u). (k g) labialised (kw ge, tw de, kh ghe), palatalised (kj gj tj dj), and labio-palatalised (kw gjgj tw djgj). Synthesis (bak).  
10. Watch. (a o, ou A0), Diphthong (A') and German Diphthongs. (sh sh sh s d z d, zh, s t sh). Mr. Goodwin's (kj gj), Sanscrit e kh, j jh, ç sh, Italian ec, ge, Polish cz. Synthesis, (w o < t < sh).  
12. Feathers. (dh th, dhh, dhdh) (ux x, zs). Synthesis (f < o d < v z s).  
13. Tongues. (g q, a, a as ag, oq, Aq oq qg qg'qk'gq'gth qth-gdh), French nasalis. Synthesis (t < o > q-z-s).  
14. Whip. (wh), Mr. M. Bell's "rudimental symbols", supra p. 15, 9a, 5a, 9b, 9k, 9c, 9l and 9m, 9c + 9m, 10f and 5f, 10e, 10d; material of speech ('i "th th 'h 'h'), Vocables, Glottis, (l ; jh gh q l ; jh , h h n h rh), Glides slurs breaks ( > < ) 2). Sanscrit aspiration, ûshan, soshan, anûshan, jhûvâmûlya, upadûmânya, spiritus aspiratus, spiritus lenis, visarjanîya. Japanese syllabary. English aspirate. Sanscrit h. English hisses and buzzes. Generated (lh rh mh nh), conversion of Sanscrit m, n into visarjanîya, (l-1h-t, t-1d-t), sinths sinths). German initial s = (sz-). English final z = (sz-). Anglo-saxon hw hr hl hm hp. English c = (wh, phw, whw).  
15. Lamp. (I lb lhh lhh). Confusion of (d l r), Egyptian, Chinese, Japanese (l), Sanscrit lri, lri, and rii. (k e, ah a), Dutch e, Hungarian e, Danish a (a). Variable English a in chaff pass ask bath chance (a a ah). (m' m mh m). Synthesis ('i < a > m-p').  
16. Onions. (i jh, ghj kjh, gjh kjh). Brücke's, Merkel's, and Lepsius's theories. Relation of (i w) to diphthongs. Synthesis (e > n-j-j < w > n-s), (n, nj, nj).  
19. Tent. (nt, nhnt). Synthesis (t < e > n-t').  
22. Monkey. (m, æ e, q kh, k t). Synthesis (m a a q-k r).  
1. (w)—continued.

examples of this introduced (u) hereafter; see the general remarks on dialectal vowel relations, § 2, No. 6. Much interest attaches for many reasons to the sounds (w, bh) (513, d) and diphthongising (u) (185, a). Foreigners generally find considerable difficulty in pronouncing (w). Educated Germans domiciled in this country, even with English wives and families, are frequently unable to separate the sound of (w) from that of their own (bh), and Frenchmen, Italians, etc., substitute a diphthongising (u). That initial w is not (u) in English results almost with certainty from woo, wooded, = (wuu, wuud), the latter with a very long vowel. In wood, would, woman, = (wed, wu'wmen), it is conceivable that (uud, u'ummen) might be said. Welshmen, untrained, say (uu), see (785, o, 101, a, d) (uud), and (uud, u'mmen),—compare Sir Hugh Evans' o'man, as the fo. 1623 writes it in the Merry Wives, act 4, sc. 1,—and some Scotchmen and Englishmen say (wad, wa'men) (176, a), just as we all now say (wu'nda) and not (wu'nda), but the Welshman Salesbury said (wnder), see (777, c). An article which I wrote on the Latin V consonant in the Academy for 15th Jan. 1872, distinguishing a diphthongising or con-sonant (u) from the English consonant (w), induced Prof. March, of Easton, Pennsylvania, U.S., author of the well-known Anglo-Saxon Grammar, to write me a letter on 22nd March, 1872, of which the following are extracts. Not having been written for publication, they take the form of rough notes:

"We have here students of many nationalities. That makes it easy to get a general conception of almost any sound. Perhaps the mixture makes the sounds unreliable for so minute distinctions as you take note of. A native Welshman from South Wales, not yet having command of English, pronounces w just as I do, has no difficulty with woman, never did have, pronounces Welsh words beginning with w in the same way, never heard any other sound for them; so he says. Makes a good v for Welsh j, touches his teeth fairly; never knew any other way. But English was spoken as well as Welsh in his native place, and he has always heard it [1. See remarks at end of quotation].

1. (w)—continued.

"Our German professor does not make w exactly as I do. He says he was directed by his English teacher to begin with oo (u), and he does, following with a weak v' (bh) [2]. Practically it is a good w for us. I ought to say, however, that his German w is much nearer the English w than that of many Germans. The students who read German with him always catch from him w, and not v. It used to be the direction for German w at Harvard, to 'make English w without the initial oo sound' [3].

"All this about w I have mentioned as a kind of introduction to the statement that I always thought the Latin v was our w. Their having no separate letters for u and v seemed reason enough [4], before I thought of the German; and the apparently close analogy between the German hearing of our w and the Greek representation of the Latin v, i.e. the careless b in common nouns, the more careful vb, and the occasional refined oβ for proper names, as well as the facts of phonetic change, seemed to speak for English rather than German.

"The distinction between English w and your diphthong con-sonant ϋw I had not made [5], and I am not absolutely certain that I do not myself make what you would call the diphthongal ϋw where you make a different sound as English w. The difference between my making out, wo and German wie, seems to me this. Set tongue and lips for oo (u) and issue breath (sonant), then without moving the lips change the tongue for i, and it gives out [6]. Set as before and issue same sonant breath, but, with the change of tongue for i, move the lips, constricting slightly, and then quickly letting them fall loose, and you have English we as I make it [7]. The difference between out and we seems to be essentially in the lip movement.

"For the German, omit the tongue-adjustment for oo, and make a lip-movement somewhat similar to the English; but in the English w the mouth is, even when nearest to closure, still open, and in the oo form; so that, if held steadily, a resonant oo might be made through the aperture [8]. In the German I draw my upper lip down to my lower lip till it just ticks and is kept from touching along a considerable line.
by the buzzing breath. The difference here seems to be in the form of the lips at their nearest approach, the English being nearly oo, and the German nearer b. To me the English oo, as I make it, is one of the easiest of letters, and the German one of the hardest to make after oo, as in the German attempts at English oo" [9].

On these careful observations I would remark, [1] that the fact of the Welshman having constantly heard English (w) rather disqualifies him for a test. See also [5] at end.

[2] The direction given to a German to begin with (u) and go on to a gentle (bh), that is to call see (u, bhūf)—for l see (419, d)—is merely a contrivance to make him raise the back of his tongue properly, (u*bh), or the simultaneous utterance of these two sounds being almost exactly (w), compare (762, d'). Compare also Lediard (1047, o). The old Greek Ïµβ for Latin v consonant ought to point out the same thing. But here doubts arise into which I cannot now enter. That this German should be heard by American students to say (w) rather than (v) upsets the (v) theory of Brücke by a crucial test.

[3] This direction is the reverse of the former, and makes (bh) = (w—u), or (w) with the tongue depressed, a good shorthand rule, though I find "(v) without touching the teeth " easier. Indeed, and it is also more correct.

[4] Any one who reads Salesbury on I consonant (754, ð), will see that such an opinion is untenable.

[5] My theory was that Latin V, Ð, when before a vowel were (u, i), forming a diphthong with a following vowel on which lay the force, as (u, ü, uâ; ié, ìa), etc.—for this notation see (419, o)—or con-sonants as I called them, as long as VV, ÐI, did not occur in writing, but that the introduction of these in place of VO, and simple Ð, shewed the development of a consonant form (in the modern sense), and I took those later consonants to be (bh, ð), rather than (w, ð), in consequence of the large field of (bh) in comparison to (w). Prof. March's doubt as to whether his own ð is not my diphthongising oo, precisely the natural Welsh sound as I conceive, renders his identification of the Welshman's pronunciation with his own, no proof that the Welshman really said (w).

[6] This direction should give (uu'), or (úy). I hear the French sound as (uí), without any intermediate (y), and with the force on (u), shown by the frequent form (ã'í) or (ãii) with a sharp whispered or voiceless (i). Henceforth I use (u) for whispered (u), see (10, ð), the vocal chords nearly touching each other, and ("u) for voiceless (u), the vocal chords as wide apart as for ordinary breathing, and so on for other vowels. All these distinctions will be fully considered below No. 14, (wh).

[7] This should give (u—w'j-i), where (w') means (w), with the tongue as for (i), instead of as for (u). I believe, however, that it is meant for (uwi), where (w) is so gradually formed from (u) by constriction, that two syllables are not felt. There would be the slightest possible difference between (uwi) and (ui), but I have not yet observed or noted either of these sounds among Englishmen or Americans,—by no means a proof of their non-occurrence.

[8] If a clear (u) could be heard through the (w) position, (w) would be (u); to me this is not possible; (w) is a buzz, more like (z), which has a central passage, than (y), which has a divided passage, but still distinctly a buzz, from want of a proper resonance chamber, the aperture being constricted. In both (w, bh) I feel the lips vibrate much more strongly than for (u).

[9] As a gradual constriction, (uw) is easy enough, but it has no syllabic effect, that is, no distinctly appreciable glide, like (ubh). The opening (wu) is more syllabic, but (bh) is still more so, owing to the greater change; (yw, wy) are more difficult to me than (ybh, bpy). But (iw, ew, aew) are syllabic, with 'stopped' vowels, and hence quite distinct from (iu, éu, ðu), and not very difficult to my organs. Still even here (ibh, ebh, ñbh) are easier to me. Of course (iv, ev, ñw), which are frightfully difficult to a German, are perfectly easy, as in to live, heavy, have.

In a review by Mr. D. R. Goodwin on Dr. R. G. Latham's English Language (North American Review, No. 154, Jan. 1852), which I shall have again occasion to cite, I find the following (p. 8), which gives another American observation on (z, w) comparable to Prof. March's, and which I cite as the
1. (w)—continued.

only remark of a similar character which I have found: "The semi-vowels (lene) may be described as a sort of fulcrum or pivot of articulation, in passing from the English e (or i short) to any closely subjoined vowel-sound, in the case of y; and from u or oo to any such vowel-sound in the case of w. Thus in yarn, wit, we may give first the full sounds ee-arm, oo-it, where, between the initial vowel-sound ee, oo, and the following vowel-sounds, the organs pass through a certain momentary but definite position, which gives the character of a consonant-sound, and which we have denominated a fulcrum or pivot. If now the vowel part, the ee- or oo-sound be reduced to a minimum, and be begun immediately, upon this pivot or fulcrum, and pronounced yard, wit, we shall have the y and w representing sounds of a proper consonant character."

By the expression "semi-vowels (lene)" and by afterwards saying that they have only a "momentary" position, Mr. Goodwin excludes the continuant character of (w), and hence we must suppose certain mutes and sonants, that is, explodents of the same character as (g, b) in the position of (i, u), with the aperture quite closed up. Now the first of these explodents answer almost precisely to (kj, gi), introduced in No. 10, (sh), and slightly different from (kj, gj), as will be there explained at length. These sounds, however, are difficult to keep from (t, dh, dzh), as will there be shewn, and it is notorious that (w) after (t, d) or (k, g) generates such sounds. The lip-explodent, however, cannot be clearly kept from (b) itself. Mr. Goodwin surely did not mean (gi, b) to be his "lenesemi-vowels."

A less degree of contact must be assumed, and writing (gi, b) for these theoretical sounds, according to the principle explained in No. 7, (e, x), Mr. Goodwin's explanation seems to give y, w = (%bj, %ub1).

English (w) is to me a buzz, with small central lip aperture, back of tongue raised, and with the muscles of the lips not held so tightly as for (bh), so that the expelled voice can easily inflate both upper and lower lip beyond the teeth, which are kept well apart, and do not at all stop the passage of the breath. The well-known confusion of w, v, perhaps arises from (bh), but is esteemed odiously vulgar (186, de), and will be considered hereafter.

(æ, ø). The habits of English speakers vary with respect to (æ, ø), and no one would be remarked for pronouncing either in a syllable under accent or force. But to my ear, (æ) has often a thick, deep effect, naturally unpleasant to one accustomed to (ø), which, probably, to the other speakers is fully as unpleasantly thin and high. The position of the tongue for (ø) is much higher, and its form flatter, than for (æ), in which the tongue lies in precisely the same position as for (a, o, ø), as roughly shewn in the diagram (14, b). The (æ) position of the tongue is the most neutral and colourless of all, but, leaving a much narrower channel than for (æ, a, ø, æ), produces a finer and more delicate sound. I usually assume the sound heard to be (ø), unless the effect of (æ) is very marked. There seems to be no significance attached to the distinction (æ, ø). These vowels in syllables under force are, among European nations, said to be exclusively English, Scotch, and Welsh. According to Dutch writers (Donders and Land, who are both acquainted with English), the English is different from the Dutch short ū, which is (œ) or (ø), as in French œu and German ö, and not (æ), as wrongly stated (236, æ'). The English sound is not labialised at all, although it has sprung from a labial (u, u), and there is great confusion in the way in which (u, ø) are used at the present day (175, b). The intermediate sound between (u) and (æ) or (ø) seems to be (uø) or (u), pronounced with lips as open as for (o), a sound which to unacustomed ears hovers between (u, ø, æ, ø), but is said to be prevalent in the north of England. The Welsh (y) is sometimes (æ), but this sound is not universal in Wales, p. 763. The sound (on) is heard only in such phrases as "a good un, little 'un"; of course it is not an abbreviation of (wen), but an independent and older formation, unaffected by a prefixed (u). Being unemphatic, Mr. Bell would also consider it as (en) or (un), instead of his emphatic (an). The sound of such unemphatic syllables will be considered hereafter.
1. (n).

(n). The tip of the tongue for received English (t, d, l, n) is not so advanced towards the teeth or gums, as for the continental sound. In my own pronunciation (n) is not even gingival, that is, the tip of the tongue does not even reach the upper gums. Mr. J. G. Thompson, of the Madras Civil Service, in his lithographed pamphlet, "An unpointed Phonetic Alphabet based upon Lepsius' Standard Alphabet, but easier to read and write and less likely to be mistaken, cheaper to cast, compose, correct and distribute, and less liable to accident" (Mangalore, 1859, pp. 64), distinguishes four classes of t, d, l, n.

1) Linguatul, which, from his diagram, are apparently palatose type (tj, dj, lj, nj), to which I shall have to recur in Nos. 10 and 16 below. 2) Palatal, which by the diagram are are (r, l, n), and which I believe correspond more correctly to the English sound as I pronounce them, the tip of the tongue being laid against "the very crown of the palatal arch," except that I touch the palate with the upper and not the under part of the tip, so that the tongue is not at all inverted. The inversion of the tongue, as shewn in the diagram, seems to be due merely to roughness of drawing. "The palatal t," says Mr. Thompson, p. 31, "is pronounced by pressing the tip of the tongue vertically against the crown of the palatal arch so as to close every passage for the breath," which however is not possible unless the sides of the tongue also press against the palate and side molars, "and then withdrawing it with considerable force, while the breath is forcibly expelled." These are the so-called "cerebals," and the (r, l) are the four-dotted Indian (r).

3) Gingival, in which the tip of the tongue touches the gums, and which he recognizes as the English t, d. 4) Dental, where the tip of the tongue is put against the teeth, is the continental t, and the Indian two-dotted t (d). "The gingival sounds of t and d," says Mr. Thompson on p. 23, "seem to be peculiar to English. Lepsius quotes the t in town as an example of the dental t: and this is a common mistake of foreigners, and one of the greatest obstacles in the way of their acquiring the pronunciation of English.

Singularly enough the same mistake has been made by Wilson in his Sanskrit Grammar. But Forbes has perceived the truth. On such a point, however, the evidence of the natives of India is worth more than that of any Englishman, and in almost every word they represent our t and d by the palatal [cerebral] letters of their alphabets. Thus in a Telugu advertisement in the Fort St. George Gazette, the words Devonshire Julia Edward Act commander appear as (dianushyiru dzhullulju edwardu aaktru komaamaaDuru).

... In advertisements from the same paper from another office, the words government and private secretory appear in Telugu as (gowurnmendu, pravieet sekrireer), and in Tamil as (gowarnmendu, pinaveeram sekrireer). That the English t is not a dental letter anybody may convince himself by pronouncing a continental or Indian word in which a dental t occurs, and immediately giving the same sound to the t in town letter boat." But we have not to go abroad for this purpose. The dental t before r is very common in our own northern dialects.

In my palaeotype I erroneously used (t, d, l, n) for dentals, as giving greater force, and thickness to the vowels. I have however employed (tj, dj, lj, nj) occasionally. This inconvenient notation, involving the mutilation of a type, I propose to replace by (t, d, l, n), where the turned grave (') preceding a letter shews it has to be taken more forward. We have then (tj, tj, tj, t) for this series, and there is also the Arabic (tj), which is difficult to define, but which Thompson classes as a lingual (tj), together with thick Gaelic t, of which I know nothing. This is from an English point of view. A foreigner would consider our (t, d) as retracted. The English (t, d, l, n) are peculiarly light, and do not thicken the sound of the following or preceding vowel at all. I doubt whether this thickening effect (tj, d) is really due to the peculiar position of the tongue and the glide thus formed. I am inclined to think that it must be accompanied by a peculiar action of the throat. Thus practically I find myself able to produce almost similar effects with the English retracted (t), by the muscular actions involuntarily resulting
1. (n)—continued.

from a proper mental intention when

As this page was passing through the

Mr. K. G. Gupta, a native of Bengal, well ac-

the Benares school, had the kindness to give me oral

Mr. Murray was also fortunately pre-

I shall have occasion to recur to

the modern Indian pronunciation of

Mr. Gupta, who has resided a considerable
time in England and speaks English
perfectly, had just returned from Paris.

He distinctly recognized his own

mruddhanya or cerebral ħ, as the

true English sounds, and his own
dental, or as he considers them "soft,"

t, d, as the true French sounds. To

some Indians, then, the distinction,

Indian (n) and English (t d), is

inappreciable. If palateype were

introduced in a foreign book, cer-
tainly "n" would be used for the

English and Indian cerebrals, and "t

d" for the dentals. But it is strictly

necessary in a work intended for English

people to make the distinction between

the usual English (t d) and foreign
dental (t d) clear to the eye. Foreigners

will observe that for (t d) the tip of

the tongue touches the crown of the

palate, and hence these letters will be
called coronal, and for (t d) the

tongue is brought absolutely against

the teeth, and hence they are dental.

In all the foreign words hitherto in-

troduced, in which (t d) have been

written, (t d) must be understood.

The use of (t d) was an anglicism

which will be avoided hereafter, except

as an abbreviation, after due explana-
tion. The ordinary speaker of received

English is altogether ignorant of the

sounds (t d), and when he hears them

confuses them with his own (t d).

Many Englishmen who have resided

for years in India never learn to ap-

preciate the difference. Yet in a

Calcutta newspaper, (The Englishman,

10th May, 1873, p. 4, col. 2, in an

article quoted from the Friend of India,
of 8th May,) we read: "If any one

says the English cerebrals are like

enough to the Indian dentals, to repre-

sent them, let him remember the words

Magistrate and Superintendent written

in Bengali. Moreover a man who con-
fuses dentals and cerebrals in Bengali,
says stick when he means kick, sixty
when he means seven, and is unable to
distinguish a lease from a leaf, a cannon
from a hat, fear from market-price, and
pease-porridge from the branch of a
tree." And the only English dentals

which Mr. Gupta admits are (th, dh),

for which the tip of the tongue is in the

same position as it is for his (t, d), the

sole difference consisting in the tightness

of closure, formed by the sides of the

tongue. The description of (n) on pp. 4

and 9 as (t d) or "(t d) with an inverted
tongue," is incorrect for Sanscrit त ल

and must be omitted. This definition

arose from Dopp's stating that they

are pronounced by bending the tongue

far back and bringing it against the

palate" (indem man die Spitze der

Zunge weit zurückbiegt und an den

Gaumen setzt, Gram. der Sans. Spr. in

kürz. Fass. 2nd ed. 1845, p. 15), and

Mr. Gupta distinctly repudiated in-

version. But (n) may be retained as

special signs for the Indian cerebrals,

until their identification with the Eng-

lish coronals has been generally acknow-

ledged. Mr. M. O. Mookerjey (1102, h)

qualified his identification of (n) with

(t d) by a saving "almost." Possibly the

Indian sounds may be retracted (t d).

As to (n,n) Mr. Gupta said that no

distinction is now made in pronuncia-
tion except in connection with following

consonants. In Pāpini's name, for

example, both n's are alike (n); no
distinction between (n,n) being heard

in India. The nasal resonance would

be the same, but it is possible to make

the glides on to and from vowels

sensibly different. We must conclude

that the ancients felt a difference, or

they would not have used two letters,

although this and other distinctions

have been lost in modern speech.

In the (n) there is a complete closure

by the tongue, so that the lips may be

either open or shut, and there is com-

plete resonance in the nose. Compare

the effect of a person saying one with

or without "a cold in the head," that

is, with incomplete and complete nasal

resonance, as: (wod, wan). The nasal

resonance is prolonged to the last, so

that there is no approach to (wond,
1. (n)—continued.

\( \text{(wən)} \). The method of synthesis must be observed. The labiality of the \( (w) \) should not affect the following vowel, changing \( (o) \) into \( (oh) \), or \( (a) \) into \( (o) \), even as a gliding intermediate sound, though carelessness in this respect may be one cause of the generation of \( (\text{wən}) \), through \( (\text{wən}, \text{wən}, \text{won}) \), if indeed \( (on) \) were not original. Hence the lips have to be sharply opened, and the buzz of the \( (w) \) scarcely audible, except of course for certain rhetorical effects. The \( (a) \) is short, but may be of medial length; if it were prolonged, it would give the effect of \( \text{wun} \) \( (\text{wən}) \), although there must be no trill; indeed \( (\text{wən}, \text{wən}) \) are not uncommon cockneyisms. The prolongation is thrown on to the glide to \( (n) \), which is the same as that to \( (d) \), and on to the \( (n) \) itself. The uvula does not act to open the passage to the nose till \( (a) \) is quite finished. Any nasalising of the vowel, as \( (\text{wən}) \), is quite abnormal, although occasionally heard, but not among educated English speakers.

2. TWO, \( (\text{tuu}) \).

\( (\text{tuu}) \). The tip of the tongue against the crown of the palate, see (1096, e).

\( (\text{uu}) \). The throat not widened, a clear flute-like sound, with no approach to \( (oo) \) in it. It may be short, however, as well as long, and should not end with a whisper \( ('u) \), or hiss \( ('u) \), or consonant \( (w, \text{wh}) \), as in Icelandic (548, d). But it may end with much diminishing force. With some perhaps it tends to \( (\text{uun}) \). Mr. Sweet tells me that he has detected himself in saying \( (\text{təw}) \). In Danish he says there is a slight final hiss after \( (ii, \text{un}) \), thus \( (i\text{h}, \text{uwh}) \), see his paper on Danish (Philol. Trans. 1873-4, p. 105). Perhaps the Danish sounds are rather \( (i\text{u}\text{hh}, \text{uunwh}) \).

2. (\text{tuu}).

\( (\text{tuu}) \). For the synthesis, observe that for \( (t) \) the glottis is quite closed, but not so tightly as to be forced open by an explosion, and that the vocal ligaments should begin to vibrate for \( (\text{nu}) \) simultaneously with the release of the closure \( (t) \). But in Germany and Denmark the glottis seems to be open when \( (t) \) is held, so that on its release some unvocalised breath escapes first, which may be expressed by \( (\text{tyun}) \), see (10, co), when gentle, and \( (\text{tyun}) \) when jerked. Some public speakers in England cultivate this habit, thinking that \( (\text{tuun}, \text{duun}) \) are thus more distinctly separated. It is not, however, usual with English speakers, though Irishmen are given to it. If the glottis be tightly closed for \( (t) \), and then the breath is made to break through it with explosion, we hear \( (\text{tjyuu}), \) which, when \( (t) \) is taken dental as \( (\text{tyyuvu}) \), has a very singular effect, sometimes heard from Irishmen, but not at all received. The quiet way in which an Englishman says and distinguishes \( (\text{tuun}, \text{duun}) \), without any effort, is remarkable, when contrasted with an Upper German's struggles. The vowel-sound should commence at the instant that the \( (t) \) contact is released, so that the glide \( (\text{uu}) \) from \( (t) \) on to \( (\text{uu}) \) is quite distinct. The voice should not commence before, or the effect \( (\text{tduu}) \) will be produced, as in the Yorkshire \( t' \) door, giving a kind of pause before \( (\text{duun}) \) and a thickness to the \( (\text{uu}) \) which is not received English, or else giving a German implosion \( (\text{t}-\text{d}-\text{uu}) \). This implosion consists of a dull thud produced by compressing the air between the closed glottis and the closure produced by the tongue tip for \( (\text{t}) \), lips for \( (\text{p}) \) and back of tongue for \( (\text{k}) \). See Merkel, Physiologie der Menschlichen Sprache, p. 149. What is here said of initial \( (t) \) applies to initial \( (p, k) \) with the variants \( (\text{pH}, \text{PH}, \text{pHH}, \text{PHH}, \text{kL}, \text{kHH}, \text{HH}) \). See an explanation of \( (\text{t}) \); in No. 8, (\text{et})]. The whole subject will be more systematically discussed in No. 14, (\text{wh}).

3. THREE, \( (\text{thrii}) \), but \( (\text{thri}, \text{thru}) \) are perhaps more commonly heard.

\( (\text{th}) \). The tongue is brought fully against the teeth, so that \( (\text{th}) \)
3. (th)—continued.

would be the proper sign; but this will be used for the variant produced by thrusting the tongue between the upper and lower teeth, instead of simply pressing it against the upper teeth. We do not say (tth) initially, as some Germans think. We use that combination finally in eighth (eighthth),—quite a modern word, the old form being eighth (eet),—and on sounding it the speaker will feel his tongue glide forward from palate to teeth. Compare also successive words, as “bread that is cut thin.” Initially (tth) would be necessary and not difficult. In Greek τὸ is common medially, originally perhaps τ(τ,τη) and afterwards (tth). The hiss is sharp, but weak compared to (s). It is easily confused with (f), and is actually so confused dialectally.

(r). Mr. Bell distinguishes English (r) as untrilled, as, in fact, a buzz, which may be written (r), “the point of the tongue contracting the oral passage between it and the upper gum” (Visible Speech, p. 52). But so far as I have noticed, r before a vowel is always trilled (196, 18), unless there is an organic defect or bad habit in the speaker, not at all an unusual occurrence, and then some other trill, of the lip, uvula, or cartilaginous glottis, is substituted. The effect of a trill is that of a beat in music, a continually repeated “make and break” of sound, the different effect of the different trills resulting from the glides thus produced. See the phonautographic curves of the different trills in \textit{T. C. Donders, De Physiologie der Spraakklenken (Utrecht, 1870, pp. 24)}, p. 19. It is of course possible to produce a central hiss or buzz in the (r) position without interrupting the sound by a trill, and the result is different from (s, z). There is, however, some difficulty to those accustomed to trill, in keeping the loose tip of the tongue stiff enough not to trill. When this is accomplished, there is another difficulty, in keeping the front of the tongue far enough from the palate not to produce (s, z), and yet not so far as to give simple (a). This untrilled (r), which will henceforth be marked (r), when buzzed, and (r,h) when hissed, has therefore a great tendency to fall into (a), or some such indistinct sound. Mr. Bell always writes (r,) in English, representing trilled (r) by (r,). Hence my transcription of his character in 3g, or that in col. 3, line g, p. 15, was erroneous. The English (r) is in the (t) position, but a dental (r) also occurs. This (r) is recognized in the Peak of Derbyshire by Mr. Hallam, as will appear below. In Sanscrit Mr. Gupta (1096, a) found that no r occurred after coronals, (1096, e), and in pronouncing the dentals (t, d) before the trill, he decided that the tongue remained forward, so that his Sanscrit trill was (r). The older grammarians differ, and only Pāṇini classes r as a coronal (cerebral). (Whitney, \textit{Athar. V. Prātīc. p. 29.}) There is, however, also a recognized retracted Indian (r), which Mr. Gupta pronounced to me, the root being drawn back and the whole front half of the tongue “flopping” rather than trilling. There are doubtless many other tongue trills. In Scotch, and also in Italian, the trill is strong (r).

(ii). This bright primary sound is, I find on careful observation, not so common in English as I had once thought it to be. Men with deep bass voices find it difficult to produce. The wide (s) seems much more usual, and is especially frequent after (r). For (s, i) see (58, a, 53, \textit{de} 106, \textit{be}, 106, a, d, 544, e). I have found such combinations as the following, in which (s, i) follow each other, useful in drawing attention to the difference; the (i) should be much prolonged in practiseing them. “Let baby be, with ugly glee, the glassy sea, worthy thee, a wintry tree, thy enemy me, they chiefly flee, a bulky key,” also “of a verity (ve'tri) tis very tea (ve'tri tii); a trusty trustee (tro'st trostii).” There is sometimes a tendency to correct the error and say (i), which may be the first step from (ii) to (ai) (473, c), although a different origin for this change will hereafter be assigned (see § 2, No. 6, iv). There seems to be no generally recognized tendency to hiss out such a final (ii), thus (thrii), as a French final (ii) is occasionally hissed, or to close with such a hiss (iiii), or with a consonant (iiy, iibh). But such sounds may occur as individualities.

(thrii). In synthesis, the (th) is
3. (thrii).

very brief, but the change in sound as the tongue is retracted to (r) perceptible. The voice is laid on at the moment the (r) position has been assumed, and is heard throughout the rattle of (r). We never say (urhrrii), by running the hiss on to the trill, or (thdhrrii), by putting on the voice before the tongue leaves the teeth.

4. FOUR, Bell’s (foaî), or (forî, see below, my (foaî), but (fooaî, faaî) are also heard from educated people. I have even heard (famûa) from an educated gentleman, whether archaic, provincial, or puristic, I do not know.

(f). The lower lip is firmly pressed against the teeth, so that the hiss is strong and sharp, not unlike (th), indeed so like that when pronounced by themselves, as in spelling by sounds, it is difficult to distinguish (f) and (th) at a little distance. Hence (saïf, saïth) are both heard for sigh (213, d), and (f, th) are confused in several words dialectally. Of course people with no upper teeth either use the hard gum or say (ph), the regular Hungarian sound of f. Compare remarks on Icelandic ð (642, c) and modern Greek φ (518, b).

(ooi). This is the sound I use when the word is under force. It is a diphthong, the letter (i) representing as I now think (196, be) one of the indistinct sounds (u, a, æ, o, w), with a liberty, seldom exercised unless a vowel follows, to add the trilled (r) of No. 3. My own belief is that in these diphthongal sounds I use (o), but I may say (u). I think that I never say (x, æ). For non-diphthongal (i), see Nos. 12 and 25. For diphthongal (i), Mr. Melville Bell uses a new sign, called a "point-glise" (197, d), so that what I have transcribed (oa) might be more truly rendered (orî), the accent on (o) pointing out the diphthongal nature of the combination, and thus reducing (r) from a consonant to a pure glide; but his son, Mr. Graham Bell, in teaching deaf-mutes, has more recently adopted a notation which is tantamount, in his orthography, to my (60î), using (’) as really a helpless indication of obscure vocality.

There are four of these (i) diph-

thongs in English, in ear, air, oar, oor (57, d. 196, b to 199, a. 200, d to 202, o), which are, I believe, in the pronunciation of strict speakers (ii, cæ, ooa, una), that is, (‘i’, ‘e’, ‘o’, ‘u’) when not before a vowel, and (‘ii’, ‘ee’, ‘oo’, ‘uu’) always before, and admissibly not before, a vowel. The diphthong theoretically indicated by the acute accent mark is quite perfect. There is no tendency to form two syllables, as a general rule. But I have heard (fooyaî, kooyaî) from old people, see (Goor’s) (726, c). Smart says (Dict. art. 64, note) that there is no difference in London between payer and pair. To me the sounds are (peeyaî, peeaî), and the use of the first for the second, which I sometimes hear, appears to me to be an archaism. Instead of (oojaî) or (ooi), however, it is extremely common to hear (aaî) or (aa’, aÅ) if the speaker is very "correct" (95, a, d. 197, a. 246, ab. 575, ed. 603, a’). This (ooi) is the only recognized combination in which (oo) remains in modern English, but it is rapidly disappearing. A few use it in (doog, oo-fVs), see (94, d. 602, eb), but here it is more often (oaî, oë, aÅ), and is intended for (o).

Donders identifies (i) in this combination with the glottal r (ř), see (8, o), saying (op. cit. p. 20): "The sound of (ř) is easy to produce. Sing as deep a note as possible, and then try to sing a deeper one. The voice will be replaced by a peculiar crackling noise (krakend geluid)." After noticing its relation to the Arabic aìn (ة), he says: "Thick voices are inclined to use it as a vowel. Others connect it or alternate it with the voice, giving a tone of lacrymose sentimentality, and, when the mouth is closed, it is heard as a mournful moan. It is also used as a trill. Brücke considers it to be the trill of the Low Saxons. I heard it thus used in the London dialect in a peculiar manner: horse was pronounced simply as ose but with the moaning voice (ř), which gives a little trilling effect to the consonant." But Land (Over Uitspraak en Spelling, Amsterdam, 1870) says: "ř is very soft both in Frisian and English; at the beginning of a syllable it seems to consist of one single stroke of the tongue, and before an explosive consonant, after a long vowel (boerd, peerd, compare English bird, park), it sounds to my ear as if
4. (oo) — continued.

there were no stroke of the tongue at all, but in its place the indeterminate vowel o_12 (a), or, as others pronounce, a guttural explosive, spiritus lenis. For the last it may be pleaded that in singing the English use the full r, which is the only one used in Scotland, Ireland and Wales. Whether the meaning r is heard with the vowel, in place of an r after it,—as Donders remarks of the low London horse,—in the Friesian dialect, deserves investigation in loco." This glottal (r) occurs in Danish. See Mr. Sweet's valuable paper on Danish Pronunciation (Trans. of Philological Society for 1873-4, part 1, p. 109) where he also thinks that I have misunderstood the quotation from B. Jonson (200, c), in considering that he alluded to (a) as the sound in the middle as well as at the end of words, and considers that Jonson may have alluded to the difference between trilled (r) and untrilled (r). I had merely thought that Jonson's illustrations were imperfect, and that he had given no case of middle r, unless the middle r in raver were doubled, as at present (rearr) or (ree'rr). This, however, seems impossible to determine, as Jonson's voice is hushed.

In rapid speaking, four becomes quite (fA), and in "four or five," we have most frequently (fa'tafo'vr), or even (fa'tafo'vr). (foo). The tongue being put ready for (oo) or (AA), while (f) is said with the lips, the glide to (oo) is very brief, but still the (foo) is quite different from (ffoo). The glide (oo) or (60) is very close and distinct, but the vowel is not shortened, when under force. Mr. Bell's (foa) arises from his habitually neglecting to mark the length of the first vowel of a diphthong. As a rule all our peculiar diphthongs (iiA, ééA, òòA, úúA, ééI, óóU) have the first vowel intentionally long, and our usual diphthongs (oa', oA, o'U, iA) frequently lengthen the second vowel, as Hart marked them (152, a). But Englishmen constantly pronounce a diphthong very briefer indeed, so that this length is relative to that of the whole diphthong, considered independently, not to that of the syllable in which it occurs or of other syllables in the word.

5. FIVE, Bell's (faiv), my (fo'iv).

(f). See No. 4.

(oo). See (107, 6a to 109, a. and 234, c6), for the various theories of the sound of this diphthong in English; and (287, e to 291, e) for the Scotch sounds, and (295, e) for the Dutch ij, ei. After much attention to the habits of English speakers, I believe the last element to be really (f), not (i), although I have generally written (ai). This must be regarded as rather a rough symbolisation, the mark of stress not being inserted. In the present chapter, where very accurate analysis is aimed at, I shall almost invariably employ the manner of marking diphthongs already explained (419, c), so that every diphthong or triphthong will have the acute accent on or after (according to typographical convenience) the element which bears the stress, and the adjacent elements glide on to or from that element. Hence Mr. Melville Bell's "glides" p. 10, 65, 64, are represented by (i, u), simply with an acute on the adjoining letter, so that (ai, au) precisely transliterate his symbols. But Mr. Bell's "glides" leave it in doubt whether the second element is (i, u) or (i, u), and these, with many more niceties, are perfectly indicated by the present notation.

The first element of the long i, as I speak, seems to be (a); but when I try to lengthen it for analysis, I seem to take (ah), which has the same position of the tongue, but a wider opening behind. I certainly do not say (ai, di). I occasionally and but rarely hear (ai) from educated people, and have never noticed (di) from them. As a grey-beard, I am constantly asked by children in Kensington Gardens, to tell them the "time." From them I frequently hear (ai, z'i), and I have heard the last from educated women. Irishmen may say (di, oh'i), but I have not been able to analyze the sound. It seems to me that Irishmen have a peculiar method of "widening," or enlarging the pharynx, etc., which gives a remarkable effect to some vowels. Indicating this by an inferior (a), the Irish sound appears to me (o'i). This is, however, a matter of local or individual habit, requiring considerable study to
5. \( o'\) — continued.

ascertain satisfactorily. English singers say \( (a') \), and in singing to a long note seem to sing \( (a\text{-ahh}) \), the chief stress resting on \( (a) \) and chief length on \( (aah) \), with \( (i) \) and the glide up to it very short. The sound in English is hence indeterminate, but those who have learned Greek generally distinguish two values, high and low. The high is \( ei \), one of the forms \( (o'i, ahi, a'i) \); the low is \( ai \), one of the forms \( (ai, di) \). The words \( eye, aye \) are now so distinguished \( (o'i, a'i) \), but the pun on "the noses and the eyes," — the nose and the eyes," sufficiently shews that the distinction need not be insisted on now, as Shakspere's pun on \( I, eye, aye \) \( (112, b) \), shows that he also heard them much alike. There are other diphthongs approaching this, with final \( (y) \) or \( (o) \), but I have not observed them as varieties of \( (o'i) \) in English, \( (o'y) \) occurs in Dutch \( heunp \), and \( (eh'i) \) in Dutch \( lei, (eh'y) \) in Dutch \( huis \) \( (Donders, Phys. d. Spr. \text{ pp. 16, 16}; \text{ see also } Land, \text{ op. cit.}) \), correcting my appreciation as \( (o'y) \) on \( (235, d') \). Observe the Norfolk \( (y) \) in \( (138, c) \). Diphthongisation confounds originally perfectly distinct vowels. When \( (i) \) once admits an antecedent deeper sound, we get the series \( (i, ei, ei, w'i, w'i, ai, aai, a'a, aa) \), till \( (i) \) has disappeared. And by varying \( (i) \) into \( (y) \) there is a tendency to pass to \( (u) \) and hence get into variants of \( (u) \), while by broadening \( (a) \) to \( (a) \) we are at once brought into the \( (di, oh'i, o'i, a'i) \) series, which also comes from \( (di, ut, ut, ai, oi, oi, o'i) \). All these changes, actually observed in practice, are of great philological interest. Their proper bearing cannot be properly appreciated without studying our dialectal vowel relations. Mr. Bell has not introduced an example of the last or \( (oi) \) series among his key-words. It is by no means widely known in the \( (oi) \) form. In older English we had two forms \( (ui, o'i) \). The former regularly became \( (o'i) \) in the \( xvii \text{ th} \) century, and remains in one or other of the many forms of this diphthong vulgarly and in several dialects. The second generally appears dialectally as \( (oi, o'i, a'i) \), but is occasionally assimilated as \( (ai) \). Now by a converse assimilation, educated English, orthographically misled no doubt, has, within the last hundred years, reduced all the original \( (oi) \) set of \( (o'i) \) sounds to \( (o'i, a'i) \), which is far worse than the derided Irish, or provincial pronunciation of \( i \) as one of this series, because the educated pronunciation is simply an orthographically superinduced mis-pronunciation, and the other is an organic development: yet one is upheld and the other ridiculed. Educated ignorance is always absurd.

5. \( o' \) — continued.

(y). The buzz of \( (f) \). It is remarkable that though this sound is so easy and common in English, French, and Italian, it should generally be found difficult. The observations of Merkel (\text{Phys. d. mensch Spr. pp. 211-12}) show that although he knew \( (f) \), he had no proper conception of \( (v) \), which Brücke and Lepsius claim for German \( w \). He says: "\( (f) \) cannot as such be vocalised or combined with vibrations of the vocal chords; the organs are obliged, in the attempt, to assume an intermediate position between that of \( (ph) \) and that of \( (f) \), and to separate so far that they can occasion no sensible noise \( (erhebliches Geräusch) \). When then sonant breath is driven through them, we hear a sound, which is scarcely at all \( (fast \text{ gar nicht}) \) distinct from \( (bh) \), but for which the lips are not exactly opposed, the under lip being somewhat retracted under the upper lip," and hence he does not distinguish \( (v) \) by a separate sign. But all Englishmen can press the lower lip \textit{firmly} against the upper teeth and \textit{buzz}, that is, produce the effect of a mixture of vocalised and unvocalised breath. The way in which \( (v) \) can shade into \( (bh) \) is remarkable \( (549, a, d. 518, b, d') \). With reference to the remark on Sanscrit \( v \) on p. 518, the following citation from Prof. Whitney (\text{Atharva-Veda Prátičākya, text, translation and notes, New Haven, U.S., 1872, p. 26}) is important: "The Vāj. Pr. ... defines the same sounds, [the \( e \)-series, \( u, v \)] as produced upon the lip and by the lip, and then adds farther that in the utterance of \( v \) the tips of the teeth are employed: the same specification as to \( v \) is made by the Tātt. Pr. (its commentator explaining that in the utterance of that letter the points of the upper teeth are placed on the edge of the lower lips) ... The descriptions of \( v \) given by the two Prátičākyas of the Yajur Veda, as well as that offered by the Paninean scheme (which declares its organs of
utterance to be the teeth and lips), leave no room to doubt that at their period the \( v \) had already generally lost its original and proper value as English \( w \) —as which alone it has any right to be called a semivowel, and to rank with \( y \)—and, doubtless passing through the intermediate stage of the German \( w \), had acquired the precise pronunciation of English \( v \)." That is, Prof. Whitney assumes, the series: 1. vowel \((u)\), with back of tongue raised and resonant lip opening; 2. \((w)\), with back of tongue raised and non-resonant, restricted lip opening; 3. \((bh)\), with back of tongue lowered, and similar (not identical) lip opening; 4. \((v)\), with lower lip against upper teeth, increasing the buzz materially. On making the series \((u-w-bh-v)\) in one breath, the motion of the organs will become apparent, and though the sounds are constantly confused, yet it will be felt in the vibratory motions of the lips themselves that there is a material difference. On 9th July, 1873, having an opportunity of observing the pronunciation of Mr. M. O. Mookerjee, a native Bengalee gentleman, and not detecting any of the characteristic buzz of \((v)\), arising from the division of the stream of air by the teeth, I asked him whether he actually touched his teeth, and he said: "very little." Now \((v)\) with faint dental contact is scarcely separable from \((bh)\) without any dental contact. Hence the misty borderland between these two sounds. 

"There is no certainty in the accounts we have of English \( v \) and German \( w \) occurring in exotic languages, for when either is mentioned we have no proof that the observer knew the difference."

(Prof. S. S. Haldeman, Analytic Orthography, art. 462.) It came like a revelation upon Mr. Kovács, an Hungarian, when he found he had to use his teeth for English \((v)\). I had observed he had a difficulty with \( vel \), which from his lips sounded to English ears as \((wil)\), being really \((bhiil)\). When he first attempted to say \((wil)\), he produced \((bh*hiil)\), making the buzz by bringing his tongue, instead of his lower lip, against the upper teeth. I asked him to make inquiries among his fellow-countrymen, and he assured me that none of them used the teeth for \( f, v \), that is, all said \((ph, bh)\). Yet Mr. Kovács had been long enough in England to preach publicly in English. And Lepsius makes Magyar \( f, v = (f, v) \), and not \((ph, bh)\) (Standard Alphabet, p. 220). These facts support Prof. Haldeman's dictum. I have seldom heard a German able to distinguish \((w, v)\). When Prof. Max Müller (whose \( r \) is also uvular) is lecturing, I find much difficulty in distinguishing words and verbs, although he has been many years in England, is perfectly conversant with the language, and has attended much to phonetics. Prof. Haldeman says he can "distinguish across a room, whether a speaker of German uses the German \( w \) or English \( v \), provided the voice is familiar" (Anal. Orth., p. 93, n.). See about the German professor (1093, be). In Dutch \( v, w \) both occur. Dr. Gehle seemed to pronounce \( u, v, w \) as \((yy, vee, bhee)\). Land (ibid. p. 30) says Dutch "\( f \) and \( v \) are not formed with both lips, but with the under lip and upper teeth, and have consequently a peculiar character for the ear, and for both reasons should be separated from the \( p \)-series. The explosive consonant:" Slaggonsonant, implying a perfect closure of the oral passage, a species of \( b \), palaeotype (\( n \)), "formed in the same place, is our usual \( w \) at the beginning of a syllable, also usual in High German (\( oon \) in 't Hoogduitsch gebruikelijk), and is consequently distinguished from the next-mentioned labial \( w \) both by its place and mode of articulation. The Dutch language possesses, as well as the English, a murmuring or buzzing (\( ruienschend \) \( w \)), which is nothing but \( u \) with a stronger closure (\( sternere ver- 

naauwing \)) than the vowel. The sound occurs exclusively after a \( u, huwen, that is, huuen, rouwen = roowuen, euwen = eewuen \) apparently, and must be distinguished from our usual \( w \) in \( wat, wil \). A low \((platt)\) pronunciation only knows the labio-dental \( w \)." Now this explosive \((u)\) is Brücke's theoretical \( b^2 \), see \((4, a)\), described as having the closure (\( Verschluss \) ) effect, not as in the usual \( p \) with both lips, but with the under lip and upper teeth (Grundzüge, p. 84), and Brücke (ibid.) makes German \( w = (v) \). Hence, Land's definition having puzzled me, I applied to Prof. Donders, who in a private letter, dated 11th Nov. 1872, says: "Dutch \( v \) and \( f \) agree perfectly
5. (v)—continued.

with English v and f," which Englishmen are accustomed to consider identical with French v and f, and hence what follows is puzzling: "In French v I think I perceive a little approximation to German w; the lips perhaps approach one another rather more, and the upper teeth do not so determinately rest on the lip (in the Pransche v meen ik eene kleine toenadering tot de Duitsche w te herkennen: de lippen naderen elkander misschien iets meer, en niet zoo bepaald rusten de tanden der opperkaak op de lippen). Our w agrees exactly with the German. At the end of words in eew, leew, the v makes it approach nearer to English w.

I have been as much surprised as yourself at Land's opinion that w can be the labio-dental explosion. At the conclusion he seems to refer exclusively to the low (platte) pronunciation. But I have not met with it, even there. I doubt whether this labio-dental explosion occurs at all. When intentionally (met opzet) used, it sounds to me like an impure (onzuiver) b or p."

We have here a clear distinction between (f, v, bh, w, u), as all occurring in one and the same language, by an observer of European reputation.

While this page was passing through the press, I had the interview already mentioned with Mr. Gupta (1996, a). I was particularly anxious to ascertain his views respecting Sanscrit v. He made decidedly an English (v) with a faint pressure of the lower lip against the teeth, and did not seem to know that a v sound could be otherwise produced. On my pronouncing to him first (vii, vce, vaa, voo, vuu), and next (bhii, bhee, bhaa, bhoo, bhuu), the first with faint and the second with strong buzz, so as to imitate the first, as a strong (bh) buzz is generally much weaker than any (v) buzz, he decidedly recognized the former and not the latter for the Sanscrit sound. But then came two curious pieces of information, first that Sanscrit v after a consonant is always called (w), and secondly, that in Bengalee (b) is said for both b and v Sanscrit. The manner, however, in which he pronounced v and w after consonants gave, to my ear, the effect of stressless (u, i) diphthongising with the following vowel, as (anusùāra), rather than (anuswāra). Instead then of an interchange of (v, w), there w: s, to me (and I am anxious to express this as an individual opinion, which it would require very much longer and more varied experience to raise to the rank of a conviction), rather a reversion to the original vowel (u). We have already seen the great difficulties in separating (w, w), supra No. 1, and we shall have several occasions again to refer to the effects of (u), both on a preceding and following consonant, which appear to me identical in nature with those of (i) and (y), see No. 9, below, and § 2, No. 6, iv. The controversy is not likely to be readily settled. England, possessing (w, j), will use them for both consonants and stressless diphthongising vowels. Germany, possessing (bh, j) or (v, j), will only use the latter (j) in this way, leaving the vowel (u) for the former. France, Italy, and Spain, having only vowels, will naturally use them only. Spanish (bh) is always thought of as (b), and hence would not be used. We thus get English kwa kja, German kua kju, French koua kia, Italian and Spanish kua, kia, for the same sounds (kua kiá), or many shades of sounds up to (kwa kja). Initially Spaniards use kua and Italians ua. But I hope that attention will be directed beyond national habits of writing or speaking, and real usages will be ultimately determined. It is to me probable that there will be thus discovered an unconsciously simultaneous usage of (kua kwa kia, kia kja kja), with perhaps intermediate forms, and a gradation of (wa bha va, ja gha), passing imperceptibly into each other through different degrees of consonantal buzz. As a mere practical rule (uá iá) is convenient, till the forms (u-u, i-i), indistinguishable from (uu, ii), would have to be reached on the one hand, and (vu, gh) on the other. The Bengalee confusion of v, b, Sanscrit, seems almost to negative the existence of the (v) pronunciation of Sanscrit v, before the Bengalee variety arose. Confusions of (b, v) seem to occur in English dialects, but are very rare; (b, bh) are often confused, as in Spanish, German, Hebrew; the confusion of (b, w) is quite possible, but not so easy. The Bengalee custom, therefore, to me seems to indicate an original (bh) rather than (w) consonant, at the time the Devanāgarī alphabet was invented. The use of pre-alpha-
5. (v)—continued.

betic stressless diphthongising (u-) I consider highly probable. The wide philological bearing of this distinction must excuse the length of these remarks.

(fo'iv). For the synthesis, the initial (f) hiss is short, and the voice does not begin till it finishes, so that (fo'iv) is not heard. This must be clearly understood, as we have (zii) in German for sie, usually received as (zii); and we shall find that in whip, some hear (whwip). It is not the English habit in any words beginning with (f, th, s, sh) to interpose (v, dh, z, zh) by prematurely laying on the voice, or before the latter to emit a whisper by beginning with an open glottis, and thus deferring the laying on of the voice. Although it is possible that initial (v, z) may have been generated from (f, s) in Somersetshire, and previously in Dan Michel's dialect, by some such anticipation of the voice, followed afterwards by omission of the hiss (which of course was never written when the buzz was apparent), yet, as a rule, Englishmen avoid all deferred or premature laying on of voice, resulting from the open or closed glottis, and in this respect differ from German. We never intentionally say (thrii, lblii, mhmi, nnii), although we have seen that Cooper (544, a) and Lediard (1046, a') conceived that knee was called (nnii), and shall find a trace of this remaining in the Cumberland dialect. This makes (whwii, jhjii) suspicious. On the whole of this subject see No. 14 below. The case is, however, very different with final (v, z, dh, zh). The prolongation of the buzz is apparently disagreeable to our organs, and hence we drop the voice before separating them, thus merging the buzz into a hiss unless a vowel follows, on to which the voice can be continued, or a consonant, which naturally shortens the preceding one. Thus in (fo'iv) the voice begins at the moment the hiss of (f) ceases, and before the position for (a) is fully assumed, it glides on to (a), glides off (a) on to (i), glides from (i) on to (v), continues through (v), and then, if the word is final, ceases, by the opening of the glottis before the (v) position is changed, producing (f), thus (fo'ivf). A following vowel, as in five and six (fo'iv-en-siks), pre-

vents this, but does not shorten the length of (v), and the voice glides on to the (e). A following voiced consonant, as five loaves (fo'iv loovze), shortens the buzz, and there is no glide of the voice, as that would give an additional syllable, (fo'iv-loovze). A voiceless consonant, as five shillings (fo'iv shi'lips), does not introduce an (f), or change (v) into (f). The voice ceases at the (v), spoken very shortly, and the hiss begins at (sh), so that there is a clear discontinuity, and no Englishman feels a difficulty in what is to a German or Dutchman nearly insuperable. The extremely different habits of different nations in the change of voiced to voiceless forms, and conversely, and the systematic way in which they have been hitherto ignored, although forced on the attention of comparative philologists by the Sanscrit distinctions of pada and sañhi texts, give much linguistic importance to such observations, minute as they may appear. See the Dutch custom in No. 9, (b).

6. SIX, (siks.)

(s). The hisses with central passage are so various in character that it is extremely difficult to distinguish them. They seem to form two groups: (s) in which the tongue is more forward and the back of the tongue not hollowed, and (sh) in which the tongue is more retracted and the back is hollowed. This general difference is best felt on taking some common words containing (s) or (sh) or both, as swiss, swish, swishes, wishes, session, sash, slish, (swis, swish, svr'shezs, wî'shezs, se'shun, sesh, slash), and interchanging (s, sh) as (shwsh, shwis, shwi'shez, shwi'sesh, wî'sesh, she'sun, shes, shlas). We may also pronounce them in immediate succession, as (poze's'shun) possession, properly (poze's'shun). Try also to say (s-shii, s-shaa, s-shuu), which are easy, and (sh-sii, sh-saa, sh-su), which are difficult, at least to my organs. Now, so far as I can judge, any variety of the forward (s) and any variety of the backward (sh) would be intelligible in English, and I do not think that we naturally know much about the varieties. I think however that (s, sh) and (s, sh), written (zs, zsh) on (800, 0), are really kept apart. If we say gas, catz, con-
6. (s)—continued.  

continuing the s sharply, and being very careful to keep its position in cats, I think we hear (geess, kæt,s,s), and after a little practice we may even say (kæs), which will not rhyme to (ges). This will be more distinct when we say (kæt,s), the tip of the tongue then coming very close indeed to the back of the front teeth, while in (kæt,s) it is behind the back of the upper gum (1096, c), and in (ges) it may lie behind and between the teeth, or really press against the lower gums, the hiss being between the hard palate and the middle of the tongue. If we hiss a tune, without quite whistling, with the lips open, producing the difference of pitch by the mere motion of the tongue, we shall find great varieties in the position of the tongue, and that the pitch is highest when the tip of the tongue is forward and near the gums. We shall find also that the tongue can be retracted considerably without destroying the (s) effect, provided the breath be not allowed to resound in the hollow behind the tongue, which immediately produces the effect of (sh), and that the central aperture be not checked or divided, the former giving (t) and the latter aisp, nearly (th). I think there has been some error about the Spanish s on (802, d. 4, ab), and that it is not (s), as there stated, and as Mr. Melville Bell, who has been in Spain, makes it (Visible Speech, p. 93); but that it is (s), using (t) as on (11, de), that is, a divided (s), with perhaps only a slight central check, produced by bringing the tip of the tongue very gently against the gum. In this case the buzz would be (z). Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte says that the true Castillian s is the Basque s; and as he pronounced this s to me, it sounded like a retracted (s) with a rattle of moisture. The Andalusian s is, he says, perfect. The (s) sound of z is not acknowledged in Spain (802, d) at all, although heard in Spanish America. See further in No. 10, (sh).

Note also the drunken tendency to confuse (s) with (sh) in England, clearly indicating the greater ease of (sh) to organs which can produce it at all. To an Icelander, Welshman, Dutchman, Spaniard, Greek, (sh) presents great difficulties. Note in upper German, the parent of the literary high German, not only the tendency to initial (shp, sht,) where (sp, st) only are written, as well as the spoken and written (shr, shm, shm, shh), but the final (-shnt) written -st, which constantly crops up in vulgar German, and is almost as great a social sin in Germany as a "dropped attch" in England. Note also that in English (shi, shm, shn, swb) do not occur, although (sl, sm, sn, sw) are common, and that (shr-) offers difficulties to many English speakers, notably at Shrewsbury in Shropshire. Note also that sp-, st-, are lazily pronounced (shp-, sht-) by Neapolitans. Note that (sh) seems to be a derived sound in the greater part of Europe, although existing in Sanscrit, but is frequent in Slavonic languages. In Hungarian (sh) is so much commoner than (s), that the simple s is used for (sh), and the combination ss for (s); while z, zs are (z, sh). The (sh) is a very rare form in Europe, and has been only recently developed in English. In Bengal e all three Sanscrit letters, c, sh, s, are confused in reading as (sh), while in vulgar speech simple (s) is used for (s), so that, strangely enough, this dialect has no (s) at all.

(i). See No. 3 (ii). No Englishman naturally says (siks); it would sound to him like (stiks) seeks; and few are able to produce the sound without much practice. It is best reached by pronouncing seek, teat, peep with great rapidity. This (i) is the touchstone of foreigners, especially of Romance nations. It occurs in Icelandic (544, c), and is often heard in the North of Germany. In Holland short i seems to have passed quite into (e), see Land (ibid. p. 17), as is generally the case in Scotland.

(k). The back of the tongue is very nearly in the (u) position, but rises so as to close the passage. It is not at all in the (i) or (y) position, but if an (a) follows in English, many speakers habitually raise the tongue to the (i) instead of the (u) position, producing (k), almost (k*), see (205,a). This sound is still much heard in cart, quart, sky, kind, etc., but is antiquated (600, d. 206, c). There is not the same tendency when (s) follow or precede. This insertion of (i) before an (a) sound is very prevalent dialectally. See the theory in § 2, No. 6, iv.
6. (siks). (sɪks). Keep the hiss (s) quite clear of the voice, begin the voice the instant that the (s) hiss ceases, glide on to (i), and dwelling very briefly on the vowel (its extreme shortness is characteristic), glide rapidly on to the (k), so as to shut off the voice with a kind of thump, opening the glottis at the same time, but allow no pause, and glide on to the hiss of (s) immediately. The glides from (i) to (k) and (k) to (s), make the kind of check audible, and distinguish (siks) clearly from (sɪts, sɪps). It is quite possible, but not customary in English, to make (ks) initial, Xerxes being (Zaksısz), not (Ksəksısi). Similarly (ps, ts) never begin syllables in English, except by a glide, thus (prazıs) gives (pra:kısı), in which (k) has one glide from (a) and another on to (s), the syllable dividing between them.

7. SEVEN, Bell's (se:vın), my (se:v'n).

(e, e). These vowels differ in the height of the tongue. Mr. M. Bell determined my pronunciation (106, a) to be (e), and considered it abnormally high, believing the usual sound to be (e). Mr. Murray has the same opinion. Both agree that my (e) is the sound in fair (feər), and that it differs from fail (feıl), any presumed diphthongal character of the latter being disregarded, as (i) does from (i). Mr. Bell gives ell as (əl) English, (əl) Scotch, and makes French vin (= vıə). The latter to my ear is nearer (veə), but the French have no (ə), and hence (ə) is their nearest non-nasal. It is possible or even probable that my ear is deceived by my own practice, but I certainly know, from long residence in the countries, the German ä in spräche (ʃprɛ:xhɛ), the Italian e aperto in bene (bɛne), the French é in bête (bɛt), and occasionally (bet), and all these sounds appear to me much deeper than any usually uttered by educated Southern Englishmen. Since the difference was pointed out, I have paid much attention to such speakers, and my own impression is that (e) is much commoner than (ə). I certainly occasionally recognize (ə), but it always strikes me as unpleasant. The three sounds (ə, e, e) form a series, and if the usual English e short is deeper than my (e), it is not so deep as the foreign sounds just described. Mr. Murray (Dialects of S. Scotland, pp. 106, note 2, and 239) has felt obliged to introduce new signs, for which he uses acute and grave accents (‘ê, ê), but as the acute accent has been used in palaeotype to mark the element under force in diphthongs as (aɪ, aɪ), some other notation is requisite. Mr. M. Bell (Vis. Sp. p. 77), after describing his 36 symbols, says, ‘Other faintly different shades of vowel sound are possible; as for instance, from giving a greater or less than the ordinary or symmetrical degree of lip modification. Even these delicate varieties may be perfectly expressed by the modifiers [as a certain set of Mr. Bell’s symbols are called, because they ‘modify’ the meaning of the symbols to which they are subjoined, the four principal ‘modifiers’ being called] ‘close,’ ‘open,’ ‘inner,’ ‘outer,’ or by the ‘linked’ symbols; but such compound letters can never be required in the writing of languages, except to show the curiously minute accuracy with which these plastic physiological symbols may be applied.’ Mr. Bell (ibid. p. 65) had defined his ‘close’ and ‘open’ signs, which are those on p. 15 supra, col. 9, lines l, m, as follows: ‘The sign of ‘closeness’ applied to any of the preceding consonants denotes a narrower aperture, with increased sharpness of sibilation and percussiveness on leaving the configuration; and the sign of ‘openness’ denotes a widened aperture with consequent dullness of sibilation and lessened percussion. Thus in forming (ph) with ‘closeness’ a mere thread of breath issues through the narrow crevice between the lips—as in blowing to cool; and in forming (ph) [with ‘openness’] the breath flows through the wide orifice with the effect of a sigh on the lips. The latter effect is interjectionally expressive of faintness or want of air.’ Mr. Bell identified my (ə) and (⁠) with his signs of ‘closeness’ and ‘openness’ respectively; but I meant and used them for signs of increased and diminished force, independently of aperture; and hence the transcription of his signs on p. 15, column 9, lines l and m, by my (b) and (⁠), is incorrect. The ‘inner’ and ‘outer’ or the signs on suprā p. 15, col. 9, lines
7. (e, e) — continued.

Using a superior (') and inferior (\(\text{\textasciitilde} \)) for Mr. Murray's acute and grave, we may read his note thus (ibid. p. 106): "As pronounced in the South of Scotland, it [the vowel in wait, say] is certainly opener than the French or English ai (\(\text{\textasciitilde} \)). But it is nearer to this (\(\text{\textasciitilde} \)) than to any other of the six front vowels (\(\text{\textasciitilde} \), e, e, \(\text{\textasciitilde}\)). A long and careful observation of the sounds of English and Scottish dialects, and collation with those of the Standard English, has convinced me that, in order to shew their precise values and relations, it would be necessary to make a more minute division of the vowel scale" than in Visible Speech (supra p. 15). Then, accepting the above notation for higher and lower or closer and opener, he says: "The Eng. ai in wait being then (\(\text{\textasciitilde} \)), the South Sc. would be (\(\text{\textasciitilde} \)); the close sound common in Edinburgh would be (\(e^1 \)). The S. Sc. sound in bree would probably be rather (\(e^1 \)) than (\(e \)), as we are obliged to make it when only using the three vowels. The Sc. y in byl, byt, would probably be (\(e^1 \)) rather than (\(e \)), explaining how the diphthong ey (\(ei \)) seems closer than aiy (\(ei \)), which it ought not to be if y in byt (bet) were the exact 'wide' of ai in bait. In the round [labialised] vowels also, the very close o used in Edinburgh, which, compared with my o, seems almost (\(u \)), would probably be (\(o^1 \)), and the South Sc. wo might be (\(o^1 \)) rather than (\(o \)). It need scarcely be said that no single language or dialect does ever in practical use distinguish such fine shades; few idioms even find the three positions distinct enough; none certainly distinguish the six sounds formed by the ' primaries' and 'widges' of any series (except as accidental varieties due to the character of the following consonant, or to the presence or absence of accent—never to distinguish words). It is only in comparing different languages or dialects that we find the exact quality given to particular vowels in one, intermediate between certain vowels in another, the one set of sounds grouping themselves, so to say, alongside of and around, but not quite coinciding with the other set." I quote these words to fully endorse them, and again shew the difficulty of phonetic writing. In particular the deeper (\(u \)), which may be (\(u \)) with an (\(o \)) position of the lips, or (\(u_o \)) as we shall write,
7. (e, e) — continued.

or an (o) with a higher tongue, that is (o'), is a sound fully appreciated by northern dialectal speakers as distinct from (u), and sounds to my ears much more distinct from it, than (e, a) from (e, o).

To return to (e, e, e). If any of those English speakers whom I hear say (e) do really take a 'lower' sound, it is rather (e) than (e); or if they are considered to take (e), then the foreign sound is (e) or even (e). Prince L. L. Bonaparte separates the very open (e) of some French grammarians in accès, from the Italian e aperto, and makes it the 'wide' of the latter. He identifies (e) with the Italian sound, but not (e) with the French sound, so that (e) would be the more correct representative of the latter. The distinction of three (e) sounds, (e, e, e) I find convenient, and I generally use (e) when I cannot satisfactorily determine the sound to be (e) or (e), that is (e) may often be considered as (e) or (e). I think the tendency of educated pronunciation, which affects thinness, is towards (e) rather than (e), and I should put down (e) as the regular Spanish and Welsh pronunciations of e, neither language having apparently (e, e). In Italian, (e) is replaced by (e, e); but I consider (e) to have been the old Latin e, though the Latin æ may have been (e). In French I think the open (e) is rather (e) than (e), except under force or emphasis, when, as just shewn, (e) may occur, but (e) is always the intention. The substitution of (e) for (e) is like that of (a) for (a), which is also going on in the Paris of to-day. In the French conjunction et, now always (e), the vowel was once (e), a sound now reserved for est.

(v). See No. 5, (v).

('n). For the simple (n) see No. 1, (n). Initial n is seldom lengthened, though some will say (nn) for a dubious negative. When (n) forms a syllable by itself Mr. Bell considers it to be lengthened, and writes (nn). I prefer to write ('n), and similarly ('l, 'm); but it is not necessary to write ('d), as (a) when not following a vowel necessarily forms a syllable. But seven can be pronounced in one syllable (sev'n), and is often so reckoned. It does not seem to be usual. Hence I write (sev'n). Orthoepists are much divided as to how far the use of syllabic ('l, 'm, 'n) is 'admissible.' In practice it is seldom that they are accurately distinguished from (nl, em, un), as in principal, principle, both often called (pri'nsip'1). The tendency is clear towards syllabic (l, 'm, 'n), but there is much 'educated' or rather 'orthographic' resistance. Notwithstanding ages. yf/, clergymen insist on (it'vld), and even say (de'vld), see (81, d), which we find Bp. Wilkins using (998, e). We have, however, seen the effect of the efforts of Dr. Gill's 'docti interdum.' At present it is 'safest' for those who have not an acknowledged literary or social position to use a vowel, as (el, em, un), but care must be taken not to have the clear vowels (el, em, en); el, em, en, which have a pedantic, puristic effect, and can be at most endured in public speaking from desire to be distinctly audible, never in ordinary conversation. See the remarks of Prof. Haldeman, prefixed to the account of his pronunciation, below in this section.

(sev'n). The glides from (s) to (v) are as in (fo'v'). But (v) glides on to vocal (n), so that in all cases there is a transitional vowel-sound heard between the buzz (v) and the nasal resonance (n).

8. EIGHT, Bell's (ëit), my (ëit).

(ëë). We now come to a hotly-disputed point of English pronunciation. I differ entirely from Mr. Bell as to the habit of educated southern Englishmen. The diphthong (ëI), or rather (ëi) and even (ë'), I have heard, and especially from Essex people, but certainly the compression of the first element is unusual, and at most (ëë) can be insisted on. I have had occasion to refer to this diphthongal pronunciation frequently. See (57, 74, b. 106, a. 191, a. 234, a. 542, b. 596 c. 597, a). The sound is insisted on by Smart, who says, "the English alphabetic accented a, in the mouth of a well-educated Londoner, is not exactly the sound which a French mouth utters either in féé or in fééte, being not so
narrow as the former, nor so broad as
the latter. Moreover, it is not quite
simple, but finishes more slantly than
it begins, tapering, so to speak, towards
the sound" of e in me (294, 6). The
two French words being (ée, ée), this
would make the English (ée) or (éei),
and this I do not at all recognize.
The first element at least sounds to me (ee),
and is generally distinctly recognizable
by its length. There are, however,
Londoners, or persons living in London,
who dispute the possibility of prolonging
(ée), and who certainly immediately
glide away towards (é). Dr. Rush
(Philosophy of the Human Voice,
Philadelphia, 1827, p. 40), who was a
careful observer, says: "When the
letter a, as heard in the word day, is
pronounced simply as an alphabetic
element, and with the duration which
it has in that word, two sounds are
heard continuously successive. The
first has the well-known characteristic
of this letter; and issues from the
organs with a certain degree of fullness.
The last is the element e heard in eee,
and is a gradually diminishing sound." It
is curious, however, that Prof.
Haldeman (Analytic Orthography, Art.
391) does not notice this diphthong,
but makes "the English ay in pay,
paid, day, weigh, ale, rage," to be
"short in weight, hate, acre, Amos,
Abram, ape, plague, spade," and iden-
tifies it with German "wéh, réh, jé,
plánét, nüer, mérh (more, but mähr
tiidings has é), édel, éhre, jédéch," and
with Italian "é chiuso." He writes
eight as ét, or (é). Still there is no
doubt that French teachers have a great
difficulty with most English pupils, in
regard to this letter, and complain of
their (boo,te) being called (bóntéer),
etc., but the audibility of this (-é)
differs with different speakers, and even
with different words for the same
speaker.

Mr. Murray puts me quite out of court
on this point, for in my palaeotypic
rendering of the Hundredth Psalm he
has changed my (ee, oo) into (ée, óow),
saying (Dial. of S. Scot. p. 138, note):
"I have ventured to differ from Mr.
Ellis's transcription only so far as to
write the long a and 6 (éei, óow), as they
are always pronounced in the south,
and as I seem to hear them from Mr.
Ellis himself, although he considers
them theoretically as only (ee, oo)."

That is, according to his observations,
whatever be my own subjective
impression of my utterance, his subjective
impression on hearing me say: name,
aid, age, always, praise, gates, take,
make; oh! so, know, approach, is the
same as that which he derives from his
own utterance of (névim, ééiit, ééidzh,
álúvééiz, prélétz, géérts, téérk, méérk;
óow! sów, sówu, spréóoutsh). Now I
have resided three years in Dresden,
where long e is uniformly (ee), and not
(ée), and none of my teachers found
that I drifted into (ée). I am also able
to prolong an (ée) without change, as
long as my breath will last. I am not
only familiar with hearing (ée) and
even (éë), but I know precisely what
movements are requisite to produce
them, and I have very carefully and
frequently examined my pronunciation
of this letter. I am inclined to ascribe
Mr. Murray's impression that I always
say (éei, óow) to his own South Scotch
use of (ee, oo), which are 'lower'
sounds than mine, sounds indeed which
I recognize to be strictly different from
mine, and not to correspond to any
vowels that I am acquainted with
practically. Mr. Murray cites both
syllables of French aidé as having a
'higher' form than the South Scotch;
but Féline makes the first ai the "open
é" (é), thus (ée). He says also that
"the chief difference" of the Scotch
from the English "lies in the fact that
it [the Sc.] is a uniform sound, not
gliding or closing into ee, like the
English—at least the English of the
south; thus, English day > ee. Scotch
day-ay. This vowel is not recognized
as stopped in English," but observe
Haldeman's ét, "the vowel in wait,
main, being as long as in way, may.
In Scotch it occurs long and stopped, as
in wayr, baythe, wáy, wáit, tál (weer,
beedh, wee, wet, tel), the two last words
being carefully distinguished from the
English wait, tál, (wéit, téel) or (wéit,
tél), and wet, tell, but pronounced like
the French été." (Murray, p. 106.)

Now before I compare my own ob-
servations on my own and other educated
southern pronunciation, with those of
such an accomplished northern phone-
tician as Mr. Murray, I would draw
attention to a similar difference of
opinion among Dutchmen respecting
their own pronunciation. Prof. Donders
(op. cit.) uses the vowel series ë, ëe, ëu,
8. (ee)—continued.

of which i, a, a, appear to be (i, e, a), though the last may be (a), and e is either (e) or (ee), probably the latter. His examples are Dutch bier for i, beer for e, wereld kœrel bid for e, and baar for a. When he comes to the diphthongs, he gives ei, which must be (e) or (ee), and probably the latter, to the Dutch vowels in leeg, leek, leeg, etc., "with short imperfect i, (not in leer, in which only e is heard), with less imperfect i in hé, meé, and with perfect i in deel i for deel hij," and makes Mei have the diphthong eii = (e'i). Land (Over Uitspraak en Spelling), writing with special reference to Donders, has three e's, e = ei, e = e of Donders, and e, not in Donders. These three e's are clearly (e, e, o), for although the two first are not well distinguished by the French e = pêre, e = frêne, tête, the third e is made = pré, etê. Now of these he says (p. 17): "e'. With us (bij ons) regularly long before r (beer, meer), where in the pronunciation of others there is an aftersound of i (waar bij anderen een i naktinkt) in order to attain the e³ of the low speech (ten einde den plat uitgesproken e to bereiken). In the dialect of Gelders, e² is a separate vowel, playing its own part; with us [at Amsterdam] it is only found under the influence of r.'" This is precisely like English (ee) in fair. "Our short i has also entirely passed over into e²: lid, mis, gebit; wherein the Limburgers alone seem not to follow us," as in South Scotch. Then he proceeds to say: "e³, is with us always long: steen, been, leed, hé, meé; never before an r, because e² is then substituted. In English and low Dutch (platte Hollandsch) e³ is replaced by e²i, or even e²i, with the variants mentioned by Donders under ei; and is then even heard before r, where the sound is broadened into ai in the Leyden meïnaer for mijnheer. I have heard the after-

8. (ee)—continued.

some for occult reasons: mij (my), krijt. In the province of Holland e²i becomes regularly e³i, and is corrupted into ai. With long e in low Holland speech (platte Hollandsch) in place of e³, Donders's diphthong ei," Hereupon Kern, reviewing the two works (in De Gids for April, 1871, p. 167), says of Donders: "The description and transliteration of the diphthongs is accurate, except that the e, so called sharp ee, is not accurately rendered by ei. I however agree with Donders against Land that sharp ee is really a diphthong. But I cannot allow that such a diph-
thong occurs in leeg or mee. The ee in leeg and mee has the same sound as the e in zegen, leden. Whereas in pronouncing leeg, mee, zegen, neen, nemen, and such like, the relative position of the upper and lower jaws remains unaltered; in pronouncing ee in leed, leek, leen, steen, the under jaw advances a little (springt de onderkaak iets vooruit). The physiologist cannot possibly fail to perceive the cause of this phenomenon. The same alteration in the position of the jaws is perceived in the pronunciation of oo in brood, boonen, hooren. To what extent this pronunciation must be considered the most usual or the best, we leave undecided; it is enough to shew that it does occur in our country, and that it deserves description." Of Land's e² he says: "He asserts that our vowel in meer is the French e in frêne, tête. Now not to mention that, to my ear, meer (meest) [more, most] and meer (water) differ in sound, it is doubtful whether any Dutchman uses the French sound in either of the two meer's." The occurrence of an (éé) or (éé) for a written ee, in a language so nearly related to English as Dutch, and the difference of opinion as to its pure or diphthongal value, seemed to me too remarkable to be passed over.

In my own pronunciation I think I never say (ééé) or (éé), ending with a perfect (i), and that I seldom or never say (ééé) or (ééé), ending with a perfect (i), and that when I approach to (ééé), however short the diphthong may be, the first element is longer than the last. But I doubt whether I get as far as (ééé), at the most I seem to reach (ééé + e), shewing a glide, and that in the process of "vanishing" the force of the voice decreases so much that it
8. (ee)—continued.

is very difficult to say what sound is produced; an effect shown by (i). I admit, however, that in speaking English, and especially in such words as pay, may, say, before a pause, my (ee) is not uniform, but alters in the direction of (i). It is, however, necessary to distinguish grades of this alteration, as Donders has done. In the case of a following pause, it is the most marked; but if a vowel or consonant follows rapidly, as play or pay, pay me now, I do not hear this "vanish" at all. I think also that I am inclined to this vanish before (t, d, n) in eight, weight, plate, paid, pain, but not so decidedly nor so regularly as in the former case. I am not conscious of the vanish before (p, b, m; k, g). I think that generally the vanish vanishes when the utterance is rapid, as in äorta, áerial.

So far as I have yet observed, my usage is much the same as that of other educated speakers, from whom I rarely hear anything like a real (ëe), and this I attempted to note by (ëe') or (ëe'j), where (ee) glides into "palatalised voice" of some sort. Still there are speakers in whom it is marked, and especially when an ay has to be emphatic or dwelled upon, which practically brings it before a pause. I think that the reason why French teachers find such difficulty with English pupils is that the pupils altogether lengthen the vowels too much. I deprecate much Mr. Melville Bell's insisting on (ëi) universally as a point of orthoepy, making the sound approach to one of the diphthongal ô's, for such a pronunciation is so rare as always to be remarkable and generally remarked.

An Essex man told me (Dec. 1872) that he was known everywhere by what—as I heard him—were his eyes. It turned out to be his pronunciation of long a. "But," said he, "I can't hear it; I can't make out the difference at all." Again, Mr. Brandreth, a county magistrate, informed me that on officially visiting the pauper schools at Anerley, near London, he found that fully half the boys made no difference between a and i, and could not even hear the difference when such words as they, thy, were correctly pronounced to them. According to Mr. Murray, mutátó nōmine dē me fābula narrātur!

8. (t).

(t). See No. 1, (n), and No. 2, (t). When (p, t, k) are final, and before a pause, so that they are not immediately followed by a vowel on to which the voice can glide, or by a consonant, the (p, t, k) are made more audible by gliding them on to some unvocalised breath, written (p', t', k'), on (10, b, 56, b), and whether this is already in the mouth, or is driven through the larynx, is indifferent; the latter is most audible, and will often assume the form of (pr't, tr't, kr't). There may be a pause of silence between the glide on to (t) and this windrush, and this pause apparently lengthens the mute. It is not usual to note this added ('t) or (H'). It is not a French habit. French speakers either omit the final mute entirely, or add a mute e (ëe). Using > to represent the glide to, and < the glide from a mute, the following cases have to be noted in English, remembering that for English mutes the glottis is always closed.

Initial, pea, tea, key = (p < ii, t < ii, k < ii);

Medial after the force accent, peeping, eating, leaking = (p < ii > p < i, ii < t < i, ii > k < i);

Medial, preceding but not following a vowel under the force accent, repay, pretend, &c. = (rep < e'j; prit < e'n'd; sk < ñu'as).

Medial, preceding a consonant on to which it does not glide, that is, with which it cannot form an initial combination, adopted, pitfall, active = (edæv > pe < i, ed, pe > fæAl, æ > kt < ñv).

Medial, doubled, a case of the last, distinguished however by a sensible pause marked (i), cap-pin, boot-tree, book-case = (kwe > p) j < in, buur > tj-t < ri, bu > k'j < ee'j).

Final, before a pause, cap, boot, book = (kæ > p < i, bu < t < i, bu > k < i), otherwise it is treated as medial, but may be emphatically doubled, as (kæ > p) j < in, buur > tj-t < i, bu > kjk < i).

These differences are not usually distinguished in phonetic writing, and from their regularity seldom require to be noticed. But irregularities must be marked, as (kæ > t) or (kæt!) to shew the absence of the second glide (kæ > t < i). Mr. Sweet's remarks on Danish syllabication (Philol. Trans. 1873-4, pp. 94-112) must be carefully
considered by all who would enter upon these phonetic mysteries, which are far from having been yet fully revealed.

(eet, ëëjt). The vowel begins at once, in properly spoken English, and is not preceded by any whisper. The whole organs are placed in the proper position for (ee), and the glottis is closed ready for voice, firmly, but not so tightly that the chords must be forced asunder by explosion. The vowel thus commences with a clean edge, so to speak, noted thus (ee), and here called the "clear attack" or "glottid," but by teachers of singing the "shock of the glottis." But if there is an air-tight closure which has to be forced open, we have the "check attack" or "glottid," or "catch of the glottis," the Arabic hamza, noted thus (¿¿¿), which is considered as a defect in English speech, though common in German. It is, however, not unfrequent to hear vowels commenced with a "gradual attack" or "glottid," during which breath shades through whisper into voice, and the precise commencement of the vowel cannot be readily determined, and this may possibly have been the Greek "spiritus lenis," which will be noted thus (see). In singing this produces "breathiness." It is not recognized in speech, but is possibly one of the causes of so-called aspiration and non-aspiration, and of the difficulty felt by so many English speakers in determining whether a vowel is aspirated or not. It is mere careless-ness of utterance. But here it may be noted that these "glottids" or "attacks" may also be "releases," that is, a vowel may end as well as begin "clearly," as (tun), which is the regular English form. or with the check or "catch," as (tun), as frequently in Danish before a subsequent consonant, or gradually, as (tun). Now this graduation consists, initially, in beginning the vowel with the glottis open, closing it rapidly, during which the edges of the vocal chords approach very closely before contact, producing first the effect of whisper, and then of voice, so that we have (‘ee + ë + e). In ending we should get in reverse order, (e + ë + ‘ee). This is what is meant by the notation (‘ee), or (tun). Now if there be a little longer repose

on the pure voiceless sounds, so that the (‘ee) or (‘un) becomes sensible, it is clear that (tii, ëer) will appear to begin or end with a sound like (jœ), and (tun, tun) with a sound like (wh). This seems to be the origin of the Danish terminational (jœ, wh), while the initial forms generate the aspirates, or an approach to them, differing in the manner considered in No. 14, (wh). How far these terminations are usual in English, I am unable to say. There is often so much loss of force that it is difficult to observe. But certainly distinct (jœ, wh) final are not frequent in received pronunciation; and distinct (jœ, wh) initial would be scouted at once as a vulgarly intruded aspirate. In No. 14, (wh), where the whole subject will be systematically considered, it will be seen that this final (j) represents the Sanscrit visarga.

After the vowel is commenced, it is continued a very short time, and glides either on to (i), as already explained, or on to (t). But if it glides on to (i), it does not do so till its energy is much diminished, so that, in received pronunciation, (ééj) never approaches the character of a close diphthong, as ë in five, or (éi), in which the (é) is strong and short and the force is continued on to the (i), which may be lengthened and then die away. In (ééj) the force dies away first, and the glide on to (j) is scarcely audible, being absorbed into the glide on to (t). Also, as a long vowel, the (éé) or (ééj) must have a very short glide on to (t). Indeed Prof. Haldeman’s short (é) has the character of a long vowel, by the shortness and weakness of its glide on to (t); whereas a really "stopped" (é) would come strongly and firmly on to (t), which would be "lengthened," as (ééj). It is more by the mode in which vowels glide on to following consonants, than by the actual length of the vowels, considered independently of their glides, that the feeling of length of vowels in closed syllables arises in English pronunciation. See Mr. Sweet’s rule in No. 14, (p).

9. BOOK, (buk).

(b). The relations of mute or voiceless (b, d, g; to sonant or voiced (p, t, k) should be well under-
9. (b)—continued.

stood. In English (p, i, ti, k, ji) the voice begins with the "clear attack (p) at the moment the closure is released. In (b, ii, di, g, ii) the voice begins in the same way, before the closure is released, but for so short a time that the voice may be said to begin as the contact is released. Now Germans, when they really distinguish (p, b), etc., begin the voice in (pi, ti, ki) with a gradual attack, giving a hiss; and they allow the voice to sound through the (b), etc., before the release of the closure, which may be written ('bii, 'dii, 'gli). The breath not being able to escape blows out the neck like a turkey-cock's, and hence is called a blow-out-sound or Blähhaut by German phoneticians, which we may translate iniatlus. It is not possible to continue this iniatlus long without allowing breath to escape by the nose; but to produce a real (m, n, q) after (b, 'd, 'g), is not possible without producing a loud thud by the withdrawal of the uvula from the back of the pharynx, requiring a strong muscular effort, because the compressed air in the mouth forces the uvula into very close contact with the pharynx. It is probable then that ('hmii, 'dni, 'q grii), do not occur monosyllabically. But it is quite easy to begin with the nasal resonance, and then cut it off by the uvula, which has air on both sides, and hence can act freely. Hence (mbii, ndii, qgii) are easy, and have generated the sounds of (b, d, g) in modern Greek. Some phoneticians (I have forgotten to note the passages) even make (b, d, g) necessarily nasal. They are not so in English. But there is often a semi-nasal (b, d, g) occasioned by insufficient nasal resonance, arising from catarh, when the speaker intends (m, n, q), but cannot perfect them, see (1096, a), and one of these, (b), in perhaps a slightly different form, is an element of Westmoreland and Cumberland speech. It is possible entirely to cut off the voice before proceeding to the vowel, without creating the impression of a new syllable, hence (mpii, nti, qki) are possible, and seem actually to occur together with (mbii, ndii, qgji) in some South African languages. In English initial (b, d, g), however, nothing of this iniatlus or nasality is customary. In middle Germany, where the distinc-

tions (p b, t d) are practically unknown, comparatively few being able to say (pi, ti, ki, dii), recourse is had to what Brücke and M. Bell consider as whispering instead of voicing, using ('bii, 'dii) only. Merkel, however, who is a native of Upper Saxony, where the sounds are indigenous, denies this, and asserts that he really says ('p, 'ti) implosively. See (1097, c'). Observe that (''ki) is not common in Saxony, because (krii, gji, ghaa) are heard. Perhaps also true (g) is heard initially; I do not feel sure. But certainly (k, g) are always distinguished initially, and (b, d, g) are always confused initially, in Saxony.

When (b, d, g) are medial between two vowels, there is in English a complete passage of the voice through them, without any sensible sustentation of the sounds, as baby, needy, plaguy (bew' > b < i, mir' > d < i, plec' > g < i), and there seems to be no slackening of the closure, and consequently no buzz, the sound being produced entirely by internal condensation of the air. In German, however, such (b, g) readily pass into (bh, gh), as schreiben, tage = (shrai' bhu, taa' ghun), of which the first is not, but the second is, received. But for (d), or rather (d), nothing of the kind occurs, neither (d'z) nor (dh) being developed. On the other hand, medial (d, dh), a coronal and a dental, but more often (d, dh), interchange dialectally in English. In Spanish (b, bh) are not distinguished even initially. That similar habits prevailed in Semitic languages we know by their alphabets, 

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being (b bh, d dh, g gh) according to circumstances. The English received pronunciation is therefore peculiarly neat, and more like French and Italian in this respect.

Final (b, d, g), before a pause, are intentionally the same as when initial, the voice ending as the closure begins, or not being sensibly sustained during the closure; but the glide up to the consonant being continued into the closure, gives the vowel an appearance of greater length. Sometimes, however, the voice is sensibly prolonged during closure, and as this is uncomfortable, the closure is relaxed before the voice ceases, and we have effects like (b eb, d id, g g'), or (beeb', diid', geog'g'), which are often pain-
fully evident in public speakers. I frequently noticed these sounds in the declaration of the late Mr. Macready. It is often greatly exaggerated in provincial tragedianism. It is, however, so far as I have observed, not customary to drop the voice before releasing contact, and then to open upon a wind-rush, as (heep)p', dii'dj', greg'k'). This would, I think, produce to an English ear too much of the effect of simple (heep)', dii', gak', which would be unintelligible. It seems however probable that this is the history of the German and Dutch habit of always taking these finals as mute. In Dutch indeed this is slightly controlled by the action of the following consonant. This action is quite unknown in English, except in such a word as cupboard = (k'o'bad), but deserves to be noted as occurring in so closely related a language. The Dutch rule according to Doonders (op. cit. p. 28), which is corroborated by Land (op. cit. p. 31), is as follows:—

"With the exception of the nasals, when two consonants come together, however different their character, both must be voiced, or both voiceless. Whenever in two syllables or words spoken separately, one would be voiced and the other voiceless, one must be altered to agree with the other, according to the following rules.

1).  "Before voiced b and d, every consonant is voiced, as, zeecbak, opdoen, strijkbout [this is the only way in which (g) can occur in Dutch], stiefbroeder, daarbij, stildduiker, midsaad, heydoorn, etc. [where p, k, f, r, s, g = (b, g, v, r, z, gh).] But t sometimes remains, as: 't ligt daar, pronounced 't licht taar [compare Orrin's jatt tiss (491, bo), jatt tezz (491, c)]."

2).  "Voiced w, v, z, g, j, l, and r lose their voice after every preceding consonant, except r. We pronounce: vooit'rouw, buuerrouw, - stie'fsoon, voorzoon, - a'fhrond, voor'grond, - loopfjogen (pf voiceless), vooraar (pj voiced), etc. [where tf, rv, - f's, rz, -fch, rg, - p, rz, -fkh, rgh, - p, rz), the original Dutch letters being, tv, rv, - f's, rz, - fg, rg, - p, rz, respectively]."

3).  "Before the nasals all consonants except r are or become voiceless. [This rule is questioned by Land.]"

9. (b)—continued.

"After a nasal each consonant preserves its own character."

Land remarks, that the first rule does not hold in English, where Bradford and platform, backbone and bayoubear are differently treated; and that according to the same rule every final consonant in Dutch is pronounced voiceless, as bet, breet, ik hep, ik much; but that it is different in English, where back and bag, hot and had, cup and cub, are carefully distinguished; and so, he adds, in Friesic we hear breed, and not breet.

In English the difference between such combinations as the following is felt to be so great that we instinctively wonder at any ears being dull enough to confuse them, unaware how very dull our own ears are to distinctions which other nations feel with equal acuteness: pip bib; pat pad, bat bad; puck pug, buck bug; tip dip, tub dub; tuck tug, duck dug; give me the bag, and him a bag too, and then give it me back do, and his back too. A German or a Dutchman would flounder helplessly and hopelessly in these quicksands.

(u). This vowel differs from (u), as (i) from (i), and just as an Englishman finds (bit) very difficult and (bit) easy, so (buk) is to him easy, and the Scotchman's (buk) so difficult, that he puts it down as (busk), heard in Yorkshire. Distinguish also English pull (pul) and French poule (pul) from each other, and from pool (pul), heard for pull in Shropshire. The throat is widened for (u). The well-marked (o') or (u), already mentioned (1107, d'), must be borne in mind. To a southern Englishman (buk, bu,k) are riddles; at least, very thick, fat, clumsy pronunciations of his (buk), which, to a Scot, is itself a thick, fat, clumsy pronunciation of (buk). Refinement of pronunciation has entirely local value. It is easy to produce (u) without rounding the lips, and this must be the way that a cuckoo gets out his cry, or a parrot says (pus), as I distinctly heard one call out the other day (4th May, 1873). It seems as if we produced the roundness by contracting the arches of the soft palate at the entrance to the mouth. This mode of "rounding" I propose to mark by ('), thus (p'us'), implying
9. (u)—continued.

that (pu) are imitated in this manner, the lips remaining open. See (1116, b).

(k). The back of the tongue is raised to contact with the soft palate so much in the position of (u) that the glide is short, sharp, and but little marked. The relation of the gutturals (k, g) to (un, u) renders the labialisations (kw, gw) easy and common (208, c), and there is no difficulty in disposing the back of the tongue for (u), while the tip is in the (t, d) position, hence (tw, dw) are also easy (209, a). Prof. Whitney, whose phonetic appreciation is acute, and who has much studied pronunciation, regards these "labial modifications of vowels and consonants" to be a special weakness on my part and Mr. Bell's. "With one who can hold the initial consonant sound of dwelt, for example, to be not a w with a d prefixed, but a labially modified d, we should not expect to agree in an analysis of the wh sound" (Oriental and Linguistic Studies, New York, 1873, p. 271). I was, however, never satisfied with the analysis (twist, dwel). The passage from (t) to (w) created a glide which I could not recognize as usual. I tried (twist, duél), which are easier, but then I missed the characteristic (w) effect. It was not till on studying Mr. Bell's Visible Speech, and finding him classify (w) as a mixed gutturalised labial, and consequently (gw) as a mixed labialised guttural, that the explanation occurred to me, which is simply that "wherever the position of a consonant can be practically assumed at the same time as the positions for (i, u), they are so assumed by speakers to whom these combinations are easy." This brought palatalisations and labialisations under the same category. As we have (kj, gi, tj, dj, ij, nj), and might have (pj, bj), which apparently occur in Russian, so we might have (kw, gw, tw, dw, lw, nw), and even (pu, bu), which are related to (p, b) much as (kj, gi) are to (k, g). I found (kw, gw, tw, dw) the most satisfactory explanations to me of English sounds; and I seemed to recognize them in French quo, toi, dois (kwu, tua, dwa), and similarly loi, noiz, roi (lwa, nua, rua). It was satisfactory to me that Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, who

must certainly be allowed to understand French pronunciation, adopted these views, added to my list sot, choix, joie, (swa, shea, zhua), and completed the conception by admitting palato-labialisations, arising from attempting to combine (y), or (i, u) simultaneously, with consonants, as in lui, nuit, fil, chantant, juin, which would have to be written (lei, nej, fie, shwejataas, zhwejaa). As in French (lj, nj) are said to be mouillé, so he terms (lw, nw), etc., volutée, and (juj, nuj), etc., fluitée. Theoretically the existence of such combinations as (lj, lw, nj), etc., is perfectly conceivable and executable. The only question is, are they used in such words? This is a matter of observation. Prof. Whitney observes (twist, dwel); I observe in myself, at least, (twist, dwel). Mr. Bell writes (tw, dw), and also (kw), although he admits (kwh), the Scotch quh, which bears the same relation to (kw) as (k) to (k).

The simple character of (kw) may have prevented the qu from making "position" in Latin; but the initial character of (kw), like that of a mute and a liquid, may have had a similar effect. We have (gw) in guano (gwaa-no). Sometimes there is both palatalisation or labialisation of the consonant and an inserted vowel. Thus the old-fashioned cart, regard, sky, are seldom pure (kjaat, rigjaad, skjoit), but often (kjaat, rjigaad, skiait), and it is possible that quill, quell, quantity, may be occasionally (kwfl, kwfl, kwattit), but I have not noted it. On the other hand, Italian quale, quanto, questo, sound to me rather (kuale, kuántuoh, kuéstoa), than (kwa-) or (kwha—), etc. The same is probably the case in Spanish cuanto, etc. But I doubt a real (kwa—) anywhere. One great source of difference between German and English quell seems to arise from the two German consonants, thus (khhel).

(buk). The voice begins in (b), and is carried through (u) to (k), where it is sharply and suddenly cut off. For the effect of (k) final see No. 8, (t).

10. WATCH, Bell's (watsh), my (wot-sh).

(w). See No. 1, (w).
10. (A, ø).

(A, ø). With Mr. Bell, I used to consider that wa represented (wa), rather than (wa), and I have previously given (wash) as the pronunciation (56, a). But on further observation I think that (wa) is not so common as (wa), and that when (wa) is used, the (A) is apt to become of medial length, so that the unpleasant drawing effect (wa at sh) results, where I introduce a new method of marking the length of a vowel in palaeotype. Hitherto I have only used (a, aa) for short and long, and (aaa) for protracted. As this is not enough for theoretical purposes, I propose to use (a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a) as a scale of six, very short, short, medial, long, very long, protracted. This superior vowel must not be used after another vowel of a different form, as that would militate against the notation (e) on (1107, d), so that if we wished to write short (e) followed by very short (i), we must write (ei), according to the usual notation. The short vowel-sound in watch is almost invariably (ø) in England, but the medial sound is perhaps common in America. The difference between (A) and (o) is very slight, and both are nearly peculiar to English. Practically (A) belongs to the (a) group, and (o) to the (o) group. Foreigners hear (A) as (a) or (ø), and (o) as (o) or (ø). The differences are, however, important. The vowels (A, ø) differ from (ø, o) strictly by the depression of the back of the tongue, which, in the diagram (14, c, No. 7), is not given low enough for my pronunciation. But (A) differs from (ø) by a slight "rounding," the corners of the lips being brought a little together for (A) (14, d, No. 12), whereas for (ø) they are quite apart. Also according to Mr. Bell, (A) is a primary and (ø) with (ø) are "wide" vowels. I must own that (A) feels to me when speaking "wider" than (ø), that is, to be pronounced with an opener pharynx. Still the concinnity of the vowel system points to the other arrangement, as shewn on p. 14, and I am probably wrong. The various degrees of opening of the lips in rounding should be observed, the three degrees, p. 14, diagram Nos. 10, 11, 12, being in English reserved for (u, o, A). But in Danish we have varieties. Thus Mr. Sweet observes (Philological Trans. 1873-4, p. 102): "In Danish the two lower articulations (ø, A), while preserving the same tongue position as English and most other languages," [that is, those of diagram Nos. 4, 7], "have undergone what may be called a 'lippenverschiebung,' " [lip-proloration, may be an admissible translation, prolation being nearest to verschiebung], "(ø) being pronounced with the labialisation or 'rounding' of (u), and (A) with that of (ø), (u) itself remaining unchanged." [I propose to write this effect thus (ou, Aø), the principal form giving the position of the tongue, and the subscribed that of the lips. Note the different meaning ascribed to the superior (ø') or a sound between (ø) and (u), but apparently more like (ø), given on (1107, d), and note also the fourth kind of rounding just symbolised by (ø') on (1114, d')). "This abnormal rounding gives a peculiar cavernous effect to the vowels, and makes it difficult, especially for a foreigner, to distinguish them accurately." See (799, d). Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte seemed to me to imitate the cavernosity by protruding the lips in a funnel shape, which we may write †, (11, cd), so that he made Swedish o and u to be (tu, yt). Mr. Sweet says the Swedes and Norwegians use (u) for (u), "which in Norwegian had the additional peculiarity of being unilaterally rounded, at least in some dialects," and would therefore be (us). "In Swedish this (ou) has been moved up nearly into the place of the (u), but in Norwegian it is formed as in Danish. The consequence is that the Norwegians are quite unable to pronounce the (u) in foreign languages." (Ibid.) In some Yorkshire people I have observed a tendency to pronounce (AA) in the direction of (ø), so that the effect hovered between (ø) and (ø), and for that reason might be written (øø). Southerners accuse them of saying (ool kooz), for (aal kaaaz), all cause. It is possible that this sound is properly (A, ø). It deserves investigation, if only from the Scandinavian relations of Yorkshire.

We may note generally that (AA) is an extremely difficult vowel for foreigners, and it is seldom reached. Even Scotchmen are apt to confuse it with (e). But conversely Englishmen confuse even foreign (a) with (A). The German (a) is so confidently considered as (AA), that (AA) is known among English orthoepists as the German A!
10. (a, o)—continued.

Again the broad (oo) of our dialects is by dialectal writers almost always written av, meaning (AA); and the Italian o aperto, in syllables where it is taken as long, is called (AA) as (aAA, bwAA-no) for (no, bu6u6u), no, buono. Italians themselves say (aa) rather than (oo) for English (AA). Both vowels (AA, a), with the true lip rounding, are, as already observed, almost peculiarly English. I have reason to doubt whether (AA) is really heard in India, or Persia, or Austria, which are the only places, beside England, where, so far as I know, it may be at home.

Hence also the diphthong (a'i, o'i) is rare out of England. For its English origin from (a'i, o'i) see (131, a. 270, a. 1101, c). The Danish røg is written (ræ) by Mr. Sweet (ibid. p. 107), but this means (rɔ). This, however, to my ears, is the nearest foreign diphthong to our (o'i). The German eu I am accustomed to call (o'i) myself, and perhaps in the North of Germany it fully reaches that sound. I think, however, that (6i) would be a more correct representation of the North German sound. For the Middle German I hear (a'i, dy). Rapp does not properly distinguish (o, o), and in Italian does not distinguish close and open o. Hence although he makes the English short o to be his o, I shall transcribe it (o), as I believe he pronounces it. He says: (Phys. d. Spr. 4, 19): "Theory has been greatly troubled with German eu. Feeling the inconvenience of confusing eu with ei (ai) in Middle Germany, theoreticians thought that with ai, au, they could associate an analogous au (ay), which however does not readily unite with them, even when really pronounced, as indeed is commonly the case, only as a, ao, ao, (æe, əo, æo). On the other hand, the Northern, Dutch, and low German (e, e) presented itself, as at least intentionally different from ai (ai), and as (e) was no German sound [Rapp identifies it with French de me que], it was advanced to òi òe (6i 6e), so that there resulted a diphthongal triad ai an òi (ai əu 6i), which is completely identical with the English and also the old Latin ae, au, oe, and of which we can at least say that they are the three most convenient diphthongs for the organs of speech. Later on, the want of the intermediate sound in òi (6i) was felt, and to avoid this objection, a rather difficult but not ill-sounding diphthong òiu (6y) was theoretically acknowledged, and although an extremely artificial product, pretty well satisfied all requirements. Those provinces that possess (ai ou) are the real causes of establishing (oy) as òiu (6y), whereas those that acknowledge a-diphthongs only will always incline to the low Saxon òi (6i). The diphthongs are always affected by a following nasal, so that when radical ein aun eun are not called (i un əi, ai), for which last (6i) in would be preferable, they come out as (øen, øen, øen), and any theory will find it difficult to produce (nøyn frøynd) with sensible (y) without an appearance of affectation. ... German theoreticians who are so learned in scripture (Schriftegelehr) that they insist on having a heard in au, and e in ei (not an e in eu also, or, for the sake of a, e, o, an o perhaps?), are, thank heaven! so rare, that we need not speak of them."

Brücke (Ueber eine neue Methode der phonetischen Transskription, Wien,1803, p. 53), transcribes biume, neues, vertrauten by characters equivalent to (bã-me nãy-rã fer-trãy-me^n), where (e) indicates an "imperfectly formed e," that is, he, a low Saxon, adopts the theoretical (ay). As Englishmen's views of the identity of German eu with their own oy are generally very ill based, I thought it better to give the views of German phoneticians on the subject. But the arguments of Rapp seem to leave out of consideration the organic development of language without any reference to writing, so that he lays himself open to the very "learning in scripture" which he ridicules.

(t). This is a medial (>t<), see No. 8 (t).

(sh, sh). For the distinction of (s,sh) and (sh,sh) see No. 6 (s).

This advanced (sh) may be distinctly heard in saying watch with a very protracted his (wɔt,sh,sh,sh); and after a little practice it is possible to say (sh) without the crutch of (t). Mr. Sweet says he is inclined to accept this analysis. Prof. Haldeman says that instead of advancing (sh) to (sh), he retracts (t) to (t?) which comes to the same thing.
At any rate, the ordinary English (t, sh) are not both heard in watch.

This (sh) is apparently the true Roman c in dieci, cinque (dis'-shi, shi'k'ue), which Englishmen hear as (dieshi, shiq'kve). This is, therefore, the Italian derivative from Latin (k). How far the (t) is developed, further observations are required to shew, but the following (translated) notes in F. Valentini's Gründliche Lehre der Italienischen Aussprache (Berlin, 1834), are worth quoting, as being written by a Roman who was thoroughly acquainted with German, in which sch, t sch, zsch, for (sh, tsh), are common. He says (ibid. p. 15, note): "The correct pronunciation of the Italian syllables ce, ci, cia, cia, after a vowel, as heard from all educated Romans and Tuscan, cannot be completely represented by German signs; they should properly be heard from a teacher conversant with good pronunciation. The following examples will serve to shew that these syllables in this case are as distinct from their ordinary value as from see, sci, scio, scio. In face, faces, the e sounds exactly like t sch; in faces, swaddings, the vowel is stopped, and the final see thus becomes harder; in face, torches, and all similar cases, the vowel is lengthened, and ce consequently receives that peculiar softness already mentioned. All three sounds are heard in the following line of Tasso:

Gli accidero, faromme acerbi scempi.

Gor. Lib. 1, 87, 3,"n
4th stanza from end.

He proceeds to say that the best writers have constantly written see for ce, thus arbuscello arbuscello, bracia braseia, baci basei, etc., and that "in the Lombard dialects ce, ci, after a vowel, fall into a very soft s or z, as vesin, disi, sacerdott, for vicino, dici, sacerdotis." The examples face, faces, face, are possibly meant to differ as (fa, t, tsha) or (fa', she), (fa'.she, fa'she).

The combination (t.sh), or else (sh), is developed where (sh) does not occur, as in Spanish, just as (d.sh) or (zh) is found in Italian, where (zh), the buzz of (sh), is unknown, and (d zh) has been common for centuries in English, where (zh) in vision (vir'zhen) is quite a recent development. In English (t.sh), which I have hitherto written and shall generally write (tsh), was developed from age (a), see (204, a), where the relation of (kj, tj) to (tsh) will require revision, if (sh) and not (t, sh) is the original derivative from (k). In quite recent English (t.sh) has been developed from (ti) before (a), as in the termination -ture, in nature (neet, sh).

To the absence of an independent (sh) may perhaps be attributed the persistence with which (t, sh) initial, being only (t < sh <), is considered a simple letter, and ch or tch final in such, much, crutch, which is (t < sh), has been taken to be the result of prefixing (t) to the former simple sound. To the same cause I attribute the dispute as to the final sounds in inch, lunch, launch, drench, which some analyze as (sh), and others as (tsh). Now the position of the tongue for (u) being the same as that for (t), the full analysis may be (i-n-nh-sh) or (i-n-nh-t-sh), or simply (i-n-t-sh) or (i-n-sh). But in the plural inches, I myself use a distinct (t), thus, (i'mt'sheez), and to my ear (i'mt'sheez) is unusual. Mr. Bell uses (-ntsh) -.

The sound (t, sh), as I hear it, is the Hungarian cs, the Polish cz, and 24th Russian letter. As I pronounce Polish szcz, the 26th Russian letter, I seem to prolong (sh) or (sh), and for an instant touch the palate with the tip of the tongue in the middle of the hiss, checking it momentarily and producing two hiss-glides, thus (sh > t-sh), or (sh, t-sh), for the t is probably (t). The Germans write the sound schtzech.

That ch in English cheese has a prefixed (t), may be felt very distinctly by pronouncing (t shi, t she, t sha, t sha, t sho, t shu) with great rapidity, when the best of the tongue against the palate will be felt as markedly as in rapid (ti, te, ta, to, tu). It is convenient also to practise (shi, she, sha, sha, sho, shu), and (shi, she, sha, sha, sho, shu).

Notwithstanding the confidence I feel in the diphthongal nature of ch in cheese as = (t sh), yet strong opinions of a different nature are entertained. Prince L. L. Bonaparte can hear no difference between English ch in cheese and Italian ci, and this he considers to be the simple (sh), a continuant, which he can prolong indefinitely, and which, when so prolonged, suggests a (t) throughout. On the other hand Mr. Goodwin (1093, a'), no mean observer, considers ch in chest and j in jest to be
10. (sh, $\text{\char24}$)---continued.

explodents, which I will mark by the new characters (kj, gj), the latter
written as an undotted j crossed; see (1094, $\sigma$). These are the real
explodents corresponding to (zh, j), or Mr. Bell's 2s, 2f, on p. 15, which
he too hastily confused with my
(tj, dj). Observe that in (t, d) the tip,
and in (k, g) the back, of the tongue
touches the palate; then for (tj, dj),
without removing the tip, bring the
middle of the tongue against the palate,
and for (kj, gj), without removing the
back, also bring the middle of the
tongue against the palate. Hence for
(tj, dj) the front two-thirds, and for
(kj, gj) the back two-thirds, of the
tongue touch the palate. But for (kj,
gj) only the middle third of the tongue
touches the palate, thus producing a
real explodent, which, as Mr. Nicol
pointed out to me, is the sound indicated
by Mr. Bell's Visible Speech symbol.
To succeed in pronouncing them at
first, keep the tip of the tongue down
by burying it below the lower gums;
and to prevent the back of the tongue
from rising to the (k) position, think of
(t), which of course cannot be pro-
nounced when the tip of the tongue is
kept down. Make the effect of (k$\text{\char24}$)
perfectly sharp, by beginning with a
closed glottis (1097, $b$), and come quietly
on to the vowel without any escape of
unvocalised breath. A little practice is
necessary to avoid (kj, gj) on the one
hand, and (tsh, dzh) on the other, but
the sound has a philological value
which makes it worth while under-
standing. These (kj, gj) are Mr. Good-
win's c, j, in the following remarks
(ibid. p. 9):

"C (ch in chin) is manifestly a simple
elementary consonant, and a lenes.
It is produced by placing a certain portion
of the tongue near the tip, but not the
tip itself, against a certain part of the
palate, and, after pressure, suddenly
withdrawing it with a violent emission
of breath. It has no t-sound in its
composition, for neither the tip of the
tongue nor the teeth are used in its
production. Neither does it end in an
sh-sound, for, in that case, it could be
prolonged ad libitum, which the true $c$
(ch English) cannot be. Moreover, it
does not begin with any one sound, and
end with another, but is the same simple
sound throughout its whole extent.
It may be shewn by a similar experi-
ment, and proof, that j is a simple
elementary sound. It bears the same
relation to $c$ (kj) that g does to $k$, or
any other lone sonant to its correspond-
ing lenes surd." That the true ch
cannot be prolonged ad libitum, no
other writer, so far as I am aware, has
asserted, except in the sense that its
prolongation, like that of all diphthongs,
differs from its commencement. In
connection with these remarks of Mr.
Goodwin, it seems best to cite what he
says about (sh, zh), to which I must
prefix his curious remark on aspirates,
a subject which will have to be especially
considered in No. 14, (wh). He says
(ibid. p. 8):

"Each of the aspirates might have
been represented by a single character
but, as $h$ represents a simple breathing
or aspiration, and as all the aspirates
are similarly combined with such a
breathing, and those of them which
are used in English are generally so
represented, we have chosen to represent
them all as combined with $h$. We do
not mean by this to intimate that the
sound of $h$ is added to the respective
lenes—for in that case the aspirates
would not be simple sounds—but that
it is combined with them throughout
their whole extent. They are simple,
therefore, under our definition; and if
in any sense compound, they are so by
a sort of chemical composition, in dis-
tinction from a mechanical aggregate
or mixture. Kh, for example, is not
equal to $k$+$h$, but to $k$+$x$.$h$. This we
consider a true aspiration; while the
sound of $h$, added after a consonant,
no more renders that consonant a true
aspirate, than it does the following
consonant or vowel. We do not doubt
there are such aspirates ('so called') in
other languages, as in the Sanscrit, for
example; but we here speak of the
strict propriety of the term."

[p. 9]. "Sh is not the aspirate of $s$,
that is, it is not related to $s$ as $th$ to $t$,
$ph$ to $p$, etc., as any one may ascertain
by a simple experiment of pronunciation.
$S$ is more dental than palatal, $sh$ is not
dental at all. But $sh$ is related to $c$
(kj) precisely as any other aspirate to
its lenes; that is, if you place the organs
as if to produce $c$ (kj), but instead of
bringing them into perfect contact,
retain a slight passage between for the
constant egress of the breath, modifying
it, as it goes out, by this specific ap-
10. (sh, zh)—continued.

proximation of the organs to a state of contact, you will have a perfect sh, zh is plainly related to j, as sh to e (kj).” [This is incorrect, the result is (sh).]

“The s and z, as sibilants, are peculiar, but in respect of the organs employed in their articulation, they furnish a transition between the palatal e (kj), etc., and the dental t, etc.; and in respect to the mode of their articulation, they are to be reckoned among the aspirates rather than the lenes. Their lenes would be a certain unpronounceable medium between e (kj) and t and between j (gj) and d respectively.”

The systematic terms, lenes et aspiratae, should be discarded, as they tend to produce great confusion, and the precise mode of generating each individual sound should be studied, as we study individuals in natural history, before we attempt to classify them, except provisionally. The grammarians’ provisional and extremely imperfect classification of lenes et aspiratae has been long antiquated.

When Mr. Gupta visited me (1096, e), I was astonished to find that his pronunciation of च ज was not the (sh d, zh) usually laid down in books as the modern pronunciation, nor the (kj gj) usually theoretically supposed to be the ancient sounds, but exactly and unmistakably (kj gj) as just described. This must be also the real ancient sound, and it solves every difficulty. In Mr. Gupta’s pronunciation (kj) was as pure and unmixed with any hiss as an English (k). The post-aspirated forms will be considered in No. 14, (wh). Corresponding to these (kj gj) there must be of course a nasal (qj), which however only occurs immediately before them, and is hence a generated sound, just as (q) itself in Sanscrit; but it is certainly not (nj) as usually assumed, for the point of the tongue does not touch the palate; nor (qj), corresponding to (kj gj), for the back of the tongue never reaches the (k)-position. The Sanscrit explodents now become perfectly intelligible. च the usual (k) with the back of the tongue only, and neither the middle nor the tip, in contact with the palate. च the present (kj), with the middle of the tongue only, and neither the back nor the tip, in contact with the palate. च the tip of the tongue only, and neither the

back nor middle, in contact with the palate, and not the teeth, written (t), for one of the forms (t), that is either retracted or coronal, not gingival nor dental, nor citra-dental (t>). च with the tip of the tongue only against the teeth only, not against the palate. The sides of the tongue in all cases have to complete the closure. The series may then be completed thus:

(x) back of retracted tongue against extreme back of palate.
(kj) back of tongue against palate.
(kj) middle of tongue against it.
(tj) middle and tip of tongue against it.
(x t t) tip of tongue against palate in various places from furthest back to crown or base of gums.
(tj) tip of tongue against upper teeth.
(. t) tip of tongue against both upper and lower teeth, but not protruded.
(<?, tj) tip of tongue protruded between upper and lower teeth.
(r) lower tip against upper teeth.
(p) lower tip against upper tip.

Now each of these can give rise to a hiss by a slight relaxation of the contact. Hence we get a theoretical (xh) from (x); the well-known (kh) from (k), the German ch in ach; the equally well-known (kjh) from (kj), the German ch in ich; the English (jh) = (kjh) from (kj), of which presently; the English (sh) is the nearest if not the exact hiss of the English (t), as will be noticed presently, (th) the hiss of dental (t). National habits will here interfere. The Sanscrit has only a generated (kh), as will be shown in No. 14, (wh), and hence it does not appear in writing. The (kjh) or (zh) however existed distinctly and had a sign श. Now if modern Germans, as we shall see in No. 16, (x), actually confuse (kjh, zh), we cannot suppose that their ancestors, the old emigrants from the Aryan land, did better, and from (kjh) the step to (k) on the one hand and (sh) on the other is easy. How easily (sh) comes from (zh) we know in English, and Mr. Goodwin has himself exemplified it by making (kjh) = (zh) instead of (zh), just as in India (zh) has sunk absolutely into (sh). Lepsius makes the sound of श theoretically = (shj), (Standard Alphabet, p. 71), which he identifies with Polish ś, a sound I hear as (sj). But Mr. Gupta hears no
10. (sh, sh)—continued.

difference in present usage between ज and छ, both are equally (sh). But both occur as ungenerated distinct forms in Sanscrit, where they are unmistakably referred to छ ट. There is probably no doubt therefore that ज was, and still represents, (zh). Now we have already shewn on comparing (s, sh) in (1104, c) that the latter is retracted, as compared with the former. And in the same way (r) is retracted as regards (t). In languages having no (th), — as in German for example,—(s) or (s), for the two cases are not distinguished, is taken to be, and actually results as, the hiss of (t). It is thus that high German z = (t,s) has probably actually resulted from (t,t). In the same way ज was in Sanscrit referred to ।. As a matter of course therefore ज (sh) or (sh) was referred to छ (t). In modern Bengalee, as we have seen (1105, b'), all three sounds ज झ छ are confused as (sh). That ज झ = (zh, z) were not exhibited together as surd and sonant, may be due to the fact that there were no (zh, z) as sonants to ज झ. The Sanscrit series of speech-sounds, like those of all other nations, was but fragmentary.

Considerable objection has been taken to Mr. Melville Bell's classification of (s, sh), by which, in the arrangement on p. 15, 26 and 36, the (s) is apparently allied to (x), and the (sh) to (t). So strongly have speakers felt the relation of (x) to (t), and of (sh) to (th), that, as I have been informed (by Miss Hull, of 162, Warwick Gardens, Kensington), who successfully teaches deaf and dumb girls to speak and read from the lips, and, employing for that purpose Mr. Bell's Visible Speech symbols, went in 1873 to Boston, in America, to study Mr. Graham Bell's method of using it in teaching at the deaf and dumb institutions there), Mr. G. Bell has found it best to transpose these symbols, giving to the symbol 26 the meaning (sh), and to the symbol 36 the meaning (s). But Mr. Melville Bell's symbols are both 'mixed,' and imply merely that the (z) character in the position of the tongue predominates in (s) by the elevation of the middle of the tongue, and the (t) character of the same in (sh), by the depression of the middle of the tongue. This is clearly shown by his diagrams (Visible Speech, p. 53) and his description (ibid. p. 52), viz.: "6. (s) Front-Mixed. The Front [middle] and Point [tip] of the Tongue both raised, so as to bring the convex surface of the tongue close to the front [crown] of the palatal arch, and the point of the tongue, at the same time, close to the upper gum.—7. (sh) Point-Mixed. The Point [tip] and the Front [middle] of the Tongue both raised— the latter in a less degree than for symbol 6. (s)—bringing the front [middle] surface of the tongue near to the rim [?] of the palatal arch." The characters both imply (zh*th), but for (s) the greater proximity of the middle of the tongue to the (z)-position determined both its position and its sign. The recent variation, by Mr. Graham Bell, in the application of these symbols, shews how difficult it is to select any form of symbolism depending on classifcation. Different points strike different minds as best adapted for characteristics. As in botany and zoology genera and families are constantly being remodelled, we cannot be surprised at the difficulties and disagreements which have notoriously arisen in a matter so little understood and requiring so much training (almost securing bias) to observe and appreciate, as speech-sounds. Still greater exception would probably be taken to Mr. Bell's classing (th) under (zh), and (th), which he identifies with Welsh ll (lhl), under (r, h), because we naturally identify (th) with the teeth, and overlook the position of the middle of the tongue. The columns 2 and 3, in Mr. Bell's table, p. 14, should, according to these recent changes in palatoype, be symbolised as follows, in order, from line a to line n:

2. voiceless zh s lh th kj qh
3. voiceless r, th sh lh th t nh

If (th, d,l) really represent the Welsh ll and its Manx voiced form, they are identical with the symbols (lh, llh), see (768, z, d), where the voiceless form (lh) is incorrectly stated to occur in Manx.

(w) (sh). The voice, set on in (w), continues with a glide on to (s), and then with a sharp and very sensible glide on to (t), where it is cut off or
10. (wot, sh)—continued.

stopped, and the glottis closed; the glottis is, however, immediately opened wide for unvocalised breath, and a hiss-glide is formed on to (sh), through which the hiss may be continued indefinitely, and as a rule the position for (sh) is held as long as the breath is audible, so that it does not glide off into anything else. This may be written (w-o t < sh). But in cheese we have (t < sh < i > z-s), without the glide on to (t), and hence the (t) is less felt than in the other case.

11. SAW, (saa).

(s). For (s) see No. 6, (s).

(a). For (aa) see No. 10, (A, a). We have here only the continued sound. Dr. Rush says (op. cit. p. 61), "A-we has for its radical, the peculiar sound of 'a' in owe; and for its vanish, a short and obscure sound of the monothong (sic) e-r-r." That is, he would pronounce saw (saa' a, saa'), which would give the effect of adding an r. It is quite true that Londoners have a difficulty in distinguishing saw sore, taw lore, mau more, generally saying only (saa', laa', ma'a') for (saa soo', laa loo', ma'a moo'), and that the principal difference to them is that the first words may not, and the last words must, have an epenthetic (r) before a vowel. It is therefore best to avoid this "vanish," and say (saa) without relaxing the position for (AA). But really, as will hereafter appear, (saa', ce'j, o'o'w) are phenomena of precisely the same kind, (§ 2, No. 6, iv.) We also find (mumaa', pupa'a') in the same way. The only objection is to the interposition of a trilled r, as saw-r-ing (saa'-riq). But the Basques interpose a "euphonic" r in the same way, and if we could only persuade grammarians to call the Cockney interposition of (r) "euphonic" also, the custom, which is a living reality, however unsavoury now, would be at once disinfectated.

(saa). The glide from (s) to (aa) is of the same nature as in (sks), No. 6.

12. FEATHERS, Bell's (fe-dhuzz), my (fe'dhazs).

(f). See No. 4, (f).

(e, e). See No. 7, (e, e).

(dh). This is the buzz of (th), see No. 3, (th). There is no initial (d), as Germans imagine, in English (dhcn), which would require the un-English dental (ddhen). The final (ddh) does not occur, but we have (-dhd) in breathed, bathed, swathed, titthed = (britidhd, beethd, sweethd, to'idhd), in pronouncing which the retraction of the tongue from (dh) to (d) may be distinctly felt. And (d dh) constantly concur in successive words, as and the, see (1998, a).

(r, z). On (r, z) see No. 3, (r), and No. 4, (a). Mr. M. Bell has peculiar theories about unaccented vowels, which will be better discussed in some special examples, given hereafter. The (a) only occurs in English in unaccented syllables, and it may be questioned whether the real sound in these syllables is not (o). It is the same, or nearly so (for the exact shades of such obscurities are difficult to seize), as the obscure final -e in German and Dutch. When French e muet is pronounced, I seem to hear (s) rather than (a) or (a), and there is a schism on this point among the French themselves. See also (548, b).

(zs). See No. 5, (foev), on this after-sound of (s), which is generally very clearly developed, especially in singing psalms, where it becomes disagreeably prominent. This final (s) should be very lightly touched, as a mere relief from the unpleasant buzz (z).

(fe'dhazs). The word begins with an unvocalised hiss which is continued as long as the (f) position is held, so that the vocal chords must not be brought together till that position is released. The glide on to (o) may take place through the gradual closure of the glottis, and hence may be partly voiceless, but the voice is now continued, without break, on to (z). There is an interruption to its smoothness by the buzzing of (dh), but, unless there is a trill superadded to (z),—which is admissible, but unusual,—the voice is heard as an obscure vowel (v) or (o) through (z). The result is (f < e > dh < v > z-s).
12. (fe' dhuzz)—continued.
The syllable divides somewhere during (dh). The vowel (e) being short, the whole glide from (e) to (dh), and the whole continuance of the buzz till the glide from (dh), would generally be reckoned to belong to the first syllable. This is merely fanciful. The interruption to vocality by the buzz makes two groups ([<e>] and [<x>] z-s), between which there is an extra syllabic buzz of sensible duration, and if it were exaggerated in length, we should have the effect of three groups. Practically, two groups only being felt, the length of (dh) is divided at pleasure between them, and is, I believe actually at times differently divided by means of a relaxation of force or slur —, to be described in No. 14, (wh), according to the momentary feeling of the speaker.

13. TONGS, Bell's (toqṣz), my (toqṣz).

(t). See No. 2, (t).


(q). This bears the same relation to (n), as (g) to (d). It is simply (g) with a complete nasal resonance, and thus differs from (g), with incomplete resonance, although in both the uvula is free from the pharynx, but whether to an equal extent has not been determined. The (q) is common in German, Italian, and modern Greek, and was clearly present in Latin and ancient Greek, though it has never received a distinct symbol in these languages, as it has in Sanscrit. But in these languages it is merely a euphonic alteration of (n) generated by a following (k) or (g). It is quite unknown in French, where it seems to Englishmen to have been transformed into a French nasality of the vowel, (aa) bearing to (a) about the same relation as (aq) to (ag). But the real differences which distinguish French Portuguese, dialectal German, American English, Gaelic, Hindu, and perhaps other undescribed nasals, have not yet been determined, so that all analysis is provisional. Mr. Gupta (1906, o) pronounced the Sanscrit “necessary anusvāra” as (q), and not as a mark of nasalisation (A). The nasal passages are so complicated and full of tremulous membranes, and of secretions, that the resonance is necessarily very complicated. It is safest for Englishmen who cannot pronounce the French nasals to use (q) for (A). On (67, e) I accidentally mislaid Mr. Bell's analysis, which is properly an, on, un, vh = (oh, oh, oh, oh, ve). Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte's is (aa, oA, oA, A). M. Edouard Paris seems to analyse (aa, oA, oA, ea) in the Introduction to his "St. Matthieu en Picard Amiénois" (London, 1863, translated for Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte). In fact it is not possible to analyse these sounds perfectly, because the mere detachment of the uvula from the back of the pharynx alters the shape of the resonance chamber for the oral vowel, and the addition of nasality effectually disguises its quality. By very carefully performed and recorded experiments with the phonograph and König's manometric flames (see Poggendorff's Annalen, vol. 146) on vowels sung at the same pitch, with and without different nasalisations, it may be possible to discover the alteration of the quality produced by nasalisation, but even this is problematical, and, so far as I know, no experiments have hitherto been made in this direction. At present our connection of oral to nasal vowels is purely a matter of aural appreciation, and will probably differ for the same speaker from observer to observer. The form (as) would mean, that, with the exception of the uvula, the organs are disposed as for (a), and that the uvula is so widely detached from the pharynx as to allow a perfectly free passage of vocalised breath through the nose as well as through the mouth. The form (a) gives the same position, with the exception of the uvula, which is, I think, only slightly detached from the pharynx, so that the nasal passage is not so free as the oral, and hence the oral vowel is so distinctly recognized that probably Frenchmen would not recognize (a) as intended for (as). Both (a) and (as) are ori-nasal vowels, but the name is best applied to the second, while the first may be called a nasalised oral vowel. Between (a), with no nasality, and (as), with perfect ori-nasality, there are many degrees; but, as before said, we have not yet succeeded in analysing them, although the different degrees in which the nasal
passage is opened by the uvula is of course one important element, producing an effect comparable to that of the different 'roundings' of the vowels by the lips, see No. 10 (A, @). But in (ao) we have first a purely oral vowel, followed by a glide (a>q), which may pass through some form of nasality, but can never reach either (a) or (ao), because the oral passage is gradually obstructed more and more by the back of the tongue, till finally, all passage through the mouth being cut off by the (k) contact of the back of the tongue and soft palate, the voice issues in (q) entirely through the nose. These distinctions, pure oral (a), nasalised oral (a), ori-nasal (aa), pure oral (a) + a glide which is partly nasal, and imperfectly oral + pure nasal (q), should be carefully borne in mind. It will then be seen that the English (oq, ooq, eq, veq) and the German (aq, oq, eq, bheq) are very imperfect approximations to the French an, on, un, vin, but are intelligible simply because (q) not existing in French, there are no other sounds which they could represent. It is remarkable that in received English no vowel occurs long before (q), so that even (ooq) is rather difficult to our organs. In America, however, (aq) is often (30q) or (aaiq), as (loq, soq) or (laaq, saaq). And in Icelandic the vowel before (q) is always intentionally long (546, b, d').

Mr. Goodwin is peculiar in his analysis of (q), his ng. He says (ibid. p. 10), "Nq represents a simple, elementary, and a liquid sound, combining a nasal and a palatal character, or intermediate between the two, being produced in the endeavour to pronounce an n, by pressing the middle of the tongue against the palate. Nhq (or ngh), the so-called French nasal, is related to ng as any other aspirate to its lene; that is, it is accompanied with an emission of breath, while the organs are in near approximation to the specific contact which characterizes ng." The description of (a) is of course entirely incorrect. The description of (q), however, does not answer to the English (q), but to the probable Sans. (qi), which Englishmen confuse with (nj). The French, having no (q), confuse it with their own (nj).

I have also known Fr (nj) pronounced (qi) in England. There is therefore no certainty respecting (q, j, qi, nj) in accounts of foreign sounds. The confusion is quite similar to that of (w, bh, v). In English (q), which has generally been generated by the action of a letter of the k-series on a preceding n, never occurs initially, so that English people find it difficult to make it glide on to a following vowel, as (qaa, qii, qun), which are found in some African and other languages. Hence when final, it is simply prolonged, as (laq), the strength of the voice dying off, and it seldom becomes voiceless (loqgh), because there is no inconvenience in prolonging the nasality. But sometimes the nasality is dropped, and then simple (g) results, as (laug), which is treated as a usual final sonant, and may become (laqg'). This cannot be reckoned as a received form, although it may be historical. On the other hand, the voice is occasionally dropped with the nasality, and the result is (loqk'), which is reckoned vulgar, as in (thiqk') for (thiq), though common in German (192, d). We have, however, a final (-iq), in the participles, which certainly does not arise from a previous (k) form. The confusion of the (-q, -nd) participial forms is very old; it may possibly have arisen from confusing the participle and verbal noun or gerund, for many of our dialects ignore this (-q) altogether, and use (-n) as a termination for both, "not pronouncing the g," as glossarists assume, although Southern Scotch dialects distinguish them by vowels. (-an) participle, (-in) for gerund (Murray, ibid. p. 211). Similarly (na-thin, na-thun, na-fun) are not uncommon vulgarisms for nothing (na-thiq). Yankee and Irish English prefer the participle in -in. In the Forth and Bargy extinct English, ng and n seem to have been occasionally confused.

When (q) is medial, the difficulty is overcome in two ways. First, the glide of (q) on to the vowel, is altogether omitted, by beginning the vowel with a glottid (), or by slurring or relaxing the force of the voice on (q), so that the glide becomes inaudible. The clear () or catch (q) are, I think, uncommon either in English or German under such circumstances, but the relaxation or slurring (--) is, I think, the rule. Thus singer, longing, are (siq~x, loq~q), not (siq~x, lo q iq), and still less (siq~x, loq~q). Secondly, the nasality is
13. (q)—continued.

Ultimately omitted, and the resulting (g) glides easily on to the vowel, as in finger, longer (fi-q-g-t, lo-q-g-t), where (q) passes into (g) with the same ease as (z) into (s) in (ris zs).

When (q) is medial, and a hiss, not a buzz, follows, if we attempt to make the glide on to the hiss, some speakers naturally drop the nasality and the voice, developing (k), which glides on easily, as in strength, length (streukth, leqkth). This is not necessary. Although (qh) could no more make an initial combination than (wh), there could be a non-nasal glide from (q) to (th), which resembles the glide from (g) or from (u) to (th), thus (q > th). Or else the (q) may end suddenly, and there may be a hiss-glide on to (th), thus (q' > th). I think that this last is more frequently said. But the transition from the guttural (q) to the dental (th) being violent, many speakers, especially of the older class, and Irishmen, bridge over the difficulty by changing (q) into (n), thus (streth, lenth). A third hypothesis is possible. The voiceless breath may be introduced during the (q), or in place of the (q), thus (streq-qh-th) or (streqth). I have not myself observed either. Mr. Bell probably advocates the last, for he writes (mar'qhkr). This belongs to a theory considered in No. 15. I think (streth, w:qshas, maqk, wiqk) represent my own pronunciation of strength, anxious, monk, winked. When a voiced consonant follows, there seems no tendency to introduce (g), thus tonga, wined are (tqozs, wiqd), not (tqgzs, wiqgd), which would be difficult to English organs. An attempt to pronounce them would probably result in (tqg'zs, wiqg'd).

(zs). See No. 12, (fe'dhitzs).

(tqozs). The glide from (t) to (o) may be gathered from No. 2, (tuu). The voice is regularly continued through (q) to (z), when it falls off to (s), thus (t < q > z-s).

14. WHIP, (whip), variants (whhip, wip).

(wh). See Gill's recognition of (wh), on (185, 6), the observations on age, hi, hr, hn, hw, on (513, ab), and Icelandic (543, d), and on h in general (221, a). So much controversy exists upon the points thus raised that it is worth while recurring to them. My (n) was identified with Mr. Bell's symbol, p. 16, col. 5, line 7, with some hesitation, by Mr. Bell himself. But my own impression is that Mr. Bell has no sign precisely corresponding to what I mean by (n). In my original paper on Palaeotype (Philos. Trans. 1867, part 2, p. 16) I defined (n) as "the aspirate or jerk of the voice, not necessarily accompanied by a whisper, which could not be pronounced in certain post-aspirated consonants, as the Sanscrit न, ध, छ (br, dr, gr), and similar combinations in the Irish brogue. When the whisper is uttered, the effect should be represented strictly by (n')." Now most persons who have used my palaeotype confuse (n, n'), and I have certainly not been careful to distinguish them under ordinary circumstances. For the exact understanding, however, of such difficulties as have been raised respecting (wh), etc., it is necessary to enter into somewhat minute explanations. Referring to Mr. Bell's symbols, supra p. 15, by simple number and letter as 5f, "the symbol in column 5, line /", the following are Mr. Bell's own explanations (The Organic Relations of the Rudimental Symbols; Visible Speech, pp. 46-49).

9a. "When the glottis and the super-glottal passage are perfectly open, the breath creates no sound in its emission. A moderate degree of expulsiveness to render the "aspiration" audible is implied in 9a. The symbol is pictorial of the expanded breath-channel in the throat." This I have written (n') on p. 15, the exact meaning of which will be explained presently, and (n'h) is the full sign.

5a. "When the glottis is contracted to a narrow chink, the breath in passing sets the edge of the orifice—the 'vocal ligaments'—in vibration, and creates sonorous 'voice.' This vocalising condition of the glottis is pictured in the symbol." This I mark ('') on p. 15. The description, however, is inaccurate. If there is any 'chink,' there is no 'voice,' but only 'whisper.' See No. 8, (see). Distinguish between 'open glottis,' through which passes fatus or voiceless breath ('h), which may or may
14. (wh)—continued.

not be audible; 'chink glottis.' when the edges of the chords are brought almost but not quite in contact, producing whisper ('h'); and 'closed glottis,' the edges of the chords being absolutely in contact to be forced asunder by the breath, closing by their own elasticity, and thus producing that series of 'puffs' which result in voice,' ('h). Different from all these is the supra-glottal implosion ('h), No. 9, (b).

9b. "When the glottis is open, and the super-glottal passage is contracted, the breath creates in the latter the non-sonorous rustling or friction which is called 'whisper.' The relative expansion of the throat-channel for 9e and 9b is pictured in the symbols." I have marked this as (v) on p. 15. My symbol for 'whisper' is (v) or voicelessness + voice. Hence (v) is used for whispered (f), and (i) is whispered (i). To indicate voicelessness, prefix (i) to a whispered, or (v) to a voice letter. Thus (v) = (f), and (v) is the mere flatus through the (i) position, scarcely distinguishable from (ih), while (u) will be the mere flatus through the (u) position, scarcely distinguishable from (wh), see No. 2 (uu), and No. 3 (ii). Now Mr. Bell goes on to say: "The organic effect of 9b will be understood by whispering a 'voiced consonant' such as v. The result is clearly different from the sound of the non-vocal consonant of corresponding oral formation f. For the former (v), the fricativeness of the breath is audible from the throat, through the oral configuration; for the latter, (f), the breath-friction is audible only from the lip." I think that this account is imperfect, whisper being glottal and not pharyngeal. There is a glottal wheeze (h), which is produced by driving the voice sharply through the cartilaginous glottis, between the arytenoid cartilages, and not between the vocal chords, and Mr. Bell inclined to mark this as 9b + 10b, that is, as a prolongation of the present sound. At another time he wrote it 9b + 9e, or with the mark of trill added to this sign. Now there is such a trilling effect possible by means of moisture, and some observers do consider (h) as an arytenoid glottal trill rather than a wheeze. If voice accompanies, the result is either the Danish glottal (r) or the Arabic ain (g), and the latter is perhaps only (x), that is a strong pronunciation of the former. I am confirmed in this view by the fact of Mr. Sweet finding (r) very much like (g), and by the usual derivation of o from the Semitic ain.

9a. "The symbol 9a is a compound of 9b and 5a, and denotes whisper and voice heard simultaneously;—a vocal murmur modified by breath-friction in the super-glottal passage." I marked this as (v) on p. 15, but on my present definition of whisper this does not properly express the fact described. In whisper, however, there is so slight a vocalisation, arising from intermittent puffing; and so much apparent escape of unintermittent flatus, that the effect is felt as a mixture of voice and flatus, only the flatus has the upper hand, and the whole effect is generally weak. But in buzzing we have a powerful voice, with apparent intermingled flatus, which, however, is I think merely caused by inharmonic proper tones due to an obstructed resonant chamber, and is in ultimate analysis rather noise, that is, beating harmonies, than real flatus.

9c. "The symbol 9c pictures the combined edges of the glottis, and denotes the 'catch' of the breath which is heard (with violence of percussion) in a cough. The linguistic effect of 9c is softer, but distinctly percussive, when an aspiration or a vocal sound follows the 'catch.'" The form of the symbol 9e gives a wrong impression of the position of the vocal chords, which are pressed tightly together, along the whole length of their opposed edges, (and not knicked in the middle only as the symbol seems to show,) so that it requires considerable effort to separate them by an expiration. The closure is, for a time, air tight, as in 'holding the breath.' Hence the breath escapes explosively, either as flatus or voice. I write it (f).

9l and 9m. "The symbols 9l and 9m, by themselves, refer to the aperture of the mouth as affected by the close (9l) or open (9m) position of the jaws. Following other symbols, 9l denotes configurative compression, with consequent percussion on leaving the configuration, and 9m denotes configurative openness or organic laxity. Thus '9a + 9l. An exhaustive aspiration from upward pressure of the diaphragm;—a wheeze.'
14. (wh)—continued.

"9a + 9m. A gentle inaudible aspiration.

"9e + 9I. Glottal closure with distention of the larynx from pressure on the constricted breath, and percussive emission on opening the passage;—a cough."

As will be seen by referring to (1106, c), I formerly marked 9I on p. 13 as (.), considered merely as representing force, which is supposed to be continuous, and 9m as (,) considered as representing weakness, also supposed continuous. These do not quite represent Mr. Bell's symbols. His 9a + 9I is hardly (\text{h}'\text{h}), but very nearly so. His 9a + 9m could not be (,\text{h}'\text{h}), because there is no jerk at all here, and (,\text{h}') is the nearest symbol for almost inaudible fluxus. Again his 9c + 9I could not be (,.), because this alone, without sign of fluxus, whisper or voice, has no meaning, but (;\text{h}') is not unlike it. Using the signs (') as proposed on (1107, b), we may, however, write 9a + 9I = (\text{h}'\text{h}'), though I think (;\text{h}') better for the effect intended, 9a + 9m = (\text{h}'), or (,\text{h}'), and 9e + 9I = (\text{h}'\text{h}') or (,;\text{h}').

"10f and 5f. Whisper and voice may be produced by air going inwards (10f) or by breath coming out (5f)."

Here I think Mr. Bell has made a slip. No 'voice' certainly, and no 'whisper' in the sense of (1126, b), can be produced by inspiration. I have written (i) for 10f, and Mr. Bell first gave 9b and afterwards 5f for my (h), but he must have been wrong in both cases. He proceeds to say: "All symbols except 10f and 10 e imply emission." [Hence no special symbol for 5f was required.]

"The symbol 5f is used to denote a transitional emission from the symbolized configuration in passing from one position to another." [This seems to mean 'glide' in my sense, denoted by > or <.]

"The effect is different from the throat aspiration 9a. Thus from the 'shut' position of the glottis 9c, we may either open sharply upon an utterance of voice 9a + 5a." [my (\text{h}'\text{b}')]. "or we may ease off the pressure of the 'catch' by interpolating a 'breath glide' 9a + 5f + 5a." Now this could not be (,\text{h}'\text{h}'), for this jerk would increase instead of "easing off" the pressure. In another place, quoted presently, he calls this 5f "an aspirated hiatus." It would be of course possible to interpose hiatus, between the catch (i) and the voice (\text{h}), thus (;\text{h}'\text{h})", and when a real vowel is used is the series (;++\text{a}+\text{a}), hereafter abridged to (\text{ha}), may be easier than (a) without any interposed hiatus, for the explosion may force the vocal chords so far apart that hiatus escapes before they can be reduced to the vocal position, and as would recoil to it suddenly the effect (;++\text{a}+\text{a}) would be different from (;++\text{a}++\text{a}) or (;\text{a}), which seems hardly possible. Still I own not to have caught the meaning of this symbol 5f thoroughly, and I regret that I was led to identify it with my own (n). Mr. Graham Bell has used it at the end of words, when writing for deaf-mutes, to indicate what Mr. M. Bell calls the 'recoil' mentioned in the next citation, thus 8f + 3e + 5f is used for my (\text{et}). This would confirm my supposition that 5f is not really different from (<\text{h}'), since (\text{et}) is at full (a > t < \text{h}'). It remains therefore that Mr. M. Bell has no Visible Speech symbol for my (n), although I think his 9c, my (j), comes nearest to it, the difference being that (n) resembles impact or is momentary, and (j) resembles pressure or is continuous.

"10e. The symbol 10e signifies that the organic separation or recoil from any symbolized position—which is always implied in final elements when the 'stop' is not written—does not take place. Thus 9e + 10e is an unfinished 'catch,' in forming which the impulse ceases with the closure of the glottis." But no effect would be heard if the glottis were kept closed. We must allow a single puff to escape at least to shew the 'catch,' and then we must shut up directly to shew the 'stop.' Thus in place of 9e + 10e, or (;\text{t}) in my symbols, which would have absolutely no sound, I must have (;\text{h}') or (;;\text{h}'), often heard in a short checked convulsive cough.

"The effect of organic 'stop' is implied between elements in verbal combinations, such as tl in outlow, ta in outdo, etc.; where, necessarily, the t is not finished by an organic recoil, as it would be at the end of a word. In these cases of course the 'stop' does not require to be written." In practical phonetic writing much is not marked which must make its appearance in delicate phonetic discussions, and
14. (wh)—continued.

which is often of supreme philological importance. Thus (autlæ, autduu) are enough for many purposes; but if we are writing strictly, they are not nearly enough. We require (s’w’ > t)l < Æ, s’w’ > tjd < uw’), where j is the break explained in the next paragraph. The diphthongal glide is indicated by the accent shewing the element with principal force. The glides generally need not be written if the rule is laid down that there is always a glide between combined symbols. But then we must write (s’ut læ, s’ut duu), and we should thus lose the effect of combination into one word; so that (s’utlæ, s’utduu) become the full forms. Generally (aw’tlæ, owtduu) are enough. The ‘recoil’ should always be written when intended to be distinctly pronounced, as (s’utÆlæ, s’utduu).

“10c. In verbal combinations of elementary sound, each element is inseparably joined to the succeeding one.” This refers to the inter-gliding, but is only true as a practical rule in writing. “When any element, except the last in a combination, is finished independently of what follows, the sign of ‘hiatus’ (10e) is used. Thus in analysis, or phonetically ‘spelling’ a syllable, we should say that 9a + 5a consists of the elements 9a + 10c + 5a—interposing a break. The effect of 10c will be understood by pronouncing the word ‘bedtime,’ in which the d and f are not disjoined, in contrast with the separate pronunciation of the two words ‘bed, time.’ The symbol 5f is an aspirated hiatus; the symbol 10c is non-aspirated,—a mere interval.” I have hitherto marked this (‘), but with the more accurate distinctions of glottids, something more is required, and I find (’), half of the second half of a parenthesis, a sort of exaggerated comma,—already introduced by anticipation (998, ‘).—the most convenient for this mere break, which may or may not be accompanied by a ‘clear’ glottid. In this case (’) is opposed to (‘).

After much thought and observation I have been led to the following views of these difficult, and yet, philologically, extremely important distinctions. I cannot consider my views complete, but I think that they will serve to form a basis for future work, and are more comprehensive than any yet sug-

14. (wh)—continued.

gested in print. They involve not so much a reconstruction, as a more accurate specification of the notation on pp. 10 and 11.

Material of Speech-Sounds.

(i) Inspiration, audible inspired breath, the audibility arising from the friction in the air-passage, arising from their constriction and internal roughness, and velocity of the entering air.

(ii) Implosion; a dull thud-like sound arising from suddenly condensing, by the action of the muscles of the inclosing walls, breath confined in the passages, neither passing out of the mouth nor through the larynx (1097, c. 1113, d).

(iii) Click or smack; a sharp sharp sound produced by suddenly separating moist parts of the organs, as tongue and palate, etc., independent of inspiration or expiration. It is quite easy to click in the mouth while inspiring and expiring through the nose.

(iv) Flatus, audible but unvocalised expiration, the vocal chords well separated, and a full column of breath passing easily. The audibility may be conditioned by degrees of force or narrowing or interruption of the passages of exit.

(v) Whisper; the edges of the vocal chords are almost but not quite in contact; part of the passing breath is unaffected, part rustles, part is broken into pulses, resembling voice, just as on a flute we hear the musical tone accompanied by the rustle or rushing noise of the performer’s breath against the side of the mouthpiece.

(vi) Voice; the edges of the vocal chords in actual contact, and opening and shutting by the action of expiration and their own elasticity, so as to break all the air into pulses. But the break does not necessarily produce a musical tone. On the contrary, just as in any blown reed (in clarinet, hautboy, etc.), or interrupted air current (in whistles, flutes, etc.), many different musical tones result in this case also, of which several are of nearly the same pitch or even of incommensurable periodic times, and these ‘beat’ with one another, thus producing a confused noise, or obscure murmur, which is really the ‘natural’ voice. It is by adapting various resonant chambers to
14. (wh)—continued.
this last sound that we 'select' those musical tones which go to form the distinct 'qualities' of speech-sounds. When ('h) simply is written, it indicates some obscure voice sound which we are unable distinctly to characterise.
In the above notations (h), as usual, is 'diacritic,' and is in fact only used as a 'support' for the other signs, so that when other letters are present (h) is omitted if its absence will occasion no ambiguity. It will be doubled to express prolongation. Most alphabetic letters inherently imply flatus ('h), or voice ('h), some imply clicking (th), but none imply inspiration ('i), implosion ('h), or whisper ('n). Thus (f) implies flatus or ('h), and (v) implies voice or ('h).
Add voice to flatus or flatus to voice and the result is whisper; thus (f) = ('v) is whispered (f) or (v). In speaking in a so-called whisper, (f) remains with flatus, and (v) becomes ('v). Similarly ('i, 'a, 'u) are whispered vowels.
Add flatus sign to whisper sign, and the result is made to symbolise flatus only. Thus ('f) = ('v) = (f) simply. And ('i, 'a, 'u) are simple flatus through the vowel positions. The distinctions ('i, 'i, i), flatus, whisper, voice, in connection with the (i)-position are important. I do not symbolise position only, except in the mutes (p, t, k), as I find it more distinct to write the word "position" at length, after the symbol of the sound uttered in that position, thus: the (f)-position.
At the end of a group of letters ('i) and ('l) are written for ('h) and ('h), thus ('l), ('o', 'o', 'u'), which stand for (i'\text{h}, \text{o}'\text{h}, \text{o}'\text{h}, \text{u}'\text{h}), the diphthongs (ii, ee, oo, uu), already considered (1099, a'), when deprived of the permission to superadd a trilled (r), so that (ii) = either (ii') or (ii'r). Again (et, ad') are the same as (et'h, ed'h), and figure the 'recoil.' When this recoil is a pure click, it should always be written as (et', ak'), for it is quite exceptional, although we sometimes hear the click first, and then flatus, especially after (k), as (ak'h). The click sign added to the organ determines the click. Thus (g) = (t') or (t''), (z) = (t'z) or (z) = (jk') or (kJ'), (y) = (t'y) or (y), (s) = (s'), see p. 11.
For the mutes (p, t, k), and sonants (b, d, g), ('p) = ('b) = whisper, instead of voice, forced into the (p)-position. And ('p) = imploded (p), which is readily
14. (wh)—continued.
confused with ('b) on the one hand and (p) on the other (1113, a').
The term 'mute' is used for (p, t, k), as they have actually no sound of their own, but only modify other sounds by position, giving rise to glides.

Vowels.
These are 'voice' modified by resonance chamber. Each has its own definite 'pitch,' and when sung at other pitches is modified by the action of that pitch, in a manner only recently understood, by the researches of Helmoltz, Donders and Koenig, and not yet by any means fully observed or explained. Every variety of pitch and force really alters the character of any particular vowel, which is hence only to be recognized as a 'genus' having several 'species.' In all cases a vowel is a 'quality' of tone, the appreciation of which differs greatly individually and nationally. Further details are given in my paper on Accent and Emphasis (Philo. Trans. 1873-4, pp. 113-164). I here, for brevity, take the vowels for granted.

Glottids.
The modes of beginning, ending, and conjoining vowels, being principally due to actions of the glottis, will be termed 'glottids.' They comprise many effects not yet classed, and others known indefinitely as 'breathings, spiritus asper et lenis, aspiration,' etc.

(1) gradual glottid, (1112, b), so that (aj) = ('aa-'a-'a-'a '), flatus gradually falling into whisper, then this into voice, which returns back to whisper and flatus. With mutes, as (pp), it shews that when the (p)-position is assumed and released, the glottis is open, as for ('h), see (1097, a'). Much of what is called post-aspiration is really due to the gradual glottid. I think that what Mr. Sweet (Philo. Trans. 1873, p. 106) calls "the aspiration of the voiceless stops" in Danish, and writes (knat, t百姓, p百姓, p百姓), would be more truly represented by (kJat) or by (kJat), where (h) is the flatus glottid, or the gradual glottid with greater prominence given to the flatus preceding or following the vowel, so that (ka) is rather "aa-'a-'a ' than ('aa-'a-')

(2) Clear glottid, (1112, b), the vocal chords are in the position for voice,
14. (wh)—continued.

which begins without any introductory flatus. This is the position for English mutes, thus (p,a) as distinct from (pipa) or (pipha).

(;) Check glottid, (1112, b); there is an air-tight closure, which is forced asunder, and there may easily arise a puff of flatus before the chords vibrate properly, as (\textquoteright h) abridged to (\textquoteright k). Brücke attributes this position to the English mutes, thus (p,a), but I think he is in error, as the use of (;) is not an English trick.

(h) Wheezing glottid. Here there is an escape of flatus, but it does not pass the open glottis, nor between the vocal chords, which are apparently tightly closed, but through the cartilaginous glottis beyond it. Czermak (Sitzungsberichte der k. Akademie der Wissenschaften, math. naturw. cl. vol. 29, No. 12, for 29 April, 1858, Wien, pp. 576–580) gives the result of actual observations with the laryngoscope on an Arab, corresponding with this description. Prof. F. W. Newman says (on p. 8 of Handbook of Modern Arabic, London, 1866, pp. 190): “Strong a is often heard from Irishmen. It is wheezing and guttural, with something of a u in it at the beginning of a word. The force of air in the throat is considerable, and is strangely prolonged when it ends a word, as (mellih, raah) ‘good, he went.’”

(gk) Trilled wheeze. This differs from (l) solely in the production of interruptions or trills, by interposing some rattling mucous.

(g) Bleat or ain. The Arabic  is the same as (gh) with the accompaniment of the voice, so that (gh) = (“g). If this is taken very gently, the result seems to be (r) = (ng), the Low Saxon glottal trill or quack, which can also be pronounced during a vowel.

Any of these glottids can be uttered with various degrees of force, thus noted. Medium force requires no note.

(l) evanescent, is scarcely perceptible.

(s) weak, is decidedly below the medium.

(;) strong, is decidedly above the medium.

(,) abrupt, properly strong and clear, is almost explosive.

These force-signs denote continued pressure, as in the motion of an ordinary bellows. If, when blowing, the end of the nozzle is stopped, the air becomes condensed, and, on removing or detaching the stop, issues with explosion, of which (,) may be considered the general sign, (p, t, k) being much more moderate explodents. No such signs however are sufficient for all purposes. For anything like a discriminating view of force I recommend a series of numbers written in a line below, and forming a scale, 5 being medial force, 1 just audible, and 9 greatest. By this means sudden changes of force during a syllable can be distinctly registered. For most purposes, however, the much less distinct musical signs pp, p, mf, f, ff; with crescendo and diminuendo, staccato and other signs, might be written in the line below.

(h) Jerk. This, like explosion, can be imitated with the bellows by sudden increase of pressure, followed by a decrease. It is not at all necessary that the increase of pressure should be great; it is only necessary that it should be sudden and not continued. This is my meaning of (h), and it is evidently not Mr. M. Bell’s 5f, (1127, b). When this jerk is accompanied by flatus, we have (h'ha), which may be more conveniently abridged to (hha) than to (h') as heretofore, because (ha) ought to mean the whispered vowel (a) commenced with a jerk (a), but (ha) will mean a jerked flatus (ha) gliding on to a vowel (a). Observe however that (ta) simply, without any interposed flatus, is not only possible, but, I think (I do not feel sure), the more common English and, as will appear hereafter, modern Indian sound, (h) may also be combined with (h), as (hha), which would shew distinct flatus jerked out before the vowel. I would distinguish between (hha) = (h'ha) and (hha) by using the latter only when the flatus is sharp and distinct. The former merely shews jerked flatus without distinguishing its prominence.

Glides, Slurs, Breaks.

>&< Glide. When voice is continued through change of position, we have a voice glide. When flatus changes to voice, possibly through whisper, or conversely, we have a mixed glide. When flatus continues, we have a flatus glide. By placing the symbols of the two extreme sounds in juxtaposition, the glide is always im-
14. (wh)—continued.

plied. But it is sometimes convenient to mark it by > when the position changes to one closer, and by < when it changes to one opener (1111, 8), but by (\(\text{\dagger}\)) when the positions are equally open or close, as in \(m=m<\text{ce}>z-s\), or (mezes). The contracted form requires the introduction of such a sign as

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Break, for which, up to p. 998, I have generally used the clear glottid (\(\text{\dagger}\)), see (1128, a, \(\text{\dagger}\)). Any glottid will form a break, as (a\(\text{\dagger}\), a\(\text{\dagger}\), a\(\text{\dagger}\), a\(\text{\dagger}\)), but (a\(\text{\dagger}\)) simply breaks without indicating the precise mode in which the disconnection is effected.

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Slur. We may also produce the semblance of a break by diminishing force, without taking off the action of the voice at all. We might write (a,\(\text{\dagger}\)) to show this effect, or interpose \(\text{\dagger}\), a slur, which differs from > and from (\(\text{\dagger}\)) by implying a very brief diminution of force, and is therefore opposed to (\(\text{\dagger}\)) the jerk. In music (\(\text{\dagger}\)) corresponds to staccato, and \(\text{\dagger}\) to legato.

Two vowels connected by a > or < glide form a diphthong, the glide being held longer than one of the extreme vowels, and the force increasing or diminishing throughout. This is shown by an acute accent placed over the vowel which has greatest force, as (a\(\text{\dagger}\), i\(\text{\dagger}\), i\(\text{\dagger}\)) or (a\(>\text{\dagger}\), i\(\text{\dagger}\), i\(\text{\dagger}\)). See (419, c).

Two vowels slurred form an Italian diphthong, and the force is nearly even, as (i\(\text{\dagger}\)-o, mi\(\text{\dagger}\)-\(\text{\dagger}\), i\(\text{\dagger}\)). Two slurs indicate the time of a breath.

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is incomplete without proper indications of length and pitch, which may be effected by a second line of figures, from 1 to 9, placed above, 5 indicating medium length, accompanied either by such marks as (\(\text{\dagger}\)) or (\(\text{\dagger}\) \(\text{\dagger}\) \(\text{\dagger}\) \(\text{\dagger}\)), as given on p. 12, shewing continued, rising or falling pitch, or by notes of the musical scale, indicating the commencing pitch of each vowel-sound, as (a\(>\text{\dagger}\)), which shows: by

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the middle line, that the vowel (a) glides on to (i) from an opener to a closer position, and has the stress; by the under line, that the force with which (a) is pronounced is to that with which (i) is pronounced as 5 to 2, but that the force of the voice gradually diminishes from the 5 to 2 through the glide, in which only the forces 4 and 3 are noted; by the upper line, that the lengths of the (a) glide and (i) are respectively 1, 2, 3, and that the voice continuously descends in pitch, by an unstated amount.

In violin music slurred notes are played to the same stroke of the bow; glissées notes have the finger slid down from one position to the other; detached notes have each a distinct bowing; staccato notes have the bow suddenly touched and raised. These will serve to distinguish (\(\text{\dagger}\) >) \(\text{\dagger}\) respectively.

We are now in a position to represent and appreciate the different theories of aspiration.

In Sanscrit there are five letters in a series, as (p, \(\text{\dagger}\), b, \(\text{\dagger}\), m), as I have hitherto written them. The Prāti-

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cākhyas speak of these as first, second, third, fourth, and fifth or last. Now the Ath. Veda Pr. (Whitney’s edition, p. 16) says: “The second and fourth of each series are aspirates;” on which Prof. Whitney observes, “The term \(\text{\dagger}\) is, literally ‘heat, hot vapour, steam,’ is in the grammatical language applied to designate all those sounds which are produced by a rush of unintonated breath [flatus] through an open position of the mouth organs, or whose utterance has a certain similarity to the escape of steam through a pipe; they are the sibilants and aspirations or breathings. In the term \(\text{\dagger}\), ‘aspirated mute,’ and its correlative \(\text{\dagger}\), ‘unaspirated mute,’ \(\text{\dagger}\) is to be understood not in this specific sense, but in that of ‘rush of air, expulsion of unintonated breath.’ This, however, is merely his own conjecture. There seems nothing in the explanation given of \(\text{\dagger}\) to require [flatus] rather than voice. It is the explosive rush alone which comes into consideration. The native commentator on the passage quotes the words \(\text{\dagger}\) and \(\text{\dagger}\) \(\text{\dagger}\) referring to the ‘aspirates,’ which Prof. Whitney says, would be most naturally translated ‘with their corresponding \(\text{\dagger}\) or spirants,’ ‘but,” says he, “this is hardly to be tolerated, since it would give us...
14. (wh)—continued.

The commentator, however (ibid.), cites another authority, who says: “Another has said the fourths are formed with h,” [considered afterwards], “some knowing ones have said that there are five ‘first’ mutes” [viz. (k, kj, r, t, p)]. “Of these, by the successive accretion of secondary qualities, ghna, there takes place a conversion into others. They are known as ‘seconds,’ when combined with the qualities of jihvamūlīya” [identified with (kh), ibid. p. 22], “s, sh, s and upadhānīya” [identified with (ph), ibid. pp. 26 and 30]. “The same, uttered with intonation, are known as ‘thirds,’ and these, with the second spirant, are known as ‘fourths.’” This second spirant seems to mean Sanscrit h, as we shall see hereafter. The ‘seconds’ are not, I think, intended to be fully (k-kh, kj-zh, t-sh, t-s, p-ph), although these are sounds into which they might develope. At any rate we have (z-p, p-ph) in high German z, pf, and English picture gives almost precisely (z-sb). But I take them to be merely (kh, kj, tzh, tjb, tsb, pjb), arising from commencing these letters with the open glottis, as (k), etc., and making the resulting flatus audible. If the mute-position were only slightly relaxed, (k-kh), etc., would result. But if it opened fairly on to the vowel, we should have the mixed glide (kh < a), etc. This would be tantamount to the Danish consonants, and might, if jerked, be written (khna), etc. The reference to the spirants would then merely indicate the nature of the effect, not the exact effect, which is certainly totally different from the classical examples inkhorn, haphazard, nuthook, for these when written fully are (i' > q-k) - nhaal > n, hāp' > p/hāp' > z < n'd', n' < v' > tj'hu > k'), where there is no (k < nhaa, p < nhaa, t < nuka), the mutes and jerk being totally unconnected. The trouble arises with the sonants gh, jh, etc., for which there could not possibly issue a flatus without interrupting the voice, and saying (g'h-jjh < a) or (hghjha), neither of which appear probable.

The initial (nh, nth, nh, ph), or (mb) seems to be what is commonly understood by the spiritus asper, while simple (i) is possibly the spiritus lenis. Prof.

Whitney says (ibid. p. 66): “The pure aspiration h is a corresponding sound to all the sonant vowels, semifonents and nasals of the alphabet; that is to say, it is produced by an expulsion of breath through the mouth organs in any of the positions in which those letters are uttered; it has no distinctive position of its own, but is determined in its mode of pronunciation by the letter with which it is most nearly connected.” This makes his aspiration (which must not be confounded with Sanscrit h, or with any other person’s h for the moment) to be my (h), whether before or after a vowel, and does not involve the jerk (h) at all. The Tāittīr. Pr. says of the visarjaniya, “some regard it as having the same position with the preceding vowel.” “This latter,” observes Prof. Whitney thereupon (ibid. p. 21), “is the most significant hint which any of the Pratīcākhya瑜伽 afford us respecting the phonetic value of the rather problematical visarjaniya, indicating it as a mere uncharacterised breathing, a final h.” It is, however, strictly characterised by being a distinct flatus through the position of the preceding voiced letter. From the usual Sanscrit sanhitā action this flatus is affected by the succeeding consonant, producing many curious effects, to be considered presently.

The Japanese arrange their syllabary in groups of five according to their five vowels, which sounded to me, from the mouth of a native, as (a, i, u, e, o). These consonants seem to affect aspirates and post-aspirates very differently. Thus I seemed to hear the whole syllabary thus, as it was most patiently explained to me by a Japanese gentleman, but great allowances must be made for a single hearing on my part:

1. (a i u e o) 2. (ka kj ku ke ko) 3. (sa sj su se so) 4. (tata tsu te to) 5. (nana nu ne no) 6. (haha kji hpu hre hro) 7. (mama m u me mo) 8. (ja i u e jio) 9. (ra kri ru re ro) 10. (wa i u e o) 11. (ga gji gu gje go) 12. (za zi zu ze zo) 13. (da dzji dzu de do) 14. (ba bi bu be bo) 15. (pi pji pi pu pe po)
14. (wh)—continued.

The symbol (\(v\)) in line 9 means very short (l'), on the principle of (1116, ba) followed by trilled (r'). My teacher seemed unable to pronounce (r') with an entirely free tongue. He involuntarily struck the palate first, and although he seemed to remove the tongue immediately, he produced so much of an (l) effect, that the real (r'), also very briefly trilled, became obscured. This pause before trilling resembled the catch in harmonium reeds by which they refuse to speak when very suddenly called on, unless there is a percussive action. The sound (\(v\)) is very remarkable for its numerous (oriental relations. The symbols (\(s\), \(t\)) in lines 3 and 4 are given with great hesitation, the (s) seemed to be prolonged and the vowel very short and indistinct, with a kind of hiss running through it; when the speaker prolonged the syllable, his lips came together, and he made a complete (\(sw\)) to finish with. Perhaps (\(sw\)) might represent the sound, but I was unable at one sitting to understand it, notwithstanding the great patience of my instructor. But this is not the chief point of interest, for it only shows the action of the hiss (s) on a following (u). Of course all my coronal or gingival (t, d) may be erroneous. I was not on the look out for dental (t, d), and I can only say that if the letters were dental, the dentality was not strongly marked. The change of the aspirate in (uha kjh\(h\) phu nh\(h\) no) is sufficiently remarkable. I will not guarantee (uha ne nh\(h\)) as against (uha ne no), but there was no greater change. In (kjh\(h\), phu) a consonant had taken the place of the simple aspirate, and in each case it was not the next related consonant, not (\(h\) whee), but one step further advanced. The (phu) was very distinctly ascertained not to be (fu), as it is quietly written by Lepsius. My Japanese teacher had had so much difficulty in learning to say our (f) that he utterly disclaimed it. Now, why this change here only? On uttering the English words he, who, I experience no tendency to fall even into (\(h\), whu). I do not seem to say (\(h\)ii-ii, \(h\)"uu-uu) or (\(h\)ii, \(h\)hu), and certainly not with such force as to approach (\(h\)ii, \(h\)whu). If I try for (\(h\)ii, \(h\)hu), there seems to come a gentle puff of flatus before the vowel, which has no tendency to become a hiss. And I have not remarked this hissing tendency even in German hier, husten. So far as I am concerned, so far as I seem to hear others speak (I speak with great diffidence, knowing the great liability to err owing to my personal equation'), I do not hear in the English aspirate a strong flatus, or any flatus through the vowel position, before the vowel. I am acutely sensitive to any 'dropping of an h.' But I do not hear (\(h\)ii-ii, \(h\)"uu-uu) for he, who. I believe I say purely (\(h\)ii, \(h\)hu), at any rate I find even an intentional (\(h\)ii, \(h\)hu) to be somewhat of an effort, and (\(h\)ii, \(h\)hu) to be a great effort. Still I know that at least (\(h\)ii) exists, and very possibly (\(h\)ii), and I shall therefore generally assume that writers on sound mean (\(h\)ii). But Mr. M. Bell's 9a, which I have hitherto transliterated by (\(u\)'),—meaning (\(u\)'h), and henceforth written (\(h\)),—is certainly sometimes simple ('\(h\)') or (l). Thus (Visible Speech, p. 50) he writes 'silent respiration' by 9a + 9m + 10f + 9a + 9m + 10b, which must be, I think, (\(u\)h, \(h\))=gentle, flatus, drawn inwards, gentle, flatus prolonged (outwards). The 'outwards' is not written either by him or by me, the prolongation is shewn by doubling the \(h\), and the sign gentleness is placed in a different order in my notation. 'Painful respiration' is written 9a + 10b + 9f + 9c + 10f + 9b + 10b, or (\(h\)u;\(h\)h), that is flatus, prolonged, inwards, catch, (outwards), wheeze prolonged, but perhaps the 9b should be ('\(h\)') and not (\(h\)), or simply ('\(h\)'), see (1126, a). Thus his "nasal-guttural respiration," or 9b + 9d + 10b + 10f + 9b + 9d + 10b, seems to be ('\(h\)'h, '\(h\)') strong flatus, prolonged, nasal, inwards, strong flatus, prolonged, nasal, (outwards).

To return to the Japanese, it would seem that the positions of (a, o, a) do not squeeze the uttered flatus sufficiently to produce a sensible frication or hiss, but the (i, u) positions do so. Hence (\(h\)ii, \(h\)hu) are ready to develop into (\(h\)ii, \(h\)whu) or (kjh\(h\), phu). Now in combining Sanscrit words in sanskrit, we have necessarily as strong an action of any consonant position on a preceding flatus as in the Japanese vowels (i, u); that is, each consonant converts the flatus into its own continuant or spirant. Hence the final visarjaniya, which was probably merely (\(h\)'), or a final flatus through the vowel position,
14. (wh)—continued.

developed before (k, kj, t, t, p) respectively, the continuants (kh, Jh, sh, s, ph), see Whitney (ibid. p. 96). The first and last of these, (kh) or jihvāmūlīya, and (ph) or upadhmānyā, are never heard in Sanscrit except when thus 'generated,' and hence, although recognized under these names by the native grammarians, are not accommodated with separate signs. They are by no means peculiar in this respect, either in Sanscrit or other systems of writing. This seems conclusive as regards the value of \( h \), for which (\( h \)) answers in every respect, as a palatal hiss, as de-generating into (sh) (Whitney, ibid. p. 23), and as corresponding to (k, s, kh, sh) in cognate languages. See (1120, \( b \)) to (1121, \( c \)). The flatus of the final visarjaniya, therefore, corresponds closely with flatus after mutes.

Now as to Sanscrit \( h \), usually written \( h \). The following are the native descriptions (Whitney, ibid. p. 21). "Of the throat sounds, the lower part of the throat is the producing organ. That is to say, as the commentator goes on to explain, the upper part of the throat, as place of production, is approached by the lower part of the throat, as instrument of production. As the sounds constituting the class, he mentions \( a \), in its short, long, and protracted values, \( h \), and the visarjaniya." The Rik Pr. classes \( h \) and the visarjaniya as chest-sounds; the Tāitt. Pr. reckons only these two as throat-sounds, and adds, "some regard \( h \) as having the same position with the following vowel, and visarjaniya with the preceding vowel." From the latter we previously deduced the value of visarjaniya as simply (\( h \)). But \( h \) is not flatus; it is voice, being classed by the native commentator (ib. p. 18) with the vowels, sonant mutes, and semivowels. This Prof. Whitney, taking \( h \) to be (\( h \)) in Sanscrit as well as in his own English (1132, \( a \)), calls a "striking anomaly." It is certainly impossible that \( h \) should mean (\( h \)) and be a voiced sound. Prof. Whitney says that in the fullest account (that in the Tāitt. Pr.) we read "that, while sound [voice] is produced in a closed throat, and simple breath [flatus] in an open one, the \( h \)-tone is uttered in an intermediate condition; and that this \( h \)-tone is the emitted material in the consonant \( h \), and in 'fourth' mutes or sonant aspirates." And then Prof. W. adds: "I confess myself unable to derive any distinct idea from this description, knowing no intermediate utterance between breath and sound, excepting the stridulous tone of the loud whisper, which I cannot bring into any connection with an \( h \). The Rik Pr. declares both breath and sound [flatus and voice] to be present in the sonant aspirates and in \( h \), which could not possibly be true of the latter, unless it were composed, like the former, of two separate parts, a sonant and a surd; and this is impossible." Now it is evident that the writers are attempting to describe something which they can only vaguely hint at, for the whole glottal action was evidently unknown to them, that is, they had only vague subjective feeling in place of actual observation to deal with, and they were obliged to invent their language as they proceeded. The wonder is, not that they should be indistinct, but that they should have been generally so much more distinct than the host of European grammarians and orthoepists who succeeded them. Now the last indication, which is so impossible to Prof. Whitney, corresponds closely enough to the sensations produced by a buzz, in which there is much obstruction, so that the tone is broken, and the effect is felt as that of a mixture of breath and voice (1101, \( c \)). The sound of a whisper ("\( h \)), which really partakes of both characters (1128, \( c \)), would be too weak. The buzz results from much interruption to the tone, producing many strong beats, as heard in bass chords on an harmonium, and the 'natural' voice (1128, \( d \)). It appears to me then that the whole description of the Tāitt. Pr. can be read thus: "\( h \) is a glottal buzz." There is, however, only one such sound, the bleat (\( g \), see (1130, \( c \)). This is fully glottal, and can be uttered in the same position as the following vowel. In fact it is often uttered simultaneously with the vowel, which we may indicate by writing the vowel with a small g below, thus (\( a. \)). Then by (\( a \)) we properly mean (\( a + a \)), which is the exact counterpart of (\( ha \)) = ("\( a + a \)). It may also in this case be nasalised, explaining the rule, "After \( h \) is inserted a nāstikya before a nasal mute" (Whitney, ibid. p. 60), so that brahma would be perhaps
14. (wh)—continued.  
(bra, ga, ma). Any one who has listened to numerous sheep bleating and noted their various tones (as I have done today, 21 July, 1873, in Kensington Gardens), will have observed how extremely nasal they are, as are also the snarling beats of the canine r, which we have all learned "sonat de nave." It may also be uttered with a jerk, so that (g'anga) is quite conceivable. The forms (k'rha, g'unga) are then exactly correlative. I give the above as theoretical restitutions of the Sanscrit "seconds and fourths," founded upon an interpretation of ancient native explanations, as translated by Prof. Whitney. But it does not follow that they are correct. I may have misunderstood the translator, the translator may have misunderstood the native author, and, very probably, the native author himself may not have been himself clearly conscious of his own feelings, may have failed to express himself properly, and may have been hampered with conventional terms. It becomes important, therefore, to examine the existing native use of these "seconds" and "fourths," and the aspirate, all of which are living and significant in modern Hindustani.

If the observations of Brücke upon a moonshee, as detailed by Rumpelt (on pp. 138-140 of Das natürliche System der Sprachlaute, Halle, 1869, 8vo. pp. 227), are correct, the first (k'rha) remains, and the second (g'anga) is changed. He says: "The mutes explode with open glottis (bei nicht tönender Stimmitte); when not aspirated, the glottis is immediately contracted for voice, so that the vowel may sound directly after the closure is relaxed; when aspirated, the contraction of the glottis is delayed, the flap is allowed to escape for an instant through the open glottis, and h results, gliding on to the following vowel as the glottis again contracts for voice." This corresponds really to (k'a, k'ha). The Indian himself said, according to Arendt (Rumpelt, i6. p. 139), that the German p, t, k, were neither aspirated nor not-aspirates, but nearer to the former than the latter. That is, probably, he heard (pp, tt, kk). The "fourths" were never pronounced (g'nha), as is customary with German Sanscritists, but "generally the glottis was opened before the relaxation of the closure of the mouth, so that the sonant, begun with voice, exploded as voiceless, which might be written gk'ha'"=(g-k'ha) or nearly (gk'ha). "When this was not the case, the h was fully separated from the mute, as in syllabic division, e.g. pig-hulma, ad-ha, a-b-hi, and even finally as bag-h." These cases are both easy, as (ad-ujha, bag-uj'h). But Rumpelt adds: "Be this as it may, I doubt whether the pronunciation of this Indian scholar gives the universal rule, but think it may result from a deterioration which is not universal in the east," and he prefers ('g'ujha), which is of course possible, but totally opposed to the native commentators just cited, who make the aspiration sonant.

The above identification of the ancient Sanscrit h with the Semitic (g) is quite new. Prof. Whitney (op. cit. p. 18) suggests the Arabic (grh), but this is formed with the uvula, tongue and palate, and the Sanscrit h must be glottal. The same objection applies to (gh), which Bopp adopted, and to which I leaned before reading the native explanations just cited. That (g) should be confused with (grh) is natural. Even in Denmark the (t) is imitated by (r), and (t, r)=(g, grh). In the Septuagint we constantly find γ for y, and γ was then probably (gh) as now. Sometimes the Greeks omit it, and it is generally supposed that the letter y represented both sounds (g, grh), but this is not at all phonetically necessary. Consequently that an historical θ gh = (gg), which is the etymological descent of Sanscrit h in almost all cases (Whitney, i6. p. 18), should degenerate into (g) by the omission of the (g), is what this hypothesis would lead us to anticipate. Sanscrit h corresponds with Latin h, g, c, Greek χ, γ, κ, Lithuanian z', sz, g = (zh, sh, g), Gothic h, g, old high German k, and Persian (n,h,s, krh), which are also explicable by (g) through the (grh) relation. Although this (g) value of Sn. h is thus seen to answer every required condition, yet the extreme difficulty which English people feel in appreciating (g) leads me to recommend them the use of the easy (n) in its place, where no flap at all is uttered, thus distinguishing θ θ as (k'ha, g'ha), surd and sonant.

Since writing the above I had the
opportunity, already mentioned (1102, b), of examining the pronunciation of Mr. M. O. Mookerjee. So far as I could observe, his 

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to

ledged to the case that I could detect. In the "second" घ I heard generally (kşa), sometimes (kha), but scarcely ever (kha), unless perhaps he was particularly anxious to make me hear the sound. The "third" घ was indistinguishable from English (ga), there was none of the German inflatus ('ga), or implosion ('ka). The "fourth" घ seemed simply (gua), that is in pronouncing (ga) the vowel was brought out with a little more force. Most Englishmen would have considered his (kña, gña) as mere foreign 'corruptions' of (ka, ga). There was nothing in them that they had not heard from foreigners, and from Irishmen constantly. The sound was not (gga), but of course (guna) might very easily become a refinement of such a sound. The point however which struck me was, that the old Indian ड, which the native commentators classed with the sonants, was still a sonant, to the extent of not being a surd, with not even a buzz or trill about it, but merely a method of jerking out the following vowel. My instructor volunteered that when he said ड he only pronounced the following vowel "a little more strongly," and he mentioned, in order to repudiate it, the late Prof. Goldstücker's pronunciation (g'zha), of his own accord, that is, without anything said by me to lead up to his observation. It appears then that the recommendation I have given to call ख च (kha gna) accords so closely with one native gentleman's pronunciation that when I thus pronounced to him he acknowledged the sounds. I did not take the case of a final ह, as in (bragma), and hence this information was incomplete.

It was in order to complete the information I had received from Mr. Mookerjee, and to contrast it with the usages of others, that I obtained the assistance of Mr. Gupta (1096, a), who was pointed out to me by Prof. Childers, of the India Office Library, as the person from whom I could obtain the most trustworthy native assistance in London, and I am greatly indebted to Mr. Gupta for the patience and care with which he sought to meet my wishes. Of course it would be advisable to hear very much more than it was possible to condense into an hour's observation, and also to hear different readers of equal information read the same words. But as phonetic observations upon cultivated native Sanskrit pronunciation at the present day, made by persons who have studied the theory of speech-sounds, are certainly rare, I think it will be advisable in this place to reproduce the notes I made at the moment, as a basis for future observations. I have already had to refer three times to the information then obtained (1096, a, 1103, c, 1120, c), but it will be convenient to repeat the notes in their proper place. The method adopted was to present certain combinations in Sanskrit characters, prepared beforehand, and, by hearing them repeatedly pronounced, to note the sounds in palaeotype, making a few hasty observations, which were expanded immediately after Mr. Gupta's departure, while my recollection of the conversation that had passed was quite fresh. I shall now print the Sanscrit and palaeotype, with nearly a verbatim reproduction of those notes, which I regard as documents, and hence bracket all subsequent additions.

Modern Indian Pronunciation of Sanscrit.

(\(a\)) क (aa) र (i) द (ii) उ (u)

(\(\text{uu}\)). Observe the pairs (a aa, i ii, u uu). [The short vowels were distinctly of a different quality from the long. The two first were not (a, AA), as usually laid down. The Scotch (a) and English (i, u) were very marked.]

(\(\text{u}\)) occasionally (\(\text{rr}\)) when pronounced separately, but otherwise (\(\text{r}\)), not (\(\text{ur}\)). [Also not (\(\text{or}\)). Dentality not noticed.]

(\(\text{r}\)) (\(^{\text{i}}\text{r}, \text{ri}\)) under the same circumstances.

(\(\text{r}\)) (\(\text{ir}\)) when pronounced separately, but क्प was (klip) [exactly like the English word clip], not (klrip). [In this (\(\text{r}\)) the (l) seemed to me more evident and the (r) less evident than in the Japanese (\(\text{r}\)), so that the result might
14. (wh)—continued.

be rather written (l[?]). But as the sound never occurs except as the name of a letter, very little weight is attach-
able to this observation.] 

χ (iri) so called, but it does not occur separately. 

Dis (ee) or even (ee), distinctly very open [and this was still clearer in combination].

χ(at), occasionally (at), and when pronounced separately, fully (a—i) [with the Italian looseness and slur].

χ (oo) quite open, nearly (aA) in connected words [no approach to (oo, oo'w)].

χ (au) or (du, a—u) as for (ai).

In neither (ai) nor (au) was there a further prolongation of the first element than is natural to a slurred combination, in comparison to the English type (aaii).

χ (k,aa) quite English [that is, with closed glottis; not as in German].

χ (k,paa), it seemed to be merely the open glottis (k,), but occasionally (k,ha) might be heard. [It was distinctly not (k,naa) or (k,jh,haa), and totally different from kh in the celebrated inkhorn.]

χ (guun) English [no German in-

flatus (1113, b)].

χ (g,huu), with stronger vowel, distinc-
tially not (g,nuu, g,jh,uu), which was derided. [The sound may be heard from many an Irishman saying goose. The vowel seemed to be jerked out quietly with the (u) which is natural to me. The form (guu) would seem to imply a greater continuity of pressure, and (g,nuu) too much abruptness. Neither does (g,nuu) with the sign of close
ess (1127, b) appear correct. The result was identical with Mr. Mooker-

jey's. It appears, then, that the

conjecture respecting the pronunciation of भ घ घ as (bir du gu),—where I

ought of course to have written (du),—which first led me theoretically to the assumption of a pure jerk (n) as the basis of post-aspiration (1125, b'), is entirely confirmed by the actually ob-

served practice of two native Bengalese
gentlemen.]

क्ष. Not used initially, this क is merely (q), and is used final for

necessary (amushārae). [Mr. Gupta did not seem able to say (q), and hence the combination was not pronounced.]

κ (k,oo), Bell's 2e (15, b), distinctly an explodent, no hiss at all, not (tj).

[See (1120, c).]

κ but in this letter a hiss occurred (k,jh,oo), and hence the resemblance to English (t,sh) was very close, in fact (t,sh) was near enough. [The close squeezing of (k) when opened on an open glottis, as (kj), necessarily en-
genders (sh), and the resulting (k,jh) comes so close in effect to English (t,sh),

that the two sounds are readily conf-

used, and I have no doubt that I

confused them at the time, as (kj) was

not a familiar sound to me.]

आ (g,haa) decidedly an explodent, and not (d,zh), nor (zh) simply.

क्ष (gj,naa) for (g,naaa); the inten-
tion was always (g,naaa), but (gj,naa) was occasionally said; some speakers, according to Mr. Gupta, make the sound closer than others. [This was his expression when I pointed out to him the insertion of ('}, but observe that even then no (nh)—that is, no flatus—was introduced. The combina-

tion is rare, but (g,naaa) is quite as easy as (g,naa), after a very little practice.]

च (nj), very close as in closest French, but not (nr) at all, only used before (kj, gj). [I heard (nj), but this may have been an error of ear for (qj).]

ट (taa), simple English (t), no in-

version of tongue at all, see (1096, b).

ट (t,aa), pure dental (t), tongue

against teeth, French t; the only English dentals, according to Mr. Gupta, are (th, dh). [These (t, t) were pronounced with vowels, thus (taa taa, tii tii, tuu tuu), in rapid alternation, till the distinction became as clear as between (sh, th).]

ट (t,haa) or (t,haa). ट (t,aa) or

(t,haa). [These were written in a differ-

ent order to the last pair, and rapidly

alternated, to shew the distinction.]

ट (dnaa), ट (dnaa).

ट (naa), before a dental त द (n) is heard, and the sound is perhaps always (n).

ट (naa), before a cerebral द (n) is heard, before a vowel न श are both (n), not distinguished (1096, c).
14. (wh)—continued.

\textit{V}i (p,ii), quite English, फी (p̄ii, p̄hii).

\textit{B} (bhuu), भ (bhuu) distinct, no approach to (b'nhu).

\textit{M}i (mi), English.

\textit{R} (ree) or (ree). After a dental \( r \) is dental, the tongue not being drawn back, as \( (t,t) \). Mr. Gupta could not recall a word where \( r \) stands after a cerebral. (Initially Mr. Gupta had always an apparent tendency to insert \( s \) or \( h \) before \( (r) \), thus \( (s,ri) \); this arose perhaps from some voice escaping before the beat of the trill became evident. The \textit{Prātiṣṭhānī}\-khyas require a \( (h) \) to be inserted distinctly between \( (r) \) and a following 'spirant' \( (jh, sh, s, h) \), and more briefly between \( (r) \) and any other following con-
sonant. I did not observe this, which is, however, common in European speech when there is a trill. I have frequently not noticed the diction of \( (r) \), probably from not knowing it well.)

\textit{L} (lee), English (that is, I did not detect any special dentality, as \( (j) \)).

\textit{V} (vee), but often (\textit{vee}) [that is, with very moderate dentality], and apparently very like \( (bh, b) \) occasionally, in Bengalee always \( (b) \). See (1108, c). After a consonant \( \textit{V} \) is quite \( (w) \) or rather (\( u-\)) diphthongising with the following vowel, and I find \( \textit{V} \) becomes a similar diphthongising \( (i-) \) under the same cir-
cumstances.

\textit{Shi} (shii), English. In conversational Bengalee often \( (h) \), not \( (th) \). [The last fact was ascertained by special question-
ing, as I anticipated hearing \( (th) \), on account of the hiss, and the old \( \textit{xi} \) sex relations.]

\textit{H} (nna). When Mr. Gupta was emphatic, \( (r\textit{h}) \) crept out; but it was always a very mild sound, and the in-
tention was evidently to emit no flatus. It was in no respect an \( (\textit{rh}) \) which could have grown from a \( (kh) \). In conversation uneducated Bengalees leave it out altogether. [A remarkable fact in connection with our own frequent omission of \( h \), and its powerlessness to save a vowel from elision in older English as well as Greek and Latin, and its disappearance in modern Greek and Romance.]

This pronunciation is after Benares and not Bengalee custom. [In addition to the above pronunciations of simple syllables, I tried a few actual words, which will illustrate the Sanscrit phonetic synthesis; but this is so peculiar and important, and was so totally un-
anticipated by me, that instead of a few examples at the end of an hour's instruc-
tion, a long study should be devoted to it. Some of the following observations, however, appear to be new.]

प्रातिशास्क (praatishāaskija), the च occasioned an anticipation of \( (i) \) in the preceding syllable, and the ब became \( = (k'jia) \), that is, nearly \( = (-k'ha) \). [We have here an instance of the anticipation of a following vowel by absolutely inserting it audibly in the preceding syllable, just as a note of a following chord is often anticipated to form a dissonance in the preceding chord, whereas in the German \textit{umlauf} the following vowel merely graduates the preceding in a peculiar manner. Next we see the change of \( (a) \) to \( (i) \) after a consonant, this vowel however diph-
thongising with the following. The action of \( (k'j) \) on this vowel necessarily produces \( (\textit{ii}) \), which is scarcely separable from \( (jh) \). In fact a written \( (aak'jha) \) becomes a spoken \( (aak'kjhia) \), the hiss after the \( (k) \), which arises from com-
menring with an open glottis, being converted by the following \( (i) \), used for \( (j) \), into the true palatal \( (zh) \), by the same action which determined the native rule: "\textit{visarjanya}, before a surd consonant, becomes of like position with the following sound" (Whitney, \textit{ibid.}, p. 96). As I was totally unpre-
pared for this complicated action, I was much impressed by it, and ascertained the correctness of my analysis by several repetitions. On inquiring respecting the position of the \textit{accent}, the answer was:] No accent beyond the quantity, no other accent known. Mr. Gupta knew that accents were written in the Vedas, but he knew nothing of the Vedas, or of the meaning of their
acents. He read by quantity strictly [making a very marked distinction between short and long vowels. In speaking English Mr. Gupta seemed never to place the accent wrongly, as I have heard Indians not unfrequently do, who spoke English otherwise very well. He must have therefore fully understood my question. The next words are from Bopp's Nalus, lib. i. sloka 3, and the Latin translation added is Bopp's].

14. (wh)—continued.

The (o) written well. 

The (i) is not separated as (1135, m), although written as interlaced with the m, instead of allowing the nasality of (m) to be anticipated on the vowel, completely separated the vowel from the (m). If any nasality was anticipated, I failed to notice it. But there were so many other curiosities in the word, that I might have readily overlooked so slight a difference as that between (a a'). The silence after (i) produced the effect of lengthening the first syllable, although in itself this syllable was extremely short. I regret that I had marked no case like upadhānya, where a post-aspirated media comes before a sonant consonant. I can only conjecture by analogy that the effect of the post-aspirate would be merely to check or shorten the preceding consonant, introducing a pause, and that this word might consequently be called upadmañja, where a post-aspirated media comes before a sonant consonant. The next sounds shewed remarkable effects, and I had the word repeated many times to note them. The Sanscrit letters indicate only (ma, na, etc.), all else is generated. 

The labiality of (m) generated either an (u) or (o) sound upon the coming (a); (o) being as we know the labialisation of (a), it would be most natural, but as Indian organs are not accustomed to any short (o, o) sound, but are used to short (u), it is probable that (u) was really uttered, although I received it as (u). It was very transient, but unmistakably touched. Then came (a) short with the force, and followed, as in the last case, by an (i) anticipated from the (a) in the next syllable. Result so far, (muati), which is probably more correct than (muā). Representing a short vowel, the whole triphthong was short and glided on to the (n), on which weight was laid. Now however ensued an action of the (n), converted into (i) after a consonant as usual, and this displayed itself by converting (n) into (nj), as it sounded to me, but (q) may have been the sound of course, as a palatal generated by the palatal. By this introduction sufficient time was gained for lengthening the syllable, and then the voice fell rapidly and briefly on the (i), and passed on to a broad long sustained (oo), producing the singular result (brati)muati(njioo), as it may perhaps be written.

Vedāvīcū kūrōVēdoruṃ-gnārus, heros, (vee davit kyuu, roo). I think (tkji) was (tjki) meant for (kykj), after the Italian model. Mr. Gupta complained of the separation of the words, the (juj) for (juj) causing him to hesitate. There was no real doubling of (kj), but the first seemed to be a coronal (t), and not the dental (t), which would have been impossible as the substitute for a palatal. The lengthening of the syllable (vit) by the doubled consonant was very clear.] The quantities were brought out beautifully.

Nīṣadhistī in Nīṣadhistī (nishadhee-shu). [The long vowel quite distinctly marked, no glide of (sha) on to (dh), the (dnee) given very quietly, but quite distinct from (dee), and with no approach to sho(m)thee.]

Mahāpiṭṭa: terrae-dominus (mante-complete. Observe the visarga at the end distinct. [The effect of (ti) was clearly (ti:u) or nearly (ti:uh), but very short and quick, just touched, and hence not so strong as would be implied by writing (tijh). The medial (n) was quite different from (uh). The first six words that follow are from the 5th sloka of Nalus.]

Nādi 'va' śīnād vīdāmētā ita quo-

que fuit in Vādarbhīs (t.a, tāi vaa sii,d
14. (wh)—continued.

marked European correlative of this combined Sanscrit action, to which we have very little corresponding in English. In all languages there are many synthetically generated sounds which are not marked in the alphabet. Thus I noticed a generated (z) in Mr. Magnússon's Icelandic (547, ab), and a generated (lh, mh, nh) after or before mutes (545, d. 546, a). In Sanscrit we have already noticed (1132, a) a generated (kh, ph) from Prof. Whitney, and other generated sounds from Mr. Gupta's pronunciation. The rules for the conversion of Sanscrit m, n, before surd mutes, into visarjaniya (Whitney, ibid. pp. 84, 85), seem to me to speak of this insertion of a generated (mh, nh) as (mh-p, n-nh-t) for (mh, nh) = (mh-nh). "It is sufficiently evident," says Prof. Whitney (ibid. p. 86), "that this insertion of a bilabial after a final n, before a surd mute, is no proper phonetical process: the combination of the nasal and following non-nasal is perfectly natural and easy, without the aid of a transition sound, nor can any physical explanation be given of the thrusting in between them of a bilabial which only encumbers the conjunction," and consequently he resorts to an historical development, which of course may have been the real process adopted. But it does not follow that the insertion may not be perfectly natural. The difficulty arises, not from the passage of a nasal into a non-nasal, but from voice to voicelessness. Now to us such a passage as (tiiit) is easy enough, and most of us say simply (t <ii> i′). But it is easily imaginable that the glides must be mixed in some persons' mouths as (t <"ii-"ii-ii-ii"> t <h>) or (tjhhjt), where the change from voicelessness to voice takes place in the position of the voice letter. In this case such a combination as (felt, læmp, tent, thïq) would be impossible, or at least disagreeable to his organs, which demand (fel-lh-t, læm-mb-p, ten-nh-t, thïq-qb-k), or, using the visarjaniya (th), as would be natural in languages which had a sign for that, and not for (mh, nh), we should write (feljht, læmhp, tenht, thïqhk). Is such a state of things actual or only theoretical? I hear the four English words as (felt, læmp, tent, thïqk), Mr. Melville Bell gives them as (feljt, læmphp, tenht, thïqhk),

Returning to English sounds I may notice the following information received from Prof. Haldeman: "About the year 1850, the lower classes of New York developed the form b'hoj from boy. It came to Philadelphia, and I heard it as far south as Washington, but there it acquired a vowel, say bhoj. This sound is rather an enforced than an 'aspirate' b, and is due to energetic speech, like German pf for p. In questions between Greek and Sanscrit, I believe that p is older than p'k, pf, and f, and f often newer than p'h; and k, k'h, kh, х, have the same relations. It is a curious fact, that in India itself p'hal, fruit, has fallen into faid dialectically—if the sound is not really the labial ph." Query, was this lower-class New York sound (bno'j), and was it adopted from the Irish (bno'ez) who abound there?

The English language has the following pairs of mutes and sonants (p b, t d, k g), occasionally but not intentionally passing into (ph br, tbr dr, kbr gn). It has also the pairs of hisses and buzzes (f v, th dh, s z, zh zh) and, as I think, (wh w, rh r). But the murmurs (r l, m, n, q) have at least no acknowledged hiss. Now in Dutch these are acknowledged, though not written, as (lh, rh) developed by a sanhitā action of a following voiceless letter (1114, q), to which I draw particular attention, as it is the most
14. (wh)—continued.

and says expressly (English Visible Speech for the Million, p. 15) : "The abrupt non-vocal articulation of the 'liquids' t, m, n, ng, when before non-vocal consonants, is exhibited in the printing of such words as felt, lamp, tent, think, etc. In deliberate pronunciation, the voiceless t, m, etc., receive an initial trace of vocality from the preceding vowels;" that is, he admits (f-,l-,h-), etc., "but if an attempt be made to prolong the 'liquid,' without altering its vernacular effect, the characteristic voicelessness of the latter will be demonstrated to the ear. The peculiarity of 'foreign' pronunciation of these English syllables arises simply from the undue vocality which is given to the t, m, etc." I do not know to what particular 'foreign' pronunciation he was alluding, but I do not recognize a predominance of (lh) as English. It is possible that (fel-,lh-b-), etc., may be said, but I have no more difficulty in saying (felt) than in saying (feet); that is, I can run the vocality on to the voiceless mute, and cut it suddenly off, without any interposition of the hiss (lh). A distinct and much more a predominant pronunciation of (lh), etc., is something new to me. But in listening in 1870 to the English public speaking of Keshub Chunder Sen, a Bengalee gentleman, of considerable education, founder of the Brahmo Somaj or Indian theistic church, I was struck by the way in which he conveyed the vocality of his (l, m, n) into the following consonant, when it should have been quite voiceless, and then having given a faint indication of the voice effect, passed on to voicelessness, during that consonant. This was more apparent when the following consonant was a hiss. His since was (sin-lz-s), his felt was (fel-d-t), the effect of which to an English ear was to create a confusion between since and sins, felt and felled. Now this was the more remarkable, because of our own habit of calling sins (sinza), see (547, b) and (1104, c), so that it would certainly be more English to call since (sinhs) than (sinzs). But the point to be noticed here is the visarjantya or (h) effect produced, the real change from voicelessness to voice and conversely, in the same position. We might write (sinhs, sinzh) for (sin-nh-s, sinz-s). The introduction of whisper before or after voice is not confined to vowels, but may occur with any voiced consonants, and different ears will recognize the effect of the same pronunciations differently, according to the attention which education or habit has led them to give to the voiced or voiceless parts respectively. A German says (szizerun) for sie sehen, and (szii! szii!) for sich! sich!, but he only knows and teaches that he says (szizerun, zii! zii!). An Englishman says (bridhaz), but believes he says (bridhz), and if a voiced letter follows he does so. But he never says (tdhnee) as a German would, if he could. German is very deficient in correspondences of voiced and voiceless letters. Even if we admit initial and medial (ph b, tth d, kth g), we find only final (p, k) or at most (-bp, -x, -gk). Then to German (f) there is no (v), except in the north of Germany, and even there the (v) for (bh) arises so differently that there is no feeling of pairing, and hence (vii) for (bhh) would be strange. And in those parts of Germany where (bh) is certainly pronounced, (ph) is only generated, and not even acknowledged, except by phonologists, in pfau = (p-phau), so that (pbhii) could not occur. The Germans have (sh) but no (zh), and (t sh) but no (d zh). They have (kh, kjh), but only medial and final, except in the syllable -chen, and some generated ge-'s. Their (gh, gjh) are only medial. They know nothing of (lh, rh, mh, hh, qh), and hence there is no tendency to any visarjantya consonant effect, except in initial (sz-). In English we have certainly, before a pause, (-zs, -dhth) frequently, and (-vf) occasionally, but as (zh) is never final, we have no (zh, sh). The consonantal diphthong in judge, however, often yields (d, zh, sh), which Germans, at best, pronounce (tshadt sh), and a very curious effect they produce, making the (od) extremely short. In the case of (l, m, n, q) we prolong them indefinitely as vocal, and so, I think, do Germans, with the exception of (q), which becomes (qk') very often in German.

We are now prepared to consider the very difficult Ags. hv, hr, kl, km, kn, with the Old Norse hj, hv, see (513, a), (544, a). Prof. Whitney, after defining h as (th), see (1132, a), continues (Ath. V. Pr. p. 66): "Thus the h's of ha, of hi, of hu, and those heard before the

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14. (wh)—continued.

semi-vowels w and y in the English words when and hue, for instance, are all different in position, corresponding in each case with the following vowel or semi-vowel. H is usually initial in a word or syllable, and is governed by the letter which succeeds, and not by that which precedes it." He therefore says, and hears from such American English speakers as do not omit the voiceless part altogether, (jhaa, jhi, jhuu, jhwen, jhi)u), and he is apparently so convinced that all English speakers agree with himself and those whom he has both heard and noted, that he says elsewhere (Oriental and Linguistic Studies, p. 251) that Prof. Max Müller's "definition of the wh in when, etc., as a simple whispered counterpart of w in wen, instead of a w with a prefixed aspiration, is, we think, clearly false."

When Prof. Max Müller, as a German, appealed to the opinions of Mr. M. Bell and myself as English phonologists who agreed with him, Prof. Whitney replied (ibid. p. 271): "The true phonetic value of the wh, as is well known to all who have studied English phonology, is greatly controv erted; we happen to have a strong conviction on one side, which we take every convenient opportunity of expressing, without intending disrespect to those who differ from us. And then, alluding to me, he says, "We feel less scruple about disagreeing with him as to this particular point, inasmuch as he (and Bell as well) has what we cannot but regard as a special weakness in respect to labial modifications of vowels and consonants. With one who can hold the initial consonant sound of dwell, for example, to be not a w with d prefixed, but a labially modified d, we should not expect to agree in an analysis of the wh sound."

On (dw) see (1115, b), where the last sentence was quoted without its context. The cases of (wh, dw) are not quite parallel, but this is of small importance. Prof. Whitney's wh = my (jhw) = my (wh-w). Now, of course, Prof. Whitney is an incontrovertible authority as to the way in which he pronounces, and wishes others to pronounce, the initial sounds of his own name, but that he should find it necessary to "take every convenient opportunity of expressing," his own "strong conviction" respecting the correctness of his analysis, shows me that he must have met with many who dis-

puted it. Possibly he is often called (W'tn), as he certainly would be generally in London, and that must be as annoying as for Smith to be called (Zmis), as he would certainly be in France. That, however, (jhwii) = (whwii) is an acknowledged theoretical American pronunciation, the uncorroborated assertion of Prof. Whitney would be sufficient to establish. And it is not uncorroborated.

Prof. S. S. Haldeman, of Chickies, Columbia, Pennsylvania, U.S., says (Analytic Orthography, p. 101): "Latin V has a surd aspirate in English wh, which is always followed by V way, as in when = (whwen), which is not (when), as some suppose, nor is it hwen, as hden is not then. Unfortunately, this sound is departing. We heard wigm for whig, the first time in July, 1848, and not infrequently since. When this confusion is established between when, where were; which witch; whet; whey way; wheel weal; the language will have ceased to be a refined one. The sound probably belongs to Welsh, provincial Danish, and ancient Greek." And in a note received while this was being prepared for press he observes: "If when is not my wh-w-e-n but wh-e-n, it approaches fen, as wh-i-oh approaches flesh," [precisely, and so we get Aberdeen (f) for initial (wh), and have got our received final (f) in laugh dwarf.] "I think those who say w-e-n drop wh and do not drop the aspirate merely. Similarly if hue is not (sh-u) but (wh-u), then it approaches (sh-u)." Query, are not Lancashire hoo and Leeds shoo, both meaning she, both derived from heo ags., the one through (rhe6o, rlu6o, rluu, rluu) regular dialectal changes, and the other through (rhe6o rluo rluo shoo)? The peculiar dialectal pronunciations will be discussed hereafter. The usual theory gives hoo to heo, and she, shoo to see. But she could also come from heo through (rhe6o rluo rhe she). The vowel changes will be justified hereafter. The form zh0 occurs in Ormin (488, d), and ghe, ge in Genesis and Exodus (467, ed).

Prof. Haldeman adds: "I have known an intelligent lecturer on grammar to assert that in when, etc., the h precedes the w—meaning a true h. I then proposed that he should set his mouth for the initial of hen. 'Now
14. (wh)—continued.

say when.' Of course he failed, and admitted the labial nature of the initial. I have a cognate experiment upon about the only point where we do not agree. I say, 'Set the mouth for the initial of ooze, let it stand while you are imagining the syllab new, but relax at its final element and let the lips drop into —w. The result is a closer sound than that of ooze or full.' 'Set the mouth for the vowel of eel or ill, then imagine the organs relaxed upon the last element of eye or boy, when a closure of the organs will be felt.' I admit your glide, but a glide that proceeds to a consonant, and might proceed from oo to b. The glide is present in boa and chaos, but it cannot turn them into monosyllables. These last remarks relate to my theory of diphthongs, and the experiment is to show that the last element is consontantal. So it is, in the pronunciation of several English persons, but that is not sufficient for a general theory of diphthongs. The last examples, boa and chaos, are met by my slur — theory.

Prof. F. A. March, of Easton, Pennsyl- vania, U.S., in his private letter of 22 March, 1872,—already cited (1092, e),—has most obliquely entered into so much detail that I think it will be interesting and useful to quote his remarks at length. He says: "You call my wh (wh + w). I suppose you call my h (wh) because I have set my organs for (w) when I issue it. I suspect something wrong here, and fear that I have misled you as to the sound. When I say he, I set the organs for e (ii) and issue surd breath; to say ha, I set for a (aa) and issue surd breath, and so for other combinations" [That is, he says ("ii, "aa initially, or (hii, pha) conjointly.""] "No separate characters are used to indicate these "settings." [Nine illae lacrymae!"] "I do not then see why hw is not the proper notation for my wh." [If h always indicated (ih), then hw would indicate (hwh) = (wih), which is Prof. March's wh,—but not mine.] "When I compare hoo and hven = when, it seems to me that the initial surd sound before the lip movement in hw is identical." [If (w) differ from (u), as I believe, then (hwh) differs from (hnu), the first giving (wh-w), the second ("u-w.") "I have this moment stopped writing, and tried the experiment of saying who eat, pronouncing it as one word with the accent on eat, and the o = oo with slight sonancy. I find a person of good ear and some skilled attention takes it for wheat, and thinks it correctly ut- tered, though often repeated." [This depends upon habit. Now there are very various ways of uttering these words, and I feel sure that my who eat (hujiit), even when allowed to degener- ate into mere (ruit) is not at all like Prof. March's wheat = (whviiit), but of course his (huit) would differ from (whviiit) only as (u) from (w), and the existence of this difference for at least 300 years, since the time of Sir Thos. Smith [185, a], has been a matter of dispute in England.] "This seems to me to indicate that in our pronunciation the initial sound is h as in hoo, and that the following sound is very like your diphthongal o" [that is, (u) forming a diphthong with a following vowel which has the chief stress. Here I omit a passage on etymology, subsequently referred to.] "I cannot but think that phonetically, as cer- tainly etymologically, Ang.-Sax. and New England hw's are labialised h's, standing parallel with Lat. gu." [Here Prof. March actually adopts as an argu- ment an idea of my own, that gu = (kw) and not (kw), which Prof. Whit- ney adduced as a reason for disagreeing with me!] "I think it likely that these remarks are wholly needless; but I find that I can issue breath through organs set for w, in such a way that it will have from the first a plain labial modi- fication, so that I should call it wh. The sound I do make for hw is not that, I think; but, as I have tried to expound it, like h. Perhaps, I do not really set my organs for your w."

Another American phonetic authority proposes a slight difference, Mr. Goodwin (op. cit. p. 10) says: "As to wh, it has generally been maintained by modern English grammarians that it is pronounced hw (i.e. hoo), as it was written by the Anglo-Saxons. But we doubt not that if a man will observe carefully for himself how, and with what difference, he pronounces wit and whit, he will be satisfied that the h is really pronounced neither before nor after the w, but in the same sort of constant combination with it, which characterizes any other aspirate as con- nected with its lene. Whether the h, therefore, should be printed before or after the w, is a matter of indifference,
14. (wh)—continued.

except so far as consistency in the notation of a given alphabet is concerned. Wh is certainly the most consistent with the rest of the English alphabet." This seems to favour (whit) rather than (hwit).

It seems to me that the difficulty has arisen from want of discriminating symbols. Now that it is quite possible to distinguish (ruit, nhuit, nhuit, nhuit, whit, hwit, whit, hwit = hwit, whit), we may inquire in any particular case what is said. It is very probable, most probable, that in a case where accurate attention has been little paid, and where even symbolisation failed, great diversities exist, both traditionally and educationally, and that theorists should differ. Now it is certainly curious that three such competent American observers as Professors Whitney, Haldeman, and March, should practically agree in (wh-wit) = (hwit); and that two practised English observers like Mr. Melville Bell and myself should agree in (whit). I have myself heard (wh-w) from Americans, and know that it differs from my own (wh-). Our Scotch friends called guhat (kehat), not (kwat), and in Aberdeen we have (fat), or perhaps (phat), see (188, b. 580, c). Now this last (fat) is as easy to say as (fat), which no one would think of calling (fvat), except perhaps in the Somersetshire district, where this may be the real sound that generated (vat), see (1104, b). But such combinations as (fv-, thd-, sz-, shz-) are as un-English as (thl-, mhm-), etc., and hence I think that the analog of our language is in favour of (whit, jhu) = wheat, heu. It is true, I call the last sound (zhiu), which certainly approaches (zhuu), but may be an individuality, but the word is not common; and when it is used, the sound flutters between (jnu) and (zhiu). And similarly for hhuman, humour, etc.

What ought we to say is another question. Should the Anglo-Saxon use lead us to (wh-w-) in all cases? Prof. March, who is a potent authority in Anglo-Saxon, says, in passage omitted on (1148, b'), from the letter there cited: "Is it not true that this initial h is a weakening of a guttural aspirate eh, which again is a shifting from a mute k, and that the labial v, w, u is a parasitic utterance, which has here and there attached itself to the true root letter? Sansk. ka-, Lith. ka-, Slav. ko-, Lat. qua-, Goth. hva, A. Sax. hwa, Engl. who." We enter now on a great question, the discussion of which would lead us very far, namely on "parasitic utterances," where a new sound intrudes itself. This new sound in the case of vowels is generally (i, u), which shows itself often by a mere palatalisation or labialisation of the preceding consonant, and sometimesousts the consonant altogether, compare Lat. homo, Ital. old hmuono, new uomo. Sometimes the intruder is (a) before (i, u), which through (ai, au) sometimes pass to distinctly different vowels, as (e, o), and sometimes dropping the old original vowels altogether, yield up their lives to the intruder, as in Yorkshire (aa) for I, and (nas) for hose, ags. hus. All of this will naturally present itself later on, § 2, No. 6, iv. It would be too far to go to Sanscrit ka- or Latin quo- as an authority for the pronunciation of English who. It is enough to go to ags. hwed, and observe that what on this theory we must regard as an intrusive parasitic v has in this case quite absorbed the d. If ags. was (whwaa), English is (huu) or (thhu), or rather both.

Let us rather observe what has happened in old spellings, and we find hw of the xiiith and xiiiith centuries becoming wh in the xivth, which may be due to a change from (whw-) to (wh-), or may simply be due to a revision of orthography, the sound remaining unchanged. In the latter case the h was placed after to shew that the sound was one, not two, precisely as in the case of th, sch. But we also find at a very early date simple w, continually in Robert of Gloucester, sometimes in Layamon. The old hl, hr, hm, sank to l, r, n very rapidly. I see no means of determining whether the sounds were originally (khw, khb, khl, khr, khm, kbn) or (hw, hjr, hlr, hrh, hmh, mhn) or (wh, jh, jhr, khr, mhn) or (wh, jh lh, rh, mh, nh). Plausible arguments and analogies will apply to all of them. The modern (w, j, l, r, m, n) could descend from any one of them. But on the whole I am most tempted to believe that (wh, jh, lh, rh, mh, nh) existed at so very early a time, that I feel unable to go higher. As a matter of, say, habit, I use (wh, jh, l, r, m, n) at present. If asked what is the sound of wh in wheat, I reply, that I say (wh), others say (whw), and by far the
greater number of educated people in London say (w). These speakers are mutually intelligible to each other. Perhaps the (wh) and (whw) people may mark the (w), and think that "k is dropped." Perhaps the (w) may think the (wh) and (whw) folk have an odd northern pronunciation, but generally they will not notice the matter. The (wh) and (whw) people might converse together for hours without finding out that there was any difference between their habits. How many Englishmen, or even Germans, know that Germans habitually call sich (szii) and not (sii)? How many Englishmen know that they habitually call emphatic is (iza) and not (iz) before a pause? Who is to blame whom? In such a matter, at least, we must own that "Whatever is, is right"— (whote:ver's, iizhi't), as I repeat the words.

In these very excursive remarks the subject of aspiration is far from being exhausted, but as respects soh itself, it has been considered initially only. It constantly occurs finally in older English, as a form of z, perhaps at one time for (kh), or (kch), of which it is an easier form, the back of the tongue being not quite so high, and hence the friction much less harsh, in (wh). Now this (wh) falls into (u), or drops entirely, or becomes (f). Does not this look like (kch, -wh, -ph, -f) on the one hand, and (kch, -wh, -w, -u) on the other? I do not see a place for (whw)=(-wh), or w with visar-janiya. This observation points to the pure hiss (wh) in all cases, rather than the mixed (whw-) in one case, and the pure (-wh) in the other. But these are points for the older pronunciations.

To gather present usage, we shall have to watch speakers very carefully.

(i). See No. 3, (ii), and No. 6, (i).

(p). The lips shut firmly, and the glottis closed airtight. If the glottis is in the voice position, the voice will sound producing (b), see (1103, a). In this case, where (p) is final, the effect is described (1111, d').

(whip). The glide (wh < i) is similar in its nature to the glide (s < i), see (1106, a). The glide (i < p) is similar to the glide (i > k), ibid. And the (p) glides off into pure status ('h) before a pause. Thus (whip)=(wh < i > p < 'h) before a pause.

With regard to the length of the glide (i > p) and such like, the following remarks of Mr. Sweet are very important (Philolog. Trans. 1873-4, p. 110): "In Danish all final consonants are short without exception. In English their quantity varies, the general rule being that they are long after a short, short after a long vowel; tell (tell), bin (bin), tale (tell), been (biin). Compare English farewell (feoehw-w'11) with Danish farvel (farve'-1). Liquids and nasals coming before another consonant follow the same laws in both languages: they are long before voice, short before breath consonants: (this was first noticed in Danish by E. Jessen; see his Dansk Sprøgkunde, p. 21). He has also noticed (in the T. f. Ph. ii) the length of the E. final voice stops, treated of below, which I first discovered from comparing the E. and Norse sounds: iam (iham), hammre (ihammra), vel (vel), veldig (velldigh), velte (velta); bill (bill), build (bills), built (bilt)." It is possible that the different lengths of (l, l) in such words as (billd, billt) led Mr. Bell to his distinction (bill, bills), see (1141, a).] "The short final stops in Danish and Norwegian are important as bringing out very clearly a peculiar feature of English pronunciation, which has not hitherto been noticed. This is our tendency to lengthen the final stops. It is seen most clearly in the vocal stops. Compare E. egg (egg) with Norw. egg (eg). That the voiceless final stops are also long in E. is apparent from a comparison of Danish kat, hat, with E. cat, hat (kaett, haett). In short we may say that short accented monosyllables do not exist in English. Either the vowel or the consonant must be long (tell, teill). In the ordinary London pronunciation, the quantity of originally short vowels seems to be perfectly indifferent, the only limitation being that a short vowel and a short consonant must not come together. No Englishman ever says (tæl). He must either lengthen the consonant (tæll), or else the vowel, in which case the consonant becomes short (tæl). I have often heard the latter from people of every rank, but chiefly among the vulgar."
14. (whip)—continued.

I wish to direct close attention to this original and acute observation. But the subject is, I think, far from exhausted. Mr. Sweet has not spoken of the glide between the vowel and the consonant. The very short (tE)l of which he speaks would, to an Englishman, sound like an 'unfinished' (tEll), and be most safely written (tEll), and so pronounced would, if (EE) occurred in our language, give the effect of a long vowel, as in (tEll), which we should have to write (tEEl!). If we are speaking of the relative lengths of the parts of syllables, we can only properly indicate them by superimposed numbers, as already suggested (1131, d). In 1215 1211 1512 (t<E)t>E, t<R>E, t<T>E) we have perhaps the relations roughly indicated by (tEll) or (tEl!), (tEl!) and (tEll). Mr. Bell marks Scotch elI = (wE), did he mean (wElE) or (wEl)? For practical purposes I should prefer writing (tEl!, tEl, tEll), and (tEll, tEl!, tEll) for theoretical investigation, when the exactness of numbers is not necessary.

15. LAMP, Bell’s (læmp), my (læmp).

(1) One of the divided consonants. The tip of the tongue in the (d)-position, but the sides free; whereas in (r) the sides are fixed in the (d)-position, but the tip is free to trill. Hence (d) is, so to speak, an attempt to pronounce (l) and (r) together, resulting in a complete stop, as (l) stops the central and (r) the side passages. If (lh), or flatus through the (l)-position, occurred either consciously or unconsciously in hl in ags. (1141, d), it is quite lost now. Even if Mr. Bell is right in supposing (lh) to be generated now (1141, a), it must be touched very lightly indeed. The Welsh hl (llh) differs from (lh), see (766, bl). In (766, d) it is wrongly said that (llh) occurs in Manx, whereas it is only the buzz of (llh) or (llh) which there occurs. Frenchmen do not admit that (lh) occurs in table, as stated in (766, e), but (lh) occurs both directly as hl, and indirectly before (t) in Icelandic (544, a. 645, d).

To the curious relation (d)-position = (l)-position + (r)-position, is to be attributed the frequent confusions among (d, l, r). My own name, Ellis, has been frequently confused both with Harris and Herries. The Chinese, Japanese, as well as the Ancient Egyptians, and probably many other nations, confuse (l) and (r) systematically. In fact they seem not to know either (l) or (r), but to produce some intermediate sound, written (lr) and explained on (1133, a). The effect was that of a very short (l) or 'blurred' (r), followed by a distinct (r). When the (l) is distinct and (r) blurred, (lr) will be the proper form. Generally the combination (lr) or (rl) is sufficient. The sounds could not be simultaneous, and the order appears to be (lr) not (rl). Both however are possible, and the symbols (lr, r, rl, r, r) must be selected accordingly. The combination (lr) necessarily recalls the transcription lri, lri, for Sanscrit 𢀘 𢀘, which in form are the letter l with the combining form of the vowels 𢀘 𢀘, usually written ri, ri. Now these last may have been (r, r, r) a short and long trilled voice, which is quite vocal. That Pāṇini should place them among the dentals, and the commentator on the Ath. V. Pr. (Whitney’s edition, p. 22) among the gutturals or jīvāṇādūya, ‘formed at the base of the tongue,’ Prof. Whitney attributes to a diversity of pronunciation, as a dental (r) and uvular (r), while he considers the classification of lri, lri, in the same category as due to its occurring solely in the root kltri, which begins with a guttural. The Rik Pr. makes the same classification; the Vāj. Pr. omits lri, lri, from the list. Now I think that the sign shews merely that 𢀘 lri bears the same relation to l as 𢀘 ri does to 𢀘 r. All will in that case depend on the ri vowel. This the Ath. V. Pr. commentator (Whitney, p. 32) describes as ‘an r combined with a half-measure or mātrā in the middle of the vowel-measure in the ri-vowel, just as a nail is with the finger; like a pearl on a string, some say; like a worm in grass, say others.’ Now reflecting on the Polish sze, in which a continued (sh) is interrupted for a moment by throwing the tip of the tongue on to the hard palate and instantly withdrawing it, I
interpret this as a continued (a) or (a), interrupted for a moment by two or three beats of a trill, produced by trilling the point of the tongue, which is tolerably free for (a), so that we have nearly (ara), but by no means quite so, for first we have no proper glides (o > r < a), the true r-position not having been assumed, and secondly there is a feeling of a continued vowel-sound made tremolo in the middle, as has become the fashion in singing, and, consequently, thirdly the trill would differ from, at least, the theoretical (r), as the sound produced by a free-reed, or anche libre, as in an harmonium, from the sound produced by a striking-reed, as in the clarinet. It is remarkable that it acts to change (a) into (n), "within the limits of the same word" (Whitney, ibid. p. 174), which would confirm this view, making (ara) in fact retracted in comparison with (r). There seems to have been a difficulty with the Indians as well as the English in pronouncing (r) trilled before any other consonant. I have heard German kirche given as kiriche. This is the case of (r) before a spirant, where the Indians seem to have required a more sensible insertion of a svarabhaaksi, 'fraction or fragment of a vowel' (Whitney, ibid. p. 67), in short of Mr. Bell's voice glide ('h), than before other consonants. The Irish (wa(ro)k) is well known. Probably the process of speech changed Sanscrit (a r) into (ara) and then into (ra) only. The 'guttural' classification of the (ara) may merely indicate the retraction of the root of the tongue consequent on its vowel instead of its dental character. The tri may have been merely (ala), a continued (a) interrupted in the middle by a non-dental (l) or approximation to it, and probably with no sound of (r) in it at all. These sounds are perhaps best written (ra, la), as the consonant part became predominant. Mr. M. O. Mookerjee (see 1102, b,) called rt, rt (uri, uril), with a very distinct (a), but he said that irt, irti were simple (li, lii). Both of these are apparently modernisms. But the (uri) at least shows that the sound consisted of some vowel, interrupted in what was perceptibly the middle of its duration by the beats of a trill. Mr. Gupta differed in this respect, (1136, d'. 1138, b').

15. (a). This vowel, as I pronounce it, is very thin, and foreigners have told me that I make no distinction between man and men (man, men), or (men, man) according to Mr. Bell. The position of the tongue appears to be identical for (a) and (e), so that all Germans, French, and Italians hear (a) as their open a, e, e. But the back parts of the mouth and pharynx appear to be widened, and the quality thus approaches to (a), which it has replaced. Many persons, however, seem to me to use (ah), even now, for (a). The true thin English sound occurs in Hungarian, written e in accented syllables, but I observed that on removing the stress, it seemed to fall into (r) (Land (op. cit. p. 16) says that the openest Dutch e sometimes approaches (a) in sound, and in the mouths of some speakers becomes quite the English (a) in man, bad. He also says that Donders' ae (op. cit. p. 11), heard in Dutch vet, gebed = law, prayer, which is quite different from his e heard in bed, is this (a). In the Dutch of the Cape of Good Hope, (a) appears to be the general pronunciation of open e. For the Somersetshire use, see (67, a), and for Welsh (67, c. 61, d). Mr. Nicol tells me that some English friends in Monmouthshire call fach (vekh, vekh) rather than (vekh), but call the first letter of the Welsh alphabet (a), not (e). With regard to the presumed use of (ae) in Copenhagen, Mr. Sweet (Philol. Trans. 1873-4, p. 105) makes it (a) or "mid back wide forward," or "outer," as I have called it on (1107, e), for he says: "This vowel has a very thin sound, almost as in E. hat, the tongue being considerably advanced in the mouth, but without the front being raised, so that it is distinct from the mid-mixed (ah): mane (maana); manet (ma, a"n); kat (kya, a)," where I have duly marked the (a, u) and changed his (kn) into (knh). Really to distinguish (a, ah, a) becomes very difficult, and few ears are to be trusted. Signor Pagliardini makes the French a rather (a) or (ah) than (a), the order of his vowels being, pea, paid, pair, pat, pate Fr., part, (purf fr), paa, polygon, poh, pool, punir Fr. These slight differentiations of sound, however, are important in the history of the transition from (a) to (a), in England for the short vowel, and in Ireland for the long. I heard (paaor) only the
15. (a)—continued.
other day from an Irish labourer. In England, however, the long vowel has
gone much further, even to (ae') or (á). In a certain class of words there
is even now great diversity of use
(68d). Fulton and Knight (Dictionary,
London, 1843) say: “A sounds
(aa) before rm, lm, if, and see, as in bar
car, barb garb, bard pards, lark
park, harl (? snarl, arm farm, barn
darn, carp harp, art dart, bargie large,
carve starve, farce parse, march parch;
baugh palm psalm, calf half, cave half.
This sound is contracted into
(a) before ff, ft, ss, sh, sp, st (th) and
nee, as in: chaff staff, graft shaft, lass
pass, ask bask, asp clasp, cast fast, bath
lath path wrath, chance dance.” Now
in London I constantly hear (aa) in all
these words from educated speakers,
the r in ar being entirely dropped. On
the other hand, I have heard (a) in
every one of the words also, and then,
in the case of ar, either (a') or (ar.) was
said, the vowel being short. I have
also heard (a) short in every one, (a',
ar) being used. Again, in those words
which have no r, I frequently hear (ee),
and more frequently (ah), both short
and long, especially from ladies, and
those who do not like broad sounds.
Apparently this dread arises from
the fear that if they said (aask, laaf), they
would be accused of the vulgarity of inserting an r, and when arsk, larf, are
written, they “look so very vulgar.” Yet
these speakers frequently drop the (k)
and say (ahst) for (aask'). The tendency
seems to be towards (baa, paak, baamh,
saahm, naahf, ishaf, stuf, balth laalth,
raath, tshaens deens), but the words
vary so much from mouth to mouth,
that any pronunciation would do, and
short (a) would probably hit a mean to
which no one would object. In a perform-
ance of King John, I heard Mrs.
Charles Kean speak of “(kaaf) skin,”
with great emphasis, and Mr. Alfred
Wigan immediately repeated it as
“(kaaf) skin,” with equal distinctness.
Both were (I am sorry to use the past
tense, though both are living off the
stage) distinguished actors. Mr. Bell
hears (a) in part, but I do not know (a)
as a southern English sound.

15. (m)—continued.
pharynx and there is perfect nasal reso-
nance (1096, d'. 1123, d). As there is a
perfectly open passage for the voice,
there is no condensed air in the mouth.
The hum of (m) is well known, and
it is instructive to sing upon (m, n, q),
with the mouth first closed throughout,
and then open for (n, q). It will be
found that the opening of the mouth
makes no difference, and that the three
sounds scarcely differ when the glides
from and to vowels are omitted. When
I had a phonetic printing office, the
letters (m, n, q) had to be frequently
asked for, and such difficulty was found
in distinguishing them when the same
vowel was used for each, as (em, en, eq),
that it became necessary to alter the
vowels and call the letters (em, en, iq),
after which no trouble was experienced.
Compare the modern Indian confusion
of (n, p), mentioned in (1096, c').

As to the use of (m) or (mh) or
(m-mh) before (p) see (1141, a). The
case is different when the following
mute belongs to another organ. -mk
does not occur, but -mt is frequent, as
in attempt, and the tendency is to cut
off the voice and close the nasal passage,
before the lips are opened, so that (mp)
or (mph) is generated. As to the length
of the (m) in this case, see (1145, bé')
It is I think usually short. When mb
is written, as in lamb, the (b) is not
heard, but (m) is long, as (lamm,
lab'm). Possibly at one time the
nasality may have ceased before the
voice, and thus real (lamb) may have
been said, but I have not noticed such
as a present usage. Compare (lomg)
(1124, b'). There is no tendency to
develop an epenthetic (b) medially,
compare timber, timber, longer = (l'm,
l'mba, l'omg). But between (m) and
(r) both French and Spanish introduce
(b), compare Latin numeros, French
and Spanish nombre. But in English
dialects there is much tendency to omit
any such (b), as Scotch nummer, and
dialectal timmer, chammer, for timber,
chamber.

Initial (m) is always short, except
rhetorically, expressing doubt, but final
(m), after even a buzz, becomes syllabic,
as schism, rhythm = (sir'zm, rí'zhm).
After l it is not syllabic, as l is either
very short as in elm = (elm'), often
vulgarly (l'm, e-lm), or l quite dis-
appears, as in alms = (amz). After r,
15. (m)—continued.

when untrilled, and therefore purely voiced, m is not syllabic, and may be quite short, as in warrn (= w3arm) or (wa'hm, war'm). But when r is trilled, we frequently hear the syllabic m, as (wa't'm). This, however, is not a received sound.

(p). See No. 14, (p).

(Iëemp). The voice is set on with (l), which should be (l), not (í) or (jhl). The murmur of (l) is very brief. The glide (l < œ) is almost quite the same as (d < œ), and the glide (œ > m) almost the same as (œ > b), but must be slightly changed by the dropping forward of the uvula at its termination. The lips should close at the same instant as the uvula falls, so that no (œ) or (œa) should be heard. Then, as I think, the murmur (m) is continued for a short time, till both voice and nasality are cut off and (p) results, which, before a pause, is as usual made audible by flatus, thus (l < œ > m = p'). Mr. Bell, however, cuts off the voice with the closing of the lips and dropping of the uvula, allowing occasionally a trace of voice after closing the lips, and hence has generally (l < œ > mh = p') and occasionally (l < œ > mh = p'). See (1140, Æ'). In all cases (p), having the position of (m), would be inaudible after (m), without some following flatus or voice.

16. ONIONS, Bell's(3oënzenz),
my (a'øyenz).

(a, õ). See No. 1, (a, õ).

(n). See No. 1, (n).

(j). This bears the same relation to (i) as (w) does to (u). The position for (i) is so much contracted that clear resonance becomes no longer possible, and the buzz is produced. German writers pair (kjh, j), that is, they confuse (gjh, j) together. But the buzz of (gjh) is, to an Englishman's ears, much harsher than for his (j). Lepsins (Standard Alphabet, 2nd ed. 1863, p. 73) says: "It is to be observed that (gjh)," which he defines as the voiced form of ch in milk = (milkh), "and the semivowel (j) are so near each other that (kjh) will hardly appear in any language as a distinct sound by the side of (j)." But both of them really seem to me to exist in German. At least in Saxony, gene-

ral, Könige, berge, sounded to my ear as (ghe'rneral, ka'nojhe, ber'ge); and I often heard (ghe'rneral, ka'nojhe, ber'ge), especially the last, ridiculed by Dres-

deners. The sounds were therefore distinguished. BRücke (Grundzüge, p. 44) distinguishes palatal k = (kj) and velar k = (k), and Arabic kaf (k) = (k), with their sonants (gj, g, õ). Then, proceeding to the corresponding hisses, he has (kjh), "as in Recht und Licht" (ibid. p. 48), (kh), "as Wache, Woche, Wacht," where I may notice that the (kh) frequently becomes (kwh) after (u) in German, and (xh), which he believes is the (x) of the modern Greeks, before a, õ, ou, ò. From what he says (ibid. p. 49), I am inclined to think that he confuses (xh) with (kwh). Then he adds: "Allowing the voice to sound, we come to Jot, the I consona of the Germans," so that he makes German j (= gjh). Similarly he finds the voiced (kh), or (gh), in Platt-Deutsch lage (= lehr'ghe); it is quite common in Saxon, as in lage (= lahr'ghe). Finally, he makes (oh), the modern Greek γ, before a, õ, ò. Then (ibid. p. 70) he says, referring to the English sounds: "Produce (i) and narrow still further the space between the tongue and palate where it is already narrowest, you will obtain a Jot, because you will have reached the position of (gjh). The vowel (i) does not become lost by so doing; we really hear both the vowel (i) and the consonant Jot at the same time." This seems to me an impossibility. "The most suitable ex-

ample is the English y, when consonantal. When an (i) follows, as in year, it is exactly the same as the German I consona; but when another vowel follows, a light sound of (i) is heard before it, in educated pronunciation, which arises from raising the larynx, and consequently introducing the condition for (j)." Now I know that Englishmen in Saxony had the greatest difficulty in learning to say (kjh, gjh), which could hardly have been the case if they were their own (jh, j). The antecedent (i) in you, yeast, yacht, which he would of course call (igjhuu, ig'hrest, ij'k't), remind me of Prof. March's (juw), see (1092,
16. (z)—continued.

Brücke's identification of English *g*—with (*gh*)—is on a par with his identification of English *w*—with (*uh*), where, however, he says: "the vowel (u) and the consonant (bh) are really sounded at the same time," which is incorrect. But an attempt to pronounce (u*bh*) will *generate* (w), and so an attempt to pronounce (*i*gh*) *might* generate (z), but I think this attempt would not be quite so successful. I attribute this error to Brücke's Low Saxton habits of speech, to which real (gh) is unknown, so that he imagines (j) to be the buzz of (kj), with which he is acquainted practically. Merkel, however, a Middle Saxton, had no business to be astonished (Phys. d. mensch. Spr. p. 178) that Lepsins could find no hiss to (x), and had distinguished (x, gjh). In Saxony I have not frequently heard ja called (rhea), where the speaker would have been posed had he been told to begin the word with ch in ich, because he would not have known how to arrange his organs, and would probably at least have said (kjhjia), thinking of elia. Again (rea) is the received and more usual pronunciation of ja, though great varieties are heard in a word which often sinks into an interjection. But to be told to begin with a "soft g" would sorely try a Saxon's phonetic intelligence. I found in Saxony very distinct differences (kh gh, kj ghj, jh j). Merkel calls (kj) *g molle*, and (ghj) = (v) *voiced g molle* (ibid. p. 183). Merkel allows of a modification of *g molle* when it comes from (y) instead of (i). In fact, we may have (yw) = (wji), the consonant formed from (y), similar to (z) from (i) and (w) from (u). And we have similarly (kuh, kjhj, gch, gujh). The hiss of the English (j) is heard only in a few words, as Hugh, hew, human (see 1144, o).

All these German confusions of (kj, gjh) with (jh, j) depend upon the prior confusion of (k, g) with (kj, g), and receive their proper explanation so soon as these consonants are admitted; for which we are indebted in English books to the acuteness of the American Mr. Goodwin and the Englishman Mr. Melville Bell, although they have been long known in India (1120, o). The series (kj zh "i-; gj j-"), where the hyphens point out the diphthongising character of the vowels, shew the exact relation of (jh, j) to vowel and consonant. The labial series are much more complex, on account of the back of the tongue being raised for (u), giving it a labio-guttural character. They are, therefore, (kuv kch wh "u-; gw gch w u-). Helmholtz (Tonempfindungen, 3rd ed. p. 166) recognizes an (u), for which the tongue is quite depressed; this would be (Au), a much duller sound than (u). For this then we have the labial series (p ph "Au"; b bh Au)). The (f, v) hisses do not enter into either of the latter series, as they have no corresponding vowels. The usual (b v u) and (b w u) series are quite erroneous.

The whole history of (zh, z) is analogous to that of (wh, w), and we have the same varieties. On (186, c) I have elected to write (ja, ai), whatever the orthoepists wrote. But it must be observed that real differences exist, that (ia jia ja jia) are all possible, and different, and that (ai a i a i) are possible and different. Mr. Sweet says of Danish (Philol. Trans. 1873—4, p. 107): "The voice-stop (g) becomes (gh), and often undergoes further weakening, passing through (gch) into (w), which is frequently the case after back vowels, especially when labial, or (after palatal vowels) into (j). Thus are formed quasi-diphthongs, the only ones which the language possesses." This is extremely interesting in reference to the generation of (ai, au) in English from ags. ag, aw. The only diphthongs the English possessed independently of the Normans came in the same way, and the rhyming of these (ai) diphthongs with Norman ai proves that the English pronounced the Norman in the English way, whatever was the Norman sound. The Danish examples which Mr. Sweet gives are instructive. Thus, *en sag,* also written *sau*g and *sav* (saw), 'saw,' *en vogn* (vaw; n); *fauw* (faw; n) = *Icelandic fugr,* *en skov* (skow) = *Icelandic skgr*; *et navn* (naw; n) = *Icelandic nafn,* *en ovn* (ow; n) ; *feg* (jæ), *en tøgen* (toj; n), *et oje* (oja), *en højde* (hjærda). One sees here an exact modern presentment of the way in which Orrmín perceived the formation of English diphthongs 700 years ago (489, ð). The very change of the common *lii* into (las) is paralleled by the colloquial Danish *meig, dig, sig, steg, megen, røg, bøger* (mæ, dæ, etc.)
16. (n). See No. 1, (n).

16. (zs). See No. 12, (zs).

The peculiarities of unaccented syllables will be considered afterwards.

17. BOAT, Bell's (bòot), my (bòot).
17. (b). See No. 9, (b).

(oo). The controversy respecting (ou, oo) is precisely similar to that about (ei, en), see (1108, c'), and the same peculiarities are observable in Dutch (1109, d'). Thus Donders gives "ou in hö with short u" (op. cit. p. 15), and Land says, that Dutch oo in boon, dook, loop, is (oo), noticing that it becomes (oo) before r, but adds that "in English and low (platte) Hollandish it is replaced by òu or even òu (òou), and is even used before r" (op. cit. p. 18). The usage of (òou) before r is not now known in England.

As regards my own pronunciation, I feel that in know, sow v., etc., regularly, and in no, so, etc., often, I make this labial change, indicated by (oo'w). Wherein does this consist? In really raising the back of the tongue to the (u) position, and producing (ouu) or (òou)? or in merely further closing or 'rounding' the mouth to the (u) degree, thus (òou-òu)? or in disregarding the position of the tongue, and merely letting labialised voice, of some kind, come out through a lip aperture belonging to (u), that is strictly (òou-'e')? There is no intentional diphthong, but a diphthong results so markedly, especially when the sound is forcibly uttered, that I have often been puzzled, and could not tell whether know, sow serere; no, so; or now, sow sus, were intended; I heard (nou, nou). But these are exaggerations, and I believe by no means common among educated speakers. Whether they will prevail or not in a hundred years, those persons who then hunt out these pages as an antiquarian curiosity will be best able to determine. But that (i, u) should have developed into, say, (ai, au), by initial modification, and that (e, o), which are constantly generated from these diphthongs, should shew a tendency, which is sporadically and vulgarly consumed, to return to the same class of diphthongs by final amplification, is in itself a remarkable phonological fact which all philologists who would trace the history of words must bear in mind. As to the English tendency, I think that (oo) develops into (òou) most readily before the pause, the (k) and (p) series; the first and last owing to closing the mouth, the second owing to raising the back of the tongue. I find the tendency least before the (t) series. This, however, is crossed by the vocal action of (l, n, r), which develop a precedent ('h), easily rounded into ('hw), and hence generating (oo'w). So strong was this tendency of old that (éul, óun) were constant in the xviith century, and (6ul) remains in Ireland, and many of the English counties also, even where no w appears in writing. Before (t, d) I do not perceive the tendency. In fact, the motion of the tongue is against it. The sound (bout) is not only strange to me, but disagreeable to my ear and troublesome to my tongue. Even (boo'urt) sounds strange. Mr. M. Bell's consistent use of (ei, óu) as the only received pronunciation thoroughly disagrees with my own observations, but if orthoepists of repute inculcate such sounds, for which a tendency already exists, their future prevalence is tolerably secured. As to the "correctness" or 'impropriety' of such sounds I do not see on what grounds I can offer an opinion. I can only say what I observe, and what best pleases my own ear, probably from long practice. Neither history nor pedantry can set the norm.

(t). See No. 2, (t).

(boot). The synthesis occasions no difficulty. The glide from (oo) to (t) is short. The voice ends as the closure is complete (1112, c').

18. CART, Bell's (kart), my (kaart).

(k). See No. 6, (k).

(aa). See (1148, b) as to (aa, aar). The sound of (a) is, so far as I know, quite strange to educated organs, though common in Scotland (69 c, d). "In reality," says Mr. Murray (Dialect of S. Scotland, p. 110), "the Scotch a, when most broadly pronounced, is only equal to the common Cockney pass, ask, demand (paah, aahsk, demeahnd), and I have heard a London broker pronounce demand drafts with an a which, for broadness, I have never heard bettered in the North." It is the repulsion of such sounds which drives the educated, and especially ladies, into the thinness of (ah, aw).
18. (t).

(x). I use (x) in Mr. Bell's (kazt) for his 'point-glide' or 'semi-vowelled sound of (r)', (Vis. Speech, p. 70) and (1099, d). I believe I almost always say and hear (kaat); but as I occasionally say (kaa; rt), I write (kaazt). I am not sure that I ever hear or say (kazzt). I have heard (pa'k). No doubt many other varieties abound unobserved. But (park, kart), with a genuine short (a) and trilled (r), sound to me thoroughly un-English, and (park, kart) are either foreignisms or Northumbrianisms.

(t). See No. 2, (t).

(kazzt). The voice begins at the moment that the (k)-position is relaxed, and not before, the glottis being placed ready for voice from the first. The glide on to (t) is short, (at) being treated as a long vowel. Read (k < aa > t').

19. TENT, Bell's (teent), my (tent).

(t). See No. 2, (t).

(e, e). See No. 7, (e, e).

(nh, n). See (1140, d') and (1148, bot').

(tent). Glides (t < e > n-t'). The nasalised voice is heard up to (t), when both voice and nasality are cut off. But (t) would be quite inaudible unless some slurring or voice followed. In (tents) the (s) gives sufficient slurring to make (t) quite distinct. In scentless there is apt to be a glide on to the (l), which is etymologically wrong, but easy, (tl-) being often preferred in English speech to (kl-). But in scent-bottle (scent-bottle), a complete (ch) is heard. Observe that in this word (chh) and not (chb) is written, because to write (chb) would be ambiguous, as it might = (t+ch), instead of = (t+ch). A Frenchman would use (tchh).

20. HOUSES, Bell's (nuhauyz), my (nuowezes).

(u, nh). See (1130, b. 1132, d. 1133, d. to 1135, d), and (598, b').

(au, o'w). As to the first element, it is subject to at least all the variations of those of long i (1100, a'). But owing to the labial final, the tendency to labialise the first element is more marked (597, d'). Our (au, au, ow) must be considered as delabialisations of (ow, ow). The second element is rather (u) than (w), and may be even (ou). Mr. Sweet analyses his own diphthong as (xoo'ou) or (xoo'hwe). The great variety of forms which this diphthong consequently assumes, renders it difficult to fix upon any one form as the most usual. But as a general rule, the 'rounded' or labialised first element is thought provincial, and the broader (au, au) seem eschewed, the narrower (au, o'w) or (ou) finding most favour. The first element is, I think, generally very short, the diphthong very close (1151, b), and the second element lengthened at pleasure. Mr. Sweet, however, lengthens the first element.

(z, zs). See No. 12, (zs).

(y, e). The unaccented vowels will be considered hereafter.

(ho'wuzes). The initial (h) has been already considered (1030, b'). I pronounce it generally by commencing the following vowel with a jerk, not intentionally accompanied by flatus. There is therefore no glide from (h) to (o'w). The glide from (a) to (u) is very short and rapidly diminished in force. The glide hence on to (z) is short and weak. The (z) is not prolonged, but treated almost as an initial in zeal, and hence has a very short buzz. The first syllable practically ends at the end of the glide from (u) and does not enroach on the buzz of (z) at all. It is possible, and perhaps usual, to distinguish in pronunciation the verb and substantive in: 'he houses them in houses.' In the first the glide on (z) is distinct, and all the buzz of (z) seems to belong to the first syllable, the glide on to the following vowel being reserved for the second. The difference may be indicated thus, the slur dividing the syllables, which have no pause between them: (Hihauwz-ezhyum mihauw-zes).
21. DOG, (dog).

(d, g). For the distinction between these sounds and (t, k) see No. 9, (b). For the position of the tongue in (t, k) see (1098, &'. 1105, &').

(o). See No. 10, (o, a). To lengthen (a) in this particular word is American, Cockney, or drawing (daog, daag).

(dog). It is instructive to compare do(gk, dog (dok', dog'), pronounced with very short and very long glides, and consonants, as (d < o> k)k < h, d < o> gg < 'h) and (d < o> k)< ', do < o> g')', where ('i) is used to indicate extreme brevity. The 'foreign' effect of the latter will become evident. See (1143, e).

22. MONKEY, Bell's (maqksi), my (maq'ksi).

(m). See No. 15, (m).

(x, o). See No. 1, (x, o).

(q, zh). See No. 13, (q), and also generally (1140, &').

(i). See No. 6, (i). As to the influence of the removal of accent, see hereafter.

(maqksi). The voice begins nasal, and continues very briefly through (m), but the nasality is not dropped as long as the (m)-position is held, else we should get (mbaq) which is a South African initial, and almost inconceivable to an Englishman. The vowel (a) must not be nasalised at all, though lying between two nasals (m) and (q). The nasalisation and the voice are dropped at the same moment in passing from (q) to (k), without altering the position of the tongue, but the retraction of the uvula causes a glide which will be heard distinctly on saying (maqk, maq:ki) sharply. The latter ends almost metallically. The syllable divides at the end of this glide, which, in ordinary speech, is followed by the glide of (k) on to (i) without sensible interval. We have then (m < o> q-k < i).

23. CAGE, Bell's (keidzh), my (keod, zh, sh).

(k). See No. 6, (k), There is no tendency to (kj-) before the sound of (e).

(ee, ê). See No. 8, (ee).

(d). See No. 21, (d).

(zh, zh). See No. 10, (sh, sh).

(zh zh). Used only before a pause, see (1104, e).

(d, zh). See (1118, d) to (1119, e'). The change from (k) to (t,sh), through a palatal vowel, is distinctly developed in English (203, d) to (209, b), but the change of (g) to (d, zh) is not so common, and hardly occurs initially. The French ch, f, became (t, sh, d, zh) in English words, but reason has been assigned for supposing the French sounds to have been originally (t, sh, d, zh) on (314, c), meaning of course (t, sh, d, zh). The subsequent recognition of an Italian (sh, zh), independent of (t, d), on (1118, a. 800, b'), and Mr. Goodwin's re-discovery (1119, c) of the Indian (kj, gj), see (1210, e), renders it of course doubtful whether the passage of (k, g) Latin, into (sh, zh) French, as in chant, gens (shas, zhas), was really through (t, sh, d, zh) at all. The transition may have been simply (kj kj zh sh; g gj gj Zh zh), just as (i) or diphthongising ('i') certainly became (zh) in French. It is, then, satisfactory to be able to shew a transition from (k, g), before palatal vowels, into (t, sh, d, zh) at so recent a period and in so short a space of time that there is hardly room for the interposition of transitional forms. Martinique, in the West Indies, was colonized by the French in 1635, hence any French upon it cannot be older than the xvirth or xvirth century. To a large emigration from Martinique to Trinidad, which was only for a short time in possession of the French after 1696, Mr. J. J. Thomas (a negro of pure blood, who speaks English with a very pure pronunciation, and is the author of The Theory and Practice of Creole Grammar, Port of Spain, 1869, on sale at Trübner's, London, a most
remarkable book, indispensable to all students of romance languages) attributes the introduction of French into the (formerly Spanish, and since 1797 British) Island of Trinidad. Mr. Thomas was kind enough to give me an oral explanation of the principal peculiarities of the sounds in this Creole French (25 September, 1873), which is by no means merely mispronounced French, but rather a romance language in the second generation. The ch, j of the French remain as (sh, zh), but k, g, before palatal vowels, become (ts, zh). I ascertained, not merely by listening, but by inquiry, that Mr. Thomas really commenced the sound by striking his palate with the tip of the tongue behind the gums. The following are examples: French sciët, culottë, re-œüler, quinzë, marquer, en-barquer; Creole, in Mr. Thomas's orthography, chïët, chïllottë, chouler, chïinze, mâcher, bïałcher=(ts, shl, t, shl, t, shlule, t she, z, maat she, baat she), where (e) indicates Mr. Thomas's Creole nasality, which sounded to me less than the French (e), and more than the South German (e). French figûre, guëëpe, gueule; Creole figoà, gëpë, cële= (fid, zh, d zhëpp, d zhool). Observe the short (t). For sound of vowels Creole tini (tini) would rhyme with funny (fr'ni), but the accent is of the French nature. Now French e, ou, gu in this position were considered by Volney (L'Alphabet Européen appliqué aux langues Asiatiques, Paris, 1819) to be quite palatal, apparently (kj, gj), and are distinguished as his 23rd and 24th consonants from (k, g) his 26th and 27th. Whether in his time, and in the older xviii th century, the (kj, gj) were distinctly pronounced, there is no proof; but this Creole change leads to this hypothesis. As I have had occasion to refer to this pronunciation, I may remark that the old pronunciations of oi occur, (uë) in boëte doëgt toële and (uë) in cloëson poëson poëksen; also that eu (e, œ) falls into (e), and u (y) into (i) or (u), as so frequently in Germany, and that e muët, when not final, is often replaced by d, i as lever, ritoë, Fr. lever, retour, indicating its probable audibility in the xviii th century, because these changes were entirely illiterate; and moreover that when the h is pronounced, it is, with Mr. Thomas, a distinct (zh), as hâler =
(keed, zh sh). The voice is put on as the (k) position is released, the glottis being from the first disposed for voice. The (ee) is, I think, seldom run on to (ee') in this word. The glide on to (d) is short, the buzz of (d) is very brief, so that (d zh) acts as an initial, and the voice, as a general rule, runs off into (sh) almost imme-
23. (kedzh, sh)—continued.

mediately. Observe the effect of prolonging the voice in caged (kedzh), which some seem to call (kedzh, sh't).

24. AND, Bell’s (ahnd), my (.end).

(ah, æ). See No. 15, (æ). Mr. Bell is treating and as an ‘unaccented’ word, accented he would have written (.end). The unaccented form will be considered presently.

(n, d). See No. 1, (n).

(.end). The voice begins with a clear glottid (1129, d’), and is continued through (æ) with a glide to (n), care being taken that nasality does not begin too soon, as (æ-æ, > n-d), or too late, as (æ > d-n-d). The passage from (n) to (d) simply consists in dropping nasality. When the word is emphatic, the (n) is specially lengthened, and the glide from (æ) to (n) becomes clearer.

25. BIRD, Bell’s (boud), my (bad).

(b). See No. 9, (b).

(æ, a). For (a) preceded by other vowels, see No. 4, (oo). What is the vowel-sound heard when (a) is not preceded by other vowels? See (8, b, c, 197, a). Mr. Bell seems to me very theoretical in his distinctions (197, c to 198, a). No doubt that in Scotland, the west of England, and probably many outlying districts, the sounds in word, journey, furnish, are distinguished from those in prefer, earnest, firm. Smart says (Principles, art. 35) that these distinctions are “delicacies of pronunciation which prevail only in the more refined classes of society,” but adds that “in all very common words it would be somewhat affected to insist on the delicacy referred to.” This is quite Gill’s docti interdum, and indicates orthoepical fancy. It is easy enough to train the organs to make a distinction, but it is very difficult to determine the resulting vowels. In Mr. Bell’s table of the relative heights of the tongue for the different vowels (Visible Speech, p. 74) they appear as follows, the left hand having the lowest and the right hand the highest position of the tongue, and that position remaining the same for the vowels in each column, as the differences of effect are produced by other means:

Primary. | æ æ æ | oh oh e i
Wide. . . . . a a v oh y æ e i
Round . . . . a o u ah oh u ah æ i
Wide round o o u oh oh sh ah æ y

Hence in assigning (æ) to the ir, er set, and (a) to the ur set, he does raise his tongue higher for the first. As I say (a) for his (a) always, it is natural that I should say (o) for his (æ) as well, that is, in both the er and the ur set of sounds. To say (a), or even (æ), as I seem to hear in the west of England, is disagreeably deep to my ears. I recollect as a child being offended with (gaal) or (gaarl), but I have never been able satisfactorily to determine how this extremely common word girl is actually pronounced. Smart writes “gu’er,” where “gu” merely means (g) and ’ indicates that speakers “suffer a slight sound of (i) to intervene, to render the junction smooth.” (Principles, art. 77). As far as I can discover, I say (geal). I do not feel any motion or sound corresponding to (r). The vulgar (geel), and affected country actor’s (g’ihl), seem to confirm this absence of (r). But I should write (gjil), the (a) shewing an (æ) sound interrupted, if desired, with a gentle trill. I trill a final r so easily and readily myself with the tip of the tongue, that perhaps in avoiding this distinct trill I may run into the contrary extreme in my own speech. Yet whenever I hear any approach to a trill in others, it sounds strange.

(d). See No. 21, (d).

(bad). The voice begins as soon as the lips are closed, continues through their closure, and glides on to the (a)-position, and this vowel ends with a short glide on to a short (d). Were the glide distinct or the (d) lengthened, we should have (badd). Whether, as I speak, the words bird, bud are distinguished otherwise than by the length of the glide, or of the (d), I am not sure; but as the short glide and (d) indicate a long vowel (1146, b), the effect is that of (badd, bad). The distinction is very marked, and no
25. (bad)—continued.
doubt that it is partly the absence of means to indicate long (\text{oa}), partly the
distinction felt between the little marked
glide on to (d) in bird, and the strongly
marked glide in bud, and partly the
permissibility of trilling, that has made
the use of \text{er}, \text{ur} so common for (\text{oa}), or
whatever the sound may be in different
months. Any one of the sounds (broad,
breath, bood, bold, baad) would be
recognized as an English, though often
a broad and unpleasant, sound of
\text{bird}. The recognition would not be
destroyed by inserting a faint trill (\text{yr}).
But (berd), with short (\text{e}) and clear
trill (\text{r}), would be provincial or foreign,
and (bard) provincial. Such sounds as
(bee\text{d}, be\text{d}, be\text{d}, bi\text{d}) would hardly
be understood.

26. CANARY, Bell's (kahn-
nee\text{rj}), my (knee\text{r})

(k). See No. 6, (k).

(ah). See No. 24, (ah, ao).

(n). See No. 1, (n).

\text{(ee)}. This is the long sound
of (e), see (1106, c). It is remarkable
that though Mr. Bell does not admit
(e) as the short vowel in accented
syllables, but always employs (\text{e}), yet
he admits only (ee) as long, and not
(\text{ee}), although we have the vulgar
American confusion with (\text{ee}). The
long (ee) never occurs in received Eng-
lish except before (\text{i}) or (\text{r}), but it then
always replaces (\text{ee}).

(\text{r}). On referring to p. 197,
it will be seen that where Mr. Bell
wrote (\text{r}), or, as it would be more
accurate to transcribe him (\text{r}), I had
written (\text{r}), as in (knee\text{rr}). But as
this (\text{i}) only indicates the vowel sound,
an (\text{'r}), followed optionally by (\text{r}), see
(1099, c), it is clear that (\text{r}) is quite
enough when (\text{r}) must follow, so that
(knee\text{rr}) has the same meaning as
(knee\text{rr}). Observe that whenever in
course of inflection or apposition a
vowel follows (\text{i}), this last sound be-
comes (\text{r}), that is, the trill becomes
necessary instead of optional. Now Mr.

Bell always writes his 'point-glide'
(\text{b}d on p. 15) when in ordinary spelling
\text{r} does not precede a vowel, but (\text{r})
when a vowel follows. I conclude
therefore that his 'point glide' is al-
ways meant for (\text{'r}) or (\text{'h}), forming a
diphthong with the preceding vowel.
If so, and there was no option of trill-
ing, I was not quite right in trans-
scribing it by (\text{r}). Mr. Sweet at first
analyzed this vocal \text{r} into (\text{ah}), forming a
diphthong with the preceding element,
but at present he feels inclined to sub-
stitute the simple voice glide unrounded,
this is (\text{'h}), as I have done, and also
Mr. Graham Bell himself (1099, d).
Cases of this change of (\text{r}) into (\text{r}), are:
fear fearing (\text{f}eer \text{f}eering), hair
hairy (\text{n}ee\text{r} \text{ee}rr), pour pouring (poo\text{r}
poo\text{r}), poor poorer (poor\text{r}).
In case of (\text{aa}), the (\text{r}) is not inserted;
\text{star} is (staa), not generally (staa'),
but sometimes (staa), and \text{starry} is (staa\text{r}
), not (staa\text{r}), which would have a
drawly effect. Those who cannot say
(\text{oo}, \text{o}o\text{r}-), generally give (\text{aa}, \text{aa}'),
and rarely (\text{aa'}, \text{a}a\text{r}'); thus, (paa,
paa\text{r}). They do not usually dis-
tinguish \text{draws} \text{drawers}, but call both
(dra\text{ars}). For glory we often hear
(dl\text{aa}rr), even from educated speakers,
which is certainly much less peculiar
than (\text{glow\text{r}}), which, when I heard it
from the pulpit, completely distracted
my attention from the matter to the manner.
The words \text{four}, \text{fore}, \text{for}, would be
constantly confused by London speakers,
were not the last usually without force.
We often hear \text{before me, for me, for
instance}, pronounced (bif\text{a}a\text{mi}, fami',
fee\text{rn}\text{stun}).

(\text{i}). See No. 6, (f). Here it
occurs in an open syllable, see (1098, c),
and 'unaccented.'

(knee\text{rr}). The syllables are
all distinctly separated in speech, but
by slurs only, thus (k < \text{e} - \text{n} < \text{ee} - \text{h} - \text{r}),
that is, although the voice is not cut off
after (\text{e}, \text{h}), the force diminishes so
much that there is no appreciable glide
from (\text{e}) to (\text{n}) or (\text{h}) to (\text{r}). Here
then we have the rather unusual case of
syllabification, assumed to be general
by Bell (Vis. Sp. p. 118), where the
consonant begins and the vowel ends
the syllable.

74
Unaccented Syllables.

By accent I mean a prominence invariably given to one or more syllables in a word, on all occasions when it is used, unless special reasons require attention to be drawn to one of the other syllables. By emphasis I mean a prominence given to one or more words in a clause, varying with the mood and intention of the speaker. Accent is therefore "fixed," and emphasis is "free." The mode in which prominence is given may be the same in each, but as accented syllables may occur in emphatic words, the effects of emphasis must be considered independently of the effects of accent. Modern versification is guided by prominence, whether due to accent or emphasis. Prominence in English accent is due principally to force, occasioning greater loudness of the most vocal parts of a syllable, and greater cleanness. The non-prominent syllables, commonly called unaccented, are usually deficient in force, and in English decidedly obscure. Obscurity is, however, no necessary accompaniment of want of force, and not associated with it in all languages. The same is true for unemphatic syllables. There are many monosyllables which in English speech are habitually united with one another, and with the adjacent words, so as to form temporary new words, so far as pronunciation is concerned. It is only our habits of writing which lead us to consider them as distinct. In this combination they suffer alterations in various ways, but these are habitually disregarded in orthography; and the question of how far they should be recognized in any reformation of spelling is at present quite unsettled. Most English phonologists have written a pāda or analysed, and not the real sanhīṭā or combined, words of speech. Mr. Melville Bell forms an exception, but only to a moderate extent. Emphasis in English does not consist merely of loudness, or of additional loudness. Length, quality, distinctness, rapidity, slowness, alterations of pitch, all those varieties of utterance which habitually indicate feeling in any language, come into play. With these I shall not interfere. The various physical constituents of accent and emphasis have been considered by me elsewhere. Here we have only to consider, to some extent, the difference of pronunciation actually due to differences of prominence, so far as I have been able to note them.

Mr. Melville Bell (Vis. Sp. p. 116) lays down as one of the characteristics of English "the comparatively indefinite sounds of unaccented vowels," and explains this (ib. p. 117) as follows: "The difference between unaccented and accented vowels in colloquial pronunciation is one not merely of stress [force, loudness], but, in general, of quality also." This should mean that there are different series of vowel-sounds in accented and unaccented syllables. "The following are the tendencies of unaccented vowels," meaning, I believe, the tendencies of the speaker to alter the quality of a vowel as he removes force from it. The speaker thinks that he leaves the vowel unaltered, and the remission of force induces him involun-

1 Transactions of the Philological Society for 1873-4, pp. 113-164.
tarily to replace it by another vowel. In our usual orthography, the letter generally remains, and hence we are led to say confusedly that the vowel itself alters. We are in the habit of considering two different sounds to be the same vowel when they are commonly represented by the same sign. Possibly at one time there was a clear pronunciation given to these vowels, similar to that given to vowels having the same written form in accented syllables. We have no proof of this, for writers may from the first have contented themselves with approximative signs in the unaccented syllables. This is in fact most probable in English, to which language alone the present remarks refer, every language having its own peculiar mode of treating such syllables. Mr. Bell proceeds to describe these 'tendencies' as follows:—for the technical language, see (13, b).

"I. From Long to Short.—II. From Primary to Wide.—III. From Low and Mid to Mid and High.—IV. From Back and Front to Mixed.—V. From 'Round' (Labio-Lingual) to Simple Lingual.—VI. From Diphthongs to single intermediate sounds. The 2nd, 3rd, and 4th tendencies combined, affect all vowels in unaccented syllables, and give a general sameness to thin sounds. The 'High-Mixed Wide' vowel (ȝ) is the one to which these tendencies point as the prevailing unaccentual sound."

"The next in frequency are:—the 'high-back-wide' (u), which takes the place of the 'mid-back' vowels (ə, a);—the 'high-front-wide' (i), which takes the place of the 'front' (i, ē);—the 'mid-front-wide' (e), which takes the place of (æ);—and the 'mid-mixed-wide' (ah), which takes the place of (ə). Greater precision is rarely heard, even from careful speakers; but among the vulgar the sound (ȝ) almost represents the vowel-gamut in unaccented syllables.

"The 5th tendency is illustrated in the vulgar pronunciation of unaccented ŏ (in borough, pronounce, geology, philosophy, etc.) as (ə) instead of (o); and the (ə) constantly tends forwards and upwards to (ə, ah, u) and (ȝ).

"The 6th tendency is illustrated in the vulgar pronunciation of the pronouns I and our (ə, ə); in the change of my (mai) into (my) or (mite), when unemphatic; in the regular pronunciation of the terminations -our, -ous (ə, əs); in the change of the diphthong day (de) into (de, di, dy) in Monday, etc.

"The possibility of alphabetically expressing such fluctuations of sound is a new fact in the history of writing. In ordinary 'Visible Speech' printing a standard of pronunciation must, of course, be adopted. Custom is the lawgiver, but the habits of the vulgar are not to be reflected in such a standard. The principle may be safely laid down that the less difference a speaker makes between accented and unaccented syllables—save in quantity—the better is his pronunciation."

From this last principle I dissent altogether. Any attempt to pronounce in accordance with it would be against English usage, and would be considered pedantic, affected, or 'strange,' in even

1 See Buchanan's use of (i) in many unaccented syllables, supra pp. 1053-4.
the best educated society. Mr. Bell ends by referring to a table, which, he says, ‘exhibits the extent to which distinctive sounds for unaccented vowels may be written in accordance with educated usage.’ This table (Vis. Sp. p. 110) says that the following sounds ‘occur only in unaccented syllables, and in colloquial speech.’

(\(u\)) in -tion, -tious, -er | (\(oh\)) in -or, -ward
(\(y\)) in the, -es | (\(\text{'he\}o\})\) in now, out
(\(uh\)) in -ure, -ful | (\(aw\)) in our
(\(oh\)) in -ory

Mr. Bell accordingly consistently carries out these ‘tendencies’ in his Visible Speech examples. I regret to say that I consider them principally theoretical, and that they differ both from my own use and my own observations. Historically of course his 6th tendency, as illustrated, is founded on a mistake, quite parallel to that which declares \(a\) to become \(an\) before a vowel, instead of \(an\) to have become \(a\) before a consonant. It is not the diphthong which has in these cases degenerated into a vowel, but the vowel which in unaccented syllables has developed into a diphthong. But so unfixed are the habits of our pronunciation, that almost any utterance of unaccented syllables would be intelligible; and so dreadfully afraid are many speakers of being classed among the ‘vulgar’ (whom Mr. Bell and most orthoepists condemn, but who, as the Latin vulgus implies, form the staple of speakers), that they become so ‘careful’ as almost to create a spoken as well as a written ‘literary language,’ which is altogether artificial.

To analyse our unaccented sounds is extremely difficult. They are so fleeting and obscure, and so apt, when we attempt to hold them, to alter in character, by involuntary muscular action of the speaker, that even when the observer is the speaker himself, no implicit reliance can be placed on his results. A word dislocated from its context is like a fish out of water, or a flower in an herbarium. In the introduction to the third part of this book (subsequently enlarged and distributed), I proposed certain lists of words containing unaccented syllables, in some faint hope of getting a few answers respecting them. I have received none. I shall therefore endeavour to answer them myself, so far, and so far only, as I believe I do actually pronounce in unaccented speech. Before doing so, I beg to call attention to my radical difference from Mr. Bell in using (\(e, a\)) for his (\(e, a\)); to my omission of the permissive trill in (\(a\)) and consequent substitution of (\(a, u, 'h,'\)), together with my use of a trilled (\(r\)) before vowels in place of his un-trilled (\(r\)), see (1098, be); to my use of the simple jerk (\(n\)) in place of (\(\text{\text{anh, n}l\text{h, ph}}\)); and to my utter disregard for all conventionalities in this attempted photograph. As to the symbol (\(u\)) I do not feel quite sure whether it exactly represents my sound, which however I think is not quite (\(a\)). As a general rule, when (\(a\)) is written, it is supposed to glide on distinctly to the following consonant. When (\(u\)) is used, this is not the case. Hence, in closed syllables, (\(u\)) has the effect of a long unaccented vowel (\(ea\)), and (\(a\)) of a short unaccented vowel. Consequently (\(u\))
answers to the sound which English and American humorists write either a or er unaccented, in an open syllable; and (o) to what they write u in a closed syllable. The exact analysis of the sounds is extremely difficult. The English sound meant is not French e mute, nor is it Icelandic u final, both of which appear to me as (o). But I seem to hear it in the German e final as usually pronounced, when it is not pedantically or locally replaced by (e). And it is probably the same sound as was represented by final e in Old English, (119, e'. 318, a. 678, b). To those who, like Mr. Murray, use (a) in accented syllables, the unaccented sound becomes (o). When, however, as in my own case, the accented sound is already (o), the unaccented decidedly differs from it, and this difference I represent, with considerable hesitation, by (v'). This hesitation arises from my not being satisfactorily conscious of the rising of the back of the tongue in passing from (o) to (v), as in (be-tw) better, and hence the uneasy sense that after all the difference may be merely one of mode of synthesis, dependent on the nature and length of glides. See (1145, e').

I. Terminations involving R, L, M, N.

- and, husband brigand headland midland (mæzbd brì'گnd mæ'dl@nd mi'dl@nd). I doubt as to (un), or (n'), but feel that there is some gliding and very obscure vocalite before (n). Some ‘careful speakers’ might venture on (and) in the last three words, none would do so in the first, ags. husbonda; and yet I think the second vowel differs from the first, and that we do not say (mæzbdn). The final (d) of this word is constantly omitted before a following consonant, as (mæ mæzbdn noz'vz).

-end, dividend legend (d'r'گd@nd le'dzh@nd). Both foreign words. The first from speakers not much used to it, like the second, ends in (-end), those much used to it say (-nd), some may say (-nd), but I think the intermediate (-ynd) more usual. The second, being a ‘book word,’ has quite an artificial pronunciation.

-ond, diamond almond (do'گm@nd). Possibly some say (do'گm@nd), many say (do'm@nd), or even (do'm@n).

-und, rubicund jocund (ru'n@bik@nd dzh@k@nd). Here (an) is distinct, simply because the words are unusual.

-ard, haggard nigglard sluggard reard leopard (mæ'گd ni'گrd sl@'گrd re'm@d le'پ@d). Possibly (-od, ood) may be the real sound. Of course (-ur,d) might be used, but would probably not be recognized, and also (-'rd). But (mæ'گd@, mæ'گrd) would be ridiculous. The glide on to the (d) is short, and hence the preceding vowel has a long effect. Thus (nigf@d) is more like (nigf@d@) than (nigf@dd). This supplies the lost r.

-ord, halbord shepherd (mæ'l@bd@, -b@t, she'پ@d). The aspiration entirely falls away in the second word.

-ance, guidance dependence abundance clearance temperance ignorance resistance (go'گ'd@ns dì@'گ@ns vb@nd@ns klì'گ@ns te'mp@ns i'گ@ns te'پ@@ns). The termination is sometimes affectedly called (-ens), but this sound is more often used for clearness in public speaking, and it appeals to the hearer’s knowledge of spelling. The first word has very frequently (j@), even from young speakers. The (d-rt-, v-) belong to III. Some ‘careful speakers’ will say (i'گ@ns). Observe that (ens), considered as the historical English representative of Latin -antia, would be erroneous in the second and last words, and have no meaning in the first and fourth. ‘Etymological’ pronunciation is all pedantry in English, quite a figment of orthoepists.

-ence, licence confidence dependence patience (la'گ@ns k@'گ@nds dì@f@nd@ns pe'پ@@ns). This termination is absolutely undistinguishable from the last, except in the brains of orthoepists. Some ‘careful speakers,’ however, will give (-ens), some ‘vulgar’ speakers go in for (-ins), and some nondescriptes hover into (-yns).

-some, meddlesome irksome quarrel-
The "ver" in "victuals" appears as a metrical feature, which made me retain it. If I retained "fear" as mine, I would think the same. However, if I habitually say "fear," then the usual sounds are "verdure" and "sured," which are pseud-orthodoxical.

"ture," a creature of furniture venture. My own "-tiit, kritiit" feeatiiit "vortii" vennitiit" with "r" retained when a vowel follows, is feared, pedantically abnormal, although I habitually say so, and "krit, she," feenejashe vaj, she venj, she are the usual sounds. "Verdure" and "sured" are usually all called (voo'd, zha).

-al, cymbal radical logical cynical metrical poetical local medieval linéal victuals (sinibel rae'dikal lo'dzhiikel sin'kiel metrikal pojetikal loc'kel miidjel lra'njul vi'tulz), the words cymbal symbol are identical in sound. Are the pairs of terminations "cal -cle, and -pal -ple," distinguished, compare radical radicle, and principal principal? If not, is "al really "-al" or merely "(l)? I made to think that the distinction is sometimes made, that I make it. But this may be pedantic habit. No one can think much of how he speaks without becoming more or less pedantic, I fear. I think that generally "cal, -pal," are simply "(-k'l, -pl)."

-al, camel pannell apparel (ka'mel pe'nal up'rel). Some may say (epere)

-al, cariol wittol (ka'rol wi'ttol). Some say (kere). The last word being obsolete is also often read (wittol).

-am, madam quondam Olaphom (ma'dem kwa'ondem Kla'phem). Of late, however, shopwomen say (ma'dem) very distinctly. I do not recall having ever heard (Kla'phem) either with (h, xh) or (ae).

-am, freedom seldom fathom venom (fri'dem se'ldem fae'dhum ve'num). Perhaps emphatically (fri'dem) may be heard, but I think that (m) is more usually prolonged.

-an, suburban logian historian Christian metropolitan, and the compounds of man, as woman watchman countryman (subo'ben lo'dzhi'shun xi'stoo'ryun Kri'st,shum me'tropoli'ten, wu'men wo't,shun ko'ntritmen). No one says (wu'men), but (wo't,shman ko'ntritmen) may be heard, as the composition is still felt.

-an, garden children linen woollen (gaa'dun tshi'idrion lir'in wu'lin). Here great arbitrariness prevails. See Smart's Principles, art. 114, who begins by quoting Walker's dictum: "nothing is so vulgar and childish as to hear swivel and heaven with the e distinct, and novel and chicken with the s suppressed," and then observes, "either the remark is a little extravagant, or our prejudices are grown a little more reasonable since it was written," and then adding, "still it is true that we cannot oppose the polite and well-bred in these small matters without some detraction from their favourable opinion; and the inquiry when we are to suppress the vowel in these situations, and when we are not, will deserve the best answer it is capable of," and he proceeds to examine them all. In the mouth of speakers who are not readers, the vowel is suppressed in all words they are in the constant habit of using. In the words learned out of books the vowel is preserved because written. In "polite" and "well-bred" families, the fear of being thought vulgar leads some, (especially the ladies who have been at school,) to speak differently from non-readers, and shew by their pronunciation that shibboleth of education, a knowledge of the current orthography of their language—the rest is all "leather and prunello," for who knows it but word-grubbers? and who are they? are they "polite" and "well-bred"? are they "in society"? Poor Mopsae! they are misled to be as bad as the Docti interdum! Affectation and pedantry are on a par in language.

-on, deacon pardon fashion legion minion occasion passion vocation mention question felon (diir'kn pa'dun fae'shun lir'j6 zen mi'zden oke'ze'zen pe'vshen vo'ke'shem me'nshen ku'er'ston fe'lon), Mr. Bell draws attention to the difference between men shun him and mention him, in the quality of the vowels (m'en shan, me'nshum), in Eng. Vis. Sp. p. 15. Some, not many, say (kew'shem), and fewer still say perhaps (kwes'shan). In felon I hear clear (on).

-orn, eastern cavern (iirsten ke'ven).
But if so, what becomes of the distinction between eastern Easton? It seems quite lost, unless a speaker exaggerates the words into (irsteun lirstann). Having lived for some years in a set of houses called 'Western Villas,' I remember the great difficulty I always had in preventing people from writing 'Weston Villas,' shewing that western Weston were to them the same sounds.

-exagerate into (tayg'ndhaz), the upper figures indicating length, see (1131, d).

-er, robber chamber member render (ro'br t'sheem'mbr mem'bbr re'ndb), unless a vowel follows, when (r) is added.

-or, splendor superior tenor error actor victor (spel'n'du sidji'riju te'nu e're w'k'tnu vi'ktnu). To use (-a) with or without (r) is to me quite strange.

-our, labour neighbour colour favour (lee'br ne'er br'lu lee'ven). Considering that the distinction of spelling in -or, -our is quite arbitrary, any corresponding distinction of sound is out of the question.

-ant, pendant sergeant infant quadrant assistant truant (pe'ndent saa'da'-d'aunt'infant kow'drunt'vat'stant truant'). Truant is dialectally monosyllabic, as (t'aant).

-ent, innocent quiescent president (vin'sent koa'stju'ents prizidunt). I can find no difference between this and the last.

-aney, infamous tenancy constancy (vin'fensi te'nensi ko'nstenensi).

-ency, decrecy tendency currency (di'censty te'densst ko'nstenss). The slightly rarer occurrence of tenency would lead to occasional (te'densst).

-ary, beggary summary granary notary literary (be'gari sa'meri gro'neri noo'turi li'turri). The last word varies, as (li'terri, li'turce're), with a double accent.

-ery, robbery bribery gunnery (ro'beri bro'iburi ga'meri), absolutely the same as the last.

-ory, priory cursory victory history oratory (pro'verri kow'seri vi'k'turi h'sturi o're'turi). Some endeavour to say (vi'ktori ni'stori), and probably succeed while they are thinking of it. In the last word there is often a slight second-ary accent, so that (o're'to'rri) or perhaps

Mr. Bell might say (o'rehtoh'ri) may be heard; and similarly (prije'pa'retro'rri), etc.

-ury, usury luxury (siduz'zeri lo'ks'huri). Such forms as (juwiz'zeri, lo'ksi'uri), or even (juw'zu'zheri lo'kshuri), are pseud-orthoealic.

II. Other Terminations.

-a, sofa idea sirrah (soor'fu o'i'di'ju si'ruv). There is often a difficulty in separating idea from I, dear! (a'i diir), but in dear (diir) there should be a complete monosyllabic diphthong, in idea at most a slur (a'i'dia'-no). The last word is often called (sa'ren). In all these terminations the (-a) recalling a written -er, and hence the supposed vulgarity of adding on an (r),—which in the -er case really occurs euphonically before a following vowel, — 'careful speakers,' and others when they want particularly to call attention to the absence of r, will often use (-ah) or (-aa), as (soor'fah a'i'dia'-ah). This is oratorically permissible (by which I mean, that it is not offensive, unintelligible, or pedantic), and very convenient for giving distinctness. In ordinary speech, however, (-u) is universal.

-ore, -oogh: hero stucco potato tobacco widow yellow fellow sorrow sparrow borough (ni'st'ro sta'ko po'te'j'to tobe'ko wi'do je'lo fe'lo spae'ro bo'ro). Here great varieties occur, but the usual 'educated' pronunciation is (-o); in the last word, however, (-u) is very common, as (bo'reu). I think (a) in (ni'st'ro) is universal; the (u) in (sta'ko), the next word, seems to belong to journeyman plasters. In the three next the well-known (te'ce' bo'ku wi'du), in Ireland (te'ce' wi'di), make (-o) obligatory among the "police" and "well-bred." But (ye'lu fel u) are very common in educated speech, and even (va'res) is heard from older speakers. I don't recollect hearing (sore'), but certainly (spae'ru) may be heard in London.

-ue, -ove: value nephew (va'reli ne'-viu). No educated person says (va'el ne'vi).

-iff, -oek: sheriff bannock haddock paddock (sherif be'nik nae'dak pa'ro'dak), with distinct ending in England, but all end in simple (-a) in Scotland.

-ible, -ibility: possible possibility. I am used to say (po'sebl po'se'bi'li), but the common custom, I think, is (po'sebl, po'se'bi'leti).
-ach, stomach lilach (stəˈmæk ləˈvlək), with distinct (ə), but mantiac (məntˈiæk) preserves (ə). -aye, -ay: preracy policy (prəˈleɪsi pəˈləsi) are my pronunciation, but (pəˈləsi) is, I think, more common. In obstinacy (əˈbstɪni) a slight tendency to secondary accenual force and a reminiscence of distant (əˈbstɪni) often preserves (-eɪs).

-ate, [in nouns] laureate frigate figurative (ləˈærət frɪˈɡeɪt fiˈɡrɪˈret). Usage varies. In frigate the commonness of the word produces (frɪˈɡeɪt); in figurate, its rarity gives (fiˈɡrɪˈret), but (fiˈɡrʊret) would be its natural sound. In verbs, as demonstrate, I usually say (-eɪt, deˈmenstr). Many persons, perhaps most, accentuate (dɪˈməʊnstr). I am accustomed to talk of the (ɪˈləstrətəd nəˈnuːz), the newsboys generally shout out (ɪˈləstrətɪd nəˈnuːz) with a tendency to drop into (ɪˈləstrətˈd). -age, village image manage cabbages marriage (vəˈled zhəˈmed zhəˈmæd, zhəˈmɪd, zhəˈmɜːd, zhəˈmʃəd). Of course (dəˈzəb, shəˈdʒəb) is said before the pause. The vowel is commonly (ə) in all, but I feel a difference in marriage carriage. The (ə) is very common in village cabbages. -age, privilege college (prɪˈvɪld əd zhə, kəˈlɪd, zhə). Some say (-əd zhə); (-əd, zhə) is never heard. Some say (prɪˈvɪld, zhə), apparently to avoid the concurrence of (ə). -ain, -in: certain Latin (səˈetɪn ləˈtən) are, I think, my sounds, but (səˈet nəˈtən) are not uncommon, (səˈet nəˈteɪn) may occasionally be heard. Captain is generally (kæˈpətən), ‘carefully’ (kæˈpəten), ‘vulgarily’ (kəˈpent, n). -ing, a singing, a being (ə siˈqəq, v bɪˈjoʊq). In educated English pronunciation the -ing, either of noun or participle, is distinct (-ɪŋ). Any use of (-ɪn) or distinction of (-ɪn, -ɪq) is provincial or uneducated. -ful, mouthful sorrowful (məˈwʊθfəl səˈruːfəl). Educated speakers rarely seem to fall into (səˈruːfəl). In mouthful the composition is too evident to allow of this, and indeed the word is often made (məˈwʊθfəl). -fy, -ize: terror signify civilize baptize (teˈrəsəˈsiːɡnəˈziː vəˈləzə bæptəˈzər). The final diphthong is quite distinct. -it, -id, -ive, -ish: pulpit rabbit rabid restive parish (pəˈpit rəˈbɪt rəˈbɪd rɛˈstɪv peˈrɪʃ). The (i) is quite unobscured.

-ì, evil devil (iːvˈdl devl). ‘Careful speakers,’ especially clergymen, insist on (iːvˈdl devˈl), pseudo-orthoepeically. -y, -ly, -ty, etc.: mercy truly pity (məˈsə truˈlə piˈti), with unobscured (i). To pronounce (truˈləs) is not now customary, even in biblical reading; and (truˈləs) are mere ‘vulgarsities.’

-mony, harmony matrimony testimony (məˈmenˈtroʊmən tɛˈstɪˌmən). The first word has, perhaps invariably, (-men). In the other two a secondary accent sometimes supervenes, and (-məˈnə, -mənə, -məhˈni, -məhˈni) may be heard, which occasionally even amounts to (-məˈni). -most, hindmost utmost bettermost foremost (həˈrəʊndəst əˈtəməst təˈnuːst). This is, I think, the regular unconscious utterance, but (-moʊst) is occasionally said. The (-məst) is in fact a regular degradation of (-most). -ness, sweetness, etc., (swɪtˌnəz). The (s) generally saves a vowel from degradation, at least with me. Which of the three (-nes, -nis, -nəz) is most common, I do not know.

cous, righteous piteous plenteous (rəˈtʃəs prəˈtʃəz pləˈntʃəz) are, I think, my own ‘careful,’ i.e. rather pedantic, pronunciations. I believe that (rəˈtʃəs, prəˈtʃəs prəˈtʃəˌʃəz prəˈtʃəˌʃəz, pləˈntʃəˌʃəs pləˈntʃəˌʃəz) are more common. These are all orthographical changelings of uncommon words. The first is merely religious now-a-days, with a bastard, or rather a mistaken, French termination.

-ious, precious prodigious (prəˈdʒəs prəˈdrədʒəs). Never divided into (-ɪˈjəs). -ial, -ialty, -iality: official, partial particularity, special specialty (əˈfiʃəl, pəˈʃəl pəˈʃəˌləˈti, speˈʃəl spəˈʃəˌləˌti). All the (ɪˈjəl-) are orthographical products.

-war, forward backward awkward upward downward froward toward towards (faˈwɔrd bəˈkwəd əˈkwəd sˈpəʊd daˈnuːˈnəʊd fəˈrəʊd təˈnuːd təˈdəz). An older pronunciation of (faˈrəd bəˈkwəd əˈkwəd) may be occasionally heard from educated speakers; it is common among the ‘vulgar,’ I have not noticed the omission of (w) in upward downward, or its insertion in the rather unusual words froward toward. The word towards is variously called (təˈdəz, tuˈwədəz), and even (tsəˈwədəz), of which the first is most usual, the second not uncommon, and
The last very rare from educated speakers.

-wife, likewise sidewise (lo'i-kw'iz'iz sa't'dwa'iz's), with distinct diphthong.
   -wife, midwife housewife goodwife. Here orthographical readers say (mi'd-
   wo'if no'wsw'if gw'dwa'if). But (mi'dif) is more common, and no actor
   would speak otherwise in describing Queen Mab, RJ 1, 4, 23 (717, 54).
   The thread-and-needle-case is always called a (nuz'i), and the word (nuzi),
   now spelled kussy, shews the old disuse of (w), and similarly (gw'dif), now written
   goody.

-wall, Greenwich Woolwich Norwich Ipswich (Gri'nid,zh W'u'iid,zh Nor'id,zh
   Ipsid,zh). The last is the local pronuciation, (Ipswít,zh) is merely ortho-
   graphical, and similarly I have heard the Astronomer Royalsay (Gri'nwít,zh).
   Living in the place, no doubt (Gri'n-
   t.d,zh) is an abomination in his ears. Railway porters also are apt to 'corrupt'
   names of places orthographically, as when they call Uttoxeter (Juuto-kste),
   in place of (Y-kstea).

-eth, speaketh (spi'keth). The termina-
   tion having gone out of use, the
   pronunciation is purely orthographical.

-ed, pitted, added (pr'ted pr'tid, a'ded). The -ed is lost in (d, t), except after
   (t, d). What the vowel is, seems to have been a matter of doubt from
   very early times, -i'd, -ed constantly interchanging in MSS. At present
   (-ed, -id, -yd) are heard. Few make the distinction, here given, between
   pitted and pitied.

-es, -s, -z: princes prince's, churches
   church's, paths path's, cloth's clothes,
   wolves (pré-nsez's, tsha-o'tshezs, paahdzs paaths, kloths kloodths, wulvz's).
   The vowel in -es is subject to the same doubt as that in -ed. In the
   genitive path's, I am accustomed to give (ths), in the plural paths, to give
   (-dzha). The plural clothes is unfamiliar to me, and my pronunciation is ortho-
   graphical. In clothes the th is usually omitted, as (kloo'wzs, tloov'wzs).
   The cry (ol tlo! for old clothes! used to be very well known in London fifty years
   ago, and is not yet quite extinct; although the familiar long-bearded Jew, with a
   black bag over his shoulder and a Dutch clock (really a Schwarzwälzer Uhr)
   under his arm, the pendulum separate and held in his hand, while one finger
   moved the hammer which struck the hour, beating a ringing time to his (ol
   tlo! tlo! tlo!), has given place to a
   "card" left in an envelope addressed
   "to the mistress of the house," and
   offering to buy "wardrobes" to any
   extent, "for shipment to the colonies"!

III. Various Initial Syllables.

-a-, with various preceding consonants: among astride alas abuse avert
   advance adapt admire accept affix a v.
   announce append alert alcoye abyss.
   The utmost variety prevails. When
   two pronounced consonants follow, as
   in accept advance admire alcove (aekse'pt
   advan'ns edma'z' ælko'v'), there is
   generally an unobscured (ae). Other-
   wise the ordinary custom is to pro-
   nounce (a, ð), or even ('h) with exces-
   sive brevity and indistinctness, on
   account of the following accent. On
   the other hand, some speakers insist on
   (ah), or even (æ), although for (æ) they
   feel obliged to glide on to the following
   consonant. This is usually done when
   the following consonant is doubled in
   writing, and the pronunciation is then
   orthographical, as in (æms'ũns, æpn'd),
   and in unusual words as (æb')s. But
   (æm'q, 'tmao'q, ahýma'q, æm'q) may
   all be heard. If any one say (e), as
   (æm'q), it is a pure mistake.

-e-, with various preceding consonants:
   elope event emit, beset begin,
   depend debate, despite destroy, precede
   repose. None of these words are of
   Saxon origin, hence varieties of fanciful
   and orthographical pronunciations, as
   (e, ì), and the more usual, but unac-
   knowledged (i). In some cases, as decent
descent dissent, fear of ambiguity will
   lead to (dir'sent dis'sent dis'nt), but the
two last words are usually (dis'nt). In
   emerge immerge, we have occasionally
   (i'ms'mao'dzh i'mmao'dzh), but usually
   (im'sao'dzh) for both. After (r) the (i)
   is predominant. Simple (e) is often
   (ii) or (i), as (ilow'p, ilve'nt), but (i)
   seems easier for English organs at
   present. Many insist on (beset, begin, depend, etc., but this seems to me
   theoretical, though I hear occasionally
   (be-, du-), etc. In despite destroy, the
   (e) preserves the (e) in my mouth, and
   I say (desp'o'í destro'í). In eclipse I
   think I usually keep (e) and say
   (ekli'ps), but cannot be sure of not
   often saying (i)klir'ps).

-bi-, binocular biennial bilingual.
   Here usage varies. Some insist on
   distinct (bë'z), but others use (b) when
   the word has become familiar. Thus
compare/oblige and promote diversion, but occasionally (bo'i) remains, as binary (bo'nturi); compare combine combination (kombin-kombineshen).

di-, direct divide (direct division). The last word has always (di), the first has constantly (da'). The same diversity exists in this word with direct diversion, etc. All these (da') are clearly orthographical.

c-, pro-, etc.: oblige occasion oppose promote produce e, propose (obla:id, zh okeezhum opooz promoot produooz) seem to be my pronunciations, but (a) is sometimes heard in all, and (u) occasionally, as I should be much obliged to you if you would occasionally promote this proposal, (a') should be understood.

to-, to-morrow together (tumo'ro tuge'dha). I have been accustomed to consider these my pronunciations, but suspect that I often fall into (tu-, tu-).

for-, fore-: forbid forgive forego foretell (fabi'd fagi'v foo'go'w foo'te'il). But the two last have frequently simple (fa-).

IV. Unemphatic Words.

These words may become emphatic or receive more or less degrees of force, causing their sound to vary. They have therefore clear forms and obscure forms, and these forms are assumed pretty much at the pleasure of the speaker. The obscurity often amounts to absolute suppression of vocalism. They are here given, in the order of frequency of occurrence, according to Mr. D. Nasmuth (Practical Linguist, English, 1871), who determined this order by actual enumeration in books of exceedingly different character. The clear sound is given first, separated by a (—) from the rest.

and (send—wend, un, n, nh), the (d) is most frequently omitted before a consonant, as bread and milk (bre'demilk). The sound is often so extremely brief that it is recognized by instinct rather than by hearing.

the (dhi—dhí dhy dhj dh dhe dhu dhá). Some speakers always say (dhi) or (dhy), for it is difficult to determine the precise sound. Others use (dhi), and even try to keep (dhi, dhii), before vowels only. In poetry thus (dhi) becomes (dhr) or even (dh). Before consonants some endeavour to use (dhe), but this generally results in (dhu) or (dha), and singers are usually taught to sing (dhaa), precisely as if the word were written ther.

I (a'). In received speech this word does not change in losing force. Whenever of its various sounds a speaker chooses (1100, a') for his normal pronunciation is preserved throughout.

you (jnu—ju, jv, jv). The (j) is not recognized. After (t, d) the (j) often passes into (sh, zh), but this is also not recognized. Both are frequently heard nevertheless.

he (mi—hi i). The (h), which includes (zh, ph), according to the speaker's habits, is constantly lost when he is enclitic.

she (shii—shii shi shii'). The last is frequent in rapid conversation.

it (it). This does not seem to vary, except of course as (-t) when convenient, but even this is rather 'poetical.'

we (wii—wi w). The (w) is never lost.

they (dhee)—(dhe dhe), but not degenerating to (dhu).

have (nay—nay uv v). The (h, hh, nh) is constantly omitted when the word is enclitic, and simple (v) occurs after a vowel.

will (wil—wul w 1). The (l) is frequent after a vowel.

shall (sheal—shl shlb). The last form is frequent.

one (wan—wnn). The degradation into (mn) is not received.

to (tun—tu tu tu). Often extremely short. The pronunciation (too) may be heard from old people and Americans occasionally. The difference between too two is well shewn in such a sentence as: I gave two things to two men, and he gave two, too, to two, too (a') geev tuu-thi'qz tatuu men, unhi-geev tuu-tuu: tatuu-tuuu).

be (bi—bi bi be). The last form is careless.

there (dhee—dhu), before vowels (dheer dher dheer).

a (eir) e nh v. 'Careful speakers' use (e) or (ah), but these sounds are quite theoretical; and (a) or (a) is the only usual sound. Before a vowel (an
unaccented syllables.

Before (u), beginning an unaccented syllable, it is now the fashion to write a, and I suppose to say (eu) or (e'J), but I always use an, and say (a:n) with a secondary accent, not omitting the following (u), but rather gaining a fulcrum for its introduction, as ak histrvkel skO'wnt, aemj/Porya).

my (mO'i—mi), in myself, my lord, always (mi), but otherwise (ma') is constantly preserved pure, (mi) is Irish.

his (hizs, hiz—iz), the (u) commonly lost when enclitic.

our (o'ur, o'ur), preserved pure.

your (juz, juz'—ju, jjer). Although (je) is not unfrequent, it is not recognized.

her (hO'or—u ur). The (u) is dropped constantly in he his him her. their, treated as there.

of (ov—ov u v), the (e) is very common before consonants. Several old speakers still say (ef).

would (wud—w'd d), the last after vowels.

should (shud—sh'd sh'd), the last not very unfrequent.

or (aA Aat or—A Ar u ur), the (r) only before a vowel; the (a) most common, but (u) not unfrequent before a consonant. Similarly for nor.

for (faA faar for—fa fa r fur) treated like or, but (fu fur) are very common.

dh has one dh'it (the demonstrative pronoun is almost distinct, the subordinating conjunction and relative are almost always obscure, as I know that that that man says is not that that one told me (sinor'dh't dh dh'th'it: men see iz-not-dh'at dh'th'itwnt too'w'ldmi).)

on (an), preserved clear.

do (duu—du du o), the last not so rare.

which (whitsh witsh—wh'tsh witsh).

Some speakers always preserve (whitsh), others always preserve (witsh).

who (nuu—nu nu u u), but (u) is rare.

by (bo'), preserved pure, (bu) is hardly in use.

them (dhem—dhym dhum), the last not thought 'elegant.' The (em um) forms are due to the old hem, and are common enough even from educated speakers, but usually disowned.

me (mi—mi mi me), the last is, perhaps, Irish, common in (tuu me from'me with'me) to me, from me, with me, etc.

were (wee', wee'r, wee, wae—we war),

with (with with—wi), generally preserved pure, (with) is heard from older speakers.

into (intu intu—intu into), unemphatically neither syllable receives force.

can (ken—k'n kn), the last forms common.

cannot (kan'at, kaant), kept pure.

from (from—from), often kept pure.

as (azs az—az z), (uz) common, (z) rare.

us (as—as), both common.

sir (se0, soor—sw), and after yes simply (u), as yes sir (j3'su).

madam (mæ'dem—mem mem mim mam mem m'm m). After yes and no the syllable used by servant girls is (or was, for the use is declining) hard to seize. No ma'am is not at all (noo'w'm), but nearer (nom m), the first (m) being short, and the second introduced by a kind of internal decrease of force, which is scarcely well represented by a slur, but I have no sign for it, and so to indicate the dissyllabic character I write helplessly (nom'm, j3'es'm'm). I have not succeeded in uttering the sound except enclitically.

Numerous other peculiarities of modern pronunciation would require careful consideration in a full treatise, which must be passed over at present. The following comparison of Mr. Melville Bell's 'careful' system of unaccented vowels and my own 'colloquial' pronunciation will serve to show perhaps the extreme limits of 'educated' pronunciation. Mr. Bell has divided his words in the usual way, forming an isolated or pada text. I have grouped mine as much as possible into those divisions which the native speaker naturally adopts, and which invariably so much puzzle the foreigner who has learned only from books. This grouping gives therefore a combined or sanhitd text. Mr. Bell's specimen is taken from
pp. 13 and 14 of his 'English Visible Speech' (no date, but subsequent to his larger work, which was published in 1867), as containing his latest views. In transliterating his symbols I retain (\(\tilde{a}\)) for his 'point-glide,' or glide from the vowel to his untrilled (\(r_o\)), see (1098, bc). In diphthongs Mr. Bell's 'glides' are represented by \(i, u\) connected with a vowel bearing an acute accent, as (\(\tilde{a}i, \tilde{u}\)). Mr. Bell's aspirate is represented by (\(\ddot{u}\)), see (1133, b'). It should be remembered that (\(\ddot{a}, \ddot{u}\)) are the capitals of (\(a, e\)), and (\(\ddot{A}, \ddot{E}\)) of (\(A, E\)); that (\(\ddot{a}\)) is the primary and (\(\ddot{u}\)) the secondary accent, both written immediately after the vowel in the accented syllable; and that in connected writing, marks of accent are not distinguished from marks of emphasis. In unconnected writing, like Mr. Bell's, (\(\ddot{a}\)) prefixed marks emphasis. Mr. Bell does not write the accent when it falls on the first syllable of a word, and he writes it in other cases before the initial consonant of the accented syllable, according to his own syllabic theory; but in this transliteration the usual palaeotype customs are of course followed. Mr. Bell has not always been very careful, as it appears to me, in marking quantities, but his quantities are here carefully reproduced. I have not thought it necessary to give the usual spelling, as most of the sentences are very familiar.

**Melville Bell.**

**Miseléniús Sénhténhsyz,**

Mí:sulseenjós S'étensez,

Pro'veibz, etse'teruh.

Ah laadzh de'\(t_j\)−fam.

Ah fái'\(r_j\)−temhpad fěl'o.

What ah fiú'\(r_\ddot{u}\)s te'mhpest.

Ah wái'\(r_\ddot{j}\)−nhe\'ad te't\(\ddot{u}\)u.

Ah r\(\ddot{i}\)−\(r_\ddot{u}\)q stă'bohm d\(ô\)qhi.'

Ah glo\(\ddot{u}\)r\(\ddot{u}\)s nhăr−vest−tăm.

Nā'mbăuz ahNd o\'bdzhekts.

Ah nā'mbăuz ōhV piktshu'hăz.

Koit'\(\ddot{u}\)nz wēts ahNd mē'zhu'hīz.

Dh\(i\)s ůz ahN ii'zi buk tu r\(\ddot{u}\)ıd.

Pliū dőfnht bīt dhy doγ.

Ah pr\(\ddot{y}\)\(\ddot{t}\) lū'ți gōū'ld−fīnhtsh.

Dhy nūnu nhāu'yz ōhV par'ly−mēnht.

Ah pēk ōhV ple'\(r_\ddot{u}\)q kadz.

Ah ke'pītāh kāइnd ōhV wat'shdog.

Ah \(\ddot{v}e't\(\ddot{o}\) piktīũhr\(\ddot{u}\)s\(\ddot{k}\) ōuld nāhuaς.

What ah māhnāũfisenht piu's ōhV wāzāk.

Ould pr\(\ddot{o}\)\(\ddot{vē}\)rbz ahNd wāiz māke'simz.

-AA\(\ddot{u}\)lweez thīqhk bizof jn spīik.

Liist sĕd suunˈnest mënded.

**Alex. J. Ellis.**

**Mı:sulseenjós Sентрenez,**

Pro'veibz, etse'teruv.

Dlāa'dzh de'e'třeːmām.

\(\ddot{p}to\)\(\ddot{r}\)\(\ddot{t}\)emhpad fěl'o.

Whôte fiiu'\(\ddot{n}_{\ddot{u}}\)s te'mmpesť.'

\(\ddot{y}w\)s\(\ddot{e}'\)\(\ddot{r}_{\ddot{i}}nce:\′d tėr'ũv.

\(\ddot{q}r\(\ddot{u}\)\(\ddot{v}\)\(\ddot{r}\)q stō'bohm dōq\(\ddot{u}\)k'i.

\(\ddot{q}g\)łoo'\(r\(\ddot{u}\)r\(\ddot{u}\)s mār\(\ddot{y}\)s\(\ddot{t}\)e'tă'm.'

Nō'mbęz Ńn o'bdzhekts.

\(\ddot{q}n\)ō'\(m\)bęrz ūh pikt'shezs

(\(p\)k't\(\ddot{k}\)\(\ddot{u}\)\(\ddot{z}\), pikt'h\(\ddot{u}\)\(\ddot{h}\)\(\ddot{z}\).)

Koit'\(\ddot{u}\)nz wē'BUTTON mēm'zhezs.

Dhī'si\(z\) emń'i'zi buk tu\(r\(\ddot{u}\)i'd.

Pliū\(\ddot{t}d\)ō\(\ddot{e}:\)\(\ddot{u}\)nt bi'\(t\) dhi\(d\)ō'g.

\(\ddot{q}\) pr\(\ddot{v}\)\(\ddot{t}\)\(\ddot{i}\)l\(\ddot{i}\)l\(\ddot{g}\) oo\(\ddot{w}\)ld'fīnštsh.

Dhī'miūu:nō'\(w\)\(\ddot{u}\)ez vypa'li\(m\) yt.

\(\ddot{q}\)pē'ku\(v\) ple'\(r_\ddot{u}\)q\(\ddot{k}\)a\(\ddot{a}\)\(ż\)\(\ddot{s}\)z.

\(\ddot{q}\)kā'pītāl ko'\(\ddot{d}\)\(\ddot{e}\)ndu\(v\) wō't,shdō'tg.

\(\ddot{q}\)ver'\(\ddot{r}\)\(\ddot{p}\)\(\ddot{t}\)\(\ddot{k}\)\(\ddot{t}\) sh\(\ddot{e}\)\(r\(\ddot{e}\)\(s\)k oo'\(w\)ld no'us.

Whôte māgnāũ\(f\)isent piu's\(v\) sev wōk.

Oo'\(w\)ld pr\(\ddot{o}\)\(\ddot{v}\)\(\ddot{e}\)bfz, unwoo'i'z māke'simzs.

:AA\(\ddot{u}\)lweez thīqhk', bīfoor'\(u\) spīık.'

Liisť séd, suunˈnyst me'ndyd.
Fii God, 'onni dhy Kiq, ahnd duu dhaet dhaht iz ı̇z̊g̊it.
Mën pr̊op̊ou̇'ryyz, bat God dis-p̊ou̇'ryyz.
Faast bând, faast 'faînd.
Wëist noht, wænt noht.
Lëv ahnd ı̇z̊ ı̇z̊ liv.
Ah bëd warkmahn kwö̇r̊elz widh nhîz tuulz.
Fr̊endz ën niid ar fr̊endz ëndii'd.
A'i'd buuth mëiks nii'di 'ëidzh.
Ah blädid nhät mëiks ah bluur̊iî mîq fëis.
Bëťar ah smaal fish dhahn ahn ı̇m̊p̊ ti̇ di̇sh.
Bödëz ohv ah fë'dhər fək tu̇ge'dhər.
Bëťar bi ahlö̇'un dhahn ën bèd kà̊m̊nhp̊hni̇.
What kaanht bi kià̊'ad mast bi endii'ad.
Bi slöu tu pr̊ơ̇mís, bat kwik tu perfor̊m.
K̊o'men senhs gro̊juz ën aal kà̊n̊htr̊, iz.
Tshir̊'fænhnès ahnd gudnèí'tià̊hì ña dhy or̊nahmenhths ohv wòr̊tiā.
Konsi'i'iq faål̊hts iz bät æ'dïq tu dhem.
Kohmaa'nd wase'i£ ëf ju wud kohmaa'ad æ'dhuz.
Poəsivi'r, ahnhs koh'qhkeiž aal ëfifu̇k̊altìiz.
Dàî'yt kià̊'ix mar dhahn dò̊k̊toh̊-riq.
Dìzə́v's sekse's ëf ju wud kohmaa'nd ët.
Det ëz dhy wàsr̊t kà̊ind ohv po'və'ti.
Duu what ju ët, kam what méi.
Wàndz ar liivz, diá̊z ar fr̊u̇u̇ut.
Duu dhañ'stîs, lay mó̊sîs, ëp̊r̊åktîs nhim̊mîlìtîi.
Dó̊gz dhà̊t bhà̊k mó̊st bà̊lt lìıst.
Ì'i vîl kohmùûmkèi' shunz koh̊r̊, apt gud më̊nu̇uz.
E'm̊ti ve'selz méı̊k dhy gréítst sà̊und.
CHAP. XI. § 1. BELL’S AND ELLIS’S PRONUNCIATIONS. 1171

MELVILLE BELL.

Melville Bell.

Misbörťiänz ai dhy di’sipln əhv nhipi’mænə’ti.

Myrťi’d əuvveɪkæmz ðæ’shən moə dha’n sá’lenh.

Nisẹ’stɪ iz dhy məd’hər əhv ɨnveɪn’shən.

Comparison of Melville Bell’s and Alex. J. Ellis’s Pronunciations.

The Parable of the Prodigal Son, which has been already given in Anglo-Saxon p. 534, Icelandic p. 550, Gothic p. 561, and Wycliffite English p. 740, is now annexed for comparison, as transcribed from Mr. M. Bell’s English Visible Speech, p. 10, and as rendered by myself. Mr. Bell’s is intended to represent a model pronunciation, and although the words are disjunct, they are meant to be read together, and the unemphatic monosyllables are treated by him accordingly, as (ah ənhahd əhnd), which, under the emphasis, he would write (ei ənha’d ənd). My pronunciation is such as I should employ naturally if I had to read the passage to a large audience.

The words connected in speech are connected by hyphens, instead of being run together as before, and the force is pointed out in each group. Mr. Bell had used hyphens to separate the syllables, but these are omitted in order not to employ hyphens in different senses in the two versions. Accent and emphasis are written as before, see p. 1168.

Mr. Bell’s glides are indicated by (ai əu ə) as before, and his untrilled (rə) is thus marked.

PARABLE OF THE PRODIGAL SON. LUKE XV. 11—32.

MELVILLE BELL.

11. Ah sər’tyn mən bəhahd təu sənəz:

12. ahd dhy jəq’gər, əhv dhem sed tu nhiz faə’dhəi:

Faa’dhəi, giv mi dhy poə’shən əhv gudz dhaht faa’leth tu mi. əNd mi dəvə’ded an’tu dhem nhiz lə’viq.

13. əNd nət mə’ni dəiz əah’tu, dhy jəq’gər san gə’dhəd ələl təjə’dhəi, ahnd tuk nhiz dzhə:n’i ‘nhtu əh faə kə’nhrə, ahnd dhaə wəs’ted nhiz səb’stəlnih wəd əl’i’təs lə’viq.

14. əNd, when nhı uhahd sənpət ‘ələl, dhuə, ahəʊ’z ah mə’i’ tə fa’mın in dhaet lənd; ahnd nhı bı’gə’n tu bi ‘n wənt.

ALEX. J. ELLIS.

11. ə-see’tyn mən nəd-tuun sənəz:


13. ənd-nə’t me’ni’deez aə’fte, dhu-ə’qə’u’ san gə’dhəd ələl təjə’dhəi, en-tu’k-iz dzhə:n’i iztu-n-faa’ kə’ntrə, en-dhe’e’ wər-sted-iz so’b’təns wəd-hə’r’eto’s lə’viq.

14. ən-whe’n ni-əd-spe’nt ‘ələl, dhu-ərooz v-mə’i’ tə fa’mın in-dha’et lənd, un-ni-bı’gə’n tu-bi-in-wə’nt.
Melville Bell.

15. Ahnd nhi wents ahnd dzho'ind nihimself tu ah si'tizen ohv dhaet kanht'rj, ahnd nhi senth nihm n'ntu nihiz fildz tu fiid swain.

16. Ahnd n'hi wud fein nihav fild nihiz be'l'ii widh dhy nhaaks dhaht dhy swain did iit: ahnd n'ou men geiv anhtu nihim.

17. Aend, when nhi kaim tu nihimself, nhi sed, Hhau me'ni nhaid sorvahnhts ohv mi faa'dhurz nhav brz'ed inai' ahnd tu spek, ahnd ai petish widh nha'qgar.

18. A'i wil ahr'ai'z ahnd gou tu mi faa'dhur, aend wil sei x'ntu nihim, Faad'her, ai nihav sild aghrz'nihst nhe'vnn, send bifor dhii,

19. Ahnd sem n'ou moz waid'hi tu bi kaald dahai san: meik mi ahz waz ohv dhai nhaid sorvahnhts.

20. Ahnd nhi ahr'ou'z, ahnd kaim tu nhiz faa'dhur. Bat, when nhi waz jet oh grt'et wel 'of, nhiz faa'dherz saa nihim, ahnd nhaed kohme'a'shen, ahnd r'sen, ahnd fel ohm nihiz nek, ahnd kist nihim.

21. Ahnd dhy san sed x'ntu nihim, Faad'her, ai nihav sild, aghz'nihst nhe'vnn, send in 'dhai saat, ahnd sem n'ou moz waid'hi tu bi kaald dahai san.

22. Bat dhy faa'dhur sed tu nhiz sorvahnhts, Briq forth dhy best roob, ahnd put it ohn nihim; send put ah r'siq ohn nhiz nhend, ahnd shuuz ohn nihiz fit.

23. Ahnd briq nih'dhur dhy faeted kaaf, ahnd kil it, ahnd let as iit ahnd bi me'ti.

24. Fa dhis mai san woz ded, ahnd iz ahlaiv agh'een; nhi woz lost, ahnd iz faund. Ahnd dhe big'ae n tu bi me'ti.

Alex. J. Ellis.

15. oun-i-we'nt un-dzhoh'i'nd nihimself tu-v-si'tizen ev-dhat ko'ntri, un-i-seunt-im i'ntu-iz-fiildz tu-fii'd soowin.


17. oun-when-i-keem'tu-imself, n'i'sed, Hau me'nino'i'd so'o'vents ev-mi-faa'dhurz ev-bre'd'mof en-tu-spee'; un-o'i' petish widh-nha'qge.

18. oun-when-ihz leek tu-vmi-faa'dhur, un-wil-see'j antu-nihim, Faad'her, o'i-ev'sind unge'nst he'v'n un-bifoo'-dhii',

19. un-em-nova moo' weo'dhi tu bi kaald dha'i-san: meek mi uz-wom-uv-dhoh'ind so'o'vents.


21. oun-dhe-son sed antu-nihim, Faad'her, o'i-ev'sind unge'nst he'v'n, un-in-dhoa'i' so'it, un-em-nova moo' weo'dhi tu-bi-kaa'd dhoa'i-son.


23. oun-briq nih'dhu dhu-fielt ed kaaf, un-kiv'il-it, un-let-us iit un-bi-me'ri.

24. Fa-dhi's mo'i-son wuz ded, en-iz-ool'ive' ge'gen, nii-wuzzoor'c, un-iz-found. oun-dhe-big'ae n tu-bi-me'ri.
MELVILLE BELL.

25. Nāu nūiz r'ldw sn woz ēn dhy fiild, ahnd, ëz nñ kéim ahnd dr,uu nài tu dhy nñâus, nhí nhñârd miú'zík ahnd dâ'ñhñsíq.

26. Ênd nñi kââl dwn ëzh dhy sâr'vahnhts, ahnd aâskt whot dhiiz thíqz menht.

27. Ahnd nñi sed nñhñtâ nhîm, Dhâè br'á'dhwr, īz kâm; ahnd dhâi fàa'dhwr nhňâhz kîld dhy fàêted kaaft, bikáa'z nhí nhññth ñj'sî'v'd nhîm sêîf ahnd sàúnd.


29. Ahnd nhîi, aâ'nhsurñq, sed tu nhûiz fàa'dhwr, Lûû, dhiiz màñ'ñ ëjûü du ái sâr dhi, nñì-dhûi ñrânhñgr, ës't áít ënì tâim dhâi kohmànnmenht: ahnd jêt dhûô nèvèr gèî'vest mîi ah 'kîd, dhâht ái máît mèïk mèîr'j wîdh mî frèn'dz:

30. Ñat ahz suun ahz dhîs dhâi sàn woz kâm, whîts'h nhañthâ divàûr'd dhâi lí'viq wîdh hár'vûts, dhûô nhâhst kîld föh nhûm dhy fàêted 'kâaf.

31. Ahnd nhîi sed nñhñtâ nhîm Sàn, dhâût âût èvèz wîdh mî, ahnd 'àl dhâht ái nhâeî vîz dhiân.

32. Ñt woz miît dhâht wî shud mèïk mèîr'j, ahnd be glàd: föhû dhîs dhâi br'á'dhwr woz dêd, ahnd íz ahlái'y ahgê'n, ând woz lûst ahnd íz fàûnd.

ALEX. J. ELLIS.

25. No'u-iz e'lûs sàn wëz-in dhû-fii'ld, ènd vë'j-keë'm un druu nô'è tu-dhû-hô'w's, nhî-nôo'd miú'zík un dàa'n'síq.

26. Ñn-i-kââl'd wàrn-uv-dhû sàrvènts, un-aâ'skt whot dhiiz thíqz ment.

27. Ñn-i-sè'd-ën-tu-nîm, Dhô'èi brô'dhwr íz-kàm', un-dhô'i-fàa'dhwr vz-kîld dhû-fàêted kaaft, bikáa'z-i nãth rísî'v'd nìm séeë un-sô'ûnd.

28. Ñn-i-wàz ëw'qgrî, un-wü'd -nôt gûn 'ìn: dheè'fà kêm niiz-fàa'dhwr o'ût, un-entr'i'tîl-nîm.

29. Ñn-nîi, aâ'nhsurñq, sed tu-'ïz-fàa'dhwr, Loô'w', dhiiz-mèn'î niîz du-à'ë-sàrv-dhi, nà'ë'dhûi trânsgrë'st së ut-e'nì tö'èm dhô'èi-këmmànn'mënts; un-ët dhô'ù nè've geèrvyst mîi x-kîd, dhût o'ë-môët-mëek-mèr'i wîdh-mi-fë-rëdz:

30. Bot ëz-sûun-ëz 'ûh's dhô'èi-sè'n wëz-kàm', whîts'h-ëth-diù'v'ëd dhô'èi-lí'viq wîdh'màa'lûts, dhô'ù'est kîld ëlà nhûm dhû-fàêtëd 'kàaf.

31. Ñn-i-sè'd-ën tu-nîm, Sàn, dhô'ù'-t ëvrà-wîdh-mî, un'-'àl dhût-o'ë-hàe'v-ëz-dhô'è'n.

32. Ñt-wëz-miît dhût-wi-shëd-mëek-mèr'i un-bí-glaë'd, fa-dhî's dhô'èi brô'dhû wëz-de'd, un-ëz blôi'v eëg'n, un-wëz-loc'est un-ëz-fô're'nd.

ENGLISH SPELLING, PAST AND POSSIBLE.

It is impossible to pass over these specimens of pronunciation without comparing them with orthography, in the spirit of the remarks in Chap. VI., pp. 606-632. Hence I annex the same passage in four different practical orthographies of the xviiith and xixth centuries.
First, after "Barker's Bible," 1611, the date of the Authorized Version, shewing the orthography in which it was presented to the English public.

The full title of this edition is: The HOLY BIBLE, Conteyning the Old Tefta- ment, and the New: Newly translated out of the Originall Tongues: and with the former Translations diligently compared and revised, by his Maiesties Speciall Com- mandement. Appointed to be read in Churches. IMPRINTED at London by Robert Barker, Printer to the Kings most Excellent | Maiestie. | Anno Dom. 1611. | Cum Privilegio.

Large folio, for placing on reading desks in churches. Text in black letter; Chapter headings in Roman type. Supplied words (now usually put in Italic) not distinguished. Press-mark at British Museum (on 11th October, 1873, the date is mentioned, as alterations occasionally occur in these press-marks) 1276, l, 4. 1-2.

Secondly, in "Glossic," the improved form of Glossotype (given on pp. 15, 614), which I presented to the Philological Society on 20 May, 1870, or about a year after Chap. VI. was in type. This paper on "Glossic" is printed in the Philological Transactions for 1870, pp. 89-118, entirely in the Glossic orthography. It is further explained and extended on pp. xiii-xx of the Notice prefixed to the Third Part of the present work, published 13 February, 1871. The principal object which I had in view, was the writing the pronunciation of all English dialects approximatively by one system of spelling founded upon ordinary usages, and for that purpose it will possibly be extensively employed by the English Dialect Society, which the Rev. W. W. Skeat started in May, 1873. What is required for this purpose is more fully considered in § 2, No. 5, and is exemplified in § 2, No. 10. Glossic was further explained before the College of Preceptors (see Educational Times for May, 1870), and the Society of Arts (see their Journal for 22 April, 1870), as a system by which instruction might be advantageously given in teaching children to read, and as a means of avoiding the "spelling difficulty," because writing according to this system, whatever the pronunciation indicated, would be perfectly legible, without previous instruction, to all who could read in our ordinary orthography. This, together with completeness and typographical facility, was the aim of the alterations introduced subsequently to the printing of Chap. VI.

As at present presented, there are only three glossic groups of letters, *uo*, *zh*, with which a reader is not familiar, and of these *zh*, *zh*, have long been used by writers on pronunciation. The first, *uo*, has been employed for short o in wood, o in would, o in woman, and u in put, as suggesting all the four forms, oo, ou, o, u, by a combination, *uo*, which had no other associations in English. The glossic combinations are, then, the Italic letters in:

- short oo in wood, oo in would, o in woman, and u in put, as suggesting all the four forms, oo, ou, o, u, by a combination, *uo*, which had no other associations in English. The glossic combinations are, then, the Italic letters in:
- beet baff bao canl coal cool
- knit net gnat not nut (for foot)
- height foil foul feud — yea way whey — hay
- pea bee, too doe, chest jest, keep gape,—
- fie vie, thin then (for then), seal zeal, rush roushe (for rouge),—
- ring lay, may nay sing—
- peer pair soar poor, pearring peerling soarring moorring—
- diter deterring, star starry, abhor abhorring.
The spelling is not perfect, and, for convenience, combinations rather than separate letters have definite sounds. Thus u in nut has one sound, but the combinations wo, ou, eu, have no trace of this sound. Similarly for h, th, dh, sh, zh, ch, the last combination being indispensable in English. Also r has two senses, according as it comes before a vowel or not, and when it follows ee, ai, oo, ao, it forms the diphthongs in peer pair soar poor, and hence must be doubled in pooring pairing sorrowing mooring, the first r forming part of the combination, and the second the trill, = (piz'-riq psc-'riq soo'-riq puin'-riq). The (i) sounds, as (aa, u) with permissible (r) following, are uniformly written er, when not before a vowel, the r being then untrilled; but as er before a vowel would trill the r, it is necessary to write err in this case, thus ering = (e-riq), but deterring = (diset-riq). In the case of ar, or, I used aar, aur, in the papers cited, but I believe it more consonant with usual habits to employ the same principle of combinational use, and to write star starri ahbor abhorrig = (staar starti aadar aadhtarriq). This, however, has again the very serious disadvantage of employing two signs ar aa', or ar au', for the same sound (aa) or (AA). The whole use of r, in any practical system of spelling, must be a system of compromises. When the trilled r has to be especially noted in unusual places, as in Scotch or provincial pronunciation, r' must be employed, and this sign may be of course always used. The untrilled r should never be used where it may not be followed by a trilled r. If we write soar, it is implied that either (soo') or (soo'r) may be said. Hence it may not be used for the provincial sound of (sooo') or (sow) = so. The obscure unaccented or unemphatic syllables present another difficulty. As all the (n, aa) sounds, where (nr, sar) may be sounded, are sunk into er, I think it best to sink all the (nl, am, um) sounds into el, em, en. But those (a) sounds where (r) may not be sounded, I write a at present, though u would be perhaps better, if it did not unfortunately suggest (iu). Hence the provincial (soo', sow) may be written soa-a, soa-u, or, without a hyphen, soa, soan, on the principle that when several letters come together which might be read as different groups, the two first must be read together, and not the two last; thus sooa = soa-a, and not so-aa. Or, as is best, soah', the h' indicating this sound when forming a diphthong with the preceding letter. This h' replacing (') forms a very important sign in dialectal glossee, and it ought really to replace untrilled r in ordinary glossee spelling. But at present habits are too fixed for such an innovation. It becomes, therefore, necessary to mark accent and emphasis in every word. Hence I use (') for accent, whenever the force does not fall on the first syllable, so that the absence of such mark indicates the stress on the first syllable. This mark is put after a vowel when long, after a diphthong (and hence after the untrilled r in eer', etc.), and after the first consonant following a short vowel. It thus becomes a mark of length, and may be inserted in all accented syllables where it is important to mark the length,—as, in dialects, to distinguish the short sound of aa in kaart had = (kaat had) and not (kaat had), which would be written kaar' had', and are really the sounds heard when kart hard are written with the untrilled r; of course not the sounds of kar' har'd, which = (kar't, har'd). In received English the marking of quantity is not of much consequence, accented ee, ai, oo, au, ao, oo, being received as long, and i, e, a, o, u, oo, as short; and hence the omission of the accent mark is possible. Similarly, when el, em, en, are not obscure, write el', em', en'.

Emphatic monosyllables have (') preceding, as 'dhat dhat 'dhat man sed, 'too too wen, ei 'ei en. The obscure unemphatic form has not been given, except in a, dhí for the articles. How far the use of such changing forms is practicable in writing cannot be determined at present. Phonetic spellers generally preserve the clear forms, just as children are taught to read a as aand and a dog, dhée woom-an sau dhee, = (ee man and ee dog, dhii wi'san waa dhii), instead of (waaen wondog, dhooman waa dhii). All these points are niceties which the rough usage of every-day life would neglect, but which the proposer of a system of spelling, founded in any degree on pronunciation, has to bear in mind. As pointed out before (630, be), even extremely different usages would not impair legibility.
Thirdly, Mr. Danby P. Fry has, at my request, furnished me with a transcription of the same passage into that improved system of English spelling which forms the subject of his paper in the Philological Transactions for 1870, pp. 17-88, to which I must refer for a detailed account of the principles upon which it is constructed. The following abstract has been furnished by Mr. Fry in his own orthography.

Explanatory Notes.
Words derived directly from Latin, Greek, or Hebrew, rightly follow dhe etymological spelling. In such words, dhe question iz not az to dhe orthography, but az to dhe pronunciation.

Words borrowed from living tongues cum into English in dheir nativ dress, and continue to wear it until dhey ar naturalized.

In menny English words, in which dhe spelling differs from dhe pronunciation, dhe preliminary question arizes, which shuld be altered,—dhe spelling or dhe pronunciation? In dhe following specimen this question iz raized raadher dhan determined. Dhe italics suggest it in certain words. Ought not dhe correct, which iz stil dhe provincial pronunciation to be restored to such words az one, two, answer, son? Az to dhe last, compare dhe English widh dhe German:

dhe son  der sohn
dhe sun  die sonne.

With respect to aa, menny persons say ans’er, dancing, last, insted ov aans’er, daancing, laast; while dhe provincial pronunciation ov fauder iz fauderiz.

Dhe digraph dh iz uzed for dhe flat sound ov th, az in them; for az th iz to t, so iz dh to d; e.g. tin, thin; den, dhen. A new letter iz needed for dhe sound ov ng in long; and dhe want ov it necessitates dhe clumsy-looking combination ngg for dhe sound herd in longer. Dhe smaal capital v denotes dhe short sound ov oo, az in good (gud); dhe long sound, az in food, being expressed by oo.

Dhe general rule in English spelling, dhat a monosyllabel shal not end widh a double (or dubbel) consonant, iz made universal. Hence, fel, nek, insted ov fell, neck. Dhe letter v iz delt widh like enny uder consonant; so dhat it iz dubbeled where enny uder consonant wuld be dubbeled, and iz allowed to end a word, widhout being followed by a servile or silent e; az have, havving; lie, livving. Dhe rules which ar followed in vowel-spelling will be obvious on inspection: dhus, for example, it will be seen dhat a long vowel iz denoted by a digraph, and a short vowel by a singul letter, in a monosyallabel; and dhat in an accentd syllable, where dhe vowel iz short, dhe following consonant iz dubbeled, but not where it iz long. An aspire digraph servs dhe same purpose az a dubbeled consonant in this respect.

Where, however, in dhe present spelling, dhe servile e iz uzed to denote a long vowel, dhat practice iz not altered; az, arise, arose.

Dhe flat consonants ar generally indicd, not only in dh for th (gadher for gather), but in v for f (ov for of), and in s for s (as for as; iz for iz); but no variation iz made in inflexions, so dhat s remains unaltered in words like has, his, years.

Dhe digraph gh iz retained, when it iz not preceded by v, az in might; but when it iz preceded by v widh dhe sound ov f, gh iz omitted, and dhe present pronunciation iz expressed, az in emuf. Generally, etymological silent consonants ar retained when dheir silence can be determined by “rules ov position.”

No attempt iz made to denote accent, except in dhe instance ov dubbling dhe consonant after an accented short vowel.

Fourthly, Mr. E. Jones, whose efforts to improve our orthography are mentioned above (p. 590, note 1, and p. 591, note 2), and also in my paper on Glossic (Philol. Trans. p. 105, note 3, and text, p. 106), has been good enough to transcribe the same passage in the orthography which he at present recommends. I gladly give insertion to the following condensed statement of “principles furnished by himself.
Analogic Spelling by E. Jones.

Object.—To reduce the difficulties of spelling to a minimum, with the least possible deviation from the current orthography.

Uses.—1. Immediate. To assist children, ignorant adults, and foreigners, in learning to read books in the present spelling; and also for writing purposes by the same, concurrently with the present system.

2. Ultimate. To supersede, gradually, as the public may feel disposed, the present spelling.

Means.—Allow books in the Revised Spelling to be used in the National Schools, which would serve the double purpose of being the best means of teaching reading to children, and also of familiarising the rising generation with the appearance of the new spelling, in the same manner as the Metric System is now exhibited in the National Schools.

General Notes.

1. It is assumed that the object of spelling, or writing, is to express by letters, the sounds of words.

2. In order to disarm prejudice, and to facilitate the transition from the new spelling to the old in reading, it is desirable to make the difference between the one and the other as little as possible.

3. To do this the following general principle will serve as a safe guide.

Use every letter, and combination of letters, in their most common power in the present spelling.

The adoption of this rule settles clearly the point as between the retention of ‘c’ and ‘k’ for the hard guttural sound. ‘C’ in its hard sound occurs about twelve times as often as ‘k’ for the same sound, and six times as often as ‘k,’ ‘q,’ and ‘x’ together. In the following alphabet, therefore, ‘k,’ ‘q,’ and ‘x’ are rejected, and ‘c’ is called cay.

Again, in a still more decided proportion, the question as to the use of the digraph “th,” for the hard or the flat sound in this and thin, is settled by the fact that “th” represents the flat sound about twenty times as often as the sharp sound. “Th” as in thin is indicated by Italics.

The long ah as in “alms” and u in “put” are the only vowels for which no provision is made in the common mode of representing the vowel-sounds at present. These sounds however occur very rarely and in very few words, they are marked respectively thus: alms = ânz, put = put.

The Alphabet.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
a, â, ai, au, b, c, ch,
mat, alms, maid, laud, bed, cat, chip,

8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15
d, e, ee, f, g, h, i, ie,
dog, met, meet, fan, go, hay, pin, pies,

16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23
j, l, m, n, ng, o, oe, oi,
jet, lad, mat, nut, sing, not, foes, oil,

24 25 26 27 28 29 30
oo, ou, p, r, s, sh, t,
food, out, pen, run, sit, ship, ten,

31 32 33 34 35 36
th, û, u, ue, ü, v,
then, thin, tun, hue, bull, van,

37 38 39 40
w, y, z, zh.
ward, yard, zeal, vision.

Note.—At the end of words y un-accented = i, and accented = ie. Also at the end of words ow = ou and au = au. This simple rule obviates the changing of thousands of the most common words. The little words, ‘be,’ ‘me’; ‘go,’ ‘no,’ etc., are used for the theoretical, ‘bee,’ ‘mee’; ‘goe,’ ‘noe.’

Pronunciation.

As the pronunciation varies considerably even among educated people, the rule is followed here of inclining to the pronunciation indicated by the present spelling, and no attempt is made at extreme refinements of pronunciation. The proportion of words changed in spelling, in the example given below, is about 1 in 3, or say 30 per cent. Children might be taught on this plan to read in a few lessons, and the transition to the present spelling would be very easy.
Parable of the Prodigal Son, Luke xv. 11—32.

Barker's Bible, 1611.

11. A certaine man had two fonnes:
   12. And the yonger of them said to his father, Father, give me the portion of goods that faileth to me. And he diuided vnto them his liuing.
   13. And not many daies after, the yonger fonne gathered all together, and took his iourney into a farre countrey, and there waisted his substance with riotous liuing.
   14. And when he had spent all, there arofe a mighty famine in that land, and he began to bee in want.
   15. And he went and joyned himselfe to a citizen of that countrey, and he sent him into his fields to feed swine.
   16. And he would faine haue filled his belly with the huskes that the swine did eate: and no man gaue vnto him.
   17. And when hee came to himselfe, hee fai'd, How many hired seruants of my fathers haue bread ynough and to spare, and I perish with hunger?
   18. I will arise and goe to my father, and will say vnto him, Father, I haue finned against heauen and before thee.
   19. And am no more worthy to bee called thy fonne: make me as one of thy hired seruants.
   20. And he arofe and came to his father. But when hee was yet a great way off, his father saw him, and had compasion, and ranne, and fell on his necke, and kissed him.
   21. And the fonne said vnto him, Father, I haue finned against heauen, and in thy sight, and am no more worthy to be called thy fonne.

Glossic Orthography.

11. A serten man had 'too sunz:
   12. And dhi yungger ov dhem sed too hiz faadher, Faadher, giv mee dhi porshen ov guodz dhat fauleth too mee. And hee di-ve идеd untoo dhem hiz living.
   13. And not meni daiz aafter, dhi yungger sun gadherd aul tooged и' rer, and tuok hiz jurni into a far kuntri, and dhair waisted hiz substans widh reitus living.
   14. And when hee had spent aul, dhi aroа'z a meiti famin in 'dhat land, and hee bigan' too bee in wont.
   15. And hee went and joiind himse'lф too a sitizen ov 'dhat kuntri, and hee sent him into hiz feeldz too feed swein.
   16. And hee wuod fain hav fild hiz beli widh dhi husks dhat dhi swein did eet: and noa man gav untoo hime.
   17. And when hee kaim too himse'lф, hee sed, Hou meni heird servents ov mei faadherz hav bred enurф and too spair, and ei perish widh hungger!
   18. Ei wil ar'e'z, and goa too mei faadher, and wil sai untoo him, Faadher, ei hav sind aжен' ст hevn and bipoа' dhee,
   19. And am noa moar werdхи too bee kauld dhei sun: maik mee az wun ov dhei heird servents.
   20. And hie aroа'z and kaim too hiz faadher. But when hie woz yet a grait wai of, hiz faadher sau him, and had kom-пa'shun, and ran, and fel on hiz nek, and kist him.
   21. And dhi sun sed untoo him, Faadher, ei hav sind aжен' ст hevn, and in dhei seгt, and am noa moar werdхи too bee kauld dhei sun.

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11. And he said, A certain man had two sons:

12. And the younger of them said to his father, Father, give me the portion of goods that fauleth to me. And he divided unto them his living.

13. And not many days after the younger son girded his loins together, and took his journey into a far country, and there waisted his substance with riotous living.

14. And when he had spent all, there arose a mighty famine in that land; and he began to be in want.

15. And he went and joined himself to a citizen of that country; and he sent him into his fields to feed swine.

16. And he would fain have filled his belly with husks that the swine did eat: and no man gave unto him.

17. And when he came to himself, he said, How many hired servants of my father’s have bred enuf and to spare, and I perish with hunger!

18. I will arise and go to my father, and will say unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven, and before thee,

19. And am no more worthy to be called thy son: make me as one of thy hired servants.

20. And he arose, and came to his father. But when he was yet a great way off, his father saw him, and had compassion, and ran, and fell on his neck, and kissed him.

21. And the son said unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven and in thy sight, and am no more worthy to be called thy son.

E. JONES.

11. And he said, A certain man had too sunz:

12. And the yunger ov them said to hiz father, Father, giv me the porshon ov goodz that fauleth to me. And he divided unto them hiz living.

13. And not meny daiz after the yunger sun gatherd aul together, and tooch hiz jurny into a far cuntry, and thair waisted hiz substans with rieotus living.

14. And when he had spent aul, thair aroez a miety famin in that land; and he began to be in wont.

15. And he went and joined himself to a sitizen ov that cuntry; and he sent him into hiz feeldz to feed swien.

16. And he wud fain hav fild hiz bely with the huses that the swien did eet: and no man gav unto him.

17. And when he caim to himself, he said, How meny hied servants ov my father’s hav bred enuf and to spair, and I perish with hunger!

18. I wil ariez and go to my father, and wil say unto him, Father, I hav sinned against heven and befuer thee,

19. And am no moer wurthy to be cauld thy sun: maic me az won ov thy hierd servants.

20. And he aroez, and caim to hiz father. But when he woz yet a grait way of, hiz father saw him, and had compashon, and ran, and fel on hiz nec, and cist hiz.

21. And the sun said unto him, Father, I hav sinned against heven, and in thy siet, and am no moer wurthy to be cauld thy sun.
22. But the father said to his servants, Bring forth the best robe, and put it on him, and put a ring on his hand, and shooes on his feet.
23. And bring hither the fatted calfe, and kill it, and let vs eate and be merry.
24. For this my fonne was dead, and is aline againe; he was loft, & is found. And they began to be merry.
25. Now his elder fonne was in the field, and as he came and drew nigh to the house, he heard musicke & dauncing,
26. And he called one of the fervants, and akyd what thefe things meant.
27. And he faid vnto him Thy brother is come, and thy father hath killed the fatted calfe, becaufe he hath received him safe and found.
28. And he was angry, and would not goe in: therefore came his father out, and in-treated him.
29. And he anfwering faid to his father, Loe, thefe many yeeres doe I ferue thee, neither transgreffed I at any time thy commandement, and yet thou never gaueft me a kidde, that I might make merry with my friends:
30. But as fonne as this thy fonne was come, which hath deuoured thy lining with har-lots, thou haft killed for him the fatted calfe.
31. And he faid vnto him, Sonne, thou art euer with mee, and all that I have is thine.
32. It was meeke that wee should make merry, and bee glad; for this thy brother was dead, and is alione againe; and was loft, and is found.

Glossic Orthography.
22. But dhi faadher sed too hiz fervents, Bring foarth dhi best roab, and puot it on him, and puot a ring on hiz hand, and shoov on hiz feet.
23. And bring hidher dhi fated kaaf, and kil it, and let us eet and bee meri.
24. For dhi mei sun woz ded, and iz alei-v agen', hee woz lost, and iz found. And dhai bigan' too bee meri.
25. Now hiz elder sun woz in dhi feeld, and az hee kaim and droo nei too dhi hous, hee herd meuzik and daansing.
26. And hee kauled wun ov dhi servents and aakt whot dheez thingz ment.
27. And hee sed untoo him, Dhei brudher iz kem, and dhei faadher hath kild dhi fated kaaf, bikau'z hee hath riise-vd him saif and sound.
29. And hee aanswering sed too hiz faadher, Loa dheez meni yeerz doo ei serv dhee, neidher transgrest ei at eni teim dhei komaa'-ndment; and yet dhou never gaivest mee a kid, dhat ei meit maik meri widh mei fremdz;
30. But az soon az dhis dhei sun woz kem, which hath divour'd dhei living widh haarluts, dhou hast kild for him dhi fated kaaf.
31. And hee sed untoo him, Sun, dhou art ever widh mee, and aul dhat ei hav iz dhein.
32. It woz meet dhat wee shuod maik meri and bee glad, for dhis dhei brudher woz ded, and iz alei-v agen'; and woz lost, and iz found.
Danby P. Fry.

22. But dhe faadher said to his servants, Bring forth dhe best robe, and put it on him; and put a ring on his hand, and shoe on his feet:

23. And bring hidher dhe fatted caalf, and kil it: and let us eat and be merry:

24. For dhis my son waz ded, and iz alive again; he waz lost, and iz found. And dhey began to be merry.

25. Now his elder son waz in dhe feeld: and az he came and drew nigh to dhe hous, he herd music and daansing.

26. And he cauled one ov dhe servants, and aasked what dheze things ment.

27. And he said unto him, Dhy bruther iz cum; and dhy faadher hath killed dhe fatted caalf, because he hath receeved him safe and sound.

28. And he waz anggry, and wuld not go in: dherefore came his faadher out, and entreated him.

29. And he answeering said to his faadher, Lo, dheze menny years doo I serv dhe, neidher transgress I at enny time dhy commandment: and yet dhow neever gavest me a kid, dhat I might make merry widh my frends:

30. But az soon az dhis dhy son waz cum, which hath devoured dhy livving widh harlots, dhow hast killed for him dhe fatted caalf.

31. And he said unto him, Son, dhow art ever widh me, and aul dhat I hav iz dhine.

32. It waz meet dhat we shuld make merry, and be glad: for dhis dhy bruther waz ded, and iz alive again; and waz lost, and iz found.

E. Jones.

22. But the father said to his servants, Bring forth the best robe, and put it on him; and put a ring on his hand, and shoe on his feet:

23. And bring hither the fattened calf, and kill it; and let us eat and be merry:

24. For this my son was dead, and is alive again; he was lost, and is found. And they began to be merry.

25. Now his elder son was in the field; and as he came and drew near to the house, he heard music and dancing.

26. And he could won ov the servants, and asked what theez thingz ment.

27. And he said unto him, Thy brother is cum; and thy father hath cild the fattened calf, because he hath receeved him safe and sound.

28. And he was angry, and would not go in; therefore came his father out and intreated him.

29. And he answering said to his father, Lo theez meny yeerz doo I serv thee, neether transgress I at eny tiem thy commandment; and yet thou never gavest me a cild, that I might make merry with my frends:

30. But az soon az this thy sun woz cum, which hath devoured thy living with harlots, thou hast cild for him the fattened calf.

31. And he said unto him, Sun, thou art ever with me, and aul that I hav iz thien.

32. It was meet that we should make merry, and be glad: for this thy brother was dead, and is alive again: and was lost, and is found.
The reader will, I trust, excuse me for preserving in this book a record of those early phonetic attempts to which the book itself is due. Mr. Isaac Pitman of Bath, the inventor of Phonography, or a peculiar kind of English shorthand founded upon phonetic spelling, in his *Phonotypic Journal*, for January, 1843, started the notion of Phonotypy or Phonetic Printing for general English use. In the course of that year my attention was drawn to his attempt, and I entered into a correspondence with him, which resulted in the concoction of various schemes of phonetic printing, for which types were cast, so that they could be actually used, and specimens were printed in the *Phonotypic Journal*, beginning with January, 1844, till by December, 1846, we considered that a practical alphabet had been reached. It was in this Journal that I commenced my phonetic studies, and for one year, 1848, I conducted it myself.

1 See *suprà* p. 607.
2 The following list of the principal phonetic essays which I published in this Journal will shew the slow and painful process by which I acquired the knowledge of speech-sounds necessary for the compilation of the present work. They form but a small part of the whole work, or even of my whole writings on this subject, and the titles are merely preserved as indications of *ineunábula*.

1844.
On the letter R, pp. 5-12.
On Syllabication and the Indistinct Vowel, pp. 33-43.
Ambiguities of Language, pp. 71-73.
Unstable Combinations, pp. 74-76.
What an Alphabet should be (a translated account of Volney's *L'Alphabet Européen appliqué aux Langues Asiatiques*, with explanations), pp. 106-114.
Phonetic Literature (an account of the principal grammars, dictionaries, and miscellaneous treatises containing more or less extensive essays on phonetics and English alphabets; it is very incomplete), pp. 133-144, 322-329.
Phonotypic Suggestions, pp. 201-204.
A Key to Phonotypy or printing by sound, pp. 265-279.
The Alphabet of Nature, part I. Analysis of Spoken Sounds, pp. 1-128, forming a supplement from June to December, 1844.

1845.
On the Vowel Notation, pp. 10-19.

On the Natural Vowel, a paper by Mr. Danby P. Fry, (whose present views on orthography have just been illustrated,) printed phonetically, pp. 59-62, with remarks by A. J. Ellis, pp. 62-66.
1846 (all printed phonotypically).
Remarks on the New English Phonotypic Alphabet, pp. 4-12.
On Phonetic Spelling, pp. 124-128.
Practical Form of Phonotypy, pp. 171-174.
Far, For, Fur, pp. 305-308.
1847.
In May, this year, a vote of those interested in phonotypy was taken on the Alphabet, and results are given in an appendix, between pp. 148 and 149.
1848 (Phonetic Journal).
Origin and Use of the Phonetic Alphabet, pp. 4-31.
Tam o' Shanter, printed in phonotypy, from the writing of Mr. Laing, of Kilmarnock, with glossary, pp. 145-152, with remarks on Scotch Pronunciation by Prof. Gregory, Carstairs Douglas, Laing and myself, p. 198, 227-229, 276-282, being the first attempt at a stricter phonetic representation of dialectal pronunciation.

On 1st September, 1848, I published my "**Essentials of Phonetics. In lieu of a Second Edition of the Alphabet of Nature.**" It was printed entirely in the 1846 Alphabet.
under the changed name of the *Phonetic Journal*. In 1849 I abandoned it for the weekly phonetic newspaper called the *Phonetic News*, and at the close of that year my health gave way altogether, so that for some years I was unable to prosecute any studies, and phonetic investigations were peculiarly trying to me. Mr. Pitman, however, revived the *Journal*, and, in various forms, has continued its publication to the present day. He became dissatisfied with the forms of type to which we had agreed in 1846, and, notwithstanding a large amount of literature printed in them, he continued to make alterations, with the view of amending. Even in 1873 theoretical considerations lead me to suppose that his alphabet may be further changed, although Mr. Pitman himself expresses much faith in the stability of his present results.

The following is a comparative view of palaeotype, glossic, the 1846 and 1873 alphabets, in the order used for 1846, with the Parable of the Prodigal Son, shewing in parallel columns the 1846 and 1873 forms of phonotypy. Mr. Isaac Pitman has kindly lent me the types for this purpose. One letter only, that for (dh), which appears in the alphabetic key in its 1846 form, has been printed in the 1873 form in the specimen, on account of want of the old form in stock; as will be seen by the key, however, the difference is very minute. The spelling in the 1846 alphabet precisely follows the phonetic orthography of the second edition of the New Testament which I printed and published in 1849, and exhibits the phonetic compromises which I made at that date. The column dated 1873 follows Mr. I. Pitman’s present system of spelling, and has been furnished by himself.

**Key to Pitman’s and Ellis’s Phonotypy, 1846 and 1873.**

<table>
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Parable of the Prodigal Son, Luke xv. 11-32.

ALEX. J. ELLIS, 1849.

11 And he sed, A serten man had tū sunz:
12 And de yunger ov dem sed tu hiz fader, Fader, giv me de porf on ov gadz dat folet tu mi. And he divjed untu dem hiz liviŋ.
13 And hot meni dez after, de yunger sun gaderd el tugęder, and tuc hiz jurni intu a fqr cunti, and dar wasted hiz substans wid rjutus liviŋ.
14 And hwen he had spent ol, dar aróz a miţi famin in dät land; and he begán tu be in wont.
15 And he went and joint him-sel fy tu a sitiz’ov dät cunti; and he sent him intu hiz feldz tu féd swin.
16 And he wūd fan hav fild hiz beli wid de huses dat de swin did et: and no man gav untu him.
17 And hwen he cam tu him-sel fy, he sed: Hs meni hjrd servants ov mj faderz hav bred snuf and tu spar, and i perif wid hunger!
18 If wil arız and go tu mj fader, and wil sa untu him, Fader, i hav sind agénst hev’n and befór dé.
19 And am no mor wurdí tu be cold dj sun: mac me az wun ov dj hjrd servants.
20 And he aróz, and cam tu hiz fader. But hwen he woz yet a grat wa of, hiz fader so him, and had compafun, and ran, and fel on hiz nec, and cist him.
21 And de sun sed untu him, Fader, i hav sind agénst hev’n, and in dj sit, and am no mor wurdí tu be cold dj sun.
22 But de fader sed tu hiz servants, Brii fort de best rob, and put it on him; and put a rij on hiz hand, and fuz on hiz fet:
23 And brii hider de fated eft, and cil it; and let us et, and be meri:
24 For dis mj sun woz ded, and iz aliy agén; he woz lest, and iz fsnđ. And da begán tu be meri.
25 N’s hiz elder sun woz in de feld: and az he cam and dru nj

ISAAC PITMAN, 1873.

11 And hi sed, A serten man had tū swnz:
12 And de ysgger ov dem sed tu hiz fader, Fader, giv mi de porf on ov gadz dat folet tu mi. And hi divjed sntu dem hiz liviŋ.
13 And not meni dez after, de ysgger ssn gaderd ol tugęder, and tuk hiz jurni intu a far ksntri, and der wested hiz sbstans wid rjtus liviŋ.
14 And when hi had spent ol, der aroz a miţi famin in dät land; and hi began tu bi in wont.
15 And hi went and joint him-sel fy tu a sitiz ov dät ksntri; and hi sent him intu hiz fildz tu fíd swin.
16 And hi wud fen hav fild hiz beli wid de hvesks dat de swin did it: and no man gev sntu him.
17 And when hi kem tu him-sel fy, hi sed, Hou meni hjrd servants ov mj faderz hav bred enst and tu spér, and i perif wid hangęr!
18 If wil arız and go tu mj fader, and wil sa sntu him, Fader, i hav sind agenst heven and befér dé.
19 And am no mor wsrđi tu bi kold dj swn: mek mi az swn ov dj hjrd servants.
20 And hi aroz, and kem tu hiz fader. Bst when hi woz yet a gret we of, hiz fader so him, and had kompanon, and ran, and fel on hiz nèk, and kist him.
21 And de swn sed sntu him, Fader, i hav sind agenst heven, and in dj sit, and am no mor wsrđi tu bi kold dj swn.
22 Bst de fader sed tu hiz servants, Brii forf de best rob, and put it on him; and put a rij on hiz hand, and fuz on hiz fıt:
23 And brii hider de fated keft, and kil it; and let us it, and bi meri:
24 For dis mj swn woz ded, and iz aliy agen; hi woz lest, and iz fnd. And de began tu bi meri.
25 Nou hi elder swn woz in de fild: and az hi kem and dru nj
ALEX. J. ELLIS, 1849.

"Tu de hys, he herd muzik and dansin."

26 And he cold wyn ov de servants, and qset hwot de tinj ment.
27 And he sed untu him, di bruder iz cum; and di fader hat cild de fated caf, becez he hat resved him saf and synd.

28 And he woz apgri, and wud not go in: derfor cam hiz fader st, and intrited him.
29 And he ansersj sed tu hiz fader, Lo, dez meni yerz duj i serv de, neder transgreést i at eni tij di comqndment: and yet di never gavest me a cid, dat i mjt mac meri wid mj friendz:
30 But az sun az dis di sun woz cum, hwiq hat devoard di livin wid harluts, ds hast cild for him de fated caf.
31 And he sed untu him, Sun, ds qrt ever wid me, and ol dat i hav iz djn.
32 It woz met dat we sad mac meri, and be glad: fer dis di bruder woz ded, and iz alvj ogen; and woz lost, and iz fsnd.

Isaac Pitman, 1873.

"Tu de hous, hi herd muzik and dansin."

26 And hi kold wyn ov de servants, and askt what diz tinj ment.
27 And hi sed untu him, di bruder iz ksm, and di fader hat kild de fated kaf, bekoz hi hat resived him saf and sound.
28 And hi woz apgri, and wud not go ov: derfor kem hiz fader out, and intrited him.
29 And hi ansersj sed tu hiz fader, Lo, diz meni yerz duj i serv di, nijder transgreést i at eni tij di kommandment: and yet dou never gevest mi a kid, dat i mjtmek meri wid mj friendz:
30 But az sun az dis di sun woz ksm, whiq hat devourd di livin wid harluts, dou hast kild for him de fated kaf.
31 And hi sed untu him, Ssn, dou art ever wid mi, and ol dat i hav iz djn.
32 It woz mit dat wi sad mek meri, and bi glad: fer dis di bruder woz ded, and iz alvj agen; and woz lost, and iz found.

Other fancy orthographies, which have not been advocated before the Philological Society, or seriously advanced for use, or phonetic spellings requiring new letters, are not given. A revision of our orthography is probably imminent, but no principles for altering it are yet settled. I have already expressed my convictions (p. 631); but, as shewn by the above specimen of Glossic, I know that the phonetic feeling is at present far too small for us to look forward to anything like a perfect phonetic representation. We are indeed a long way off from being able to give one, as already seen by the contrast of the pronunciations given by Mr. Bell and myself, and as will appear still more clearly presently. But more than this, we are still a long way from having any clear notion of how much should or could be practically attempted, if we had a sufficient phonetic knowledge to start with. And my personal experience goes to shew that very few people of education in this country have as yet the remotest conception of what is meant by a style of spelling which shall consistently indicate pronunciation. I have found many such writers commit the most absurd blunders when they attempt an orthography of their own, and shew a wonderful incapacity in handling such a simple tool as Glossic.

Dr. Donders, writing in a language which has recently reformed its orthography, chiefly in a phonetic direction, whose reformed orthography, as we have seen (1114, c), requires curious rules of
combination thoroughly to understand, justly says: "The knowledge of the mechanism and nature of speech-sounds preserves them for posterity, and is the foundation of a phonetic system of writing, which is less adapted for ordinary use, but is of priceless value for writing down newly heard languages, and indispensable for comparative philology." (De kennis van 't mechanisme en den aard der spraakklanken bewaart ze voor het nageslacht, en is de grondslag eener phonetische schrijfwij, die voor 't gewone gebruik minder doelmatig, maar bij het opschrijven van nieuw gehoorde talen van onschattbare waarde en voor vergelijkende taalstudie onontbeerlijk is. Concluding words of: De physiologie der Spraakklanken, p. 24).

Careful Transcripts of Actual Pronunciation by Haldeman, Ellis, Sweet, and Smart.

The above examples are, however, quite insufficient to shew actual differences of usage, as they are confined to two observers, the varieties of spelling used by Mr. Fry and Mr. Jones not being sufficient to mark varieties of pronunciation, and the phonotyyp of 1849 and 1873 purposely avoiding the points in question. It seemed, therefore, necessary to obtain careful transcripts of some individualities of pronunciation. General usage is after all only an abstraction from concrete usage, and although in phonetic writing, such as we have dealt with in preceding chapters, only rude approximations were attempted, it is certainly advisable to ascertain to some extent the degrees of difference which such approximations imply. There are, however, very few persons who are at all capable of undertaking such an analysis of their own or other person's habits.

Prof. Haldeman.

Mr. S. S. Haldeman, of Columbia, Professor of Comparative Philology in the University of Pennsylvania, to whom I have been so much indebted for Pennsylvania German (supra p. 656) and other notes, wrote an essay on phonetics, which obtained a prize offered by Sir Walter Trevelyan, and is one of the most important works we possess upon the subject which it treats. On p. 127 Prof. Haldeman gives a transcript of a passage first published by myself in a phonetic form, in an extension of the Pitman and Ellis

2 Essentials of Phonetics, p. 104. It is a translation of a portion of the preface to the first edition of Pott's Etymologische Forschungen (p. viii). The following is the original, with the addition of two sentences, which are not given in the examples:—

"Die schriftliche und druckliche Lautbezeichnung einer Sprache mit, nach Art und Zahl unzulänglichen Charakteren, die man daher kombinieren oder modifiziren muss, um nur mit einiger Genauigkeit und Bequemlichkeit das Phonetische derselben graphisch darzustellen, ist von jeher für Völker sowohl als Individuen, die Sprachforscher nicht ausgeschlossen, eine der nothwendigsten und schwierigsten Aufgaben gewesen, die deshalb auch in den wenigsten Fällen glücklich gelöst ist. Mögen wir daraus lernen,
alphabet just illustrated. But as he has not followed the pronunciation there given, it must be considered an independent and extremely minute account of his own pronunciation. He has himself kindly revised the proof of its present transcription into palaeotype. He says, in several passages of his chap. xvi., here for convenience thrown together: "Orthoepists blind themselves to the genius and tendencies of the language, and represent a jargon which no one uses but the child learning to read from divided syllables, who turns 'li-on' into lie on; or the German, who fancies that the first syllable of 'phantom' occurs in 'elephant,' because they resemble in German and French (p. 122) . . . Every English word of three or more syllables requires the vowel (a, y, i), or a syllable without a vowel, when the structure of the word does not interfere with it, as graduate, self-sameness, portmanteau, and the difficulty is to decide upon the proper vowel, as in candidate, agitate, elevate, expeditate, avenue, maladiction,—for vernacular practice cannot be controlled by the consideration that the original was an adverb rather than an adjective, unless it can be shown that the adverbial form has been preserved in speech, and we think it is not. With the spelling we have nothing to do (p. 123) . . . We do not recommend our own pronunciation,—forms like tra-vlr, difrns, instnsz, genrl, temprns, dichnr, for that die Erfindung der Schrift, die grösste und wichtigste, welche je der menschliche Geist gemacht hat, und die, seine Kräfte in der That fast übersteigend, nicht mit Unrecht von ihm häufig den Göttern beigelegt wird, eben so gut als der complicit-einfache Organismus eines Staates, nicht das Werk Einzelner, sondern von Jahrhunderten, vielleicht Jahrtausenden sei. Von der Abbildung als einem Ganzen, welches der Gegenstand fast noch selber ist, von dem bloss Erinnerungszeichen, durch das Wort, die Syllbe bis zum—Buchstaben, was für eine immer mehr in's Feine gehende Analyse! Der Thanth der neueren Zeit, der Tschirokeze Sihgua-ja oder mit englischem Namen George Guess wird uns am besten sagen können, was ein Alphabet erfinden und einer Sprache anpassen heisset."  
And, as some readers may be slightly puzzled with the following elaborate phonetic representations, it may be convenient to annex the English translation followed in the examples, together with the two additional sentences:

"The written and printed representation of the sounds of language, by means of characters, which are insufficient, both in kind and number, and which must, therefore, be combined, or modified, if we would give a graphical symbolisation of the phonetic elements with only some degree of exactness and convenience, has been, from all time, for nations as well as individuals, linguistic students not excepted, one of the most necessary, and one of the most difficult of problems, and has consequently scarcely ever been happily solved. Let this teach us that the invention of writing, the greatest and most important invention which the human mind has ever made, and which, as it indeed almost exceeds its strength, has been often and not unjustly attributed to the gods, like the organism of a state, at once simple and complex, is not the work of individuals, but of centuries, perhaps of thousands of years. From the pictorial representation, as an entirety, which is almost the object itself,—from the mere memorial sign, through the word and the syllable, up to the letter,—what a continually finer analysis! The Thoth of modern times, the Cherokee See-kwa-ah, yah, or to give him his English name George Guess, can best tell us what it is to invent an alphabet and adapt it to a language."

1 For many of his (a, y) I find I rather say (u).

2 From a MS. insertion by the author.
ordinary use, besides being more influenced by the spelling than the
genius of the language allows. In looking through the Phonetic
periodicals, whilst preparing this essay, we find that we have been
ignorant of the name of many public characters. To us there was
a fictitious Clánricàrd within two weeks, and whilst we know that
our two friends 'Mackay' are respectively (Mókeér) and (Móko'í),
we do not know the name of the poet Charles Mackay, though we
have heard him named (Máek'í). We mispronounced the proper
names Tyrwhit, Napier, Hereford, Bowring (a gentleman we have
more recently met), Keightley (which we had classed with
Weightman), Howick, Moore, Mavor, Latham, Youatt, Lowth,
Houghton (Hoton, which we classed with Hough or Huf'), 'Aurora
Leigh,' leg? lay? lee? lie? Once when in Boston, Massachusetts,
with a fellow-traveller, we wished to see a public building of which
we had read, named Faneuil Hall, and after discussing what we
should ask for, we wisely concluded that the natives would not under-
stand us, or would laugh at our pronunciation—so we neither saw
the building nor learnt its name

1(p. 128, note) . . . Some prefer the
pronunciation of men of letters, but in the present state of phonetic
and prosodic knowledge, as exhibited in the great majority of the
grammars, men of letters constitute the ignorant class, with the
perversions of French analogies added to their ignorance; and if
the vulgar corrupt (develop?) words, they are at least true to the
vernacular laws. But in comparing a lettered with an illiterate pro-
nunciation, the two must be of the same locality and dialect, church
cannot be judged from kirk; and the words must be vernacular, as
one, two, three; body, head, arm, eye;—land, field, water, fire, house,
rain, star, sun, moon (p. 124) . . . The three different vowels of ooze,
upe, ed, were once given to us by three lettered Cherokees as occur-
ing in the second syllable (of four) of their word for eight. We
considered it likely that the up was correct, although a 'syllabic'
writer might have considered it as certainly wrong; but when we
asked an unlettered native, he used no vowel whatever in this place,
and we deemed him correct, and the others perverted by their
syllabic alphabet, which forces them to write fictitiously, and then
to speak as they write, instead of doing the reverse. The word was
('géllh'gwoo'gi') in three syllables, and having Welch ël. Similarly,
if one orthoepist would model seven on the Gothic sibun, another on
the Anglish 2 syfon, and a third on the old English seven, or Belgian
(seev'en) with (e) of end, we would still prefer saying seven=(sevn)
with the English " (p. 124).

1 I am told it is called (fón'1 haal). With regard to the preceding names,
as Mackay is certainly pronounced (Móka'í), (Móka'í), (Mákdí'), as well as in
the three ways mentioned, I cannot assign the poet's name, but I have also
heard it called (Máek'í). Clanricard, I
generally hear called (Klänm:rrk), of
course, an Anglicism. (Tité, Née:piaa)
or (Née píjú), (Née:piir), as it is very
commonly mispronounced, (Her:ifad,
Ba'uí'rq, Hó'ú'ik, Múe', Mee've,
Leeth'um), so called by Dr. Latham,
but his family call themselves (Lee-
dhem), (Yo'ú'wet, Lo'ú'dh, Ho'ú'tn,
Typo're' Lii), are, so far as I know, the
sounds of these names. Lord Hough-
ton's family name Milnes is called
(Míz). 2 Ags. seofan, seofen, siofun, syfon.
The following are the elementary English sounds acknowledged by Prof. Haldeman as numbered and symbolised by him (see his tables, on his p. 125), with the palaeotypic equivalents here adopted. The length of the vowels is not here indicated, and will be described hereafter. The symbols being troublesome to reproduce they will be referred to by the numbers, with the addition of v, c, l, for the classes of Vowels, Consonants, and Laryngals respectively.

**Vowels.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>arm (a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>up (e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>odd (x)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>thère (e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ebb (e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>they (e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>buffet (a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>pity (i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>field (i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>aisle (a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>awe (n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11'.</td>
<td>(o</td>
<td>pond, rod)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>odd (o)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>owe (o)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13'.</td>
<td>(o</td>
<td>whole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>pool (u)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>pull (v)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Consonants.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>way (w)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>whey (wh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>mm (mh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>b (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>vein (v)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>p (p)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>f (f)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>(r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>(v)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>(f)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>(j)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>(y)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>(zh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>(t)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>(j)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>(zh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>(f)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Laryngals.**

- 31. h | hay (mh)?

It is always extremely difficult to identify phonetic symbols belonging to different systems, on account of individualities of pronunciation. Even when *vivd voce* comparison is possible, the identification is not always complete. Some of the above are queried, and to some no symbols are added. I shall therefore subjoin Prof. Haldeman’s descriptions of his symbols:

1v. in arm. “The most characteristic of the vowels is that in *arm, art, father*, commonly called Italian A” (art. 370). This must be (a), and not (ah) or (o).

2v. in up. “Many languages want this vowel, which is so common in English as to be regarded as the characteristic of the vowels. It has not been assigned to Greek, Italian, Spanish, nor German, but it occurs in dialectic German... It is close (e) in up, wörth, and open (v) in wörn, wörst, wurn. The effect of wörth is that of a short syllable, each element being short, (the r close) whilst wörn is long on account of the open and longer r. The vowel up is nasal in the French *un*; but M. Pantoléon (in Comstock’s Phon. Mag.) makes this a nasal eu in *jen,* and Lepsius refers it to German ö. In the writer’s French pronunciation, *up* is placed in mê, qué, quérelle, etc., according to the view of most French grammarians.” (Arts. 374–5.) It is impossible to say from this whether the 2v. is (a, a, e, a, o, o, ah), and it may be one at one time and one at another. The open and close 2v. apparently point to (x, a), and the dialectic German is (o) or (u). Hence I have queried my palaeotypic transcription (o), although Prof. Haldeman, in returning the proof of the table, doubted the necessity of the query.

3v. in add. “With very little affinity to A, this sound usurps its character in some alphabets. It is more nearly allied to ebb, but not enough to have a letter on the same basis, like that of
Lepsius. The people of Bath, England, are said to pronounce the name of the town long, and it is distinctly long and short in Welsh, as in bîch a hook, bîch little. It seems to be lengthened in the following words, but as the author speaks this dialect—heard in Philadelphia, and used by Walker, who puts his a of fat in grass, grasp, branch, grant, pass, fast, the proper sound being probably French a, as in pàss, etc.—the observation must be accepted with caution: pàn pànice, bànd bànisch, fàn fàncy, màn tànn, càn n., càn v., bràn ràn, A'nân Á'nna, Sàm sàmple, dàm hám, dràm ràm, làmb làmp, bàd pád, glàd làd, bàg tâg hég, càg wàg kég, dràg dàrgon, màdder adj, màdder n., mà'âm màmmòn, bàd bàdger, gàs gàs gàsh âs, làss lâsh, bràd bràd, dàd Dèdhâm, bèd spèd. It occurs in provincial German, as in bx'réc (with the vowels of bârrîr for berg bère, a hill. A native of Gerstungen=Gérstûrfön, in Saxe Weimer, pronounced the first syllable of this name with x in arrow. Compare thatch deck, chatk ketch, have her, scalp seelp; German and English fett fat, krebs crab, fest fast adj. Gr. τέχνη I run, track. It has a long and open German provincial (Suabian) form, being used for long open â (e), as in bx'r for bär a bear. This bears the same relation to add that French è in même bears to e in memory. This vowel is nasalised and short in the French fin end, pain bread. But some consider this a nasal of ebb, either because such a sound is used (the Polish e,?), or because the French (being without the pure add) refer their nasal in to the nearest pure sound known to them." (Arts. 378-382.) This must be (e). The American lengthenings are interesting. There is an American Hymn-book, put together by two compilers, each having the Christian name Samuel. It was familiarly known as "the book of Same." The pun on psalms is not felt by an Englishman, the lengthening of Säm explains it completely.

4v. in there. "The vowel of ebb, with a more open aperture, is long and accented in the Italian medieòle tempèstà cêllo, and short in the verb è is, èb-bièt-ù. It is the French è in même, tète, fenètre, maître, haie, Aix, air, vaisscan. The same sound seems to occur shorter in trompette, which is not the vowel of petty... It is the German è long in mähre mare, mährchen, fehlen, kehle, währ, but wehre has ë long. The theotic short sound falls into ëv., as in stålle statis, commonly pronounced like stelle station." (Arts. 388-9.) There seems no doubt that this is (x), but it is singular that Prof. Haldeman has (s), and Mr. Bell (e, ë) in there ebb, and I pronounce (e) in both. It is evident therefore that the distinction is not recognized as part of the language.

5v. in ebb. "The secondary vowels it ebb, were not allowed to Latin, because there is no evidence that they were Latin sounds; and although ebb occurs in Spanish, as in el the, este this one, it is not so frequent as an Englishman might suppose. Even this is not admitted in Cubi's 'Nouvo Sistema' (of English for Spaniards), published by I. Pitman, Bath, 1851, where the vowels ill, ell, am, up, olive, are not provided with Spanish keywords; but he assigns the whole of them to Catalanian." (Art. 385.) As I had an opportunity of conversing with Señor Cubi y Soler, who spoke English with a good accent, I know that he did not admit any short vowels in Castilian, and hence he excluded all these, and took the Spanish e, which is I believe always (e), to be (ee). The Castilians pronounce their vowels, I believe, of medial length, like the Scotch, and neither so short nor so long as the English. The Latin E I also believe to have been (e), and not (e). "The vowel ëv.-occurs in Italian tempò tèrra Mècrùùrìò." (Art. 386.) Valentini makes the e aperto = (e) in tempo terra, and, of course, it is chiùso = (e) in the unaccented first syllable of Mercurio. "In the German réchung a reckowing, polz pelt fur, schmeltzen to smelt, rector rector. (ibid.) Frenchmen state that ëv. occurs in celle, quel, règle." (Art. 387.) In none of these can (e, e) be safely separated. I believe Prof. Haldeman means 4v. to be (ee), and ëv. to be (e), the former always long, the latter always short. I always used to confuse the open French and Italian (e) with my (e), and I may have consequently misled many others. But the only acknowledged distinctions in language seem to be close e, open e, the first (e, e'), the second (è, ë), while (è) really hovers between the two, and hence where only one e is acknowledged, (e) is the safer
sound to use, as (a, o\') would then be heard as bad (i), and (e, u) as bad (e).

6v. in _they_. "The English _ay_ in pay, paid, day, weigh, ale, rage, is short in weight, hate, acre, A'mos, A'bram, ape, plague, spade. The German _weh_ wo, rëch roe, jë, planët, mëer, mëhr (more, but mïhr tidings has 4v.), ëdel, ëhre, jëdôch. The Italian 'e _chiuso_ has this quality, as in mâle ot tôbrë (with 'o _chiuso_ [Valentini agrees in this]), but it is nearly always short. Most authors assign this sound to French ë, called 'é fermé,' but Dr. Latham assigns this ë a closer aperture, for he says, 'This is a sound allied to, but different from, the a in _fate_, and the ë in _feet_. It is intermediate to the two.' Dankovsky says the Hungarian 'é est medius sonus inter e et i,' but his 'e' is uncertain. Olivier (Les Sons de la Parole, 1844) makes ë identic with I in the position of the mouth." (Art. 391.) This must be (e). The recognition of the short sound in English is curious, as also the absence of the recognition of (œ]). The middle Germans use (œ) long, and (e) or (u) short, regularly. The Italian _e chiuso_ sounds to me (e), but may be (œ); it is generally the descendant of Latin I. The distinction between _fate_ and ë in Dr. Latham is possibly due to his saying (lee')[i], not (lee), and to the ë being short. Mr. Kovács pronounced Hungarian ë as (œ), and ê as (æ) in accented syllables. Olivier probably confused ê with (i), the short English sound which has replaced (œ).

7v. in _buffet_, and in _ment_, _ence_. "There is an obscure vowel in English, having more aperture than that of _ill_ and less than that of _au_. It is used to separate consonants by such an amount of vocalism as may be secured without setting the organs for a particular vowel. It is most readily determined between surds, and it is often confounded and perhaps interchanged with the vowel of _up_. It occurs in the natural pronunciation of the last syllable of worded, blended, splendid, sordid, livid, ballad, salad, surfet, buffet, oppos, doses, roses, losses, misses, poorer, horror, Christian, onion, and the suffixes -ment, -ant, -ance, -ent, -ense. Perhaps this vowel should be indicated by the least mark for the phase of least distinctness—a dot beneath the letter of some recognized vowel of about in the same aperture. It is so evanescent that it is constantly replaced by a consonant vocality without attracting attention, as in saying hors've, horsz, horszs, or (using a faint smooth r) horsz'. With Rapp we assign this vowel to German, as in welches, verlieren, verlassen (or even frlåsni)." (Arts. 392 to 392c.) This mark therefore represents sounds here distinguished as (y, v, 'h), and on the whole (y), as used by Mr. Bell, seems to answer most nearly to it, see especially (1169, b): I have, however, queried the sign, on which Prof. Haldeman observes, that the query "is hardly necessary. The doubts are due to the fact that while two varieties are admitted we might not always agree in locating them."

8v. in _piety_. "It is the German vowel of kîm chin, hitzig, billig, will, bild; and the initial of the Belgian diphthong _iem_ (and perhaps in some cases the Welsh _yv_). . . . . This vowel is commonly confounded with I, but it has a more open jaw aperture, while each may be lengthened or shortened." (Arts. 396, 398.) This is no doubt (i), which is heard in the north of Germany, but not throughout. Mr. Barnes, author of the Dorset Grammar, distinguishes the two vowels in _piety_ thus (pi'ti), but others prefer (pi'ty), hence the identification refers only to the first vowel.

9v. in _field_. "The universal I is long in Italian _iô_ (Lat. _eò_, _I_), and short in _fèlilità_ with true e. In English it is long in machine, marine, fiend, fee, tea, bee, grieve, eel. It is short in _équal_, _déduc_, deceit, heat, beef, reef, grief, teeth. German examples are viëh, wider against, wider again, wie viel _how much_, vielcicht _perhaps_. It is medial in knie _knee_. French examples are surprise, vive, _ïle_, style, _ïl_, _ïv_, _phy'sique_, _ïmiter_, _liquide_, _visïte_, _politique_, which must _not_ be pronounced like the English _physical_, etc., with the vowel of _pi_. The following are perhaps medial:—prodige, _cidre_, _ligne_, _vite_, _empire_." (Art. 399.) This is certainly (i). The short value in accented syllables is noteworthy. In _"believe, régret_, _déscent, which cannot differ from dispose,"_ (art. 395), Prof. Haldeman hears 8v. not 9v., that is (i), and not (i).

10v. in _aisle_, _Cíaro_. "French a in _âme_, _pâtte_. The former is commonly received as the vowel of _arm_, the latter of _pat_. Duponceau (Am. Phil. Trans,
1818, vol. i. p. 258), in 1817, made the distinction. He says that French a occurs in the English diphthongs i and ow, and that the sound is between ah and awe, being ah pronounced as full and broadly as possible, without falling into awe. The initial of English i (or e in height) differs in being pronounced up and at. This is probably the proper vowel for grass, pass, alas (Fr. hélas)." (Arts. 400, 401.) The vowel is meant for (a) according to Duponceau's description, and that vowel is pronounced in French pâte. But the vowel in Fr. pâté is either (a) or (ah), and not (a), at present at least. The pronunciations (gras, grès, etc.), seem to be much broader than any used by educated Englishmen, but see (1152, a'). Prof. Haldeman uses (a), and not (o) or (a), as he suggests above, for the first element of long i, that is (di), not (oi, a'i), see (108, c).

11v. in awe. "This sound lies between A and O, and is common in several German dialects. . . . The Germans represent it commonly by ä, adopting the Swedish mode, where however the sound seems to be a kind of o." (Art. 402.) The sound is, therefore (a). The Swedish is (Ao), having the tongue as for (a) and the lips as for (o), see (1116, a'). "This awe is not to be determined by its length, but by its quality. It is long in raw, fläw, łâuw, cál, cähl, thäwéd, bänd, háwk; medial in loss, cross, tossed, frost, long, song, strong, or, for, lord; order, border, war, warrior, corn, adorn, born, warn, horn, morn, storm, form, warn, normal, cork, wan, swan, găud or Gaud God nōd or Nōd
äwe or òwe fond astonish
fähwed or Fähwed thought Thoth

1. long òawe păwned wāw
2. short òawe aùther wāter
3. medial òawe pond war
4. medial òdd rod God
5. short òdd pönđer bōdy

(Arts. 405-407.) It is evident that the vowel is either (a, o), or (o'). The indications of length do not seem to be strictly observed in England.

13v. in òwe, böne, böat. "This well-known sound is long in mōan, lōan, òwe, gō, loi, fōc, cōal, cōne, bōre, rēar, bōwl, sōul; and short in õver, õbe, õpen, õpinion, õnx, õnerous, õak, õchre, rōgue, õats, õpium; and medial dawn, fond, bond, pond, exhaust, false, often, soften, gorse, George; and short in squāsh, wāsh (cf. rush, push), ùauthor (cf. õath, õth), wāteh, wāter, slāughter, quart, quärter, wārt, shorts, mōtart, hōrse (cf. curse), remōrse, förmer, öften, nōrth, mōth, fālt, fāltér, pāltýr." (Art. 403.) These quantities cross my own habits materially. Many of medial length are reckoned long in England, and still more of them short. See notation for medial quantity (1116, ba). 11v'. in pond, rod. "This 12v. differs in odd; ] from the preceding 11v. in being formed with less aperture." (Art. 405.) It is observable that according to Mr. Bell (o) is the 'wide' of (A), that is, the aperture at the back of the greatest compression is greater. But perhaps Prof. Haldeman spoke the vowel with the tongue further forward, as (o), or even with the tongue raised, (o'). "It is short in nōt, nōd, hōd, wāt, sātter (cf. the open wāter), mōrrow, bōrrow, sōrrow, hōrrow, chōcie, pōnder, thōng, prōng; medial in on, yon, John, God, rod, gone, aught, thought, bought, caught, naught, fought, sauce, loiter, boy, and perhaps long in ēvī, ēlī. Some of these medials may belong to awe, and some of those to this head. The accuracy of these examples is not expected to be admitted in detail, because practice between the two vowels is not uniform; yet it is probable that no one puts the vowel of potter, or the quantity of full, in water, which is neither wātter nor wōtter. In the following table, the medial examples have been chosen without regard to the vowel they contain: gnāw'r nor Nō'r'ich
rāwed rod Rōd'ney
āwed * aught ēdd
lāws loss ēlozenge.

squāw yāwn hāw
squāsh wānt hōrse
swan wan horn
thought gone John
squāt hōnest hōrror." in going, showy. It does not occur in Italian. O is long in the German tōn, dōm, hōf, hōch, lōd, trōg, mōhn, lōhn, mōr, mōnd; medial in oder, also, vor, von, wo, ov, oheim; and short in wōhīn, hōfnung, Āst, ēfēn, ēber, kōch, lōch, zō-o-lōg." (Arts. 416, 417.) This must be (o). There is no mention of (oo'w). The short accented (o) is not in received English use.
15v. in whole. French o. "This sound seems to the writer to be more open than ooœ, and closer than o aperto, and his impression is that the long and short sound have the same quality. . . .

The New England or Yankee o in whole, coat, is a short sound with a wider aperture of jaw than ooœ, but not (perhaps) of lip. It has been casually heard, but not studied, and we refer it to the French o in bonne." (Arts. 412, 415.) Mr. Bell considers the French o in homme to be (oh), and the American o in stone to be (oh), the labialised forms of (a, ah) respectively. But Prof. Haldeman suggests another solution, namely (ão) or (λo), which is Mr. Sweet's analysis of Danish aa, and is, in fact, a passing anticipation of Mr. Sweet's discovery of the effect of different degrees of rounding on one linguistic position (1116 a'). The sound is altogether a provincialism, and I have been accustomed to consider the French sound as (o) and the Yankee as (o), which I have also heard in Norfolk (non) = none.

14v. in pool. "These two vowels are 15v. in pull, distinct in quality, and have the same variations in quantity. They are to each other as awe is to odd, and they require distinct characters." (Art. 422.) Hence they are marked as (u, w), which are exactly as (λ, e), the second being the wide of the first.

"In passing through the series A, O, U, it will be found that U in pool is labial in its character, and that this labiality is preserved in shortening föol to foolish, whilst full, fullish, have very little aid from the lips." (Art. 423.) That (w) can be imitated with widely open lips is readily perceived, but it can be most easily pronounced with the lips in the (u) -position (1114, d'). This lipless (u), or (w'), is very useful to the singer, as it can be touched at a high pitch, whereas true labial (u) cannot be sung distinctly at a high pitch. "If we compare fool with a word like fuel, rule (avoiding the Belgian diphthong ieu), we detect in it (fyoo, l, rule), a closer sound, which when long is confused with U, as in fool, rule, meaning by the latter neither rylene nor rviu, but rool, with a narrow aperture. This closer u is often preceded by y and r, as in due, dew, stew, ruin, rude, where it is rather medial than long." (Art. 424.) Probably we should write this (u'), or (u), or even (u')

This seems to be local and individual, not received. This sound, or what I suppose to be this sound, I seem to have heard from Americans, and in Lancashire, and it approached one of the palato-labial vowels, or (y)-series. In fact I felt it as a form of (u). "Leaving quantity out of the question, we pronounce brew, etc., with 15v. [u in pull], whilst Worcester, probably the most judicious of the English orthoepists, refers them to the key-word move." (Art. 591.) This is, I think, the more usual pronunciation. The u orthography, however, suggests palatalisation to the speaker, and hence he makes an approach to (uj, uj = r, y).

1e. and 25e. in now, aisle, are "coal-
escents," a term introduced, I believe, by myself, to classify (x, w), as the form under which the vowels (i, u) coallected with another vowel. Prof. Haldeman uses 1e. and 25e. to form diphthongs, and distinguishes them from (j, w). In order to show that they have this meaning, I employ the acute accent on the preceding vowel, thus (aw, âs), which are really equivalent to my (du, dl), but have the disadvantage of not so accurately distinguishing the second element, so that for (âs) the reader has a choice among (di, di, de, dy, âs), etc.

Prof. Haldeman says: "The separation of the coalscents from the vowels, being quite modern, their difference is seldom recognized in alphabets. This is a grave defect." (Art. 173.) As to the nature of the difference, he says: "The labial vowel ooœ readily becomes the consonant way, and between them there is a shade of sound allied to both, but a variety of the latter, and a consonant, because it has the power of forming a single syllable with a vowel, which two vowels cannot do. . . . The guttural vowel pique may become the guttural liquid yea, as in minion, and between the two lies the guttural coalsecent in aisle, eye, boy. The con-
oscent relation of the coalscents is shown in the combinations how well, my years, in which it is difficult to tell where the coalsecent ends. A compari-
son of the former (or how-ell) with hâ-
well, and the latter (or my-ears) with mâ-years, will show their affinity. A coalsecent between vowels is apt to form a fuller, by becoming a morecom-
plete consonant. Compare (emp)loey-
with lawyer." (Arts. 163-5.) I think I usually say (waw) we'll, note (waw el) for whom, how ell, Howell, and (ma's'v'zs' ma'i-i'zs) for my years, my ears. Similar difficulties occur in tying (lo'v' - iy), and French patience, science, loyal (päi-ea fai-äas lo'i-äl), not (luäl), with a long (i), without force gliding and diphthongizing each way, which the hyphen tends to make plainer. The English loyal is either (lo'v'-ul) or (lo'v' - ivel), not, I think, (lo'i-ül), and certainly not (la'a'v’ul). Similarly for employer, lawyer (emple'v' - v, la'a'v’). 2c. and 26c. in way, yea, are certainly (w, j), but whether or not in addition ((uw, 1j) cannot be affirmed. 3c. and 27c. are certainly (wh, jh). Unfortunately the sounds are departing. See the citation (1112, b'), where it appears that Professor Haldeman never hears (wh) in English without a following (w); and, as appears by his example, he does not hear (jh) without a following (j). But, translating his symbols, he says, "(wh) occurs in several Vesperian languages, and the whistle whichDuponceau attributes to the (lena-pe), Delaware, language, is this sound (wh'dee) heart, (udee) my heart, (wh'de'bihim) strawberries, with flat (d). In the Wyandot (won'dot), (salakwh"aw) it burrows, it occurs before a whispered vowel. ComparePensbocscot (nekwh'do's) six, (whta'wak) ear, (whta'wagollh) 'ears." (Art. 467.) "This (whd) shows that the (w) put in (wh'en) is not by defect of ear, which might cause it to be inferred beside the vocal (d). The frequency of the whispered vowels is curious."—Prof. H.'s MS. note to proof. 5c. in him seems to be (mh), him = (mmh), or perhaps (mmmbh). "One form of Eng. (mh) often accompanies a smile with closed lips—an incipient laugh reduced to a nasal puff; to the other (mh-m) a true (m) is added, when it becomes an exclamation—sometimes replaced with (nh-n)."—MS. addition. 16c., 17c., 18c. are varieties of (r), but it is difficult exactly to identify them. "The Greek and Latin R was trilled, as described by the ancients, and this accords with European practice. The letter 'r' therefore means this sound. We have heard trilled r in Albanian, Armenian (in part), Arabic, Chaldean, Illyric, Wallachian, Hungarian, Russian, Catalanian, Turkish (in part), Islandic, Hindustanee, Bengalee, Tamil, and other languages in the pronunciation of natives." (Art. 500.) Probably (r, m, r, T, r, 1) are here not distinguished, and the forible form (r) is not separated from that of moderate strength. "The trilled r is assigned to English as an initial, although many people with an English vernacular cannot pronounce it. Dr. James Rush would have the trill reduced in English to a single tap of the tongue against the palate. This we indicate by r, with a dot above." (Art. 501.) This faint trill would be our (r); but the English, I believe, do not strike the palate at all when saying (r). Mr. Bell, as we have seen (1098, b), denies the trill in English altogether, and gives us (r). "The Spanish (South American) r in perro dog, as distinguished from the common trilled r of þero but, seems to be untrilled, and to have the tongue pressed flatly, somewhat as in English z, and doubled, as in more-rest. It may have arisen from an attempt to yotacise r. We mark it e (or, if trilled, r) with a line below, in case it is distinct from the next." (Art. 501a.) Now the Spanish rr in perro is what the Spanish Academy (Ortografía de la lengua Castellana, 7th ed. Madrid, 1792, p. 70) calls R fuerte. Prince L. L. Bonaparte says that it is found in Basque, and calls it an "alveolar r," which seems to be my (r). The common (r) in Basque is generally used as a euphonic insertion to save hiatus, as in English late(r) of the land. Mr. Brister (Transactions of the American Philological Association for 1871, p. 122-3) talks of "the apparent negroism prevalent in Cuba of substituting a vocalized r for the strongly trilled final r, e.g. amaw (or something very like it) for amar," compare Mr. Thomas's Creole French r (1165, a'). On the authority of his son, just returned from Spain, Mr. Brister adds that in Madrid there is "a slurring of medial r," and that "the Andalusian dialect tends to drop final letters, even r." Prof. Haldeman may mean (r). "Many of my sounds were heard casually, and must be accepted as open to correction from further observation."—MS. addition. He proceeds: "Armenian and Turkish have a smooth (i.e. an untrilled) tactual r, much like the Spanish rr, if not the same, and, with that, requiring farther investigation and comparison. English smooth r in curry,
aere (a-cr), begr, grey, curt, is formed by much less contact than the European and Asiatic r requires. It is the true liquid of the s contact, and allied to the vowel in up, a character v to be formed provisionally from italic x." (Arts. 502-3.) "A consonant subject to both a preceding and a succeeding influence may vary with the speaker, putting the same or a different gr in ogre and grey. I was wrong in putting grey among my examples in § 503. It should be excluded. I adopted the single-tap r on the authority of Dr. Rush, and because I have heard it; but I use neither this nor any other trill in my English. This is the speech of my locality, when it is not influenced by contact with German and Irish modes of pronunciation, and it seems that Mr. Bell rejects the trill."—MS. addition. This he then identifies with my (a). But my (a) is only (a) at most, followed permissively by (r). Prof. Haldeman retains this (a) in the second syllable of (repizen'zehshyn) in the specimen, and says it is "due to the unaccented syllable as compared with (p)rinted," etc. In other cases he corrected it in the proof to (r), which I have given as (r) for uniformity. Perhaps my difficulties arise from the Professor's not trilling his (r) as I really do. "A more open smooth r is found in cur, fur, far, more. Mr. Ellis regards fur as j with this open r, without a vowel between.... We regard fur as having the open vowel y (with which the consonant is allied) short, the quantity being confined to the consonant (fur = fy'f\(^{-}\)), and the tongue moving from the vowel to the consonant position. The same open consonant occurs in arm, warm, oer; and although, for a particular purpose, we have cited arm as long, it contains a short vowel (a'rm) and long or medial consonant. If we write 'rn for urn and fr or fr for fur, we certainly cannot represent fur, four, in the same manner. Moreover we may dissyllabise pr-ay on a trilled or a close r, and monosyllabise it p'ray with the most open. At one time the discussion of the English letters led to a curious result. When the difference between the open r of tarry (from tar) and the close one of the verb tarry was ascertained, an identity of vowel and of consonant was represented,—a greater error than to spell more and moor, fairy and fery alike, or pres-d for prest." (Arts. 505-9.) I feel obliged, from the identifications made by Prof. Haldeman, to transcribe 16c. by (r), 17c. by (a), and 18c. by (a), but I am not at all satisfied with the transcription. I think the sound 17c. is sometimes (a\(\text{r}\)), sometimes (r\(_{\text{a}}\)), sometimes (a\(\text{r}\)), and that 18c. may be (a, x, oh) or (r\(_{\text{a}}\)), or one of the first followed by the second. These are points of extreme difficulty, partly arising from the involuntary interference of orthographical reminiscences with phonetic observations.

Prof. Haldeman made the following observations on the proof, after reading the above remarks: "There is a negro perversion of more to (moa). I think you admit too little difference between ave and or, like Bloomfield—

In earliest hours of dark and hooded morn, Ere yet one rosy cloud bespeaks the dawn, Still foremost thou the dashing stream to cross, And tempt along the animated horse; ....

"I do not consider any English r open enough to constitute a vowel, but I think I have heard a coalescent ('r') [the acute belongs to the preceding element with which it forms a diphthong], "forming a reversed diphthong, in a dialect of Irish, in gé, gédh, or goath a goose. As I recall it, it is a monosyllab between the English syllabs gay and gray, the r open and unactual and so near to (a) that the result would be g(o)ay were this not a dissyllab like claw-y besides cloy." As will be shown hereafter, or is used in American comic books to represent aeo (AA) just as much as in English, and likewise r omitted, and or is also used for the faintest sound of (h).

21c. and 22c. also present difficulties in transcription. "The liquids of the palatal contact are a kind of J (yaa) made at the palatal point, and as Eng. w, v, and r, x are permutable, so y falls into 1 (zh), and its surd aspirate into r (sh). Hence the word soldier (= soldyr or soldyar) is apt to fall into soldyr, and nature (= net-y-x, net-y-x or net ty r) into netyr or netxy." (Arts. 518, 519.) From this I consider y to represent a form of (r) which is still nearer to (i), with therefore the tongue slightly lower than for (j), so that (yi) would be its best sign, and (j) will then be (j,h). According to the same habit which obliges Prof. Haldeman to say..."
(whw-\textsuperscript{o}, jh-) we necessarily have ($\alpha$, $\text{hj}$). Hence his examples must be transcribed (sold$\textsubscript{1}$, sold$\textsubscript{4}$, net$\textsubscript{1}$, net$\textsubscript{4}$, net$\textsubscript{3}$, h$\textsubscript{4}$).

The remaining consonants present no difficulty.

11. in hay. "Many deny that $h$ is a consonant, because 'it is not made by contact or interruption.' But when the breath is impelled through an aperture which obstructs it, there is interruption, and if we vary the impulse we can make English $o$ and $u$ with the same aperture... $H$, $h$, is the common English and German $h$, in the syllables held, hat, hast, hose. $\phi$ is for the eighth Hebrew letter heh... and is commonly called an emphatic $h$ and is often represented by $hh$. As heard by us, it is an enforced, somewhat close $h$, with a tendency to scrape along the throat, and, consequently, it is not a pulmonic aspirate. ... The Florentine aspirate casa, misericordia, $\phi\theta$, we have casually heard, and believe it to be $\phi$, and also the Spanish $j$, $x$, before $a$, $o$, $u$, as in jabon soap = $\phi\alpha$'bon, and the geographical name San Juan ($=\text{s}{\hat{a}}\alpha\phi\theta{\varphi}\alpha\nu$) in English—\textit{san}{\textvarphi\nu}{\epsilon}\nu.$" (Arts. 553, 556, 567.) The identification of $\phi$ with (h), see (1130, b), and the statement of its relation to $h$, seem to shew that this $h$ is my (nh). The examples are then meant for (akhbo'n, san\textvarphi\nu{\hat{h}}\nu{\alpha}{\varphi}{\alpha}n, san\textvarphi{\nu}{\hat{h}}nu{\nu}on), but I think that Spanish $j$ differs from (h), Prince L. L. Bonaparte considers it to be (kh), and identifies the Florentine sound with a 'vocal' aspirate (1136, e), my (nh).

Prof. Haldeman observes on the use of (h) for me, (nh) for Smart, and (nh) for himself and Sweet in the comparative specimen given below:—"You assign three kinds of initial $h$ to four speakers, where I think the ear would give the same result, except where $h$ is dropt. I pronounce English here and German hier exactly alike as far as the $r$, and I suppose you do the same, but the smooth English $r$ gives a dissyllabic tendency, which is absent from the German form." I believe I call the English word (nih') and the German (nhir), but may occasionally say (niir, niir' nhir'), which are all Anglicisms. I sometimes fall into (uh) in English. For Smart's (nhb), see No. 56 of his scheme below, (1204, b).

\textit{Henry Sweet.}

Mr. Henry Sweet adopts Mr. Bell's Visible Speech Symbols and my palaeotype, and kindly himself wrote out his specimen in palaeotype, so that there are no difficulties of interpretation. It is necessary to observe his higher (e) or (e\textsuperscript{2}), and his (o) with a (u) rounding or (o\textsubscript{u}), his consonantal termination of (i\textsubscript{i}, u\textsubscript{w}), his advanced (o, o) or (o, o), his forms of (e\textsuperscript{e}'j, oo'w) as (ey, o\textsubscript{o}u), his acceptance of (x) as (\textsubscript{e}o\textsubscript{h}) in (\textsubscript{e}o\textsubscript{h}, ex\textsubscript{o}h, ev\textsubscript{a}h), etc., his constant use of ('h), even rounded, as ('nv), his analysis of his diphthongs for (o\textsubscript{e}, o\textsubscript{e}'u) as (wv'y, y'y) and (o\textsubscript{o}o), and his lengthened consonants, as (smmm, lett.). He uses (x, e) where I use (o, e), and altogether his pronunciation differs in many minute shades from mine, although in ordinary conversation the difference would probably be passed by unnoticed, so little accustomed are we to dwell on differences which vex the phonologist's spirit. This little passage presents one of the most remarkable analyses of spoken sounds which has yet been published.

In returning me the proof corrected, he wrote: "I am inclined to accept your analysis of ch as (t,sh) for my own pronunciation also. I think the second element of the (au) diphthong may be the simple voice-glide rounded ('nv) instead of the mid-back (o), (s\textsubscript{oo}o'endz) would therefore be written (s\textsubscript{oo}'h\textsubscript{endz}). In the same way I feel inclined to substitute the simple voice-glide unrounded ('h) for the (\textsubscript{e}h) wherever it forms the second element of a diphthong. I leave it to you to make the alterations or not." As Mr.
Sweet, on account of leaving England, was unable to correct a revise of the example, I preferred following the proof as it left his own hands, and content myself with noting these minute points. But it is worth while observing what extremely rough approximations to (i, u), such as ('hj, 'hw), when added to any one of the sounds (æ ə ə o o, ə a a ə ah oh oh, oh o ah oh) and even (e e e, ə a ah), serve to recall diphthongs of the (ai, au) classes to the mind with sufficient clearness to be readily intelligible.

B. H. Smart.

Mr. B. H. Smart’s “Walker Remodelled . . . exhibiting the pronunciation of words in unison with more accurate schemes of sounds than any yet furnished, according to principles carefully and laboriously investigated, 1836,” contains the most minute account of English sounds that I can find in pronouncing dictionaries, though very far below what is presented in Visible Speech or by Prof. Haldeman. It seemed therefore best to contrast his representation of the same passage, by turning out each word in his dictionary, and transliterating it into palaeotype. For this purpose it is necessary to identify his symbols as explained in his schemes and principles. The numbers of his symbols in the schemes, with the examples, are sufficient to identify them, so that their forms need not be given. The same numbers also refer to the paragraphs in his ‘principles,’ giving the detailed description, from which I am obliged to cite some passages, although the book is so well known and readily accessible. Mr. Smart is only responsible for what I put between inverted commas.

“Scheme of the Vowels.”

“The Alphabetic Vowels, by nature long, though liable to be short or shortened.”

1. accented as in gate, gate, pay. This sound is recognized as (e1), but made (eq) by Smart, see (1108, a*), or perhaps (e1).

2. unaccented as in aerial, retail, gateway. “This tapering off into No. 4 cannot be heard in the unaccented alphabetic a, owing to its shorter quantity,” it is therefore (e) short or (e1) of medial length, probably the first in aerial, and the second in the other words. But I hear (geetwe’), which, however, I suppose he takes as (gee1’twe). But see No. 13.

3. accented as in me, meet, meat, is certainly (i), but whether distinguished always from (it) is uncertain.

4. unaccented as in defy, pedigree, galley. “The quantity is not always equally short: in pedigree, for instance, it is not so short in the third syllable as in the second. Generally it is as short as No. 15, with which it is identical, except that No. 15 is essentially short, while the unaccented alphabetical No. 4 is by nature capable of quantity. The word indivisibility must in strict theory be said to have one and the same vowel-sound in each syllable; but, practical views rendering the distinction necessary, we consider the vowel in three of the syllables (1st, 3rd, 5th), to be essentially short, and the vowel in the remaining four to be naturally long, although, from situation, quite as short as No. 15.” Here then short (i, i) are confused. The ‘practical views’ are in fact that No. 15, the ‘essentially short’ (i), is found gliding on to a consonant, and No. 4, the ‘essentially long’ (i), is found at the end of a syllable. The distinction is false; in this word (i) occurs throughout, and (i) would give a strangely foreign effect, the sound being (in’dij’vi:zi’bi’li’ti), although (e1) or (a) might be used in the 2nd, 4th, 6th and 7th syllables rather
than (i). But in consequence of Smart's distinction, I shall transcribe his No. 4 by (i) as (indivisibiliti).

5. accented as in wide, defied, defy. "This sound is diphthongal. In the mouth of a well-bred Londoner it begins with the sound heard in No. 39, but without sounding the r, and tapers off into No. 4." This gives (ai) or (a'i); I take the former. Prince L. L. Bonaparte thinks that (a'i) is meant. See below No. 19. "Some allege its composition to be No. 23 and No. 4," that is (ai, a), "but this is northern; while others make it to be No. 25 and No. 4," that is (a', a'), "which is still more rustic. The affirmation ay is, however, a union of the sounds 25 and 4, at least as that word is commonly pronounced; though in the House of Commons, in the phrase, 'the ayes have it,' it seems to be an ancient custom to pronounce the plural word as uniting the sounds Nos. 25, 4, 60 [=(a'a'-a')], or as it might be written oys, rhyming with boys."

6. unaccented as in idea, fortifies, fortify. "This unaccented sound differs from the foregoing by the remission of accent only." It is often, however, extremely short. It does not seem to occur to orthoepists generally that diphthongs may be very short indeed, and yet possess all their properties, with the relative lengths of their parts. In likewise, the first diphthong, although accented, is generally much shorter than the second; in idea, the diphthong is often scarcely touched, but is always quite sensible.

7. accented as in no, boot, foe, soul, blow. "In a Londoner's mouth, it is not always quite simple, but is apt to contract towards the end, almost as oo in too." Now this seems to imply that the vanish to (u) is not received; that (oo) is intended, and (oo) un-intentional. Still as he admits (oei), I shall take his No. 7 to be (oo).

8. unaccented as in obey, follow. "In remitting the accent, and with accent its length, No. 8 preserves its specific quality, with no liability to the diphthongal character to which the accented sound is liable." Hence I transcribe (o).

9. accented as in cube, due, suit. "Though for practical purposes reckoned among the vowels, No. 9 is, in truth, the syllable you, composed of the consonant element 56 and the vowel element 27." This view gets over all phonetic difficulties, and is very rough. "I transcribe (yuu).

10. unaccented as in usurp, ague. "Although a diphthong can scarcely lose in length, without losing its diphthongal character, yet a syllable composed of a consonant and a vowel may in general be something shortened." I transcribe (yu). The passage shews the vague phonetic knowledge which generally prevails.

"The Essentially Short Vowels."

11. accented as in men, champion. This "differs in quality as well as in quantity from both No. 1 or No. 2, and No. 23,—it is much nearer the latter than the former,—indeed so near, that in theory they are considered identical; but it is not, practically, so broad as No. 23." That is, his No. 11, which we must identify with (e), lies between (eei) or (e) and (a), but is theoretically identified with the latter. The way in which in dialectal writing (a, a) are confused under one sign a, has caused me much trouble, and I have found many correspondents apparently unable to discover the difference in sound.

12. unaccented as in accept, chappman. This "differs in quality from the preceding by verging towards the sound of No. 19, its distinct utterance being near to No. 11, its obscure or colloquial utterance carrying it entirely into No. 19. In final syllables the more obscure sound prevails; in initial syllables the more distinct." Hence in the former I transcribe (se), in the latter (se).

But these indicate helplessness on the part of the phonologist. Prince L. L. Bonaparte makes the former (a) and the latter (o), see No. 19.

13. accented as in lent. This "in theory is reckoned the same sound as No. 2. That it does not differ from it in quality may be perceived by the effect of a cursory pronunciation of climate, ultimate, etc., which reduce to clime, ultime, etc." That is, Smart confuses (e, e), just as he confused (i, i), see No. 4. But while the confusion of (e, e) is tolerably possible, that of (e, e) is barely so. Hence I transcribe No. 13 as (e), and not as (e).

14. unaccented as in silent. This "is liable to be sounded as No. 15." I transcribe (e), though perhaps (e) or even (y), to allow of confusion with (i),
might be more correct. But Smart may not have intended to recognize any intermediary between (e) and (i).

15. accented as in pit. This "in theory is reckoned the same as No. 4, and that it does not much differ in quality may be perceived by the word counterfeit, in which No. 4 in the last syllable shortens itself into No. 16." This is (i) certainly.

16. unaccented as in sawpit. This "differs from the foregoing by the remission of accent only," and will hence be also written (i).

17. accented as in nut, common. This "in theory is reckoned the same as No. 25, and that it does not differ in quality may be perceived by observing that salt, fault, etc., though pronounced with No. 25 in slow utterance, are liable to be shortened into No. 17." That is, Smart confuses (A, o) just as he confused (e, e) and (i, i). Yet he speaks of (AA) as a broad, not a lengthened, utterance of o in cost, broth, etc., and recommends a "medium between the extremes." Hence I transcribe 17 as (A), 25 as (AA), and this "medium" as (A).

18. unaccented as in pollute, command, common. This "differs in quality from the preceding by verging towards the sound No. 19, more or less, according as the pronunciation is solemn or colloquial. In final syllables the sound No. 19 under the character o is, in general, so decided, that even in the most solemn speaking any other sound would be pedantic." These cases he marks especially, as in common, and I transcribe (a) simply. "In initial and other syllables, the sound preserves its character with some distinctness, as in pollute, pomposity, demonstration;" here then I transcribe (a), "yet even in these we find a great tendency to the sound No. 19, and in the prefix com- the tendency is still stronger." Wherever he marks this stronger tendency to indistinctness, I transcribe (a) rather than (o). Prince L. L. Bonaparte thinks that (e) is meant by the o in pollute, and (o) by the o in common, see No. 19.

19. accented as in nut, custard. "No. 19, No. 39 (without sounding the r), and No. 24, are all, in theory, the same, the last however more or less approaching the sound No. 23, according as the speaker is more or less distinct. They are all modifications of what may be called the natural vowel,—that is to say, the vowel which is uttered in the easiest opening of the mouth." But whether these 'modifications' are (e, e, w, o), etc., there is nothing to shew. Hence I transcribe No. 19 by (a), which, to me, approaches most to the natural vowel, and No. 24 by (a*). Prince L. L. Bonaparte, who has made a careful study of Smart, writes to me: "Although in your transcription of Smart (a) is the only one of the four signs (a, e, w, o) which occurs, it seems to me that Smart represents (a) by No. 24 a in manna, (a) by the first No. 12 or a in accept, (a) by the first No. 18 or o in pollute, and (o) by No. 19 u in nut, or by the second No. 12 a in chapman, and second No. 18 o in common. The three signs, No. 19, the second No. 12, and the first No. 18, see also No. 20, are synonymous. They represent Smart's 'natural vowel,' which is, as he says in No. 19, merely ur without sounding the final r. In No. 36 he says that er, ir, or, ur, yr, are necessarily pronounced ur." Hence the words sir, bird, first, see No. 35, contain Smart's natural vowel, your (a), and not your (e). In fact, Smart says that the first No. 12 is to No. 24 as No. 11 is to No. 23, see Nos. 12 and 24, and that No. 24 a mean between Nos. 19 and 28, just as the first No. 12 is between Nos. 11 and 19. He also says in No. 18, that the first sound of No. 18 lies between No. 17 and No. 19. Hence the first sound of No. 18 is (e), in the same way as No. 24 is (a), and the first No. 12 is (a), and the second No. 12, second No. 18 and No. 19, are (o), which is his natural vowel." This is extremely ingenious, and logically worked out, but it depends on the hypothesis that Smart pronounced No. 19 with the same vowel that Bell used in pronouncing err (a), which is different from the vowel Bell used in pronouncing ural up (a). And Smart's No. 35 leads me to suppose that he did not understand the nature of Bell's distinction (a, o), although he felt that there was some distinction. I doubt much indeed whether Smart had any clear conception of the four different sounds (a, e, w, o), which seem to have been first discriminated by Mr. M. Bell, as the result of his theory of lingual distinctions. And hence I feel that to write Smart's key-words, No.
12 accept chapman, No. 18 pollute common, No. 19 nut, No. 24 papa, manna, Messizh, as (əksə’sēpt təhər-mən; pəl ju’u t ko’mən, nat, papa’ mənə Mesə’i’ə), although possibly correct, is very probably incorrect. I do not think he said (nət), though this is a cockneyism. I do not think he said (papa’ mənə), for unaccented (ə) is very rare and very ugly. I do not think he said (əksə’pt), though he may have said (pəl ju’u t). In this state of doubt, I have chosen symbols which seem to mark his own uncertainty, on the principle of (1107, ə), namely, (ək’sēpt təhər-pəmən; pəl ju’u t ko’mənə, nat, pəpə’ mənə Mesə’i’ə), where the double sign in fact represents that the sound was felt to be intermediate in each case, but to have more of that represented by the large letter, though Smart would allow either sound to be used purely; but if so, he thought that of the large letter preferable. Except as regards nut, which may have been Mr. Bell’s (ə) rather than my (ə), and may really have been in Mr. Smart’s mouth (ə)—though I can hardly think the last probable,—I have no reasonable doubt as to the propriety of my symbols. I thought it right, however, to give the Prince’s very ingenious hypothesis. He was at the pains to transcribe the whole example according to his theory; but the reader can so readily supply the necessary changes that I have not given it.

20. unaccented as in walnut, circa.
This “differs from the preceding only by the remission of accent,” and is hence transcribed (ə).

21. accented as in good, hood, “an incidental vowel.” This, “essentially short, is, in other respects, identical with No. 27, the most contracted sound in the language.” That is, Smart confuses (u, ə) as he had previously confused (e, ə; i, ə; a, ə). It is necessary to transcribe (u), though I much doubt his having ever used it for No. 21 in actual speech.

22. unaccented as in childhood, “an incidental vowel.” This “differs from the preceding only by the remission of accent,” and is hence transcribed (u).

"The Remaining Incidental Vowels, by nature long, though liable to be shortened."

23. accented as in papa, the interj. ah. “In almost all languages but the English, this is the alphabetic sound of letter a.” It is transcribed (ə).

24. unaccented as in papa, manna, Messizh. This “differs from the preceding [No. 23] not only in quantity but in quality, by verging to the natural vowel [No. 19], and in colloquial utterance quite identifying with it. It fluctuates between No. 23 and this natural vowel No. 19, just as [ə in chapman, the second No. 12] fluctuates between No. 11 and No. 19.” It is transcribed (ə), see No. 19. Prince L. L. Bonaparte thinks that (ə) is meant, see No. 19. Smart uses No. 24 for French e muet in such words as coup de grace, aide de comp, which seems due to orthographical prejudice, as du might have led the ordinary reader to say (du).

25. accented as in law, the noun sub. aw, etc. This is (AA) without doubt.

26. unaccented as in jackdaw. This “differs from the preceding by remission of accent, and such shortening of its quantity as it will bear,” by which I understand that it is generally medial (AA).

27. accented as in pool. “The sound of the letter u in Italian and many other languages,” that is (uu).

28. unaccented as in whirlpool, cuckoo. This “differs from the preceding by the remission of the accent, and such reduction of quantity as it will bear so as not to identify with No. 22, for whirlpool must not be pronounced as if it were whirlpool. Where, however, it is not followed in the same syllable by a consonant, as in cukoo, luxury, it may be as short as utterance can make it.” Here the nemesis of confusing (u, ə) appears. It will be necessary to transcribe (uu) in the first case, as of medial length, and (u) in the second. He writes (lok’shə’rə’r), which is extremely artificial.

29. accented as in tail, boy. This “is a diphthongal sound whose component parts are Nos. 25 and 4.” That is, it is (AA’). 

30. unaccented as in turmoil, footboy. This “differs from the preceding by the remission of accent, but its diphthongal nature prevents any perceptible difference in quantity,” so that the transcription (AA’i) will be retained.
31. accented as in noun, now, brown. This is "a diphthongal sound of whose component parts are Nos. 23 and 27; at least, is the former of the two component sounds nearer to No. 23 than No. 25, though Walker makes the combination to be Nos. 25 and 27." That is, Smart analyses it as (fau), and not as (Aa'u). He certainly could not have said (tau) with the first element long, but he had no means of writing (hu). Walker says: "The first or proper sound of this diphthong is composed of the a in ball, and the o in woo, rather than the u in bull," that is (Aa' uu). It will be seen that Mr. I. Pitman (p. 1183, key) uses ou = (o' yu) as his analysis of the diphthong down to this day. I have never heard it in received pronunciation.

32. unaccented, as in pronoun, nut-brown. This "differs from the preceding only by the remission of accent," and hence (au) is retained as the transcription.

"The Vowels which terminate in Guttural Vibration, by nature long, though liable to be shortened."

33. accented, equivalent to No. 23 and r, as in ardent, that is, "No. 23, terminating in guttural vibration, ... there is no trill, but the tongue being curled back during the progress of the vowel preceding it, the sound becomes guttural, while a slight vibration of the back part of the tongue is perceptible in the sound." I don't pretend to understand any part of this observation. He also says: "the letter r is sometimes a consonant, ... and sometimes a guttural vowel-sound," and "that the trill of the tongue may be used wherever the following dictionary indicates the guttural vibration, is not denied; but it cannot be used at such places without carrying to correct ears an impression of peculiar habits in the speaker,—either that he is foreign or provincial, Irish or Scotch, a copier of bad declaimers on the stage, or a speaker who in correcting one extreme has unwarily incurred another. The extreme among the vulgar in London doubtless is to omit the r altogether—to convert far into (fa) hard into (khaa), cord into (kaa'd) lord into (laad), etc.;—an extreme which must be avoided as carefully as the strong trill of r in an improper place." Under these circumstances I transcribe (') for the "guttural vibration," or "guttural vowel-sound," whatever that may be, and own myself, and almost every one I hear speak, to belong to the extreme of the vulgar in saying (aa) for (aa'), although I often hear and say (aa'). Hence No. 33 will be (aa').

34. unaccented as in arcade, dollar. This "differs from the preceding, both in quantity (though this cannot be much) and in quality, by verging towards unaccented No. 39. Indeed when the letters ar occur in a final unaccented syllable, as in dollar, it would be a puerile nicety to attempt distinctiveness." I transcribe (aa''), when he writes "ar equivalent to" No. 23 followed by the guttural vibration, that is, the sound (aa) merely verging to (') and (') otherwise.

35. accented as in ermine, virtue. This "lies between Nos. 41 and 39, and in mere theory would not be distinguished from the former." I shall transcribe it ('), though I am sure that it is usually a perfectly simple vowel-sound, and Smart gives no means of exactly determining it. Of course he may have distinguished it as ('). See No. 19.

36. unaccented as in commerce, letter, nadir. This "is scarcely ever heard without some corruption of its quality in a final syllable, where the letters er, ir, or, ur, yr, will almost necessarily be pronounced ur," No. 39. "This necessity is less in some words than in others, in commerce, for instance, than in letter." Hence I transcribe (oo', oo') in the two cases.

37. accented as in order. This, "which is equivalent to No. 25 and r," that is to (Aa"), "occurs frequently in the language, often requiring to be distinguished from No. 47. For instance form (fAA'm), meaning figure, must be distinguished in pronunciation from form (foo's'm), meaning a bench." I transcribe (AA'), though I generally hear (AA) or (AA').

38. unaccented as in stover or in sailor. This "is seldom distinct." I transcribe (AA'') and (') according to his marks, on the principle of No. 34.

39. accented as in urgent. This "is the natural vowel terminating in the guttural vibration," and is transcribed ('), though how this differs from (a) or (h'), or any one of the sounds discussed in No. 19, it is difficult to say.

40. unaccented as in sulphur. This
"differs from the preceding only by the remission of accent," and is, therefore, still transcribed (o').

41. accented as in mære, "equivalent to Nos. 1 and 39," that is (eei-o'), but surely the (i) must be omitted and at least (ee'-o') said, and this is strange. I transcribe (ee'v').

42. unaccented as in welfare, "equivalent to Nos. 2 and 39," that is (ee'),

43. accented as in mere, "equivalent to Nos. 3 and 39," that is (i'a').

44. unaccented as in atmosphere, "equivalent to Nos. 4 and 39," that is (i'a').

45. accented as in mire, "equivalent to Nos. 5 and 39," that is (a'i'a').

46. unaccented as in cmpire, "equivalent to Nos. 6 and 39," that is (eei').

47. accented as in mere, "equivalent to Nos. 7 and 39," that is (oo'ai'), meaning, perhaps, (oo'a'), as the (iu) could not have been used, see No. 41.

48. unaccented as in therefore, equivalent to Nos. 8 and 39," that is (oo').

49. accented as in mere, "equivalent to Nos. 9 and 39," or (juu'a').

50. unaccented as in figure, "equivalent to Nos. 10 and 39," or (uv').

51. accented as in poor, "equivalent to Nos. 27 and 39," or (uv').

52. unaccented as in black-a-moor, "equivalent to Nos. 28 and 39," or (uv').

53. accented as in power, "equivalent to Nos. 31 and 39," or (aa').

54. unaccented, as in cauli-flower, "equivalent to Nos. 32 and 39," (aa').

In reference to Nos. 41 to 54—of which it is said, "it is only by being followed by guttural vibration that these sounds differ respectively from Nos. 1 to 10, 27, 28, 31, and 32"—it should be remembered that Mr. Smart does not distinguish properly between (i, e, e, o, u) and hence the changes which Mr. Bell, myself, and others notice (1099, a') in the action of the diphthongising ('h) upon preceding (i, e, o, u), were necessarily passed over by Mr. Smart. He says indeed: "It has been said that there is a palpable difference between the vowel-sound in payer, player, slayer, and that in care, fair, hair, share. What difference may be made in New York I know not; but I know that none is made in London, nor can be made without that peculiar effect which shows an effort to distinguish what in general is necessarily undistinguishable," but that he did feel a difference is, I think, certain from the following remarks: "Identical, however, as they are, except as regards the peculiarity noticed, the practical necessity for considering them distinct elements will be perceived in the comparison of the first syllables of va-rious, se-rious, fi-ring, to-ry, fu-ry, with the first syllables of va-cant, se-cant, fi-nal, to-tal, fu-fitve; an identity of these syllables in pronunciation is decidedly provincial; the true utterance of the former is vare-ious, se-rious," etc., with Nos. 41 and 43, etc. "The difference in view will be rendered intelligible to those familiar with French pronunciation, by comparing the sound of dear pronounced correctly as an English word, with that of dire pronounced correctly as a French word. In both the vowel commences after the d precisely in the same way, but in the French word it remains pure, unmixed with the r, which begins a new syllable formed with what is called the mute e, the word being pronounced (di'i-r'), [vowels Nos. 3 and 24] "or nearly so; while in the English word, the sound of the r (not the trilled r as in French) blends itself with the e during its progress." [I hear French (diir), English (di')", (diir') before a vowel.] "So also in dear-ly, care-ful, etc., the addition of a syllable beginning with a consonant distinct from the r making no difference to the previous syllable, the r in that previous syllable blends itself with the vowel exactly as in dear, care, etc.; and the only difference between dear-ly, care-ful, etc., and va-rious, se-rious, fi-ring, to-ry, fu-ry, etc., is, that in the latter the r, besides blending itself with the previous vowel, is also heard in the articulation of the vowel which begins the following syllable." [Hence I feel bound to transcribe (vee'a'rias, si'ar'ias), etc., where I seem to say and hear (vec'rias, sie'-rias), etc.] "Of this blending of the r with the previous vowel, it is further to be observed that the union is so smooth in polite utterance as to make it imperceptible where one ends and the other begins;" [meaning, I suppose, that the diphthong is perfect, no interruption occurring in the glide, not even a slur, thus (ee') not (ee'-o'), although his careful interposition of the accent mark (ee'-o'), instead of putting it at the close (ee'-'), gives a different impression, and always leads me to read
with a slur (ee-ə);] "while in vulgar pronunciation the former vowel breaks abruptly into the guttural sound, or into the vowel No. 24 used for the guttural," [meaning, I suppose, (ee)-ə, ee-ə, or (ee)-ə, ee-ə].] "Among mere cockneys this substitution of No. 24 for No. 34, or No. 40, is a prevailing characteristic, and should be corrected by all who wish to adapt their habits to those of well-bred life." [Here he again becomes mysterious, separating his guttural vibration from his guttural vowel, with which he identified it in No. 33. As far as I can observe, and I have been constantly observing the use of r by Englishmen for many years, this distinction is founded in error. I can understand, and hear, (ə, or, or, v, \(\text{w}r, h, \text{r}, \text{r}^\prime\), but the difference (ə, ə) escapes me.] "It is, moreover, remarkable elements of each will pass on the ear either as one or two syllables, and this is signified in the schemes by the equivalent indications \(\text{a}^\prime, \text{u}^\prime\), [==No. 1, accent, No. 39; and No. 5, accent, No. 39; or (ee-ə, ə-ə')], "where the mark of accent placed over the former part gives it the appearance of the first of two syllables, while the omission of the hyphen shows that the whole is pronounced as one." He refers here to No. 134, where he says, that: "pay-er and may-or; ti-ar, buy-er, and high-er; slow-er and grow-er; su-er and new-er; true-er, brew-er, and do-er; bow-er and flow-er; are perfect rhymes to mare, hire, love, cure, poor, and hour." To me (peə-ə, laɪ-ə, baɪ-ə, paɪ-ə, sloʊ-ə, groʊ-ə, siʊ-ə, niʊ-ə, truŋ-ə, bruŋ-ə, duŋ-ə, baɪ-ə, flaɪ-ə), where ə might be used for j, are always dissyllabic; but mayor = mare precisely, = (meə), and (loʊ, ˈkiəʊ, pəʊ) are distinctly monosyllabic, though diphthongal, while hire, hour, involving triphthongs, are looser respecting the final, so that (əʊ-ə, əʊ) or (əʊ-ə-, əʊ-ə-) may be heard, but not (əʊ-ə, əʊ-ə) in two syllables, according to present usage. For past usage see examples from Shakspere, p. 551. I acknowledge having heard Mr. Smart's semi-dissyllabism in some elderly people, and was much struck by it in the late Sir John Bowring's evidently much studied pronunciation, but I cannot recognize it in my own generation, and I was born in 1814.

"a slight semi-consonant sound between No. 4 and No. 58, heard in the transition from certain consonant to certain vowel sounds: as in lute, j'ew, nature, garment, kind." This "is a sound so short and slight as to be lost altogether in the mouth of an unpolished speaker, who says (luut, dzhu, néej'tshu), or more commonly (nēej'tshu), garment, kind, etc., for lute, j'ew, etc. On the other hand, there are persons who, to distinguish themselves from the vulgar, pronounce No. 58 distinctly on the occasions which call for this slighter sound of No. 58 or No. 4. This affected pronunciation," [which he writes l-yoot, j-yoo, nə'-ch-yoor, g-yar-ment, k-yind,] "be it observed, is to be avoided with as much care as the slight sound, which in the mouth of an elegant speaker naturally slides in between the consonant and the vowel, is to be imitated." I believe the sounds he means are (lə'ut, dʒu, nēj'tʃu), g'ar'meント, kjo'ind), but, in consequence of No. 58, I transcribe this "semi-consonant" by (j). As respects its use after (sh), Prof. Haldeman says: "If, by the conversion of s into English y or sh, o-be-di-ent becomes o-be-dyent (the writer's mode of speaking) or o-be-dzhen, no speaker of real English can preserve both dzh and j; yet Walker has coined a jargon with such forms as o-be-je-ent, and criss-tshe-an-e-te. Similarly if 'omniscient' has an s, it has four syllables; if sh, it has but three. Compare the dissyllables Russia, Asia, conscience, and the trisyllables militia, malicious" (Anal. Orth. art. 311). Smart, using the transcriptions suggested, writes (ə-ə-bi-di-eint = o-bi-di-ent, kríst-ʃən, "kríst-ʃən", colloquially (kríst-ʃən, jən, "jən"), where the separation of (t-sh) is inorganic, (kríst-ʃən, t-sh, am-nēsh-ə-ent, am-nēsh-ə-ens, Ee'-shən, "e'-shən, Raʃh, "rəh, kan'-shən, məl'-shən, məl'-shən, rəs). I seem to say (əb-i-di'-ent, krɪ'st, ʃən, krɪs-tə-rənt, əm-nēsh-ə-ent, Ee/-shən, "e/-shən, Raʃh, məl/-shən, məl/-shən, rəs). It seems that many of these changes of (s) into (sh) through (l) are in a state of transition, and that the stages are (-s-ən, -s-ən, -s-ən, -s-ən), and that those speakers who have learned to speak in any prior state have a sort of repulsion against a following one, and will never submit to it,—when they think of it,
that is, in 'careful speaking,'—leaving the change to be accomplished by the rising or some following generation. The admission of all pronunciations as now coexisting, instead of the stigmatisation of some as vulgar or as wrong, marks the peculiarity of my standpoint, whence I try to see what is, rather than decide what should be.

"SCHEME OF THE CONSONANTS."

56. "h, as in hand, perhaps, voice, is a propulsion of breath, which becomes vocal in the sound which follows it, this following sound being hence called aspirated." As 'propulsion' may be an 'elegant' translation of 'jerk,' I transcribe (njh). "And the sound which follows is in our language always a vowel, except w and y; for w is aspirated in wheat, whig, etc., which are pronounced hwëat, hwig, etc., and y is aspirated in hew, huge, etc., which are pronounced hyoo, hyôôge, etc." Hence I transcribe (njhwiit, njhrudzh). "It is to be further noted that the aspirate is never heard in English except at the beginning of syllables; [that (izs) is really (izh), and might therefore be well called a final aspirate, naturally never occurred to him,] "and that in the following and all their derivatives h is silent: heir, honest, honour, hostler, hour, humble, and humour." The two last words are now most frequently aspirated, just as Smart aspirates herb, hospital, which may still be heard unaspirated from well-educated people. I heard a physician, speaking at a hospital public meeting lately, constantly say (repstul).

57. "w, beginning a syllable without or with aspiration, as in we, beware, froward, wheat equivalent to hwëat, is a consonant having for its basis the most contracted of the vowel-sounds, namely No. 27, which sound, being partially obstructed by an inward action of the lips, and then given off by an outward action, is changed from a vowel to a consonant. A comparison of the French word oui, as a Frenchman pronounces it (viz. No. 28, No. 3, accent), with the English word we as an Englishman pronounces it, will show the difference between the vowel and the consonant." This is (w).

58. "y, beginning a syllable as in you, and this sound is always to be understood as present in Nos. 9, 10, 60, which are equivalent to y, with Nos. 27, 28, and 62, is a consonant, having for its basis the slenderest of the vowel-sounds, namely, No. 3," [what is the precise difference between "the slenderest" and "the most contracted" of the vowel-sounds? Who would imagine them to be respectively (i, un) and not (uu, ii) ?] "which sound being partially obstructed by an inward action of the jaw carrying the back of the tongue against the soft palate, and then given off by an outward action, is changed by these actions from a vowel into a consonant. When very slightly uttered, with little of the organic action, and therefore resuming much of the character of a vowel, it is No. 55." Hence, I transcribe No. 58 by (j), and No. 56 by (j).

59. "s and ss; also c or sc before e or i, as in sell, sit, mass; cell, face, cit, scene, science," is (s).

60. "z, zz, ze, as in zeal, buzz, maze," is (z).

61. "sh as in mish'-un, so spelled to signify the pronunciation of mission," is (sh).

62. "zh as in vizh'-un, so spelled to signify the pronunciation of vision," is (zh).

63. "ch, tch, as in chair, each, match," is (tsh), see No. 64.

64. "j; and also g before e or i, as in jog; gem, gem, gin," is (dzh). Nos. 63 and 64 "are not simple consonants, the former being t and sh, and the latter d and zh." Prince L. L. Bona- parte considers that Smart's observations in No. 147 tend to shew that, notwithstanding this statement, Smart really analysed (tskjh, dzh). But to me Smart's observations only relate to the use of (tskjh, dzh), as he says in Nos. 61, 62, 63, and 64, that these consonants are "unable to take the consonant y [No. 58] into fluent union, and therefore either absorb the y entirely, or reduce it to the slighter element" No. 55, here transcribed (j). Of the possible reduction of (sikjh) into (shj), he seems to have had no clear conception. Thus, he takes no notice of (lj nj). His coup d'œil, bagno are (kuudu'a:l', ba:njô). But his habit of speech may have been different from his analysis. This is often the case. Thus Mr. Murray and myself analyse my own pronunciation of "long a" differently (1109, á).

65. "f, ff, fe, as in fog, cuff, life," is (f).
66. "r, ve, as in vain, lore," is (v).
67. "th, as in thin, pith," is (th).
68. "th, the, as in them, with, breathe," is (dh).
69. "1, ll, le, as in let, mill, sale," is (l). The last syllable of able, idle, he says, is "a syllable indeed without a vowel, except to the eye," adding in a note, "Able, e-vel, ma-son, broken, etc., although heard with only one vowel, are as manifestly two syllables to the ear (all our poetry proves it) as any disyllable in the language."
70. "m, mm, me, as in may, hammer, blame," is (m).
71. "n, nn, ne, as in no, banner, tune," is (n).
72. "ng, as in ring," is (q).
73. "r, rr, as audibly beginning a syllable or being one of a combination of consonants that begin a syllable, as in ray, erect, florid (=florrid), torrid, pray, spread. Under other circumstances, the letter is a sign of mere guttural vibration." This "is an utterance of voice acted upon by a trill or trolling of the tongue against the upper gum." Again, in No. 33, he speaks of r in ray, etc., as "formed by a strong trill of the tongue against the upper gum." [This would be (r), but I shall transcribe (r), as I have transcribed (n), see No. 78. But that the trill is strong is strongly opposed to Mr. M. Bell's untrilled (r).] "The trill in which the utterance of this consonant mainly consists, is often faultily produced by the back of the tongue against the soft palate" [meaning the uvula, which is the real vibrator, against the back of the tongue], "so formed, it makes the noise called the burr in the throat, a characteristic of Northumbrian pronunciation, and not unfrequent in particular places and many families elsewhere." The burr is (r); the dental trill is (r).
74. "p, pp, pe, as in pop, supper, hope," is (p).
75. "b, bb, be, as in bob, rubber, robe," is (b).
76. "k, ck, ke; also c final, and c before a, o, or u, or a consonant, as in king, hack, bake; antic, cut, cot, cut, claim," is (k).
77. "g, before a, o, or u, or a consonant, as in gap, got, gun, guess, plague, grim," is (g).
78. "t, tt, te, as in -ten, matter, mate, is an utterance of breath confined behind the tongue by a close junction of the tip of the tongue and the upper gum, the breath therefore being quite inaudible, till the organs separate to explode, either the breath simply as in ât, or the breath vocalised as in too." If the contact with the gum is to be taken literally, I must transcribe (t), and must then have (r, d, n). I am inclined to believe, however, that in all cases Smart was con turbine himself with old definitions, instead of making independent observations; and hence I shall use (r, t, d, n).
79. "d, dd, de, as in den, madder, made," in consequence of what is said in No. 78, I transcribe (d). See No. 78.

As Smart makes no difference in meaning when a consonant is doubled, I shall not double consonants in transcribing, and in consequence I shall not divide syllabically, as this would be impossible on his plan without such reduplications. Smart distinguishes two accents, primary and secondary, which I transcribe as (') and (.), and place after the vowel or after the consonant as he has done. With regard to monosyllables, he says (art. 176) that they are all "exhibited as having accented vowel-sounds." But as he makes unemphatic a = No. 24 or (sch), me = Nos. 70 and 4, or (mil), your = (jo'), am, was had, shall, and, (=omnia), waz, mhaed, shae^, e^nd, for = (fo'), of = (ov), from = (from); my, by = (mil, bi), and thay "among people who familiarly use it" = (dhi), and the = (dhi) before a vowel and (dhis) before a consonant, and you "in the accusative case and not emphatic" = (ri) or (30), I shall so transcribe them in the connected passage, but I omit the hyphens.

Some of the words in the example are not in Smart's Dictionary, such as graphical, phonetic, linguistic, and inflexions and derivatives, such as its, printed, etc. His pronunciation of these has been inferred from graphic graphically, phonology mimetic, linguist sophistical, and the simple words. Altogether I believe that the transcription fairly represents the original.
Comparative Specimen

A. J. Ellis.

See pp. 1091-1173.

Dhu-ri'tn un-prîntyd see:prîzentee'shun u-dha-so' ur'nz u.v-lé'qwyd, zh sh, bi-mii' nz èy-ke'ryktez, whî't sh ur
insuf'shant, both in ka' nd un-ne'mba-r, un-whî't sh
mas-dheec'la bii-komble' nd a'mo'dîf'id, if-wî-wed-gîv u-græ-fîkal si:mbo'lic'es'hen u-dhu-fonètik e'le'ments widh-
oo'nlî se'm-digrii: u-v-
egâz'e:knyo 'n-kunvi'n'i'jens, nôz-bii'n, frem-aa' l te'îm, fo-ne'e'shun uz-ve'l'ez
i:ndîvi'dîjû'ulz, liqgwî'stîkul stû'û' dunts not ekse'ptyd, wo'n-
-u-dhu mos-ne'sesuri
un-wo'ender-dhu mos-
dî'fik'lt uv-pro'blumz, un-
vez-kôns'kwentlî skëc'sli
eve bin-me'ploy solvd. Let-
dhî's tiit'sh-es dhtu-dhi-
jînve'nsyen u-v-ro'i'tiq, dhu-
gre'tyst un-moe'st
impa'tunt imve'shen
•whî't sh dhu-juw'men mo'ind
uz-e've meed, un-whî't sh,
æz-it-indii'd aâ'lmrost
eksii'dz its-stre'qth, 
hez-bin-o'or'en un-
no't ænd,ze:shli strî'brû'ûtyd
tu-dhu-go'x; löc'k-dhî
aa'geniz'm uv-u-steet', st-wo'ns
simpl'–n komplexes, èz-not-
dhu wo'ek-uv i:ndîvi'dîjû'ulz,
bat-uv-se'ntsû'ûrs, pu'm'a:ps-
uv tho'w'zenz-uv ju'izs.

of Individual Synthetic

Prof. S. S. Haldeman.

See pp. 1186-1196.

Dha [rûn ynd pl'rintyd
[repri:zentee'shun yv dho sàwndz
yv lëqgwî'dzh bâr mînzh yv
kà'ryktz, whwitsh ër
insèf'shunt, both in kâ'nd
yn ne'mbë, ynd whwitsh most
dhe'fôs bi këmbôynd ëâ'
môdy'dûd if wi wud gëv è
gre-fîkîl simbl'izi'shyn yv
dha fonetik e'lymyns widh
ô'nlî se m dig'rii yv
egzâktnes ynd konvi'n'yns,
thaës bîn, fëom al tàm fà'ê
ne'shynz ëz wel yz
indývid'rylz [indývid'zhylz]
liqgwî'stîkl strû' dnts
not ekse'ptyd won [won]
yv dho most ne'sysy'ri
ynd won yv dhy most
dyf'kylt yv p'reblymz, ynd
thaës kôns'kwentlî skës'sli
evz bîn ëhëp'lylî sài'lv. Let
dhîs tiîtsh ës dhto dho
invèns'hyn yv [rât'iq, dho
glêtyst ën most
impa'tunt invèns'hyn
whwitsh dho jhûw'myn mâ'nd
thaës evs med, ynd whwitsh,
æz it indii'd aâlmost
eksii'dz its streqth [strench?] 
thaës bîn ëâ'fn [ofn] ynd
not andzhâ'stli æt'ri'brûtyd
to dho ga'x; lâ'k dho
dàgynizm yv æ stet, æt wans
simpl yn komplexes, ëz not
dhô wàk yv indývid'rylz
bêt yv se'ntrjû,â'z py'nhâps
yv thàw'ndz yv ju'iz.
PRONUNCIATION OF ENGLISH IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

H. Sweet.
See p. 1196.

B. H. Smart.
See pp. 1197–1205.

CHAP. XI.

1. COMPARISON OF FOUR PRONUNCIATIONS.

Dh'-ri'tn'-n-pr'i'nte'd-re'pr'z'nt'ysh'n'-v-dh' ssa'w'o'ndz 'v-levq'gwede'dzh 'bu'y-miu'nz'-v -kæ're'kæ'tæzh wïsht'-r'-i:n'sfi'sh'n t b,òo; th-e'n-kw'y-nd'-n-narm'mboh 'nd-wïsht-m's-t-dhre'ëh:f'huv-be'-k'mb'w'y-nd'-hv-m'de'to'yd 'f:we'-w,ad-gi've'-h'-gra'fëk'1-simb'l'lygey sh'n'-v'-dh'-f_onet'e'k-e'l'mnts w'dh'-o'o'o:nle'-sr:mm-de'grii-v:-v'-e'gza'kte'n's-ñ-k'nvü'n'ns nhz'bi-bi'ñ-f'rm-a'1'-t:wey m f'-nëy'sh'nz 'z-wei:l'-z'-i:nde'v'idzh'ul'lz, lëqgqw'w'sték'l'-struuw'd'nts-n:tt-e'kssep'te'd wàn'n'-v-dh'-m,òo;st-ne'es'sre1 'nd-wànn'-v-dh'-m,òo;st-st'dï'fe'k'lt'-v-pr'obblé'mz, 'nd'-z'-k' ònse'kw'ntle1 skërë'h'sle1 év'vëh-bûn-nha'p'le'-s'o'llvd. Lëtt -dhi:s-tïr'tsh'-s' dhi't-dh'-e'nvë'ns'h'n'-v-re'y'tiq dh'-grë'te'y-st'-n-m,òo;st- e'mpa'ëh'tnt-e'nve'ns'h'n wïsht-dh-hjë'uw'w'm'n-më'vey'nd'-z'ëv'ëh-mëe'y'd 'nd-wïsht z'-ët'-i'z nddiiï'd: aa'l'm,òo';st-e'ksüs'vd-z-ët'st-stre'qth, nhz'-bûn-å'fm, 'n'-n:ot'tndzhë'stël'1 'tri'br'aw'te'd-t'-dhi'-g'od'dze, lh'y:k-dhe'- k'ëh'g'û:zm'v'-h-stëy't, 't-wårns -si'mp'l'-n-k'omp'l:ks, e'z-n:ot't-dhi' wôö'k'-v'-s:nde'v'idzh'ul'lz b't'-v-se'n'tsh're's, prë-ps'-v'-thwa'lwiz:ndz'-v'-ï'ëhzh.

Dhêa' rit'n o'nd print'ed reprizentëq'ë'shan ov dhêa'sàaundz ov lëq'gwëdzh, bi miinz ov kær'ëk'tz nïhwëtsh aa' s'mafis'h'ënt, bôô'luth in ko'ind o'nd nom'bo' o'nd nïhwëtsh mëst dhe'f'ës' bi ko'mbo'ind' a' mad'ìso'ìd if wi wud giv òn' graf'ëk'sëm:sobilizëq'shan òv dhêa' fonët'yk él'ëments widh òn'li som digri' òv egzëkt'nes o'nd kanvii niens, nïhâ'z bín from ìl t'o'im fë' née'ï'shanz òn'z wel òn'z in'divid'jue'z', liqgwist'kësm' stru'u'dents nat ekseptëd, wën ov dhêa'môô'ì ust nes'esë'ri o'nd wën ov dhêa'môô'ì ust dëfikôl't ov prab'lemz o'nd nïhâ'z kan'sïkwënt:li skëe'ë'li ev'ë' bín nïhëp'ëli salvd. Let dhis tûtsh òs dhaëst dhêa' inven'sh'an ov rë'tiq, dhêa' grëq'ët'ëst o'nd môô'ì ust impâ'a'tën't inven'sh'an nïhwëtsh dhi jnruu'erna'ma'ënd nïhâ'z ev'ë'mëe'jid, o'nd nïhwëtsh, o'ñ'ë'ët ìn'diïd: ââ'mo'st eksii'd'z its streqth nïhâ'z bín âf'n o'nd nat ìndzhëst'li æ'tr'ëbrütëd tu dhaë'gâdž, lo'ëk dhi ââ'ga'ënt'ësm ov òn stëeq'ët oë't wëns sim'pl o'nd kam'pleks, âz nat dhêa' wè'k' ov in'divid'jue'z', bät ov sent'ôrêz, po'nïhëps' ov thâau'zë'ndz ov jii'ë'z.
Observations on Unstudied Pronunciations.

All the above specimens of pronunciation labour under the obvious disadvantage of being the result of deliberate thought. Mr. Bell's and Mr. Smart's, like those of all pronouncing dictionary writers and elocutionists, give rather what they think ought to be than what they have observed as most common. They take to heart a maxim which Dr. Gill borrowed from Quintilian and stated thus: "Quemadmodum in moribus bonorum consensus, sic in sermone consuetudo doctorum primaria lex est. Scriptura igitur," by writing, he, as a phonetic writer, implied pronunciation, "omnis accommodanda erit, non ad illum sonum quem bubuleti, quem mulerculae et portiores [sic, portiores?]; sed quem docti, aut culte eruditi viri exprimunt inter loquendum et legendum." But my object in this book is to know what men did and do habitually say, or think they say, and not merely what they think they ought to say. I have therefore endeavoured to catch some words which were not given as specimens of pronunciation, but, being uttered on public occasions, were, I thought, fairly appropriaible. Of course this attempted exhibition of some pronunciations labours under another immense disadvantage. When Prof. Haldeman, Mr. Sweet, and myself wrote down each his own pronunciation, we were each able to repeat the sound, feel the motion of the organs, revise and re-revise our conceptions as to what it really was, and thus give the result of careful deliberation. But when I attempt to write down a passing word,—and the very merit of my observation consists in the absolute ignorance of the speaker that his sounds and not his sense are being noted,—there is no possibility to recall the word, and unless it happens to recur soon, I am unable to correct my first impressions. I have indeed often found that after hearing the word several times, I have been unable to analyse it satisfactorily. Still, knowing no better method of observing, I give a few results to shew what it leads to. I name the speakers when they are well-known public men, whose speech-sounds may probably be taken as a norm, as much as their thoughts. They will understand, that they are named, not for the purpose of "shewing up" peculiarities, but of enforcing the fact that men of undoubted education and intelligence, differ in pronunciation from one another, from pronouncing dictionaries, and from my own habits, so that the term "educated pronunciation" must be taken to have a very "broad" signification. It must be understood that all these pronunciations were noted on the spot, as soon as possible after each word was uttered, and that I have in no case allowed subsequent impressions to affect my original note, which I have regarded as a conscientious, though of course possibly erroneous, observation. When (e, a) are written, I can never feel sure that (e, a) were not actually used. When, however, (e, a) are written, they were certainly observed. No attention having been paid at the time of noting to the difference between (n, nh), the use of n cannot be guaranteed, and (nh) is often more probable. In each case I have thought it best to add my own pronunciation, as well as I can figure it, for the
purpose of comparison. This is always placed last, and is preceded by a dash. Thus, in the first word cited, "accomplished ãkəmplïst —wkəmplïst," the italics indicate ordinary spelling, the first palaeotype the pronunciation observed, the second palaeotype, following the (---), the pronunciation which I believe I am in the habit of using in connected speech. If nothing follows the dash, my pronunciation agrees with that observed, but both disagree from several (and possibly, but not necessarily, all) pronouncing dictionaries. When no dash is added, my pronunciation differed too slightly to be noted. In no case, however, must these notes of my own pronunciation be taken as a confirmation or correction of the former. They are added merely to mark differences of habit. Such men as I have cited by name have certainly a full right to say that their pronunciation is a received English pronunciation—at least as much so, I think more than as much so, as any professed elocutionist. It may be observed that my list is not extensive enough, and that especially I have not given examples from the pronunciation of professed men of letters, from the bar, the stage, or the pulpit. This is true. All these classes labour under the disadvantage of making speech a profession. I have an idea that professed men of letters are the worst sources for noting peculiarities of pronunciation; they think so much about speech, that they nurse all manner of fancies, and their speech is apt to reflect individual theories. However, Prof. Bain may be taken as one of the best examples. The bar has rather hereditary pronunciations, where they are not individual and local. The stage for the higher class of dramas is archaic and artificial; for the middle and lower it is merely imitative, and hence exposes an observer to all the chances of error in taking information second hand. The pulpit is full of local pronunciations, but Professor Jowett, distinguished and admired as a preacher as well as a scholar, may be considered a sufficient representative of this class. Men of science I have especially represented. They are forming a large and influential class at the present day. The general Londoners in public meeting assembled seemed to me a good source for general varieties. Parliament is far too local; and so are country gentlemen, from whom its ranks are mainly recruited. Of course it must be understood that the peculiarities which I have chosen to note do not characterise the general run of the pronunciation of the speakers observed. It must not be assumed that every word is peculiar, or that the greater number of words present divergent characters. Thus the words from Prof. Bain and Prof. Jowett are all that it occurred to me to note in two courses of lectures—a very small number when thus considered. The general speech of educated London differs only in certain minute points, and in a few classes of words, so far as I have hitherto observed, from that which I have given as my own. Even in the cases cited, where I have put my own for contrast, the differences are seldom such as would strike an observer not specially on the look-out for individualities of pronunciation.
Words observed in listening to a course of lectures on "Common Errors on the Mind," delivered by Prof. Bain at the Royal Institution in May, 1868. Prof. Bain had evidently considered well both his pronunciation and delivery, so that all his deviations from custom must be regarded as the result of deliberate choice, although possibly modified by local habits, as in (booth) for (booth). And as Prof. Bain has bestowed considerable attention on phonetic writing, no allowance need be made for possible Scotticisms. I do not feel at all certain that (ə'ri, ə'ry) are correctly analysed. accomplished a'kəm-ple'sht—ə-kəm-ple'sht advantages əd'va-nntyd'hyz—əd'va-nntyd'hyz against you a'gen'stjuu—əg'ənst' ju aghast əgəa'st—ə-gəa'st alternation ə-altə'mee'shun—ə-altə'mee'shun a solid ah əl'əlid—ə əl'əlid a strong v ə strək—a-way ə-wew—ə-wew beau ideal boo 'i-deəl—boo ə'i'diəl both ə-boθ—booth branch brahn'tsh—brants braantsh cessation ə-siə'shun—ə-siə'shun circumstances ə'kəum'stensiz—ə:ko'mstensyz circumlocation ə'kəumlo'kəu'shun—ə:ko'umlo'kəu'shun class klaas—kləs classes kla'əsiz—kla'əsyz compounds kəm'pəndz—kəm'po'ndz consummated ə-kən'səm-mə'təd—ə-kən'səm-mə'təd contrast kən'tρra'st—kən'tra'st crafty kraa'sh'ti—kraa'sh'ti dance duəns—daəns economised ikə'noməizd—ikə'nomə'izd educability ed'uki-bə'lə'ti—ed'uki-bə'lə'ti effect efə'kt—efə'kt engine e'ndza'houn—ə'nədza'houn epoch ip'ok—ə'pok example eg'əzməpl—ə'gəzməpl explanation ek'sple'neershun—ek'sple'neershun exstolled ek'stəuld—ek'stəuld eye ai—ə'i' faculties fa'kəlts—fa'kəlts'yz fatigue fa'kəlti-g—fa'kəlti'g force foərs fuərs—foo's forth fərθ—foo'th fraternity fra'stərni-ti—frə'tərni-ti fraternity fra'tərni'ti—frə'tərni'ti functionary fo ə kəs'kenəri—frəktərni'z genus dəzhə'nəs—dəzhii'nəs good guəd—gud handicraft nə'endkrəft—nə'endkrəft nə'endkraaf—nə'endkraaf handly həardli—həardli heroine əhəro'jin—əhəro'jin heterogeneous əhtə'rədzhi'niəs—əh'tə-rə'dzhi'niəs hold həuld—həuld human əhu'wen—əhu'wen ignorance əg'noorəns—implanted ə-plə'məntd—impla'ntyd impla'ntyd important impə'rtənt—impə'rtənt inexorable i'nə'gresərəl—in'ə'gresərəl initiative i'nə'ti'shə'tiv—in'ə'ti'shə'tiv intrinsically in'trənzikəli—in'trən'si-kəli irrepressive ir'respektiv—is'respektiv isolation i'səsəl'ʃun—knowledge knəu'li'dzh—language əl'kwəndʒ—last ləst learners lərnəz—ləu'nesza lesson lə'sən—lə'sen maturity mətjuur'riti—məti'ər'riti mass maas—master məstə—maa'stə miracle mirək—in'mərək modern thought mə'drən thə'tət—mə'dən thə'tət musician miu'zi'shun—miu'zi'shun mutual mu'i'tjuəl—miu'ə'tjuəl miu'tjuəl thətəbthel narrow naə'ro—naə'ro natural na'tjʊər—na'tʃʊər nəvəshural obedience obi'drən—obi'drən path paθ—peculiar pək'juəli—pək'juəli person pəsən—pəsən plastic plə'stik—plə'stik plasticity plə'stə'stI—plə'stə'stI practice prə'ktIz—prə'ktIz prejudice prə'dzhu'daIz—prə'dzhu'daIz pressure prə'sjuər—prə'sjuə processes prə'sesəz—prə'sesəz purport purpər't—pər'pət relativity relə'ti'vei—relə'ti'vei sayz seəz—seəz sensibilities sen'səbələ'tiz—sen'səbələ'tiz sentient sen'shənt—sen'shənt soər səət—səət specialty spə'shələ'ti—spə'shələ'ti spirits spə'rets—spə'rets spurring spə'riq—spə'riq stoical strəik—strəik̯əl student stəsha'nt—stə'ndant suitəd suə'ted—səu'təd system sə'stəm—sə'stəm task task—task task testimony te'stiməni—te'stiməni thorough thərə—thərə thərə
thoughly thor'ali thor'ali — thor'ali thor'ali
transition trenzish'un, trenzish'un — trenzish'un
tutors tjuu'tiz — ti'iurtues
understood o'ndistu'd — o'ndystur'd
variety vari'tii — vari'tii
volcanoes volk'ee'nooz — volka'nooz
want want — wont
was was — waz waz
whole hool — hoo'vl

PROF. JOWETT,
the Master ofBalliol College, Oxford,
in February, 1871, gave three lectures on Socrates at the Royal Institution.
The following are a few of his pronunciations there noted.
 aspirant w'spurunt — aspa't'rant
attaching himself to him sate'lish'n
—himsel-tuuum
bone boo'vn — boon ?
but that the famous b'at-dh'at-dh'i
feem'sas — b'at-dh'et-dha feem'as
certain so'ttn — seet'tyn
character kah'ruktke — karekte
Chatham tsha'tem
— Cicero si'suro
— describing him diskrai'biq-im — dis-
ke'riq-im
difficulty dr'fekiti — dir'fekiti
discontented dis'kumen'tyd —
discovery dis'kove'vuri —
disrepeancy dis'kripensi — diskre'pansi
due diiu — diuu
earliest so'lijst — selijst
ears sii'jvz — ii'ivz
education ed'zhiu'kesh'shn — e'di'kiiu's-
shen
enii ii'ivyl — ii'ivl
example egzaa'mpl
— exhausted egzaa'styd —
foreign fo'run — fo'tyn
gather up gaad'dhur-ap — gaad'dhur-ap
haughtily haa'ttii — haa'tli
he has had hii'uz'eed — hii'uz'heed
height hii'haiith — hoi't
highest hii'lar'est — no't'tyt
human zhii'umuun —
humourist zhii'uru'merist —
image i'midzh — i'medzh
Isthmian i'smiijen — istrymijen
knowledge no'vel'dizh — no'lydzh
lastly laarl'ti — laarl'tii
lecture le'ktshe — le'ktsi
manhood ma'nu'd — ma'nu'nd
mask maask
memorabilia me'morbi'liju — memor-
bi'lju
minutiae ma'niuuu'shiiji — ma'niu'ushiiji
moulds mooz' — moo'eldz
must have ma'st'tv —
natural ma'tshu'rl — ma'tshu'rl ma't'ti'i'
— rel
nature ma'tshu' — ma'tshu' nee'ti'
opinion o'pi'nnun — o'pi'nnun
oracle o'trukl —
ordinarily a'adinerili — a'adinerili
origin o'redzhin — o'redzhin
ornaments a'amumynta —
parallel pe'rezel — pe'rezel
passed paas —
persons pe'rozn — pe.snna
politicus po'litish'en — po'litish'en
politics po'letisk —
Potidaea po'vadi' — po'tiidi'ye
process prooses —
society saa'sii'ti — saa'sii'ti
Socrates so'kretiz —
soon suun — suun
time ta'lm — to'im
unable o'nee'bl — mee'bl
ventured ve'nstsh'd — ve'nstii'd ve'nstshed
virtue ve'tshu — ve'tti ve've'tshu
whole hool — hoo'vl
Xenophon ze'nefon —
years sii'jvz — sii'z

Sir G. B. Airy,
Astronomer Royal and President of the Royal Society, made use of the follow-
— ing pronunciations while speaking at the Royal Society, 30 Nov. 1872.
— components kompooments — kompoor-
nynts
geodesis gii:odiis'sists — da'ji'odis'isists
greesy gii:adiis'si — da'ji'odis'i
Greenwich grii'nu'ish — grii'midzh
— meridional mirr'ie'dion'ael — mirr'dionel
New Zealand niu'z ze'leand — niu'a
zi'leand
Nova Zembla no'vee ze'lebl — no'vee
ze'lebl
palaeontology pe'lio'ntool'dzhi —
pe'li'o'ntool'dzhi
stereoscopic stii'ri'ojskoipik — sti'i'ri-
skoipik — some say (sti'i'rioskoopik)

Dr. Hooker,
when delivering his opening address as
President of the British Association at the
Norwich Meeting on the 19 Aug.
1868. I believe Dr. Hooker is East
Anglian by birth.
— accumulated ay'myleed — aki'ui'miu-
— lectyed. [N.B. The first, accented,
(y) was rather indistinct and very
short.]
alone a'lo'nn — sloo'vn
are ee' — sa
bones bonz — boo'wenz
cantonment kantu‘nment — kær’ten-myt

either ee‘dhu [not (ee)]—ii‘dhu o‘r’dhu

ewe few fry [perhaps (fey)], the word was difficult to catch, and I noticed it

finite fr‘n’t [in the phrase (dhi ‘i‘nfr‘n’ t
un dhu fr‘n’t), this pronunciation was

altogether new to me, though I have often heard (‘infr‘n’ t) as opposed to)—(fr‘n’ t)

Lawrence laa’rüns [not (la) or (la)]—

(La‘rüns)

only o‘nli’ [not at all uncommon]
— oo‘w’ni‘

neither nee‘dhu—nii‘dhu no‘r’dhu

plants plahnts—plaunts

progress progres—proo grez [there is
great diversity in the words pro-
duct progress, many give (pro) and
others (proo) to both; I say (pro‘dak
proo‘gres), but Col. Strange at the
same meeting said (proo‘dak, pro-
gres].]

quote kot [quite short (o)]—kuwoot

series si‘r’jiiz—si‘r’jiiz

stone ston—sto‘oon

undertaken o‘ndetse‘kan [distinct (kan)]
—o‘ndetse‘k’n

wholly no‘li—ho‘ooli‘

**MEN OF SCIENCE.**

Only a very few cases are here given,
chiefly remarked at meetings of the
British Association. Men of Science
have usually many very curious local
pronunciations, and others arising from
using words for themselves from books
long before they have heard others use
them. There seems to be no tradition
or norm for scientific terms, and if the
pronunciation is such as to bring the
printed form of the word to mind, men
of science care very little for the pro-
nunciation of scientific terms. Many
of the following are certainly dialectal,
but all the speakers were educated,
often very highly educated men.

absorbed eebsa‘pt—eebsa‘bd

albumen eeble‘men—ee’bë‘dun men

anesthetics neeseth‘tiks—aneeseth‘tiks

antidotol antidool‘stol—antidool‘stol

appearance appi‘ryns—apisi‘rens

aqueous oo‘kwii‘os—ee‘kwii‘os

asteroids aest‘rojdza [Prof. Stokes]—

awstri‘daz

before bifo‘r—bifoo‘

class kla‘ss—klaas

commander kam‘nde—ksmaa‘nde

comparable kampee‘rebli—ko‘mpurubl

compare kampee‘r—kampee‘

constitution konstite‘wshen—konstit-
tiu‘wshen

correct kóntriv‘—kontr‘iv

doubt dout—dowt

dry dra‘i—dra‘i

electrolysis ileyktro‘liss—iilektro-
liss

endowment endoo‘mynt [Prof. Huxley]
—endoo‘mynt

equidistant e‘kwild’stant—ii‘kwild’st-
tunt

estuaries i‘struk‘yuriz—esti‘uyeriz

experiments ekspoor‘ments—eksper-
mynts

explicable eksplir‘kubl—e‘ksplik‘ebl

find fe‘ind—fo‘ind

gasous gaaz‘ios [Prof. Stokes], gee‘ziis

[the late Mr. Babbage]—gee‘ziis

haste neas—nest

introducing introudju‘sjiq—introudju‘-
siq

larger le rdzheer—laa‘dzh

Lausanne losan’n—losan [equal stress]

loose laüs—loos

lungs loqz—loqz

moon mun [Sir W. Thomson], mu’n

[the late Prof. Rankine]—muun

paragraphs paarragrafs [the late Prof.
Rankine]—pa‘regraafs

Paris paarris—paarris

past paast—paast

phi = φ, fe‘i—fo‘i

pulsates pul‘sets—pul‘sets

pulsatile pul‘stiv—pul‘stiv

pulse pulz—pals

put v. pat—put

round ra‘hund—ra‘ond

size saiz—so‘iz

staff staf—staf

strata straat‘za—street‘za

substantial sobsta‘nshul—sobsta‘nshul

systematising sisteejmatha‘ziq—si-sta-
meta‘ziq

transactions trean‘s‘kunz—traan‘s‘k-
shunz

wind w. wo‘ind—wind

**GENERAL PUBLIC.**

The following were noted at public
meetings. The speakers are separated,
but the names not being generally well
known, are withheld:

**A Peer.**

rise rür‘iz—ro‘iz

adoption ədop‘shen—

observing əbzu‘viq—

last laast—

large laa‘rdzh (?)—laadzh

framers free‘muz [not free]—free‘muz

paragraph pæ‘regraaf—

brighter bra‘híte—bra‘îte
Physicians, various.

darkness daa'rkna{s} (d-ark'na{s})
record re'ka{d} [in law courts (rek'na{d})]
re-ka{d}
trained t'roend (t'roend) — troend
conversant ka

An Noble M.P.
samples saa'mplz [generally, once at least (saa'mplz)] — saa'mplz
decide dis'ard [long i always (ai) or (ai)] — dis'sard [long i never (ai), which I reserve for age, and thus distinguish eye, age as (ai, ai)]
parcels par'slz — par'selz
time tr'ldim [brought out very emphatically, not the ordinary pronunciation] — to'im

do not see [not (see)] — o'zai das see'
An General Officer.
resolution re'zolu'ushen — re'zul'iu'shen
century se'ntshur — se'n'turi
further fax'adh — foo dhu
I have had it o'brv he'idit — serious sii'rijas — se'rrijas
always al'a'wez [short (e)] — al'a'weez chora'm ka'hrum
pass paas [distinctly long]
resign m'laa'd [(y) distinctly absent]

Chairman (Irish)
chairman tse'h'man — tshee'man
pray pree [distinctly (ee)] — pree'j say see — see'j
name neem — neem
gracious greesh'as — gree'shas
staff staf [very thin (w), almost (e)] — staaf
class klaas — klas klaas
thanks the'qks
command kam — maa'and — kuma'and
ask aahsk [compare class and command] — aask
kind kjah'ind — ko'ind
guidance gjah'indens — go'indens
our out (I think trilled (t)) — o'w'
course koos [the (e) inclined to (sh)] — koo's
intercourse rntu'kaas [possibly (koos)] — rntaukoo's

rotation ro'tees'm [not (tee's)]

Anxiety aeqz'viti [not (eqz-)], nor (eqz-)
future fiu'tu's [fie'ntu's]
vote voot [not voot]

hospital o'spital [this one speaker invariably omitted the aspirate in this word only, even to the extent of saying (a hospital)]
hospital
kindness kwi'ndn'es [probably due to emphasis] — ko'indnys

write rh'lif [or nearly so] — rh'it

Professional and Commercial Men.
support supporting sump'a't spoo'v'tiq

empowered empreh'haud [strong (u)]

literature li'ture'lishu — li'ture'sti'
clearance khl'isi'rens — khl'i'rens
every enge'erdzh [not (ge'j)]
closely klo'sli [short (o)] — kloo'sli

surprised suphtro'v'ad — supri'o'ad

policy ppreh'loesi — polisi

correlation kwo'rlie'shen — koe'jlee'shen

congratulation kong'ra'tshu'le'eshen

only o'nl' [short (o)] — o'o'nl'

burden boo'dn —

progress pro'gres — pro'gr'ces

halfpenny hae'pni [not (e)j] — hae'pni

importance imp'o'rent — imp'o'rent
management ma'ndh'mint — ma'nd

edzh'munt

absolutely w'bol'siti

four foo'

fivepence fo'v'pens — fo'pens

year sii'

pounds po'ands

office ooh'jis [o'j] [o'jis [a'a'jis] is not uncommon]
hundred hr'ndd — hr'ndd

naturally nax'tshuruli — nax'tshuruli
homewpath noom'jopaez [(p)at] distinct
THE SOURCE OF DIFFERENCES. Chap. XI. § 1.

financially fo'ınən'shulī — sīna'nəshulī [the (fɔ′i-) arose perhaps from emphasis, but I have heard (fɔ′nən′nə)]

adherents ade′həntz — premature prep′əmetrəz — prii-mətərəz

expenditure eks′pəndətshu — eks′pə-n-dətshu

additional ade′shənel —

sought for sa′dəftə —

regarding rɪɡərədɪq [not (ɡjə) which is common] —

fund fənd

humanity ˈhuːməni — ˈhjuːməni
cards kaadz [tendency to (kj)] —

board boo′d [no tendency to (boo′)] —

advantage ade′vəntzhəd — ade′vəntdəz [sd-]

make meekk [no tendency to (ee′j)] —

abstain əbˈsteɪn [no (ee′j)] —

homes həʊmz [no (oo′w)] —

punctuation pə′kəktʃən [clear (ti)] — pə′kəktʃən

appreciation əprəˈriːʃən — uprii′-siˈjeven

strongly stər′kəli [some speakers seem to have a great difficulty with (str) initial, and hence are led to dentalise the combination; it is remarkable that (t, r) frequently occurs in dialects, although (t) and (r) are no longer recognized English sounds] — stər′kəli

returns rɪtərzn [merely the effect of emphasis, the speaker has no dialectal peculiarities] — rɪtərzn

there should be dəz′shedbiː

remarks rməh′ks [I could detect no vowel after (r)] — rməh′ks

parcels pərh′səlz [trilled (r)] — pa′səlz

industry ′ɪndəstri ˈɪndəstri

plants plənts — plənts

world wəhrləd [certainly provincial] —

immediately ɪmˈɪli-dəz′bɪtlə [very common] — ɪmˈɪli dətli′
samples sahmpləz — sah′mpləz

circumstances ˈsəkərməstʃəznəz — sə- ˈkərməstʃəznəz

importance impərəns — impərəns

Young Educated London.

The following were furnished me by Mr. Sweet as “the transcript of rather a broad London pronunciation of a girl of about twenty, which has some interesting features.” He particularly calls “attention to the substitutes for (ee, oo), which were evidently transitional stages to (əhi, ah), with which indeed they may be easily confounded on a superficial examination.” Mr. Sweet’s own pronunciation is added after (...) when it differs, and mine after (...) as before. Except in my own case the (u) represents (uh) most probably. See Mr. Sweet’s own pronunciation, p. 1207.

one wəˈdən — wən ask aks —

err əh — əʊ
ey ən′i — wɔl′i — əi me miːs — miː
hid ɪd — hid
dəkeˈmiːt — məˈmiː
ey ək — ək
air əɛ′ɹ — əɛ′ɹ add əd — add
how həɹ′əʊ — həɹ′əʊ

tu ət — tu
pull pul — pull pull
owe əu′ — əu′aw
ave ə —
or əə — ə ər
odd əd — əd
joi dʒəʊ — dʒəʊ

WHENCE DO DIFFERENCES OF PRONUNCIATION ARISE?

These examples are amply sufficient to show that considerable diversities of pronunciation exist among educated speakers of all classes, even when speaking with the greater care usually taken in public delivery. That great differences of opinion exist among orthoepists is well shewn in Worcester’s and especially Soule and Wheeler’s pronouncing dictionaries,1 which, although not descending into the

1 “A Manual of English Pronunciation and Spelling; containing a full alphabetical vocabulary of the language, with a preliminary exposition of English orthoëpy and orthography; and designed as a work of reference for general use, and as a text-book in schools, by Richard Soule, jr., A.M., and William A. Wheeler, A.M.” Boston, U.S., 1861; London, Sampson Low, pp. xiii. 467. An extremely condensed and useful little book, not lumbered with meanings, and giving the opinions of Walker, Smart, Webster, Worcester, Goodwin, when they differ. Hence this vocabulary may be used as a compendium of these five writers’ opinions.
minutiae attempted in the preceding lists, save me from loading my pages with a complete vocabulary of xixth century varieties of pronunciation.

Now whence do these differences arise?

The most obvious source of difference is that in fact there is no such thing as educated English pronunciation. There are pronunciations of English people more or less educated in a multitude of other things, but not in pronunciation. Children are never trained in the proper exercise of their vocal organs, or have their ears sharpened to appreciate differences. It would not be at all difficult to train the young organs, if only the teachers knew anything about it. We devote years of upper school life to the study of classical languages, and enter deeply into their etymology, but we do not give the least practical instruction in the substantial form of language—speech-sounds, or their relations to one another, on which depend the principal changes which claim our attention.¹ The consequence is that pronunciations grow up now much in the same way as they did six hundred years ago. There is only one important difference—facility of communication. It required the War of the Roses to make an English of England, and the War of the Commonwealth to temper that down into the mother of modern speech. But now people are being thrown together with the greatest ease and rapidity from all parts of the country. Still, it is the opening of life which principally determines pronunciation. Children hear few speakers, chiefly those of their own age and standing. They regard not the voices of adults beyond those of a few familiar friends. Their vocabulary is limited, extremely limited, and when they grow up they learn more words by eye than by ear; hence they acquire habits of families, schools, coteries, professions, businesses, localities. Their organs become fixed; they notice from others only what they themselves say. It is not polite to correct even a friend’s pronunciation; a stranger resents the impertinence. But still “young men from the country,” or with narrow habits of speech, often get laughed out of their peculiarities. More, still, of a lower class of life ape those of the upper when they get mixed up among them, and strive hard to change a pronunciation which might betray their origin. But all this has a small influence. In the main the most educated pronunciation in English is local, with its corners more

¹ One of my kind assistants, who is collecting materials for a local glossary, said that I had opened his eyes; he had hitherto thought of words, and not of their sounds. To think of a word independently of its sound is the outcome of our school instruction. In schools a word is a sign on paper, to which different persons may give different sounds, and which some people a long way off and a long time ago, in Greece or Italy, pronounced we don’t know, and we don’t care, how. But in writing a glossary we are writing words never written. The collections of letters must suggest the sounds or nothing at all. A glossary of collections of letters to which the right sound cannot be even approximatively given, is really no glossary at all. We might just as well—perhaps better—give a meaning to a current number, for that could be pronounced (in his own manner) by every one. Yet this, I am sorry to think, is the state of most of our provincial glossaries at the present day—and I am afraid for most I ought to have said all.
rubbed off than it was fifty or a hundred years ago, but still essentially local, using that word as applicable to all limited environment. The language, however, contains thousands of words which are not used in ordinary conversation, and concerning which extraordinary variety prevails, as we have seen. The pronouncing prophets themselves, the Buchanans, Sheridans, Walkers, and their followers, have no principle to go on. They have had wider observation, but most of them make up their minds à priori, upon limited inductions, and men of literature disown their authority. Is it possible to arrive at any principles amid this chaos?

Our language consists essentially of two elements, which, for brevity, we may call German (Anglo-Saxon with Scandinavian), and French, (Norman with French, Latin and Greek). Now the German element really presents little or no difficulty. Our German words are familiar, and their dialectal forms are generally widely different from the received pronunciation of educated people in London, at court, in the pulpit, at the bar, on the stage, at the universities—and, in a minor degree, in parliament, and in the lecture-room, on the hustings, and in public meetings. The difficulty for most people lies with the French element, which is preponderating in the vocabulary, but is comparatively rare in speech, and which our wonderful orthography is totally incapable of investing with a vocal garb. Those who know Latin and Greek are therefore apt to imagine that they should shew the Latin and Greek origins by pronouncing the words much as they would if they were written with Latin and Greek letters. Hence such curiosities as (doktrö'nal, inimö'kal).—I have not heard (so'vo'il), although surely civillis has as much a right to its (s'iz) as doctrina and inimicus. It was in the same spirit that Prof. Stokes spoke of (sestii'vojüdz) from ãosthp, (although this becomes ãosteporeydîs, which should have led him to (astevojöüdz), and I recollect that the late Prof. Traill of Edinburgh always insisted on the termination (—oüid) in similar words,) and Sir G. B. Airy used (giiodi'si) from γîh, (although the Greek is yewdausia), and (miridipoonâel) from meridionâlis. But this is, I conceive, a mere mistake. Our language was formed at a time when the pronunciation of Greek and Latin even in England was totally different from that now in use. Almost all our old words which can be traced to Latin and Greek came to us in a French form, and received their pronunciation and accent from our mode of dealing with French words. It would seem therefore most reasonable to suppose any Greek word to be first Latinised, then taken as French, and finally put into English. This will not exactly answer for those more recent words which have been taken from Latin and Greek by persons who did not know French, and which have hence preserved the Latin forms more closely, but even then it gives a principle. Thus, remembering or'ator, sem'ator, the Scotch are more consistent than the English in saying cur'ator; and remembering geo'metry, geo'graphy, it is more consistent to say geo'desy; and similarly de'monstrate is more in accordance with our plan of accenting French words than
demonstrate. This principle will make us independent of Latin and Greek quantity, which had ceased to be felt in Italy and Greece long before words were introduced into English. We must say (əˈmɪskɪvbl), not (əˈmərˈɪkwbl), or (əˈmərˈkɛwbl), which would be real foreignisms; we must say (viˈktərɪ), not (vikˈtou̯ˈri), Latin victoria, although we say (vikˈtou̯ˈriəs), for which (vikˈtou̯ˈriəs) would be more analogical, and we do not make the last syllable (-əʊs), notwithstanding Latin -ōsus; just as we make -al=-el), notwithstanding Latin -ālis. For a similar reason a final unaccented -ice, -ite, -ine, -ise, should have had (i), not the (əi) now so general in recent words.

A difficulty arises with respect to French words recently introduced which retain their French form. As long as the persons using a word are conscious of its nationality, they make more or less successful or feeble attempts to imitate the French pronunciation, so that we get ennui (əˈnwui), aide-de-camp (eɪˈdɪkɔː), coup d'œil (kuˈpʊpˌdiˌɛil), envelope (əˈnvələʊp), environs (əˈvɪrən̩s), chef d'œuvre (ʃəˈdœvʁ), coup d'état (kuˌpœdˈɛtə), and similar hybrid monstrosities. When the words remain French, they must take their chance, but, when possible, they should be anglicised on the old French models. A list of the oldest French words used in English is given in the Appendix III. to Dr. Morris's Historical Outlines of English Accidence (2nd ed. 1872). But without this knowledge, we see that (əˌnvələʊp, əˌνvɔˈrən̩z) are good English. Perhaps (tʃiɪf, mənjuˈvə) would hardly preserve (tʃiɪfˌdjuəˌvə) from being ridiculous, and hence the English 'masterpiece' is preferable. Bayonet is given as (bəˈvənæt, bɛvəˈnæt) by different orthoepists. I have never heard any one say so. (Bɛvˈnæt) is usual in civil life, but (bɛˈnæt) is heard among officers and (bɛvəˈnæt) among privates. All similar French technical words should have their English technical pronunciation assigned. As for the modern Indian words, they ought to receive the pronunciation current among English residents in India. The old Arabic words have already a character of their own, and cannot be touched. But it is really a pity that we dare not simply anglicise them, as the French unreservedly gallicise all imports.

The above remarks are meant simply to draw attention to the subject. I have so often and so explicitly renounced all claim to dictate on English pronunciation that my "ought, should," etc., cannot be taken to mean more than emphasised suggestions, consequent on the adoption of a proposed theory.

American Pronunciation.

Before closing this section, I feel that some notion of American pronunciation should be given. This stands in a totally different relation to received English from the provincial. It is rather traditional English, as was seen by Noah Webster's remarks (pp. 1063-70). Americans generally claim to speak English without provincialisms, and in the sense in which English provincialisms exist, namely as distinct dialectal forms, with historical pedigrees,
at least as respectable as the received form of speech, the claim is correct. But in the sense that local pronunciations do not clearly exist, I have good American authority for saying that the claim is unfounded. Owing perhaps to this absence of dialects, Americans consider that, on the whole, they speak "better" than the English. I do not pretend to decide as to "better" or "worse," but certainly they speak "differently" from the English; that is, despite of the many admissible varieties of received English, the American varieties are inadmissible—from an Englishman. A few, a very few, Americans seem to have acquired English habits, but even then a chance word, such as (tree'jt) for (tree'j)—trait, reveals the speaker's home. The intonation is rarely English, even when all nasality is absent; but this is a point I purposely omit to notice, though it is often the most striking peculiarity the speakers exhibit.

An American Preacher,
a personal friend of my own. He lived in Virginia for the first 21 years of his life, which, he tells me, in "pronunciation differs from the North as Naples from Florence, Baden from Berlin, or (almost) Yorkshire from London." After that he came to the North, and acquired new habits of speech, which again, in the last few years, have been crossed by London associations. Hence some of the points noted may belong to different localities in the United States. I have not noted Londonisms of course. The pronunciations are noted from his public speaking. In private conversation the differences were not so marked. Of course there is more than usual doubt as to the exact sounds in this and the following case, owing to the greater difference between the speaker's pronunciation and my own, which is added after a (—) as usual.

corn er'kan—er'kaan
already A3'hre'di—al're'di
apprentice ee'pìnt—ee'pìnt
Aryan ar'afin—ar'afin
atonement oo'mnent—oo'mnent
Boston BA'stun—Bo'stun
career kuree'—kuri'
 chastisement tshaw'stal'mynt—tshaw's-tizmynt
classes tlah'ziz—kla'isz
comeliness ko'mlines—ko'mlings
commune kon'muin—kon'miun
condensed kon'straud—kon'straud
data dahl'ta—dael'ta
discretion diskri'shun—diskre'shun
divine diva'rn—deva'rn
doat dooth—doath
dreary dri'ri—dri'ri
elements e'lmunts—e'limynts
fossil fos'il—fo'sil

gelid ge'lid—dzhel'id
grapple grahl'pl—græ'pl
great gree'jt

guidance gah'jens—go'jens
harassed harrast—har'ast
home hoo'm—hoo'wm
importance impa'tjuns—impa'tjuns
lentently len'ti'ntli—li'nij'en'tli
mendicant me'njik'ant—me'ndikent
mercantile me'kuntiil—me'kuntiil
moment mo'ntm—mo'ntm
momentary mo'omentari—mo'omentari
most moost—moost
motion moo'shun—moos'hen
mouth moo'uth—moo'uth
museum mi'uzi'um—mooz'ium
motion moo'shun—moos'hen
own oo'än—oo'un
Palestine Pə'ljystiin—Pə'leasta'n
perfect v. poof'kt—poof'kct
puerile py'wirl—pi'l
robes roob'z—roobz
room rum—rum

Satans see-tahn—see'ten
secular sii'k'ilu—se'k'ilu
sophist soof'istri—soof'istri
stone stoom'ston—sto'om
substratum sobstra'tum—sobstree'item
sure syy'—shoo'
swamps sawlams—swomps
testimony te'stimooni—te'stimooni
throne thro'on—throu'vn
used ['=acustomed'] yst—ji'ust

An American Lady Lecturer,
highly educated, graduate of an American university, with quiet manner, good delivery, and evidently carefully studied pronunciation.

afford afoo'd—afoo'd
always A3'weez—A3'weez
apportionment apoo'shmynt—apoo'shmynt
American Pronunciation.

Before bífú'w — bífú'
both booth — booth
career ka'riir — kūri' [the final (-iə) was very marked, not even (-iər)]
character ka'hrēktu — ke'rkête
Chicago shīka'gō
chivalric shīva'ri̯ik — tshīva'ri̯ik [this is one of the new importations; chivalry as an old word should be (tshīva'ri̯ik), see supra p. 682, v. 45.]
class klaas — klaas, [but tL, gl-] are very usual initials in place of (kl-, gl-) in England
closer klō'su — klō'w' su
combinative kəmb'ni̯ətiv — kəmb'ni̯ətiv
compared kəmpee' d — kempee' d [probably the (ph) was accidental]
culture ka'rytshə — kə'ltiə' [but (-tshə) is quite common in England]
demand dimaah'nd — dimaah'nd
difficulties di'fikalti̯z — di'fikalti̯z
dog dog — dog
economical ek'nomi̯kal — i̯:i kon'ə'mi̯kal
educator ə'dzi̯ukə'ta — ə'di̯ukə'tu [the (edzhu) is not uncommon in England]
eygōtism ii'go̅tiz'm — i̯:i'go̅tiz'm
eymbrassment embə'rsəmt — em'bə'rsəmt
err ə' — oo
expenditure eks'pandiətshə' — eks'pand'ətshə [or (eks'pand'ətshn), the latter is very common in England]
first fa'hst fas' — feast
forth foo'th — foo'th
funds fandz — fandz
girls go̅olz — go̅lz [this is one of the most difficult words to note in English; it is perhaps the only word in which I persistently palatise (g), as (goalz) is very harsh to my ears; of course (goalz) is very common, and I have heard (goəlz) as a studied pronunciation. See (1166, d).]
home hōoo'wamm — hōo'wam
importance i̯mˈpɑːtəm — i̯mˈpɑːtəm
introduce ı̯nˈtrədəs — ı̯nˈtrədəs
leisure li'zhe — le'zhe [li'zhe] is not uncommon in England, but it is archaic]
located lə'kətəyd — lə'kətəyd
long laq — laq
marsh māsh — maash
Michigan Mi'shɪgən
mischief mi'stʃi:f — mi'stʃi:f
mutual mi'joo'tshi:ul — mi'joo'tʃi:ul [but (mi'joo'tʃi:el) is very common in England]
naturally nə'tshi:ərli — nə'tshi:ərli [but (tsh) is quite common in England]
new ni'yo — ni'u [the diphthong was very difficult to catch]
no noo — noo
none non — non
only only — onlI — the (onlI) is not uncommon in England
open op'ən — op'ən
parent pe'rənt — peə'nt
prudent pro'jy:dnt — pru'ndnt [see new
radius re'dəs — re'dəs
St. Louis Sent Luw'əs
say see'kə — see'j [this was an accidental emphasis apparently]
society sə'shəri — sə'shəri
too stoo' — stoo'
sure shi'və — shuə'
surely shi'vələ' — shuə'
surveillance suvə'laəns — suvə'laəns [this is one of our unsettled importations]
test test — test
towns tho'nt — to'nt [the (tn) was no doubt accidental]
traits tre'ət — tre'əт
holy hə'li — hə'li
wraith raθ — raθ
wrong rooq — roq
year sii —

One of the most striking features of these pronunciations in connection with older English pronunciation is the continual cropping up of (oo) where we have now (oo, oo'w) and again the use of (oo', oo̅w) for (oo') which has still more recently tended to (A'A', A'A) for -ore. The diphthongal forms for ev, u, are transitional, from (eu, yy), and are difficult to catch, but seem to confirm these two as the generating forms. Some of the pronunciations are, however, probably of American development, for our language has been cultivated with great care in the United States, not only in literature, but in orthoepy, and the pronouncing dictionaries there published are much esteemed in England.

Although perhaps not quite in place, I here insert some American words and observations on diversities of American pronunciations furnished me by Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull, of Hartford, Connec-
ticut, U.S., and Mr. Charles Astor Bristed, of Yale Coll., Connecticut, U.S., and Trinity College, Cambridge, England, in 1871. Dr. Trumbull gave the pronunciation in Glossic, which I have transliterated; Mr. Bristed has not written pronunciations systematically; I have inserted palaeotypic interpretations to the best of my judgment.

**Dr. Trumbull’s Notes on Americanisms.**

Cade, bred by hand; cosset, (keed). This old English word is still in use by farmers, etc., near Newport, R.I., who talk of ‘cades lambs,’ ‘cades colts.’ I have not heard of it elsewhere in the U.S.

Char, v. and n. (tsheo) always, I believe, in the U.S., except the occasional (tshaa) and pl. (tshaaz) of laborers and farm servants.


Drool or drel (druul, druul), for ‘drivel,’ used everywhere by mothers and nurses. The latter is the less polished form.

Ewe. Commonly (jīdu), but twenty ago I very often heard (soo) from farmers, butchers, and others in eastern Connecticut and R. Island.

Eft (=Newt), (ev't, ov'et). Common in Conn. ‘Newt’ is rarely used; ‘eft’ (monosyll.) never, I think. (A.S. efete.)


Fillip, n. and v. (fip), always. I never heard it as a dissyllable in N. England.

Gambrel, roof, (gæm'bl gæm'bel). N. England, common; thirty years ago, nearly universal.

“To Gauge.” In a list of “words common at Polperro in Cornwall,” in Notes and Queries, 1 S., x. 301, I find this word with the meaning: “to arm with the line attached to the fishing hook.” [“To gauge a hook is to arm it and the snood with a fine brass or copper wire twisted round to prevent their being bitten off by the fish.” Glossary to the History of Polperro, by Jonathan Couch, F.L.S., Truro, 1871.] Almost all N.E. fishermen know how to (grenz) — or, as many pronounce it, to (ganzh, gendzh) a hook — though the word is not in our dictionaries. Here, the gancing by which the hook is secured to the line, and the line protected, is done by winding them with waxed linen thread or silk twist (Fr. ganse), whence I suppose the name, and not from Fr. ‘ganche,’ Sp. ‘ganacho,’ a hook.

Gumption, (gor'mshan); more common, colloquially, in N.E. forty years ago, than it now is. I never heard the p sounded. (Hii-z noo gor'mshan) or (Hii neent got noo gor'mshan).

Lean-to (addition to a building), (li'-ntu). Conn. and Mass., the common pronunciation, among farmers, etc. I never heard (lii-ntuu, lii'-ntu).

Mich, v. (miitsh), part. (miit'-shen). Connecticut, farmers, laborers, etc., — as in speaking of a dog or cat (g(o)v'in miit'-shen round), or of a (p)wak miit'-shen fa'le).

Refuse, adj. and n., (re-frudzh), and sometimes (ro'-stedzh). N.E., lumbermen, joiners, provision dealers, etc., — for the lowest merchantable quality of any description of goods. In a Boston paper of Dec. 3, 1716, I find advertised, “Refuse alias Refuge Fish” for sale. Common twenty years ago, — but much less common now.

Whoppet, (who-pit). A harmless cur, or mongrel dog. Connecticut, and elsewhere in New England. Common, in the rural districts, though omitted by Bartlett and Webster, Wright, Prov. Gloss., has “Whappet; the prick-eared cur.” Here, the name has a larger denotation.

**Mr. Bristed’s Notes on American Pronunciation.**

**South Carolina.**

The inhabitants of Charleston, and all the Southern and South-Eastern part of this State, pronounce initial v (whether at the beginning of a word or syllable) like v. Like v to me; perhaps you would call it (bh) or German
American Pronunciation.

w (which I own myself unable to distinguish from e). This peculiarity is common to all classes, except those of the upper class who have lived in Europe or at the North. They are not aware of it. I cannot find any European origin for it. It is supposed to come from the negroes. Teachers from the middle of the State have told me that the boys from the central and northern districts pronounce w in the usual and correct way. [Prof. March, in his letter to me of 22 March, 1872, from which I have already so largely quoted (1092, c. 1143, o), says: "A large part of the people of this region (Easton, Pennsylvania, U.S.), which was settled by Germans, do not use their teeth for English v, or make with w the usual English sonantry, and they are said, therefore, to exchange w and v. I dare say the facts are the same at Charleston, South Carolina, of which Mr. Bristed speaks. I have heard it said that the South Carolina change was started by German market gardeners about Charleston, but one would think that there must have been some general tendency to this lautverschiebung, or it could have hardly gained currency, as it has, among that proudest and most discerning of colonial literary aristocracies. It looks like it too, that they sound r like w, or drop it. Mister is Mistower (mistrau) they say,—one of my slight diphthongal w's, I suppose, if really any." In another part of his letter he had said: "As to the naturalness of w, I notice that my children, just catching sounds, not only make w in its own place, but also for other letters, regularly for r," [in which case perhaps it is a substituted lip trill with tense lips, or (ua), see (9, 26d),] "and for wh they make f. This last is an unknown change here in mature speech." As to the American interchange of v, w, see Webster's remark (1067, d) relating to Boston and Philadelphia, where he observes w used for v, which in the case of Philadelphia Prof. March, no doubt correctly, has just ascribed to the influence of German v (bh). There is a well-known cockneyism by which (v, w) are said to interchange in England. We all know that old Weller in Pickwick spelled his name with "a we." Dr. Beke considers, from personal experience, that the sound is really (bh), which is heard as (w) for (v) and as (v) for (w); and he believes that in Naples and Rome there is the same tendency among the uneducated to substitute (bh) for (v). This opinion was contained in a private letter, in answer to another gentleman, who informed me that he had heard Romans, especially Roman beggars, use (w) for (v). I had never noticed this habit myself when in Rome, and my son, who was in Rome at the time when I received this information, did not succeed in hearing more than an occasional German (bh), with which sound he was well acquainted. But more recently a Scotch lady informed me that she had certainly heard (w) and not (bh) for (v) in Rome. It is a point requiring investigation, and as it has considerable philological interest, I think it right to draw attention to it here. I have never been fortunate enough to hear (w, v) confused in London, naturally, off the stage and out of story-books. But I recollect when a boy hearing people at Canterbury regularly saying what sounded to me as (wen) for van, and one respectable pianoforte tuner, after vainly trying to say vie, bringing out something like (wun). But this was in days when I had no notion of German (bh). The confusion of w and v is also reported from East Kent, and East Anglia generally. The Charleston confusion, however, is a remarkable phenomenon."

[In a later communication Mr. Bristed adds:] We (that is, all Americans except the Carolinians aforesaid, and possibly the Southern negroes generally; I am not sure on this last point) say hwen, putting the aspirate before the digamma, so that, were the monosyllable prolonged to a disyllable, it would be (wun) or (hu'en). [See (pp. 1142-3).] The Carolinians who say v (or what I call v) for w, do not, I think, mix any aspirate with it; they say ven, not hwen. But I am not absolutely certain of this. [In his original notes respecting South Carolina, Mr. Bristed added:] Also common to all classes, and also unconscious, is the old re-actionary Anti-Irish pronunciation of (it) for (ee), cheer for chair. But it seems confined to some words, e.g. they don't say fear (fiir) for fair (feer). [Writing subsequently, he says on this point:] I have discovered that the last century pronunciation (tshiir) [the trilled (r) in this and the following examples is possibly an oversight] for chair is not so common in
South Carolina as I had supposed. On the other hand, I have found in some of the best educated Charlestonians the still more archaic pronunciation (eer) for ear, e.g. (feer) for fear, (reer) for rear, (beerd) for beard, etc., etc. Not having a nice musical ear, I will not be certain that the sound is quite as long as (ee), but for practical purposes it is the same; proof, I first observed it from supposing that a friend had said fare when he meant to say fear. (Beerd) for beard is heard in other parts of America (and of England I suppose), but the general substitution of (eer) for ear seems to be Carolinian. The pronunciation is involuntary, and acknowledged by the natives to be heretical; it is not like their (kjard) and (gjard), of which they are proud as of shibboleths. It is never found without the r; no Carolinian would say (peez) for peas as an Irishman does. [Considering that some of the earliest cases of ea sounding as (ee) occur before (r), these archaisms are very interesting.]

Gulf States generally.

All classes, from Virginia to Georgia inclusive, have a sort of shibboleth of which they are proud. It is the old Sheridan and Walker insertion of y before a after initial c and g; gyarden for garden, kyard for card. I believe Sheridan and Walker only inserted the y when a is followed by r; but our Southerners say kyamp for camp. [This means possibly only (gaadn, kaad, kep).] I do not know how far this pronunciation extends westward; for instance, if it is found in Alabama, I am pretty sure it is not in Mississippi, and a fortiori in Louisiana and Texas.

New England.

All but the best educated New Englanders make an insertion before ow final in monosyllables. Probably most persons would explain this insertion as a nasaled, I don't think so, e.g. I don't think the New England cow is like the first syllable of the Spanish causa. Some make the insertion e. I consider it y. Kyow for cow, nyow for now. [Probably (kw'ın, njə'ıw), see the extract from Webster (1066, 6'). If there is nasality, it will be (kw'ı, njə'ıw).] Whatever nasalization there is, seems to me to lie in the diphthong itself, not in the preceding insertion. I think this is clear from polysyllables, e.g. around, where there is no insertion that I can detect, but there is a nasalization or twang. [Possibly (erə'ımad) see (136, d).] The New Englanders sometimes lengthen o into au. Nauthing (or more commonly nauthin) for nothing. [Possibly (na^`ıthın) or merely (no^`ıthin), which would be more historical.] On the other hand, they frequently substitute u (a) for o (oo), stump, hull, for stone, whole. The substituted vowel is the pure and simple English i. The New England pronunciations of stone, whole, are precisely the English words stem, hull. [They sound to me more like (ston, hol) than (stan, rol).] There is, however, one word, in which the people of Massachusetts. (not the other New Englanders, so far as I have observed) substitute o for o. That word is coat, for which they say cot (kót). It is just possible the sound may be a little longer than cot (ko^ct), but it certainly is not so long as caught, or as Italian o aperto. [The Italian o aperto is by no means always or generally long, so that I attributed a medial length to this vowel; but in a subsequent letter Mr. Bristed says:] Since I wrote to you, I have observed that the Massachusetts pronunciation caught for coat, about which I was doubtful, does exist; within a fortnight I have heard it, as broad as possible, from a lady. Some Massachusetts men maintain that the short sound usually given in Massachusetts (especially Eastern Mass.) to the o of coat is not o, but the short sound of ò, a sound which, if it exists, has a constant tendency to run into o or ù. [Short (o) certainly seems to exist in English dialects and in America, but it is frequently mis-heard as (o), and it is singular that in Mr. I. Pitman's phonography (oo, o) are represented by marks which should systematically represent them to be the long and short of the same sound. All this again is attributable to the relation of (x, o) and (o, oh), where the vowels in each pair are due to the same position of the tongue, and differ only by the "rounding" or "lip-shading." This again leads to the common affected drawl (o'oh) for (oo). In the same letter Mr. Bristed notes having heard root made (rät), rhyming to foot; and deaf called (diif), see (1069, o), by educated speakers. He adds:] Nearly all the New Englanders say testimony and territory.
The pronunciation fort'n, nát'r, [possibly (fá:tn, nát'n)] for fortune, nature (the very shortest possible indistinct vowel substituted for d), was traditional in New England, and only went out in the present generation. [It is xviith-century English.] When I was a boy at Yale College (Connecticut) in 1839, some of the older professors said fort'n, nát'r, etc.

The Bostonians and the people of Eastern Massachusetts generally are popularly accused of superfluous final g: capt'n, Bost'n, for captain, Boston. Or to be more accurate, they are charged with substituting ng (q) for various short terminations. I have not observed this particularly in them. It seems to me a vulgarism general in both England and America. Dickens's Mrs. Gamps and Hay's Western Colonels say parsing for pardon. But I have observed that the Bostonians lay unusual stress on these short final syllables. This winter [1870-1] a Boston young lady observed to me, "You New Yorkers say, 'the chick'n goes up the mount'n.'" I retorted, "What do you say? The chickening goes up the mounting?" She replied, "No, the chickenn goes up the mountenn." (That is the nearest I can come to literating her.) [Possibly (tshik'kenn, máw'nntenn), exaggerating for the purpose of illustration. Smart marks (tshik'en, máw'nnten) or (-tn) are common. But (tshik'en, máw'ntn) or (tshik'en, máw'nten) are disagreeable to my ears. Some persons likewise say (Lèt'n, Sèt'n, wurd'n), but these sounds are going out of use.]

New York.

I am a native New Yorker, though not now resident in the State. This fact disqualifies me in a measure from noticing our peculiarities. Indeed, I know of but one, which has come up in the better classes within the last twenty years, and is (I think) more common with young women than young men. It consists in dropping medial e, and thinning the indistinct vowel before it into a very short e, e.g. fast (fæst) for first. [I have myself noticed in many Americans a tendency of this kind in the pronunciation of the word America, from which the r seems to be lost, or not trilled at all, and the e curiously obscured, something like (omár'jike), with a tendency to (omér'jike) amér'jike), but the vowel used for e, for which I have helplessly written (a), does not glide on to the following (t, r) in the slightest degree. But the same speakers pronounce a trilled (r) before vowels habitually in other cases.]

Western States.

I have never been in them, and only know from common report that among the less educated classes, the pronunciation (a, aa) for (ee) is universal. Bar for bear, far for fair, stranger for stranger. [Possibly remnants of (beær, feær, stræ'rnder), misheard. Mr. Bristed finds a difficulty in understanding (ae, æae) in palaeotype, which seems to him "to embrace all sorts of sounds, from the shortest continental sound of a to ordinary English a. This," says he, "causes confusion. I am not sure how you pronounce plaid; it seems to me that you call it plaid." I call it (plead), and it is curious that the American Worcester gives no other pronunciation; I have heard (pleaded) called a Scotticism, which Mr. Bristed thinks the only right sound, as he says of mine, it "is surely a mistake, according to Scott's rhymes plaid, laid, maid, etc. Perhaps your (æae) is that 'fifth sound of a, ai' in fair,' given in the old dictionaries, Walker, etc., which to me has always seemed a myth. I mean I can't make out any difference between fair and fare." Walker made note, but I have adduced these facts to shew what difficulties variety of pronunciation throws in the way of indicating sounds by keywords. As to fair, etc., however, the sound may really be (aa), and not (æae). Such sounds occur dialectally in England.]

General Americanisms.

We all (except perhaps some of the negroes?) sound distinctly the h of initial wh, just as Irishmen, Scotchmen, and North-Countrymen do. This I believe to be the only universal Americanism. There is a great difference between the speech of (most) Englishmen and (most) Americans, but it is a musical difference rather than a letter-power difference. We pitch our conversation in a monotone; Englishwomen appear to a green American to be just going to sing when they talk. [The English return the compliment with interest, which reminds me that
a Pole, whose language to an English ear is all hiss, told me, after hearing Hamlet, that the English words sounded to him as mere hisses! Some Englishmen think that we lengthen the i more than they. I doubt it. I don't think, for instance, that we say (tām) for (tā'ım). [Many Americans do say (tām), and even (tā,ım).] All Americans pronounce vase to rhyme with case. I see you would rhyme case with draws. So does Sotheby in his Homer, and I am told this is the British Museum pronunciation. Most Englishmen of my acquaintance sound it with German a (to rhyme with grass?). Your pronunciation would be unintelligible to most Americans. [Vase has four pronunciations in English: (vaaz), which I most commonly say, is going out of use, (vaaz) I hear most frequently, (veaz) very rarely, and (vees) I only know from Cull's marking. On the analogy of case (keez), however, it should be the regular sound. I have known the three first pronunciations habitual among a party of four speakers, to whom the fourth sound was unknown. Goodrich gives all four sounds; but just as Cull only acknowledged (vees), Smart only admits (veez). As to the British Museum pronunciation, I find on inquiry that the Antiquities Department call it (vaaz), "to rhyme with papa's," but one of the assistants in that department says he would say (vaaz) of a modern vessel to contain flowers (for instance), "in fact," says my authority, "he seemed inclined to distinguish different kinds of vases by the pronunciation."] The vulgar pronunciation of i for oi is very general among the less educated New-Englanders, but is chiefly confined to words in oil, boil, spoil, etc. No native says by or (bai) for boy; that is purely Irish. [These are all xvith century.] I think I have found a New York peculiarity, buddy, nobody, for body, nobody, but am not quite certain if the vowel is the indistinct a. [Nor'bedi] is the most common English, but perhaps Mr. Bristed meant (noo bo'di); was it (noo bo'di)?]

**American Pronunciation According to American Humourists.**

The pronunciation indicated by humourists in any language is of course not the pronunciation of the educated part of the people. But it must be the pronunciation of a section of the people, and also a widely known pronunciation, or the whole humour of its adoption would be lost. It therefore occurred to me that Dr. Trumbull's and Mr. Bristed's remarks on existent and Noah Webster's on older Americanisms would be best supplemented by a selection of phonetic orthographies from the works of known humourists.

Major Downing's "Letters" appeared in the New York Daily Advertiser in 1833-4, and had a popularity never before equaled in the United States. This book was a political skit on General Jackson's government, and is described in the Quarterly Review, No. 106, as "by far the most amusing, as it must be allowed to be the most authentic, specimen that has as yet [1835] reached Europe of the actual colloquial dialect of the Northern States." They are by this reviewer attributed to "Mr. Davis, of the respectable mercantile house of Brookes and Davis, New York." To these then I give the first place. The whole book is not spelled phonetically, but about as much American orthography is introduced as Scott uses of Scotch spelling in his works, and this I have extracted. With the humourous mode of expression, the grammar, and so forth, I have of course had nothing to do. I quote from the second English edition, published by Murray in 1835, "from the latest New-York edition."

Judge Haliburton's "Clockmaker; or, the Sayings and Doings
of Sam. Slick of Slickville"—of which the introductory letter, attributed to Mr. Slick himself, is dated 25 Dec., 1836—is fully as authentic, but the sprinkling of spellings is rather sparser, and I have not attempted to go through more than about one-sixth of the book.

Charles F. Browne's "Artemus Ward his Book" is made up of contributions to the New York *Vanity Fair* about 1860. It is almost entirely in picturesque spelling, which is frequently merely grotesque, but generally exhibits specimens of Yankee pronunciation, or what must pass current as such among Americans. His efforts in that way met with general appreciation. From this book I have culled a large number of words without attempting to exhaust the list.

Bret Harte's "Heathen Chinee and other Poems mostly humorous" have furnished me with several pronunciations supposed to be current in the Gold Mining Regions of California.

In quoting these words the letters D, S, W, H, refer to Downing, Slick, Ward, and Harte respectively. The addition "occ." shews that the spelling is only occasionally used by the writer to whose letter it is appended.

One of the most striking points to an Englishman on reading them is that there are practically no American Americanisms among them. They are all old friends, known in English humourists, and known in older or dialectal or vulgar English pronunciation. The twang, the intonation, the application, all tend to give them a different effect, but these are absent in the bare phonetic representation. The orthography of the writers is left intact, and I have not ventured to suggest their meaning. There may be some recondite differences with which I am unacquainted; but when the words are read as their spelling would suggest to one used to received pronunciation, the effect is quite familiar.

1. Miscellaneous.

The following is an alphabetical arrangement of some words and phrases which could not be easily classified.

A. Account ['count D, acute cude D S H, afraid afeard D, against agin D, am not ain't H, are not aim't H, Americans' Merricans H, applexy applelexy D, aposthearies pottearies D, attention tassenon H.

B. Believe bleeve W, hollows bellesses D, be not beant S, beyond beyond D, boisterous boysterous W, by and by bime-by b D W.

C. Calculate kalklate D, chimney chimblly D, Chinese n. Chinese H, classically? cussycally W, possibly a mere grotesque; contrariness contrairiness H, cordial cordyal W, put apparently as an uncommon pronunciation, indicating "corjal" as the common? (1069, cd'); cupboards cubbords D, curiousest curieestest D.

D. Damned damned S, this is given as an uncommon spelling, "darn'd" being most usual, but in consequence of Webster's remark (1067, cd) this will be given among the er-words; diamonds diminds W, does not don't D, drown'd drown'd d, durst not dursent H.

E. even, almost any most D, een amost, een almost S, evenly? e'eny D, ever a one ary one D.

F. Funeral fun'l H.

G. Give gin D, evidently the particle used for the preterite, see given; genuine ginwine, genuine D, give gin W, here we have the particle used for the present; given gin D, grew grow'd S.

H. Handkerchiefs handkokers D, have not hain't D, hant S, have given a gin S, heerd hearnd D W, the form heerd also occurs, as will be seen afterwards; hers hern S, his (pred.) hisn D, history histry W, holiday hollow-
day D, probably a mere grotesque; however homoeomer however D.
I. Idea ide idee D, idee H, idear W, idees W, is be's H, is not ain't D W H, ain't S, isn't H, it is not taint D, tante S, 'taint H, it was not twart D, I was Ise W.
K. Known know'd D, knoll nolle D, this must be merely grotesque spelling, as the sound is received.
L. Laudanum lodnum D.
M. Mamma mam H, military milimgary W, Mississippi Massissippy D, Missouri Mizzoori H, monster monkster W, more than moren mourn W.
N. Necessity needcessity S, also in Irish and in Scotch, so that it is not a mere grotesque; necromancy nickremancy D, never a nary a W H, here there is a mistaken tautology, as nary should mean never a, see ever a above.
O. Of it on't D, only ony D, ordeals ordeels W, evidently given as a mispronunciation in place of orjeels, see cordial above; but historically or-deal =ags. or-dål, would be pronounced as W writes; or-de-al is a mere piece of confusion; ordinary orneey W H, ordinarier orneear W, ours oorn D S.
P. Particular pertickler H, particularly particlyy W, perhaps pr'aps H, popular poplar W, previously previly W, probably probly W.
R. Regular regler W, rheumatism rumatiz D.
S. Saw p. i. see D, seed S W, secure skewer W, seen p. p. swan W, series serious W, shall not sha'nt D, shallow shaller S, singularest singleris H, soldiers sogers D, sovereignty suvrinity W, sphere spear W.
T. That there that air W, theirs their'n D, them 'em D S, the other t'oother D, there are S, tickled tiked D, told tell'd D, tour tower D, toands tords W, tremendous tremenjus W.
V. Violent vilt W.
W. Was not warn't D, warnt worn't S, were not wa'n't D, will not won't D.
Y. Yours yourn D W.
2. Vowels.
In the following some little attempt at classification will be made, but the instances are not numerous enough to arrive at any satisfactory result.
A. The oldest (aa) sound remains in stare star H, square squar H, hair-pin har-pin H, and is broadened into (oo), where in England it has sunk to (ee), in chares chores D. On the other hand, it falls into (ee, e) or even (i) in air W, came kem H, again agen H, agin S, may be mebbby W, and completely to (ii) in ears keers W.
Long a, ai=(ee, ee) has become (ii) in chair cheer W H, cares keers W, careless keerless H, soared skerry W, James Jeemes H, to which must be reckoned apparel appeerl W; but gave giv W, is probably only the use of the present as past.
The same tendency is shewn in the short vowel a (w) in any eny D, enny W, can kin H, catch kitch ketch D, hait bed H, have hov W, that conj. thet H.
Broadening appears in canel kanawl W, sat v. sort D, far fur D, stamped stamped D, but uncertainly in what what whot w Occ., wat hot W, where the absence of h is noticeable, as it is generally present, and was war H. Even au shews both tendencies in because caze D, audacity owdassity W, but caught ketchet D is merely a weak form of ketch, already cited.
E short is thinned to (ii), which may be (i) in end eend D S, neste neests D, and, as is very common in England, to (i) in cheat chist S, general generel D, grinar W, generally ginerally W, get git D W, getting gittin' H, kettles kittles D W, passengers passin-jers W, pretty adj. pretty pritty D. But shews the Scotch broadening tendency in key kag W, set p. p. sol S, p. t. sort W, where there may be a confusion with sat, well adv. wall W, wrestled rastled H.
The long ee is shortened in been hen bin D, but as eo seems to remain (ii), even in New Orleans New Orleans S, heard heerd S W, with which we may class anywhere anywhere H, but the old (ee) crops up in real rale D, really raly D, raly H, heard baird H, and some other cases, for which see er.
The following are very common in England: neither nother nother D, chewing chawin W, eoe yo S, newspaper noospaper W.
1. In if ef W H, sit set D, we have a tendency opposite to that of get git. Little leettle D W is common here, but squire square W is very strange.
There seems to be a tendency to sink all unaccented vowels into (i), or perhaps Mr. Bell's (y), see (1169, b), and it is worth while noticing this, because a similar tendency shews itself in Irish,
and (i) is constantly used in Buchanan, see the vocabulary, pp. 1072–1083. See the Irish examples below. Extra extra W, panorama panaramy W, opera opery W, actually actilly S, animal animill W, counterpart counterpin D, manage mange W, poem poin W, garments garments W, browsers browsis W, nephew nevey H, region regime W, passion pashin D, waistcoat weskit W, argument argument W.

O seems to assume all varieties of different local English forms, so that any classification is difficult. It becomes (aa) in roar rair', H, (uu) in boast boost D, more moore W, falls to (a) in home hum D W, whole hull D W, stone ston D W, nobody nobuddy W, and even to (i) in rose v. riz D W H, cover kiver D W, with which we may compare touching techin W, while it varies in the same writer in boom boozum buzzum W. Then we find soldier sawder S, boulders bowlders H, thought tho't, bought bo't D.

The (oo) sound varies, as (au) in route rowt W, (iu) in chooses chuses D, boots butes W, do dew W occ., through thru' D, threw D W, zoological zoological W, the last being derived from the "zoo"; and (a) in took tuk W, roof ruff D, and you yu W, your yer H, the two latter used ecclectically.

The diphthong OI is treated as long i in all those cases in which it was so sounded in the xviith and xviiith centuries. Thus: appointed appinted D, boil bile D, boiling bilin' W, bilin' H, broiling brilin' D, hoisted histed W, join jine D W H, leins lions W, which of course is merely grotesque for lines, oil ile D W, point pint W, pointing pintin W, points p'ints H, poison pyson S, pizen W H, soil sile W, soiled siled D, spoils spiles D.

U. The prefix un- is generally on-, as in uneasy oneasy S W, unparalleled onparalled W, unpleasant onpleasant S W, unsatisfactory on-satis-factory H. In a few words short u is e, i, as just jest D, jist D S, common in London, judge n. jedge H, compare Scotch (dzhadzha), such sich D W, shut shet H, very old. The form shut p.p. shot W, seems to be founded on some confusion.

The long u when accented constantly becomes (tu), a well-known English vulgarism, but dating apparently from after the xviith century, and the preceding s, t, do not then become (sh, tsh); but this is by no means always the case, as will be seen from the examples of consonants given below. Thus: actuate actoot W, adieuado W, amusing amoozin W, circuitous sircooitius W, confused konfoozed W, constitution constitoshun W, dispute dispoot W, excuse excoos W, gratuitous gra-tooitus W, impudence im ponderents W, including incliodin W, individual indi-vidooal W, influence inflowince W, lunatic loontick W, nuisance nooo-sense W, obtuse oboot W, peculiar pocooler W, punctually punctkooally W, pursue purseo W, resumed resoomed W, spiritual sperretoon W, subdued subdood W, sued sood W, suit soot W, untutored untootered W, virtuous virtuous W. It will be observed, however, that all these examples are from W. After i and r this change is received, but W furnishes both bloo and blew for blue.

Unaccented u in open syllables, which, though always very short (id), is called long by our orthoepists, seems mostly to become (i, i). Thus: education idecation edication S, minute n. minet S, minit H, minutes minites W, valuation valaetion S, value valy S, regulating regelatin D, ridiculous ridikilous II.

Final and unaccented -ure is usually treated exactly as er, and generally does not influence the preceding consonants, as creature critter cretur D, creeter critter W, creations critters S, features features S, figures figers D, figgers W, future futer W, injury inger D, legislature legislatur D, nature natur D S, nature nater W, natural natural S, natral W, pasture pastur S, pictures pickers W, rapture raptur W, venture venter W, pressure presher W. The last form is exceptional. It will be found that these foreign words are very irregularly treated in the English dialects, probably depending on the time of their having been first used.

3. The Consonant R.

ER, EAR, UR. The treatment of vowels before R is very curious in America, dependent partly on the R having become thoroughly vocal, and partly on the retention of the old ar forms, with which ur forms have been confused. A few er- words retain their form as er, ear, or air, thus: dern dern H, earth airth S, earth W, early airly S, pert peart II. But the rule is
for all such words to become ar, as:

R. The late Prof. Hadley, in reviewing the first part of this work, after quoting my remarks supra p. 197, says: "It is fortunate for this much abused letter that so large a part of the English-speaking world is found in America, where the first settlers brought this r in a less attenuated state, and where their descendants have been largely reinforced by users of a yet stronger r from Ireland and Scotland and the Continent of Europe. Instead of losing the final r, like our brethren in Southern England, we are more likely to restore it to its ancient equivalency with the initial letter."
(essays, 1873, p. 252.) See also Prof. Haldeman's remarks (1195, l'). My own experience of polished American speech does not bear out this remark. No approach to an Irish or Scotch r final seems to be made. If a trill was ever used by the speakers I observed, it must have been very faint, for I am constantly awake to trills, and should have certainly remarked it. An untrilled r, perhaps as much of a consonant as (r), I seem to have heard; I think I have heard at least one American preacher say (thiog:rt) where I say (maht),—a matter of choice, (hart) presenting no difficulty to me. But that Dickens' smart tork for small talk would have been as easily written by an American as by an English humourist will be quite apparent from the following instances, which show that ar or or are recognized ways of writing (as AA) without implying the least trill or vowel (a) in place of a trill. It follows therefore that such a pronunciation must be familiar to American ears from American mouths. No American humourist could otherwise have ventured to use it.


In the following we have not only the r omitted, but the vowel which was before it shortened, shewing its utter disappearance even from the thought of the speaker. Horse hoss W, horses hosses W, burst bust D W, busted H, bursting bustin W, curse cuss W H, cursing cussin D, coloured culled W, first fast W, innerns lantuns W, nursing nussing W, persons pussuns W, purse puss W, worse wuss W, worser wuser W. And I would explain girl gal H, girls gals D, galls S, in the same way, girls becoming first garts and then gals (gealz gaelza gals), and similarly pretty having the r "transposed" becomes perty, and then, putty D W, of which pooty D H is regarded only as another form. In scarcely scacely W we have a simple omission of r, with probably a corresponding omission of its modification of (ee) into (cc), which is also found dialectally in England.

ER, UR, as an indistinct vowel where no trace of trill can be reasonably supposed, shews this vocality more completely. Thus it stands for A unaccented in afloot erlote W, drams dramer W, orphan orfurn W, spectacles specterkuls W, valise verlise W, umbrella umbreller W, vista vister W, to which may be added the common always allers W H, generally written allus in England.—For E unaccented in elements ellermants W, elephants
ellerfunts W, intellectual interlectual W, tragedy traggerdy W:—for I unaccented in dignify dignerfy W, exhibited exhibierd W, puutilminous pusseslernaus W, signify sigerfy W, specimen spesserman W, veracity verrassery W:—for O, OW, unaccented very frequently, as bellowd bellered W, billows billers W, calico caliker W, fellow feller D S W H, followed followed W, gallowe gallers W, hollowed hollerd W, innocent innercent W, negroes niggers D, patronised patronized W, politest perlitest D, political periltercal purilltercal W, potatoes pertiaters W, shadow shadder W, sorrow sorers W, swallow sallower W, tallow taller W H, vociferously versifrusily W, window winder S W, widow widder H, yellow yaller S H, yeller W; in following follerin W there is a suspicion of a trill, but it is not certain, and even if it existed, it would only be similar to the usual euphonie London r; in colonel kurnel S, identified in the passage cited with kernel kurnel S, we have a received pronunciation; considering of as o, the following come under this category: kind of kinder D S W H, sort of sorter, ought to oughter H, onto onter W; but in provisions pervishuns W it is doubtful whether there is not a confusion of pro- and per- as prefixes:—for U unaccented in ague aher II, continues continues W, continuing continuing W, with possible trill, depitised depertised W, invaluable invelarble W, subtitle sublimne W. In glorious gerlorious W, slave ser-lave W, prairie per-rairie per-ar-ie H, it takes the part of an exaggerated (‘h), and the same is the case for the ludicrously prefixed ker-, sometimes used in W, as slap kerslap W.

These examples shew that in America, as it will be seen in § 2, No 10, is the case also in England, r has become a mere means, first of writing (aa, AA), and secondly of indicating a long or a brief (‘h, a, u), that is, one which has either only that short glide which follows a long vowel, or else no glide on to the succeeding consonant. In both cases r may consequently be considered as the sign of lengthening. Its use in this respect is similar to that of s in older French (331, ab), and of l in Scotch (Murray, p. 123), having like them no historical foundation, and, so far as the usual value of these letters r, s, l, is concerned, no phonetic signifi-
cance. They merely arose from the fact that in many words the phonetic values of r, s, l, had been lost, where they once existed, and the preceding vowel lengthened. With regard to the short -er, representing (-a, -u), writers have felt the same difficulty as Mr. Murray in his historical orthography (ib. pp. 133, 134), and have generally adopted his contrivance of writing -a when final (though many fall into -er, which leads, however, to a suspicion of a trilled r, which is tainted with vulgarity), and -er- when before a consonant (when trilling would be out of the question). Of course in Scotland, where the sight of an r in any position is the signal for trilling, this use of er was impossible. Its use in the United States, even in humouristic writing, is consequently proof of the very general existence of non-trilled r among the English speakers of America.

4. Other Consonants.

D is changed to t in hold n. holt W, which is not uncommon in England. It is added after n in drowned drown-ed did W, drowned h, growns grownds W, as with us, but there is a more general tendency to omit it in this case, as friend tren W, vagabond vagabone W, especially when s follows, as friends fres W, husbands husbans W, understand understands W, reminds remines W, handsome hansom S (although handsone handsun S is also found), and even before other letters, as handbills hanbills W. There is a great tendency to change d to j under the influence of a full i unaccented but followed by a vowel, as Indian Ingen D, Injin D H, Injun W, and audience awiince W, grandeur granjur W, immediate immejit W, induce injuce injoice W, medium mejium W, produce projuce W, soldiers soyers W, tremendous tremenjous W.

H. This much-abused letter in England seems to escape in America. Of course ostensibly hostensibly W is a mere grotesque to recall hoss, the word not being popular. The enclitic here, in this here, been here, etc., suffers various changes, as: h’yur ’yar ’yer yere H, which however are attributed to the strong action of the (u) or (au) pronunciation of the -ere portion. Even Sir John Herschel (Sound, art. 361, in Eneye. Metr.) makes “young; yearn;
hear, here" consist of the vowel in "peep, leave, believe, sieben (Germ.), coquille (Fr.)," "succeeded more or less rapidly" by the vowel in "spurt, assert, dirt, virtue, dove, double, blood," entirely omitting the \( h \). This will be found frequent dialectally, and earth yeart \( H \) is quite similar.

\( L \) for \( r \) in frustrated frustradit \( W \) is grotesque, but the omission of \( l \) in only on'y \( H \) is quite common.

\( M \) is omitted in rheumatism rheumatiz \( H \), which is quite familiar in England.

\( N \) becomes exceptionally \( q \) in some words, as captains captings \( W \), cushions cushionings \( H \), garden garding \( W \), weapons weppings \( H \), but more commonly \( -ag \) becomes \( -g \); in fact this is the rule for the participial and gerundial \( -ag \) and the word thing in composition, as amazing amasin \( S \), capering caperen \( D \), everlasting everlastin' \( S \), everything evrythin \( D \), meeting meetin \( S \), nothing nothin \( D \) S \( W \), pudding pudden \( D \), seizing ceasin \( W \), something suthin \( W \), toiling toillin \( W \), etc., etc.

PH. The change to \( p \) in nymph nimp \( W \) is probably purely grotesque.

QU becomes \( c \), \( k \), frequently in equalled ekalled \( W \), and occasionally in quotation cotashun \( W \).

SK is transposed, or rather the original \( cs \) is preserved in ask ax \( S \).

\( T \) is omitted when final after \( c \), in acts ax \( W \), conflicts conflicks \( W \), contact contact \( W \), distraicts districkes \( W \), facts fax \( W \), intellect intellecte \( W \), just so jess so \( W \), just jess \( H \), object objecte \( W \), perfect perfeck \( W \), sect seck \( W \), and after \( p \) in attempt attempt \( W \), crept crep' \( H \), also in don't preceding \( n \), as don't know dunno \( W \), and probably also before other consonants. On the other hand, it is added in once onct \( W \), sudden n. sudden \( H \), and assimilated in let go leggo \( W \), to which category probably belongs partner partner \( H \). In surtous surroot \( W \) the added \( t \) is orthographical; educated Americans also pronouncing the final \( t \) in trait.

Th remains \( d \) in further furder \( W \), and is omitted in clothe clothes close \( W \), but that there that ar' \( H \) is the English that ere, and it is doubtful whether this should be reckoned as an omitted \( th \).

\( V \) is written \( w \) in the first syllable of conviviality conviviality \( W \), shewing that some such change would be appreciated, (1067, d. 1220, \( d' \)), but this is the only instance I have noted.

\( W \) is, as often, omitted in inwards inards \( W \).

\( X \) becomes \( z \) by the omission of preceding syllable in exactly zactly \( W \), where the \( t \) also ought to be omitted.

The above examples, though very incomplete, will serve to give some notion of the prevailing illiterate or Yankee pronunciations in America. Those arising from negro influence have been kept out of view. But they form a remarkable instance of linguistic break down, and deserve careful study. For examples see Du Njoe Testament vo wi Masra en Helpiman Jesus Kristus, or New Testament in the Negro English of Surinam, to be had of the British and Foreign Bible Society, price 2s.6d.; also Proeve een Handelingen om het Neger-Engelsch, zoo als hetzelve over het algemeen binnen de Kolonie Suriname gesproken wordt, door A. Helmig van der Vegt, Amsterdam, 1844, p. 56, and Slave Songs of the United States, New York, 1871, introduction by W. F. Allen, pp. xxiv-xxxvi. To which Addison Van Name (1155, c') adds Wullschlagel's Neger-englisches, Wörterbuch, Löbau, 1850.

Irish Pronunciation of English.

Although vast numbers of the Irish who speak English are uneducated, yet the English language is not of native growth in Ireland. There are still several parts of Ireland where English is not spoken. Hence an account of the Irish pronunciation of English can be better classed as educated than as natural. But there is a still stronger reason for placing it next to the American. They are both examples of an emigrated language of nearly the same date. If we disregard the English settlers in Forth and Bary in the xii th century, to be considered hereafter, the English language in Ireland may be considered to date in the north from the settlement of Ulster by James I. in 1611, and generally from the events
which followed Cromwell’s incursion in 1649. The first English settlements on the Bay of Massachusetts date from 1628. The language in both cases therefore belongs to the xviiith century. An inspection of the preceding and following lists compared with the accounts of the pronunciation of that period already given, will shew the correctness of the estimate already formed for these cases (p. 20) as examples of persistent mother-tongue in emigrants.

The general xviiith century character is most strongly marked in Ireland by the retention of the pronunciation of long e, in the state which had been reached in the xviiith century,—those words that had then changed long e into (ii), mostly marked by the orthography ee, remaining as long (ii), and those that had not yet changed their (ee), mostly marked by the spelling ea, remaining as (ee) or (ee). This character is so marked and prevalent among all but the higher educated classes in Ireland, among whom the present English usage is not a century old, (1050, a'), that most persons seem to regard it as one of the marks of Irish “brogue,” whereas it is pure xviiith century English fossilized by emigration, and, as we shall see, is more or less persistent among our own dialects. But there are two distinct styles of English spoken in Ireland, that in the Northern part due to the mainly Scotch settlement of Ulster, and that elsewhere spoken.

After Mr. Murray had published his book on the Dialects of the South of Scotland, so frequently referred to (1085, e), Mr. W. H. Patterson, of Strandtown, Belfast, sent him a copy of a pamphlet called: “The Provincialisms of Belfast and the Surrounding Districts pointed out and corrected, by David Patterson, industrial teacher of the blind at the Ulster Institution for the Deaf and Dumb and Blind, and a resident of Belfast for the last forty years, Belfast, 1860.” Mr. Murray having shewn me this pamphlet, and pointed out the numerous Scotticisms which it contained, I requested him to mark all the words which bore a Scotch character. At the same time, to check the North by the South, I requested Mr. T. M. Healy, who had lived the first 18 out of the 20 years of his life in Cork, where he was born, to mark such words as were pronounced in the same way in Cork as at Belfast, and where there were differences to point them out. Both gentlemen having obligingly complied with my request, I have been enabled to compile the following lists, which, although leaving very much to be desired, give a fuller account of Irish peculiarities than any I can refer to elsewhere.

To obtain further information, I addressed a series of questions to Mr. W. H. Patterson, who sent the pamphlet, and to its author, Mr. D. Patterson, who is himself blind, and is personally unknown to the other, and also to the Rev. Jas. Graves, of Inisnag Rectory, near Stoneyford, Kilkenny, honorary secretary of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society, all of whom, as well as Mr. Murray and Mr. Healy, most kindly and readily assisted me, and from them I have gathered the following information.

The pronunciation of Belfast decidedly differs from that of the
greater part of Ireland, but extends pretty uniformly over the Northern and Eastern parts (about two-thirds) of Ulster. Though Scotch, it is not so much so as the Eastern parts of Down and Antrim. For instance (says Mr. W. H. P.), a farmer living in east of County Down will have many Scotch words in his speech and a very Scotch accent, but will be at once distinguishable from the Scottish landstewards and gardeners who come over. He will say: "Hae ye got ony guid shearin hawks?" and his children will play at; "Ngeery, ngaary, ngick, ngack, which han will ye tak, the right or the wrang, I'll beguile ye if I can." A child was heard to cry: "Qut cloddin stanes at them kye!" Here Qut is quit, give over (kwat). A farmer's wife called some people to "see Billy biggin," i.e. building a corn stack; a wild bee's nest is a bee's bike (Co. Down); missis is lonely, solitary (Belfast; Mr. Murray says Jamieson gives it for Roxburghshire, but he never heard it, it is ags. misalice), brulliment disturbance (Glenarn, Co. Antrim), glam grasp or sudden clutch (Belfast), hoke to make a hole (Sc. howk), hence the houges a game played with peeries pegtops, which are to hogue one another.

All my authorities state that the English from different parts of Ireland is decidedly different, but they are not prepared to say how it is different. It is evident that there is a considerable field for investigation here. The R is strongly trilled. There is an Irish r which seems to occupy the whole tongue in its trill, and may hence be written (ˌr), but I have not investigated it. The H is always pronounced, except in French words, and the WH is, says Mr. Murray, as in Scotland, varying between (wh, kwh). The peculiar dental T, D, before R, are considered under D, in the Alphabatical arrangement of the Consonants, No. 3, below.

My inquiries as to the "brogue" have not resulted in any very satisfactory information. It seems to me that we must study the Irish habits of Celtic pronunciation, and the de-formation of English by persons naturally speaking Celtic, before we can form a proper judgment on the brogue. Thus Mr. Murray, from his own Irish experience, defines the brogue as speaking English with Celtic habits of utterance—1) in the pronunciation of consonants, as the rolling r (ˌr), the post- aspiration (prəh, br), the dental or bi-dental (ˌt, ˌd) before this (ˌr), and excessive palatalisation of (l, n, k, g); 2) in the vowels (i) for (ɨ), (ə) for (ə, ə), (ee) for (ii), all three of which appear doubtful to me, as the last seems certainly xvii-th century English; and 3) most of all in the intonation, which appears full of violent ups and downs, or rather precipices and chasms of force and pitch, almost disguising the sound to English ears. In this work I have generally omitted to dwell on intonation, because, at all times extremely difficult to catch and describe in living speech, it was hopeless to recover it in the past. But in local speech intonation is very characteristic, and for Scotch and Irish it is generally unmistakable, although so difficult to describe. Mr. Graves says Cork and Killarney are marked by a peculiar accent on the ultimate syllable, a high key, and a brogue that is never lost. Even the gentry partake of this peculiarity. This brogue, when
once heard, can never be forgotten. Kilkenny, says Mr. Graves, has a peculiar drawing brogue, which he endeavours to write thus: 

*Calf caalf,* *Margaret Maargaret,* *clean claane,* *height hoith,* *potatoes pyaatoes,* *wheat wheate,* *father faather,* *door dure,* where *aa* is French *a,* except when answering to *ea.* Mr. Graves also remarks that “in the ballads of the peasantry the consonants at the ends of lines are ignored, it is enough if the vowels jingle together,” and adds that this is also the rule of Irish poetry. That is to say, the Irish are still content with assonances, which had disappeared from English poetry before the immigration. In some modern street ballads of Belfast, sent me by Mr. W. H. Patterson, I find: name vain, shame train;—found known, surprise sight, found down, hands land;—eve grief, time line;—tin limb, mixed bricks, line pantomime;—kneel field;—alone home, eyes high, strong on;—chalk walked, malt walked, shock walked, hot clock, stop walked, talk walked, knocked walked (here every stanza ended with ‘walked,’ and the rhymester was evidently hard up);—remember surrender, perished cherish;—march smash, toast force;—cared bed;—sobbed Lord, joy smiles while;—found town. But by far the greater number of rhymes are perfect, although sometimes the authors seem to have had no rhymes at all “convenient,” as when they condescend to: comrade poor Pat, morning darling, explain line, spring strung, kneeled side. It is very seldom that an Irish pronunciation comes in as: door sure, scream same.

Mr. Graves gives the following as “a fair specimen of the Kilkenny English of the last generation, *i.e.* as spoken by the old people,” and adds that national school education is fast destroying these peculiarities; he says also that this dialect has evidently been influenced by an early English colonisation, and that the speakers use very good English, not clipping their words much. The bracketed explanations are his own.

“Shure yer ’Oner never seen so clane [clear-complexioned] a boy, [unmarried man,] or likely [handsome] a colleen [girl] as them two that was marrid the week afore last.—Is it what the decent couple had to depind [the *i* sounded like Italian *i*] on for their livin, yer oner is axin? Sorra a haporth but God’s goodness, and the quarter of pyates [pronounced as two syllables, *pya-teês,* a quarter of an acre of potatoes] the boy set last Easther.—Is it after the woman [the speaker’s wife] yer Riverence is axin? Och she’s bad intirely with the faower, and the childhre down [sick] along with her. Glory be to God! an sorra an egg or a dhrop of milk meself has to give the crathers, becase the fox, the thief of the world, tuck the hins, an the cow’s run dhryg with the red murrin, not a dhrop inthered thir lips since yisterday but could wather.—Yer Riverence is a decent gentle-man, and won’t see a poor era-thur in want uv a bit to aate. The baaste perished [died] on me last week, and sorra a sup of milk I have for the childhre. It’s kind faather [proving your-self kin to your father] for yer oner to be good to the poor.”

Most words are here in received spelling, some occasionally in
both received and characteristic spelling; probably not one was altogether in received pronunciation.

With regard to the letter **a**, I have been told that the first letters of the alphabet are called (ææ, bee, sec, deee), and that **barrel** is (bær-rl), and so on. But nothing of this is shewn in the above or in the following orthography.

In re-arranging Mr. D. Patterson's words, the ordinary spelling is put in italics, his phonetic spelling follows in roman letters, with **B** annexed, and **C** if this is used in Cork, **S** if in Scotch, **WS** in West and **SS** in South Scotch, and **SE** in Scotch English. Sometimes the word is re-spelled or only a single letter is added to shew the differences. When **C** is put after the usual spelling, it shews that at Cork the received, or what is there considered as the received, pronunciation is used. Sometimes this plan is specially broken through for brevity, as explained on each occasion.

Mr. D. Patterson seems to use **ee,** **ai,** **ah,** **au,** **oa,** **oo,** in closed syllables for (ii, ee, aa, AA, oo, au), and **i, e, a, o, u,** for (i, e, m, o, a), but (e, a) may be meant, and he seems to have no sign for (u). In open syllables, or with a final e mute, (a, e, i, o, u) seem to be (ee, ii, ái éi, oo, íú), and **ou** is (áv). The two sounds (ái, éi) will be spoken of under i long.

1. Miscellaneous.

To begin with a few instances which cannot be easily classed under letters. We have not unknown deformations of words in **column** colyum **B C SE,** and **tremendous** ththremen-dyay-iss B, ththremen dus, which appears rather as (trime'n'dzhas) in English, but massacre massacre B, massacrae C, is very peculiar. The three following are usual enough in England: **coroner** crowner B, C or corner, **courtesy** curichy B C, **poem** pome B C SE, (poi'em) S, but **process** pross B, seems to be simply (pro'ses) abridged, and **portmanteau** portmantea B, where **yea** = (je), or portmanchu C, is a mere local mispronunciation in B, where 'portmankai' has also been heard. Initial syllables are lost in **apprentice** C, prentice B S, **enlist** list B S C, and perhaps a **final t** in **lanet** lance B S C, which looks, however, more like a different usage.

Accent is thrown back, as regards received pronunciation, in **brigadier** brig'adiar B, cav'alier cav'alier B, **engineer** en'gineer B, fusilier fu'silier B, mankind man'kine B C, and **S** for accent, **parishioner** parishioner B C; and forward in contrary **contrary B S C,** in B and **C** we ought certainly to have **tt'h,** de'si'tory des'i'tory B, desulative des'u'lthy C, **discipline** discipline B S C, dis'ci plined discipl'ed B, disputable dis'pu'table B C, disputant disput'ant B, district C, district' B, exemplary exem'plary B S C, industry indus'try B S, indu'sthry C, as it certainly should be in **B,** inventory in'ventory B S, in'ven'thory C, lamentable lam'enta ble B S C, **maintenance** maint'na'nce B C, (men'ti-m'ans) S, subaltern sub'al'tern B.

2. Vowels.

A is sometimes but rarely broadened into (AA, a), as cabal C, cabaul B, S (a), canal C, canaul B, S (a), tassel torsel B C, S (a). The general tendency is towards thinness, which takes several degrees. Thus, **alderman** C, alderman B, that is, with (a) not (AA), agrees with the retention of (a) after **w,** which goes through the Belfast pronunciation, answering to S or SE (A), but, except in the one word **wasp** wasp = (wasp) B C, seems to be unknown in C, where the received pronunciation prevails, the examples being: qualify, quality, quant'ity, quarrel, quarry, squeak, squall, squander, swab, swaddle, swallow, swamp, swamp, swamp, swear, searchy, wadding, waddle, wallet, wallow, want, war, ward, warn, wart, warble, warm, warm, warrior, wash, watch, wattle, and what.

The short **a** seems to be lengthened to (ee) in ration rashin B C, nag C, naig B S, and falls quite into short (e, e) in apparel apperel B C, bandy C, bendy B, branch C, brench B, (brensh) S, calico C, kelligo B, cartridge

A short often sounds as e short in almost any word, but in Belfast this pronunciation is confined to words in which a is preceded by (k, g), or followed by (k, g, q). What shade of short e this may be is not known; possibly (ê), but Mr. Murray suggests that it may be only a too narrow pronunciation of (æ), as a rebound from Scotch (a, á), and doubts whether a Southern Englishman would feel it too narrow. In Cork nothing of the kind is known. The following are some of the examples: bag beg, canal kennel, cant kent, carry kerry, cattle kettle, cowen kevern, drags dregs, fang feng, gabble gobble, gailey gelley, gas guess, hawk heck, hog heg, in fact in feet, knack neck, lag leg, pack peck, pang peng, plank plenck, rack rock, rank renk.

CAR- CAR- are usually kyar- gar- in Belfast, but sometimes kare- gar-. The first is just known in Cork. Neither are known in South Scotch.

In was C, wuz B, S occ., we have probably an occasional B use, and oc- ca- tion C, vocation B, is no doubt mere confusion. Unaccented A is perhaps exceptionally treated in America American B C, and 'Mericyk C.

A long seems to be in Ireland naturally (ææ), but much further examination is here necessary. D. Patterson notes that -ar is often called (-eer), possibly (-ææ), and that when following k a y is introduced, as kyar, skyar, for car, soar. This and the long -are must in general be passed over, to note char C, char B SE, farm C, form B, dare dar B S C, and coon C, achorn B S, panorama panorama B S C, rather C, rether B, S (ree).

AE is noted as spaæ C, spaæ B, but the meaning of pronunciation is not obvious.

AI. Only again C, again B SE, against C, against B SE, said C, said B SE, are noticed.

AU is exceptionally pronounced in assault C, assult B, auyer C, ogre B, jaundice jendie B, jaundis C. The regular sound is marked as a, but whether this means (a) or (ææ) or (aa) is not noted. The C is as received, the S has (aa, aa) always, and the English has (ÆA), hence I only give B in braval bral, claw cla, clawed claw, jawn fan, flaw fla, gnaw na, hawthorn hathorn, jew ja, gnaw na, law la, paw pa, saw sa, sprawl spral, tawny tanny.

E short is apparently lengthened in B, and not in C, in bet C, bait B, led C, laid B, precious C, prashavis B, shed C, shade B. It is occasionally deepened to (œ) as in desk C, dask B, (desk) S, grenadier grannidier B S C, wren ran B WS C, wretch C, ratch B, S (w'r), wrestle rassel B WS C; but its general tendency is to sharpen into (i), as in bench binc B C, besom bizzim B, (ba-zam) S, bless C, bliss B, S (ê), brethren C, brithren B, S (ê), cherry C, chirry B, S (ê), chest B, chist B, occ. C, (keêst) S, cleever C, cliver B, S (ê), crovice C, crivvis B, S (ê), devil divvil B C, S (ê), engine injine B C, S (ê), ever C, ivver B, S (ê), every C, iv ery B, S (ê), jerk C, jirk B, jet C, jit B, S (ê), kernel C, kinkel B, merry C, mirry B, S (ê), never C, nivver B, S (ê), next nixt B C, S (ê), promises primmises B C, red C, rid B, S (ê), shettie shittie B, S (ê), speckled C, sprickled B S, together C, togheter B, S (ê), twenty twinti B C, whether C, whither B, S (ê), wrench wonch B C, yes yis B, yis yes C, (œœ's) S, yesterday vistherday B C, S ( ye's), yet yit B C, S (ê), and in senna C, seeni B, (se-m) S, it seems to be even lengthened into (ii). Although the tendency does not seem to have always reached C in these cases, it is widely diffused, and the above list is far from containing all the instances that might be given.

E long is often (œ) or (œœ), where it was so in the xvith century, as in decent daicent B C, equal niquil B C, extreme extinguish B C, female famil B, faimail C, fevor favour B, fayvür C, frequent fraquent B C, immediately immaidyently B C, immadijutly C, scheme skaim B C, secret sairiet B C, tedious taidious B C. The B short pronunciation in hero herro B, hairo C, does not extend to C. In those words where it was spelled or might be spelled se, the (ii) sound had already prevailed by the xvith century, but beestings beestins B, baystins baystees C, queer quair B C, are partial exceptions. The pronunciations were war B, wor C, threepence thrupence B SE, thrippence C, arise otherwise. But where
EA was introduced in the xvith century, we know that the sound (ee, ee) remained in the xvith, and hence we are not surprised at finding it almost uniformly so pronounced in Ireland. The remarkable point is that this pronunciation occurs in Belfast also, whereas it has nearly disappeared from the Scotch, whence it was derived. That it really existed there once, appears by some few remains. Thus reason is now in SS (r'z"n), but in the common phrase reason or none, used adverbially, they still say (rz'n-erm'rn). Mr. Murray (in a private letter) says that there are many similar facts which lead him to suppose that the SS (r') in the xvith century was still (e) or (ae), and that it travelled through (e, e') to (e'', r'). In examining the words in EA, it is hence convenient to divide them into groups.

1) Those words in ea now (ee) or (ee) both in B and C, but not in S, these are: bead baid, beagie baigle, beag bake, beam bane, bean bane, beast baste, beat bait, bleach braich, bleach braunch, cease saice, cheap chaip, cheat chait, clean clean, craik craik, cream cream, crease craice, creature craitthur B, craitthir C, deacon daigon, deat dale, dean dale, each aitch, eager agier, eagle aigle, ease aize, east aist, eat ate, feasible faible, feast fasting, feat fate, flea flay, freach fräik, grease n. grace, v. graze, heal heal, heathen haithen, key kay, lead lade, lead laif, league laig, lead lake, lean lane, lean lace, least laist, leave lave, meal male, mean man, measeus maizeus, meat mate, pea pay, peace pace, peat pale, please plays, preach praiich, reach raich, real rail, reap raper, rear rair, reason raisin, repeat repait, sea say, seal sale, seam same, seat suit, sheaf shaih, sheath shalt, sneak snake, speak spake, steal stale, streak strhaik, strum strthram, tea tay, teach taich, treacle thhraiche, treason thraizhin, treat treath, treat vale, woon wane, wcoave wave, wheat whait, wreak rake.

2) Words in ea having the (ee, ee) sound in S, as well as B and C, breathe braithte, endeavour endaier, neat nait, sneak wake.

3) Words in ear having (aa) or (aae) in B, and the regular (aa) or (er) in C, dearteath darth B, S (aa), earth C, arth B, S (ae), heard C, hard B, S (ae), learn larn B C, S (ae), search C, sarch B, S (ae).

4) Words in ea having (e, æ) in both B and C, leap lep, meadow medda.


EI is not sufficiently exemplified, but the xvith century pronunciation appears to be the rule, either aither B C, lairse laizhir B, laizhir C, inveigle inveigle B C, seize saiz B C. Mr. Healy thinks that the ei is not so broadly pronounced as ea, but I have not been able to determine whether they differ as (ee, ee).

E.W. The few cases given are quite exceptional, chew chow B S, chau C, skewer skivver B C, Matthew Matha B C.

ER is almost universally written ar in Mr. D. Patterson's orthography. Whether that means (aar, ar) or (ar) I do not know. The Scotch has generally (ae) in such words. B and C sometimes agree, and also often differ. The words given are as follows: certain sartin B C, S (ae), clergy clargy B C, S (ae), commercial C, commercial B, concern consarn B, S (ae), convert convert B C, S (ae), desert desart B C, S (ae), deserve C, desarve B, S (ae), determine C, detarmine B, S (ae), divert divart B C, S (ae), errand arrand B, erre C, eternal C, eternal B, S (ae), ferrule C, farewell B, S (ae), Hercules Hankel B, infernal C, infarnal B, S (ae), merchant C, marchant B, Mercury Markery B, mercy C, marcy B, S (ae), nerve C, narrow B, S (ae), perch B, perjury C, parjury B, S (ae), perpandicular C, parpandicular B, person C, parson B, S (ae), serve C, serve B, S (ae), stern starn B, S (ae), terrible C, terrible B, S (ae), terrier terrier B C, (te-rer) r B, servin varmin B C, S (ae), Verse C, varse B.

I short when written ee by Mr. D. Patterson represents the Scotch short (i), and does not reach to C: brick C, breek B, delicious C, dileeshayis B S, giggle C, goolge B S (i), idiot eediet B S, aiujt C, malicious C, mileeshayis
B S, militia C, mileeshy B, sneivel C, sneevel B, ridiculous ridekilis B S (i), ridekilis C, wick C, week B, (wik) S. Even the changes of i into (e, e) in miracle merricle B C, (me'rik'l) S, milt melt B C, (mel'lt) S, rid C, red B, (re'd) S, which is only partially C, and into (a, a) in brittle C, bruckle B S, whip C, whup B S, are good Scotch. In rufflan ruffin B C the i seems merely a mark of the indistinct final syllable, as used so much by Buchanan, as example on p. 1053.

I long is exceptionally pronounced (ee, ee) in diameter C, daymeter B, fatigue fitaig B, fataig C, intrigue inthraig B C, (iilae C), laylock B S, occ. C, quiet quate B WS, quite C, of which fatigue, intrigue are remarkable, since oblige C, obledge B, and obleedge C, does not follow suit. Notwithstanding the usual impeachment that Irish people say oi naturally, I am led to suppose that giant joyant B C, riot royet B, rii C, are also exceptional.

In Belfast there appear to be two regular sounds of long i, corresponding to the Scotch sounds, see § 2, No. 10 below, and similarly distributed, but not always affecting the same words, nor, as far as I can discover, pronounced exactly in the same manner. According to Mr. D. Patterson, the first sound B (ai) and S (ai).

I was hurt My native country I'll disown The die is cast He will dye it red He dyed his hair He was dying it first He pried into the secrets of all They tied Rose fast That gold is mine

This distinction is not appreciated by Mr. W. H. Patterson, who hears in Belfast, "a'm goin to Benger, a wouldn't if a was you, and thinks that eye is called exactly (ai)." But he adds, "a Cork man would say, o'v'e hurt mee oi." This Mr. Healy, being a Cork man, repudiates. He knows in general only one pronunciation of long i, which he considers to be (ei), and, after noticing the habitual pronunciation of by, my, as (bi, mi), adds, "Some of them also say mot for my, but these are very few; in fact, that word and noise for mine are the only ones I can speak of as having personally of the change of i into oi." He had forgotten giant joyant, which he had already acknowledged. Rev. Jas. Graves "never remarked any is (ai), and the second (ei) or (e'i), or (ei') with the first element slightly lengthened. The first occurs in almost all words where long i precedes r, v, z, ã, and in a few where y, ye, ie, are final.

The following words are said to have (ai) and in Scotch (ai), and hence are both B and S: alive arrive blithe buy by client connive contrive cry deny deprive derive descry despise dive dry dye expire fie five fright fly hire my pie ply prior prize pry revise revive rye sythe shy size size spy sty surmise thy tie tithe try vie wary.

The following six have (ai) in B, and (ei) in SE, but not in vernacular S: byre desire dire hire tire.

The following two have (ai) in B and (ii) in S: briar, friar.

Other cases have the second or (ei) sound in B, and generally also in S, but the following eight have (ei) in B and (ai) in S: choir idol idolize iron piracy pirate quire square.

This double sound of long i, which is not in received English (but see Granville Sharpe, above p. 1053, c'), is very puzzling to an Englishman. Mr. D. Patterson gives the following sentences to illustrate the two sounds in B. The S distribution of the sounds does not always agree with the Irish.

B (ei).

His eye was hurt—S (vi) I will my native isle disown—S (ei) They die at last He will die in bed 

He died in despair 

He was dying of thirst 

His pride was the cause of his fall—S (ei) The tide rose fast—S (ei) That is a gold mine—S (di)

His eye was hurt—S (vi) I will my native isle disown—S (ei) They die at last He will die in bed 

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He was dying of thirst 

His pride was the cause of his fall—S (ei) The tide rose fast—S (ei) That is a gold mine—S (di)

difference [between I and eye] in the southern parts of Ireland," but adds, "eye is pronounced ee in the north." However, he writes height hoit. Now Sheridan and Knowles, both Irishmen, make the English sound of long i = (a'i), see (108, c'), and only differing from oy, made (àa'i), by the length of the first element. Now what caused this, and what makes English novelists write poi for the Irish sound of pie? I have had very little opportunity of observing genuine peasant Irish. But I am inclined to think that the effect is produced by 'gutturalising' (1107, c), whereby the lower part of the pharynx being widened more than the upper, an effect is produced similar to the fourth degree of rounding (1114, d'),
so that the sound (ɔ'ɪ) becomes (ɔ'əɪ) or very nearly (ɔ'ɪ), see (1100, ə'). At any rate, this produces the nearest approach to the effect I have noticed. Of course any such change would be entirely repudiated by the speaker. The following are a few of the words which take (eɪ, əɪ) in Belfast: eye, idle, ice, Irish, pipe, pite, pike, pint, spite, spider, spice, bible, bite, bite, bind, file, fight, fine, find, vice, vile, vine, wipe, wife, wise, wire, wind, twice, swine, white, whine, quiet, tight, tide, tile, time, sigh, sight, side, silent, sign, shine, child, chime, high, lie, tier, life, light, like, lime, line, oblige, fly, flight, slight, slide, slice, glide, rip, right, wright, write, ride, rice, rhyme, rite, bright, bridle, brine, fright, Friday, thrive, tripe, stripe, stripe, drive, grape, kite, kind, guide, guile, might, mice, miser, mild, smile, nigh, night, knight, knife, vice, snipe, and their compounds. Of these oblige had been previously given as 'oblige,' so that probably both pronunciations occur, but the present is the one considered by Mr. D. P. to be 'correct.' "When I precede another vowel," says Mr. Healy, "the I only is heard, as Brian brine, lion line, diamond dimond, crying crine."

O short seems to be made (o) or (o') in cord cord B C, (ciord) S, sort soart B C, (sior) S.

In the following words, where the received dialect has (ə), we find (o) retained: constable constable B S C, govern govern B SE, hover hover B SE, none none B C SE, but one waun B SE, won C, nothing C, nothing B SE, oven C, oven B SE, but B and C shew different habits, and the contrary use of (ə, æ) for (o) seems confined to B in body buddy, for fur, hod, hud, nor nur, or ur.

That the (w) sound after (w) should become (ə, æ) is not strange, but Mr. Healy will not allow it in Cork. wolf C, wulf B, woman C, wumman B S, and even in the plural women C, women B WS.


The further gradation to (i) appears in Donegal Dinnegal B, Dunnegal C, does C, diz B S, worsted wistid B, wustid C, but is not universal. In B it seems fixed for -tion -shin B, rather -shōn, than -shin or -shin C. For -yn as indistinct (-un), see Buchanan (1604). It is possible, therefore, that this may be an old Scottish tendency, retained in Belfast.

O long, OA, OE, are generally the same as in the received dialect, but board board B C, course course B S C, slot slot B, are exceptions, though (slot) is the common technical word in England. Before (-) there is the usual old change into an (ə'n) diphthong, now very characteristic of Irish: bold boul B C, and bold C, bolt bol B, C, gen., cold cool B, could C, coilt coilt B, C, gen., hold houl B C, and hould C, jolt joul B, C, gen., mole moul B, C, gen., old oul B C, pole C, poul B, roll roil B C, sold scold B C, sold sowl B, sould C, told toul B C, and tould C, but gold goold B SS C. Exceptional changes occur in oisir oiser B, pony C, pouny B S, swore C, sore B, tobacco tobecky B, toibaky C; but phoenix finax B C belongs rather to long e.

OO, though generally remaining, even in door door B C, floor floor B C, (floor) S, becomes (ə, æ) in many words, but the usage varies, as hood C, hud B, look C, luck B WS, shook shock B C WS, stood stud B C, took tuck B C WS, wood C, wud B S, woul C, wul B; but loose C, louse B S, which also is common in English dialects.

OI, OY. No examples given by Mr. D. P., but the usual (ə'i) sound in bow, point, join, etc., is I believe common.

OU, OW. In the following has an (ə'n) sound, contrary to received usage: bowl bowl B S C, gouge gouge B C, pour C, pour B, C also and more commonly, (pur) S, route rout B S, shoulder showdither B C, soul soul B C, tour tour B S. On the contrary, the received (ə'n) is (o) in devour C, dewar B, and (uu) in couch couch B S, course course B S C, court court B S C, crouch crouch B S, drouth drooth B S C, pouche pouch B C, slouch sloch B S.

This becomes (ə, æ) in could C, cud B, courier currier B S C, morn murn
B S C, should C, shud B, would C, wud B, and (o) in nourish C, norrish B.

Final -ow becomes regularly indistinct (-a) in B S C, as fellow fell a, and -ough fares the same in borough C, borra B, thorough C, thora B. But we find the favourite -i in window wind ey B C, possibly etymologically founded.

U short is irregular in puppet C, pappet B, turpentine torpentine B C, torpentine C, supple s poke B S C, and where the received pronunciation retains the old (o), has adopted, but chiefly in B, the xvithth century (a, a) in ambush C, ambush B SE, bull C, bull B SE, bullet C, bullet B SE, bulletin C, bulletin B SE, bullion C, bullion B SE, bullock C, bullock B SE, bully C, bully B SE, bulrush C, bulrush B SE, bulwark C, bulwark B SE, bush C, bush B SE, bushel C, bushel B SE, bushy C, bushy B SE, cushion cushion B SE C, full C, full B SE, pudding C, pudding B SE, pull C, pull B SE, (pa'-u) SS, pullet C, pullet B SE, pulley C, pulley B SE, pulpit pulpit B C SE, (pu'-pat) S, puss C, puss B SE, put C, put B, (pe'-t) S. There is the usual change to (i, e) in bury C, birry B, jist jist B, and jis C, (dzhe'st) S, such such B C, (se'k) S. For the prefix un- we find on- B C, sometimes ón- C, never un-, as unwell onwell B C, etc.

U diphthong, commonly called long o, becomes (i) or (e), or (a) when unaccented, as ague aigay B, aigee C, (i've) S, argue C, argay B, (ar'ge) S and C, education C, edication B, impudent impident B C S, manufacture C, mannefacth B, value C, valeya S. Also we find the usual suite shoot B, and buoy boy B C.

3. Consonants.

B is called (v) in marble marvel B C, S occ. B is omitted in Belfast and Scotch, but not in Cork between m and syllabic t, as bramble C, bramhill B, crumble crumnil B, fumble C, fumnil B S, gamble C, gammil B S, grumble C, grumnil B S, jumble C, jummil B S, mumble B, mummil B S, ramble C, rammil B S, rumble rummil B S, scrumble C, scramble C, scrummil B S, stumble C, stummil B S, thumble C, thimbel B S, tumble C, tummil B S, and between m and er in timber C, timmer, and even in Cork also in cucumber cucumcr B S C, where the initial cu- for the natural xvithth century historical cow- is curious. C functioning as (a) becomes (ah), as s often does, in spaneel spenshil B S, spanmil C; guttipercha guttiperka B O is a mere error of ignorance.

D and T in connection with R receive a peculiar dentality all over Ireland. This dentality is not noted in conjunction with any other letter but R, either immediately following, as in dr-, er-, or separated by an unaccented vowel, as -der, -ter, the r being of course trilled. No notice is taken of the dentality of D, T, by Mr. D. Patterson in any other case, and he tells me that it does not otherwise occur in Belfast, but it is never omitted in these cases. Whether the word begins with the D, T or not, whether the D, T be preceded by S initially or by any long or short vowel, or any consonant in the accented syllable or not, whether the unaccented -er, -ar, etc., are followed by a vowel or another consonant, seems to make no difference. The dentality always occurs in relation to a following R, and not otherwise. No example is given of dentality being caused by preceding r- which is curious in connection with the apparent non-dentality of Sanscrit R under the same circumstances. The old Forth and Bargy dialect seems to shew an old dental t, d, even under other circumstances, as will be discussed in Chap. XII. In England, as has been pointed out at length, t, d are not generally dental (pp. 1095-6). We shall find that dental (t, d) occur frequently in English dialects, but always and only in connection with r, probably (r), under precisely the same circumstances as the Irish dental. We shall even find that in England phases or varieties of dialect are distinguished by the presence and absence of this dentality. We have nothing in older English to lead us to a knowledge of the existence of dental (t, d), and their distinction from coronal (t, d). There is also no trace of it in Scotch. It commences further south in England, in Cumberland, Westmorland, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Peak of Derbyshire, etc. How did it get into Irish-English? It is believed to be Celtic, but I am not sufficiently acquainted with Celtic usages, or the English customs of Scotch and Welsh Celts in speaking English, to form any opinion. Another question rises: is the Irish dentality the same as the Indian, French, and dialectal English?
Mr. D. Patterson writes it *tth, dth*, and, in answer to my request that he would describe the action of the tongue in pronouncing it, wrote: "This vulgar pronunciation of *t* and *d* is caused by pressing the tip of the tongue against the teeth instead of the gums," shewing that his own (*t, d*) are gingival instead of coronal, and so far making his dentals the same as (*t, d*). But he goes on to say: "The explosive *t* is first sounded, but, on withdrawing the tongue from the teeth, the sound of *th* as in *thus* (*dh*) is unavoidably pronounced between the *t* and the *r*." That is, his *thram, dhram* = (*tdh,rem, ddh,ram*), which of course are quite possible, although it would thus be somewhat difficult to distinguish the first word from the second. The Rev. James Graves says: "The tongue is pressed firmly against the teeth and retracted, when the peculiar sound above described is pronounced, and before the succeeding vowel is vocalised." Here the (*dh*) disappears, and we have (*træm, drem*) simply. Mr. W. H. Patterson says: "The tip and sides of the tongue are jammed tightly against the teeth and palate, by the muscular action of the tongue, assisted by the lower teeth, which are brought against it, and no sound issues till the tongue is removed, which is not done till the pressure of air from within is considerable (at least as compared with the amount of pressure used in saying thin or then). I think that this 'coarse and thickened pronunciation' owes its existence to the important part played by the lower teeth, which keep the tongue from moving. In fact the word cannot issue till the tongue is drawn backwards and downwards out of the gap between the upper and lower teeth which it had been closing." It was to meet this case that I introduced the bi-dental (*t, t, d*) on (1120, b). If Mr. W. H. P. is correct, therefore, the sound is (*trem, dreem*). Mr. Murray, who has been in Ulster, and knows the Westmorland (*t, r, d*), says: "I do not at all identify the *tth* of Ireland with the North of England dental. To my remembrance it was something distinct, with more (*th*) or aspiration and more moisture in it—a spluttering effect in perfervid oratory, as though the force of the explosion was carrying out the saliva with it. The northern English has a much finer [more delicate] and more simple-sonorously effect." This would make the effect nearly (*tth, r*, *dth, r*), the windrush (*dh*) and the jerk (*h*) carrying some saliva with them. Mr. Healy, in answer to the question: "is *t* or *d* pronounced *dentally* before *v*?" says: "Always, and to my Irish ears it would be a great improvement if they adopted or re-adopted it in England for some words. There cannot be a question as to the superior expressiveness of *Tthrash! Murthrash!* heard from an Irishman, and the felicite *trash, murder, heard here!*" (dated Newcastle-on-Tyne). It might be possible to amalgamate Mr. W. H. P.'s and Mr. M.'s suggestions, and write (*tth, rem, *dth, rem*). But merely English readers would be led to nearly the right sound, most probably, by endeavouring to say (*thram, dhram*). The following examples are selected from a long list, to shew the varying circumstances under which this dentity or bi-dental postaspiration occurs. All are found both in *B* and *C*, unless otherwise marked.

*B*— *dthr*— *dhrain, draft dhratf, *dram* *dhram, draft dhrill, droll dhrroll, drop C, dhrap B, and occ. C, (drop)*

WS, *drowned dhrrowned, drunk dhrunk, foundry foundthy, hundred hundther B, hoöndther C.*

*ether*— *spider spitther, powder powdther, soundder sounddther, slender *sthrand* tender tendther B, tindther C, *thnder thundther, murder murdther, border bordther.*

*Trhr*— *trade thrade, tract thrack B, thrack C, treble tibreble, triple thirffe, trim thirim, trod throd, troop thropo, trouble throuble, trowsers thrrowsers, truth thruth, trudge thrdurge, trythry, paliry palirly, sultry sulthry, sentry sentry, country counthy, partridge patthridge.*

*Stthr*— *strange sthrang, straight stthrigh, straw sttho B, stthru C, stretch C, stthrait B, strive stthrive, strip stthrip, stroke stthroke, destroy destthey, strong stthrong, struck stthruck.*

*ether*— *matter matther, doctor doctther B, dooththir C, refleer raflther, shelter shilthir B, shelter C, winter windther, chapter chapther, porter portther, Ulster Ulsthther, master mastther, sister sistther, battery battthery, bastard basthard, Saturday Satsthday B, Saththurday C, lantern lantthern.*

Miscellaneous — *children chilther,*
usually is in B. In drouth dthrooth B C, the (th) represents the lost guttural, but it was only (t) in the xvii th and xviii th centuries.

K is not (as in received English) transposed in ask ex B, (ask) S, ax C, and disappears in asked ast B C, which must be considered a form of (askt), and not of (restkt). It seems also to disappear in lukewarm C, lukewarm B S, which may also be heard in England.

L is very variously treated in a few words. Its replacement by n in April Apron C, flannel flannen B S C, will be paralleled under N. In corporal C, corporal B, we have almost a Spanish interchange of l and r. In fince C, finch C, l is inserted, and in Walter Watther B, Watther C, omitted, as of old. In sluice C, sloosh B, l causes a y sound to vanish, and in column colyum B SE, occ. C, to be inserted!

M in mushroom mushroom B C has gone back to its historical n. After L it appears to be always vocal: elm ellim B S, ellum C, helm hellim B S occ., hellum C, realm rellim B, S occ., rellum C, whelm whellim B, S occ., whellum C, where, as usual, l replaces the indistinct vowel.

N becomes l in chimney chimley B S, or chimly C, damson demsel B, (de'mhs'l) S, remnant remlet B, and m in brine C, brime S C, ransack ramsack B C.

NG in participles and gerunds is regularly (n) in B S C, as cunning cunning B S C, evening even evening B S C, gnawing gnawin B C, herring herrin B S C, sitting sittin B S C; in blacking blackin B, S occ., blackin C, there is an evident confusion with blackening. In kingdom C, keandom B, it would appear that the vowel also is lengthened as in the old Forth and Bagry dialect. Before th it becomes n in strength stthrenth B S C, length lenth B S C.

In dangle C, dang'le B, and all similar words, C like E has ngg (qg), and S like B has ng (q) only, as in ang'er, bung-le, jang'er, hang'er, jang-le, jing-le, mang-le, mong'er, ling'er, long'er, ming-le, sing-le, strong'er, strang-le, wrang-le, young'er.

P becomes b in baptism C, baptism B, and often in England, scrape scrub B, scrab C.

QU is k, as often in England, in B and C, in quot, quorum, quote, quotient.

R is often transposed, from before to after, in afrai' aferaid B C, (fiird) S,
bristle C, birse B S, e rib C, kerb B, grin C, girm B C, preety purty B C; and from after to before in burst brust B, bust C, eurb C, ceb B S, eurb crud B S C, seurf, scroof B, scrób C, (scrafl) S. It is also sometimes inserted after p, th, as in porek C, proker B, potatoe pratie B C, and also often paulyt, (ta-to) S, thistile C, thristle B S.* The prior vocalisation of r occurs in Febrrary Fayberwary B, Febery C, proprietor properietor S, properiethorr C, propriety properety, B C, library liberary B S C, sobriety sobriety B C, umbrella umbrella B S C, none of them uncommon in England, where also curiosity curiossty B C is well known.

S is evidently mistakenly inserted in molest mislist B, müllest C, and omitted in corpse C, corp B S, but in sneeze C, neeze B S, the omission, and in quinsy quinsnissy B the insertion, is ancient. It is changed to (sh, zh), but chiefly in B, in blunderbuss blundthersh B, blundtherbis C, fleece C, fleesh B, S occ., grease creesh B S, cress C, harass C, harrish B, mince C, minsh B S, rinse rensch B, rinsb C, rinzh S, utensil utenshil B S, uensil C. On the contrary SHR evidently creates a difficulty, found also in Scotch, and in Salopian, and it is used for it in B, not in C, in shrub shrub, shrine, shrowd, shrew, shreck, shrink, shrug, shrill, shrank, shred, shrivel, shrowd, shrunk. Is not shrev C, serraff B, a mere blunder? Dictionary dicsinary B, dickshinary C, is old, and rubbish rubbitch B, occ. C, is known in English as (to-bedzh).

Although it is, strictly speaking, beyond the scope of this work, it seems advisable to supplement the above account by a notice of some other Belfast peculiarities, and their relation to Scotch.

Past Tense.—He begun to sing, he sung well, he drunk water, he rid home, he t'en it away, I seen him, he done it himself. Mr. Murray says that this is quite opposed to Scotch. It is not uncommon in England. Thrive, drive, strive, rise, are used for throve, drove, strove, rose. I giv it him an hour ago, he come home this morning, he run down stairs. Sut, spot, lot, brung, are used for sat, spat, let, brought.

Scotch Words in Belfast—Bing heap, boke to retch, brash short and sudden illness, cleek hook, clype large piece, coggle to shake, to rock, coup to upset, to barter S, dunsb knock against, jolt, butt, dint knock, blow, dwine pine, farl cake of bread, footy mean, paltry, taking a mean advantage at play S, fozy spong, hoke make holes, jeuk to dodge, lapped congelaed, clotted, ozther armpit, prod to sieb, scrunti niggar, soundther to disgust, (ska-rar) S, shough a ditch (skewh) S, skelly squint, skely slap v. and n., sleckslit hay, slocken slake, quench, smudge to smirk, stunned pang, ache, speel climbl, smush refuse n. (quaz what is smashed), stoor dust, strop pipe, sprout, thole endure, throw twist, thu'd knock or
thump, warsh insipid, tasteless (wesh) S, wheen a quantity.

Unusual words not Scotch.—Cur-naptious crabbed, captious, dotther to stagger, floothther wheedle, footther to bungle, a bangler, jubious suspicious, mistrustful [dubious?], jundy to jostle, ramp rank, rancid, sapple to soak, to wet thoroughly, scam to scour, scurving to creak, sevendible thorough, sound, skelf a small splinter.

English words in un-English uses.—
1. Scotch. Even to impute, to suppose capable of, or guilty of, terrible extremely, exceedingly [‘terrible’ common in Kent], boast hollow, (bu’s) S, clash a tell tale or idle tale, clood to throw, crack talk gossip, gaunt yawn, gutters mire, loss to lose, pang cram, scout squirt v. and n.—here there where hither thither whither [almost universal in England], a taste, a lock, a grain, a very little.

2. Not Scotch. — Bloodshed blood-shot, right thorough, them those [very common dialectally], welt to flag, a ha’p’orth any thing at all, as “I don’t know a ha’p’orth about it, he won’t say a ha’p’orth about it, there wasn’t a ha’p’orth wrong with him.”

Scotch phrases.—Whose ows whose is [see Murray, op. cit. p. 193], the t’other the other, throughother confused, de-ranged [German durch einander], a sore head a head ache, let on let be known, pretend v., carry on misbehave, put upon ill used, imposed upon; my, his, her, its, lone alone.

VULGAR AND ILLITERATE ENGLISH

might be classed among educated English, if credit is to be given (as it should be given) to the following extract from Punch (6 Sept. 1873, vol. 65, p. 99):

Dialogue between Boy Nobleman and Governess at a Restaurant.

Lord Reginald. Ain’t yer goin’ to have some puddin’, Miss Richards! It’s so Jolly!

The Governess. There again, Reginald! ‘Puddin’ ’—‘ goin’ ’—‘ Ain’t yer’!!! That’s the way Jim Bates and Dolly Maple speak—and Jim’s a Stable-Boy, and Dolly’s a Laundry-Maid!

Lord Reginald. Ah! but that’s the way Father and Mother speak, too—and Father’s a Duke, and Mother’s a Duchess!!! So there!

But there is more in it than this. The so-called vulgarities of our Southern pronunciation are more frequently remnants of the polite usages of the last two centuries, which have descended, like cast-off clothes, to lower regions. Were there time and space, it would be interesting to compare them in this light. But the American and Irish usages just collected are sufficient for shewing the present state of these mummified forms, and we pass therefore at once to the more pressing investigation of the varieties of natural speech, as the only glimpse that we can get into the seething condition of the old pre-Chaucerian period, wherein our present language was concocted. Manuscripts transcribed by copyists who infused their own local habits into the orthography, and sometimes into the grammar, of their originals, afford at best but perplexing materials. We cannot hope to understand the ancient conditions but by examining their modern realisation.


No. 1. Natural Pronunciation.

By “natural,” as distinguished from “educated,” English pro-nunciation, is meant a pronunciation which has been handed down historically, or has changed organically, without the interference of orthoepists, classical theorists, literary fancies, fashionable heresies,
and so forth, in short "untamed" English everywhere, from the lowest vulgarity, which, as just stated, is often merely a cast-skin of fashion, to the mere provinciality, which is a genuine tradition of our infant language. An exhaustive or even an approximatively complete investigation of this subject is far too extensive to be taken up in this place. It will, I hope, be gradually carried out in detail by the English Dialect Society, for it is full of interest for the history of our language.

In the present section, which is all that I can devote to an investigation which must extend over many years and many volumes to be at all adequately conducted, and which has been never generally treated by preceding writers, so that it is not possible to state general views succinctly, I shall endeavour to present some work done at my request, and with my own steady co-operation, in several characteristic departments, confining myself strictly to pronunciation, which is the phase of dialect to which most inadequate attention has been hitherto paid. For brevity and convenience I dismiss all consideration of merely illiterate speech, beyond the short notice that I have appended to the last section. It requires, and as an important constituent of our language deserves, a very careful study; but time, space, and materials are alike wanting.

To myself individually the present section of my work appears meagre and unsatisfactory in a high degree. Instead of being, as it ought to be in such a work as the present, the result of mature study and long research, it is a mere hasty surface tillage of patches in a district not even surveyed, scarcely overlooked from some neighbouring height. I should have been ashamed to present it at all, had I not thought it incumbent on me to complete at least the conception of the investigations promised on my title-page, and to furnish the best which circumstances allowed me to scrape together. While I have been laying friends, and voluntary but hitherto unknown assistants under contribution, the fact that the conception of writing the sounds of dialects is altogether new has been gradually forced upon me, by hours and hours of wasted labour. From Orrmin and Dan Michel to Dr. Gill was a barren period. From Dr. Gill till Mr. Laing's transcription of Tam o' Shanter (1182, d') was another. But with Mr. Melville Bell's Visible Speech Specimens an entirely new epoch was initiated. Mr. Murray's Scotch Dialects have worthily opened the real campaign. In this section I indicate, rather than exhibit, what is meant by comparative dialectal phonology, and I only hope that the results may suffice to call attention to the extreme importance of the subject, not merely to the history of the English language in particular, but to comparative philology in general. In our studies of language, we have too much neglected the constitution of its medium—sound. If language is but insoned thought, yet it is insoned, and the nature of this body must be far more accurately studied than hitherto, if we would understand the indications of its soul.
No. 2. Phonetic Dialects.

A dialect considered phonetically is not a series of mispronunciations, as the supercilious pseud-orthoepeist is too apt to believe. It is a system of pronunciation. We must distinguish between a grammatical and a phonetic phase of language. They are not necessarily co-extensive. Within the same grammatical region exist various phonetic regions. But still there is something of the same character pervading both. Varied as are the phases of South Eastern pronunciation, they have all a different character from either the Northern or the Western. Our older English is all dialectal. First Mr. Garnett¹ and afterwards Dr. Morris have done much to compare them with one another grammatically, and, so far as mere letters allow, phonetically.² In the present work an attempt has been made to determine approximatively the value of these letters. The determination can be at most approximative, for the writing even by careful writers, as Dan Michel and Orrin, could have only been in itself approximative. The writers had no means at command to express, or training to appreciate, a variety of pronunciation even remotely approaching to that at the command of those who use palaeotype, and that is not itself sufficient perhaps to indicate the various shades of really unbridled natural pronunciation. Suppose we limited ourselves to the vowels (ii i, ee e, aa a, oo o, uu u, yy y), and the diphthongs to be made from them, and attempted to write received English from dictation, such as the passages given on pp. 1206-7, what would be the result? I will endeavour to carry out the program for my own pronunciation there given. The result would I think be something like this. The lines are arranged as on p. 1206, col. 1, to facilitate comparison.

Dhe rittn en printed
reprizenteshen e dhe saunz
ev laqgwdzh bi miinz ev
karektetz, whitsh er
insefishent booth in kaind
en nomber, en whitsh
mos dheafoa bi kembaind oo
modifaid if wi wed giv e
grafikel simbelizeeshen e
dhe fonettik ellements widh
oonli som digrii ev
gezaknes en kenviiniens,
rez biin frem oal taim, fe
neezenz ez wel ez
individdiuelz,
ligwistikel students
not ekcepted, won
ene dhe moos nesereri
en won e dhe moos
difikelt ev problemz, en
ez konsikwentli skeasli
evve bin nappili solvd. Let
dhis tiitsh es dhet dhi
invenshen ev raitiq, dhe
greetest en moost
impoatent invenshen
whitsh dhe niumen maind
ez evve meed, en whitsh,
az it indid oalmoost
eksiidz its streqth,
rez bin ofn en
not ondzhosli etribbiuted
teh godez; laik dhi
oagenizm ev e steet et wons
simpl en kompleks, iz not
dhe weak ev individdiuelz,
bot ev sentiurez, pehap
ev thauzenz ev jiaz.

On comparing this with the original on p. 1206, it will be seen

For Footnotes 1 and 2 see next page.
that the absence of a mark for (ə), which no European language has yet accommodated with a fixed sign, has occasioned much trouble. In unaccented syllables (e) naturally presented itself, and in accented (o). The vocal r had of course to be omitted, but the diphthongs (ea, ia) replace (əə ee', ii') in accented syllables. The (aa) would be felt as something like (o) and as something like (a), so that (oa) would readily suggest itself. The distinction between long and short vowels is, properly speaking, an innovation, and it has given great power to the transcription. But the duplication of simple consonants after accented short vowels is almost inevitable. The net result, although really a burlesque on modern received pronunciation, would, if pronounced as written (with at most the usual German indistinctness or French obscuration of unemphatic e), be perfectly comprehensible, and would be only thought a little broad here and a little thin there, and rather peculiar in places, so that we might put it down to a foreigner who could pronounce English remarkably well—for a foreigner. I think that I have come much nearer than this to the pronunciation of Shakspere and his followers, and that I have even given a better representation of Chaucer's. But as to the various dialectal pronunciations, as determined by the present written specimens, I should be satisfied if I came as near, not only in the xivth and xvith centuries, but to-day in the xixth, when reading English dialects written by contemporaries. What kind of an alphabet we now require for the representation of English dialects, I have two or three times attempted to shew (1174, d).

The experience gathered by actual use has led me to modify and improve those attempts, and to select from the whole list of phonetic elements those which appear necessary for the special purpose of writing English dialects (see No. 5 below). And I shall later on select three verses from the various dialectal versions of the Song of Solomon executed for Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, and give them in their various original orthographies, contrasted with this Glossic system, so far at least as I am able to interpret the original. But otherwise I shall continue to use the palaeotypic method of writing, in order not to fatigue the reader with various systems of spelling.

Properly speaking, then, it would be necessary to group phonetic dialects according to the pronunciations of what are deemed the same words, or, more accurately, according to the phonetic dialectal forms which may be traced to a common ancestor. At present we have no means of doing so. It is as yet extremely difficult to ascertain the sounds used in our dialects, because those who possess the practical knowledge find themselves unable to communicate it

1 The Philological Essays of the late Rev. Richard Garnett, of the British Museum, edited by his son, 1859, large 8vo. pp. 342. See especially the essay on English Dialects, pp. 41-77, and on the Languages and Dialects of the British Isles, pp. 147-195, in which, however, phonetics are as usual assumed, like Dogberry's reading and writing, to come by nature (MA 3, 3, 7).

2 See supra pp. 408-411, and especially footnote 3 to p. 409. See also Chap. VII. pp. 62-73, of Dr. Morris's Historical Outlines of English Accidence (2nd ed. 1872, small 8vo. pp. 378).
on paper with the accuracy required for the present purpose. In fact most of them have to learn the meaning and use of alphabetic writing. We have to class the dialects partly phonetically and partly grammatically; then, having got these classes, to make out as extensive a vocabulary of each as possible, and ascertain the sound of each word separately and in connection, as well as its descent. This is clearly a gigantic task, and must therefore be postponed. The admirable comparison of Scotch and English sounds in Mr. Murray's work (p. 144) suggested to me, however, that it might be possible to select some thousand words which were tolerably likely to be common to most dialects, and, being received words, had a received orthography by which they might be identified, and then to obtain the dialectal pronunciation of these words. The kindness of some friends has allowed me to do so to a moderate extent, and far enough at least to shew the meaning of the process. I have grouped these according to received spellings, so that the dialectal de-formations (in a geometrical, not anatomical sense) may be to some extent compared. But I have not been able to do more than give a sample of the work wanted to be done before we can properly grasp the notion of phonetic dialects. I have eeked out this attempt with comparative indices which at any rate will shew how little the present haphazard or 'picturesque' writing of dialects effects in this direction.

But to condense the view of dialects still further, I thought me of procuring comparative translations of a single short specimen containing many words very characteristically pronounced, and also many grammatical phrases which have distinct idiomatic equivalents. Although I have not succeeded in getting a complete series of trustworthy versions of this specimen, and although possibly something very much better could be suggested by the experience thus gained, probably enough has been done to shew how much the comparative study of our dialects would be advanced by the simple process of getting one well selected set of phrases, instead of merely isolated words, or distinct and unconnected tales, printed in a careful phonetic version for every available phase of dialect. In glancing from page to page of these versions I seem to gather a new conception of the nature of our English language in form and construction, and to recognize the thoroughly artificial character of the modern literary language. We know nothing of the actual relations of the thoughts of a people, constituting their real logic and grammar, until we know how the illiterate express themselves. Of course it would be absurd for those possessing the higher instrument to descend to this lower one, and for the advance of our people, dialects must be extinguished—as Carthage for the advance of

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1 In putting this together I had the valuable assistance of Mr. Murray, who made many excellent suggestions and additions, and the Athenæum and Notes and Queries were good enough to draw attention to it in October, 1873. This has not been without some effect, as will be seen hereafter, though far less than I had hoped. Assistants thus attracted have, however, often brought others to the work, so that on the whole my volunteer staff has been practically large, and its zeal has been exemplary.
Rome. But for the advance of knowledge among the literate, let the dialects be at least first studied. We all know the value of fossils. The phonologic study is of course only the first round of the ladder, but it must be placed in position, and the sooner the better, because its material is the most difficult to recover. One very important, historically the most important of our English dialects (that of Forth and Bargy), has died out of the world of speech-sounds within the last fifty years! I have long entertained the opinion that a knowledge of our living dialects is the only foundation for a solid discrimination of our Anglo-Saxon varieties of speech. The actual existence of an English Dialect Society under the able inspiration of the Rev. W. W. Skeat will, I hope, do much to lift the veil which at present hangs over them, and to shew the new value which they will acquire by a comparative study.

No. 3. Arrangement of this Section.

The present section will consist of numerous "numbers," each of them very distinct. After giving, in No. 4, Dr. Gill's account of English Dialects, I shall consider the Dialectal Alphabet in No. 5, first as to the actual sounds used, and secondly as to their "glossic" representation for practical use. Then I shall consider the Dialectal Vowel Relations in No. 6, and afterwards those of the Consonants in No. 7. These numbers contain the principal philological considerations in this section. I regret that having been obliged to compose them before I could complete my collections, they are wanting in many points of detail; but they will I hope serve to give some general views on the very difficult subject of comparative dialectal phonology, which future observers may complete and rectify, and thus furnish the required thread for future crystallisations. Next, in No. 8, will be added an abstract of the Bavarian dialectal changes of vowels and consonants, which offer an important analogy to the English, and have been admirably investigated by Schmeller. After this, through the kindness of Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, I am able in No. 9 to present his classification of the English dialects, supplemented by Mr. Murray's classification of Lowland Scotch. To illustrate the Prince's work, and the orthographical systems or non-systems of dialectal writing hitherto employed, I shall in No. 10 extract the most noteworthy words, in the original orthography, from the versions of the Song of Solomon into various English dialects, which were made for him some years ago. These I do not attempt to transliterate into palaeotype, as I feel so much doubt on many points of pronunciation, while the general intention will be clear to any reader without interpretation. The Glossic rendering of three verses by way of example is given with much hesitation.

The following No. 11 presents a series of attempts to give something like an accurate rendering of dialectal pronunciation in the shape of the classified lists of words and examples already referred to, in which the sounds are given in palaeotype. Taking Mr. Murray's admirable list of Scotch words as a basis of comparison, it
will be given first entire, without his historical spelling, with each word rendered into palaeotype. This was really the first trustworthy representation of Scotch sounds that had been given. Mr. Murray himself will kindly revise the proof-sheets of this re-edition. The various other lists and examples have been furnished by many kind contributors, whose names and qualifications will be duly chronicled as each dialect comes under notice.

In No. 12 I shall place in juxtaposition the best renderings I have been able to obtain of the comparative specimen already referred to. The reader will thus be able to glance readily from one to another on consecutive pages, unincumbered by long explanations, as all such matter will have been given previously on a page duly cited, and hence immediately recoverable.

In all arrangements of dialectal varieties and specimens, the order of the classification given in No. 9 will be followed as much as possible, and its numbers will be invariably cited, so that one part will constantly illustrate the other.

In No. 13 I hope to give a comparative vocabulary of at least the principal words adduced in Nos. 11 and 12, arranged alphabetically for the words, and in order of classification for their sounds, so that their forms may be readily studied as they vary from one phase of pronunciation to another.

The general bearing of this investigation on Early English Pronunciation will be considered at No. 6, v., and may be reverted to in Chap. XII.

No. 4. Dr. Alexander Gill’s Account of English Dialects.

The earliest phonetic account of English dialects is the short sketch by Dr. Gill, which, from its importance, I give at full length. Written 250 years ago, it is valuable as showing the comparative tenacity with which our dialects have held their own, as against the received pronunciation, which, under the influence of literature and fashion, has been and is still continually altering. And it is still more valuable as being the only real piece of phonetic writing of dialects between the early attempts of Orrmin and Dan Michel and those of the present day. The old scribes indeed wrote dialectally, but after a prescribed system of orthography, which recalls to me the modern Lancastrian spelling, an orthography so stereotyped that persons may write what looks like Lancastrian, but is merely disguised literary English, and may at the same time be quite unable to write Lancastrian pronunciation.

The following extract forms the whole of the sixth chapter of Dr. Gill’s Logonomia, pp. 16–19. The palaeotype is a transliteration as usual.

Dialecti: vbi etiam de diphthongis impropriis.

Dialecti praeceptar sunt sex: Communis, Boreale, Australium, Orientalium, Occidentalium, Poetica. Omnia earum idiomata nec noui, nec audii; que tamen memini, vt potero dicam.

(Ai), pro (ai), Boreale est: vt in (fai er), pro (fo-er) ignis: Et (au) pro (ou), vt (gaun), aut etiam (geaun), pro (goun) toga: et pro
(uu), vt pro (wuund) wound vulnus, (waund). Illis etiam frequens est (ea) pro (e), vt (meat) pro (meet) cibus; et pro (o), vt (beadh) pro (both) ambo. Apud meos etiam Lincolnienses audies (toaz) et (nooz) pro (tooz) digit pedum, et (nooz) nose caligae.1 Efferunt et (kest), aut etiam (kusn), pro (kast) iactus, a, um; (ful'a) pro (fol'ou);2 (klooth) pro (kloth) pannus; et contra (spok'na), pro (spook'na) dictus: (duun) pro (duin) factus: et (tuun), pro (taim) tempus: (raitsh) pro (ritsh) dives: (dhoor) pro (dheer) illic: ( briiks), pro (britsh'ez) braccæ: (seln) pro (self): (nez), pro (math): (aus) pro (aal'soo); (sud) pro (shuuld): (ail, aist), aut3 etiam (ail, aist), pro (ai wil), futuri signo: vt et in reliquis personis (dhoul), aut (dhoust); pro (dhou wilt, dhou shalt), et sic in reliquis: (niil), aut (miist); (will, joul) aut (joust); (dheil, dheist), aut (dhei sal). In (ai), abjicint (i), vt pro (pai) soluo (paa); pro (sai) dico (sa); et pro (said, sed). Pro (u) et (uu), substituunt (yy): vt, pro (gud kuuk, gyyd kyyk), bonus coquns. Voces etiam nonnullus pro visatis fingunt: ut (strunt) et (runt), pro (rump) cauda: (sark) pro (shirt) camisia; pro (go) ito, (gaq), et inde (gaq'grel) mendious; pro (went, jed) aut (jood) ibam, ab antiquis etiamnum retinent.4

Australes vsurpant (uu) pro (ii), ut (huu), pro (mi) ille: (v), pro (f); vt, (vill), pro (fil) impleo: (tu vetsh) pro (fetsh) asfero; et contra (f) pro (v), vt (fin'eeger) pro (vin'eager) acutum; (fik'ær) pro (vrik'ær) vicarius. Habent et (o) pro (a), vt (roqk) pro (raqk) rancidus, aut luxurians, adiect; substantivum etiam significat ordines in acie, aut alios. Pro (s), substituunt (z), vt (ziq) pro (siaq) cano; et (itsh), pro (ai) ego: (tsham), pro (ai am) sum: (tshil), pro (ai will) volo: (tshi voor ji), pro (ai war'ant jou), certum do.5 In (ai) etiam post diphthongi dialysin, (a), odiose producunt: vt, (to paai) solvo, (dhaai illi).

Orientales contra pleraque attenuant; dicunt enim (fir) pro (fo'er) ignis: (ki'wer), pro (knv'ær) tegmen: (ea) pro (a), vt, (to deeds),

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1 It is only this sentence which applies to Lincolnshire. The other parts refer to the northern area generally, and the words are apparently quite isolated, not even belonging to any particular locality. It was enough for Dr. Gill that they came from the north of his own county of Lincoln.

2 In the original (fol'oon), but the n is probably a misprint for u; unfortunately Gill has forgotten to add the meaning.

3 Misprinted out.

4 See a specimen of connected Northern pronunciation as given by Gill (564, d).

5 See the quotation from Shakspere (293, c), which is written in the usual half phonetic style still prevalent in dialectal specimens. In an introductory note to Mr. Kite’s Wiltshire Version of the Song of Solomon, referred to in No. 10, Wiltshire, Prince L. L. Bonaparte remarks: “In a very scarce pamphlet which I have been fortunate enough to find, the use of ‘ch’ instead of ‘I’ is to be remarked when Wiltshire men are speaking; as, for instance, chāve a million for her; chad not thought, etc. This form is not to be found at present in the Wiltshire dialect, although it is still in existence in some parts of Somerset and of Devon, and was at one time current in Wiltshire. The title of the very rare and curious little work above mentioned is as follows:—‘The | King | and | Qveenes | Entertainment at | Richmond. | After | their Departure | from Oxford: | In a Masque, | presented | by the most Illustrious | Prince, | Prince | Charles | Sept. 12 1636. | Naturam | imitare licet | facile nonnullis, | videatur | hauest. | Oxford.’ | Printed by Leonard | Lichfield, | [m.d.xxxvii.] At page 5 of
pro (dans) saltate: (v), pro (f), vt (vel'ooou), pro (fel'ooou) socius: (z), pro (s), vt (zai), pro (sai), dico.\textsuperscript{1}

At inter omnes dialectos, nulla cum \textit{Occidentali} æquam sapit, barbariæ; et maximè si rusticus audias in agro \textit{Somersetensi}: dubitare enim quis facilè possit vttrum Anglicè loquantur an peregrinum aliquod idioma. Quædam, enim antiquata etiamnum retinent; vt (saks) pro culturo, (nem) aut (nim) accepit; quædam,\textsuperscript{2} sua pro Anglicis vocabulis intrudunt, vt (laks) pro parte; (toit) pro sedili; et alia. Sed et legitima corrumpunt, quædam vsu, quædam pronunciati, vt (wiiz wai) pro freno; (wiitpot) pro farcimine: (na vaq) hoc projice, aut etiam arripere projectum; item (mi vaq tu mi at dhe vant). i. in baptisterio pro me suscepit: (zit am) i. sede; (zdraukh) pro (asni dherof) gusta; (hi\textsuperscript{3} iz goon avish') pro (a fish'iq) abijt piscatum. Sic etiam protollunt (throt'in) pro (thir'tin) 13. (nargin), pro (nar'ouer) angustior: (zorg'er), pro (moor sor'ouful) tristior. Præponunt etiam (i), participis praeretitis à consonanti incipientibus: vt (ifroor') aut (ivroor'), pro (frooz'n) gelu concretus; (nav jidu'), (pro (dun); perfecesti? Hoc etiam peculiaré habent, vt nomina anomala utriusque numeri in (z), per numerum vttrumque varient: vt (hooz) hose sing: et plur: caliga vel calige; apud illos singulariter manet (hooz) et pluraliter fit (hooz'n): sic (peez)\textsuperscript{4} communiter pisum vel pisa, cum illis fit pluraliter (peez'n) pisa.

\textit{Communis dialectus} aliquando est ambigus. Audies enim (inuf) et (inukh)\textsuperscript{5} INOUGH, satis: (dhai) aut (dhej) they hill; (tu fit), aut (tu flook) FLOATE aqua innatare; (HAAL'berd, hal'berd) aut (nool'berd) bipennis, sic(toil, tuuil; soil, suuil; boil, brild, byylid), vt ante dictum. Dialecti \textit{poetis} solis ex scriptoribus concesse: \textsuperscript{6} quibus tamen, excepta communii, abstinent; nisi quod rythmi, aut iucunditatis causæ sæpiususcule vtuntur Boreali; quia suaviissima, quia antiquissima, quia purissima, vptote quæ maiorum nostrorum sermoni proxima. Sed quia dialectum suam Metaplasmi solà licentia defendunt, de cæ satis diecutur vbi ad prosodiam peruenierimus.\textsuperscript{6}

this small quarto volume of 31 pages, I find: 'and because most of the Interlocutors were \textit{Wiltshire} men, that country dialect was chosen, etc.'" In the introduction to Dr. Spencer Baynes's Somersetshire Version, the Prince says: "In the Western parts of Somersetshire, according to Mr. Jennings, \textit{Ise} is very generally used for \textit{I}; and in the southern parts of the county \textit{Utech}, \textit{Ichè}, \textit{Ch} for \textit{I} are still employed. \textit{Ise} is also to be heard in some parts of Devonshire, particularly in those adjoining West-Somersetshire."

\textsuperscript{1} The remainder of this paragraph is the passage about the \textit{Mopsea}, already given at length (90, d. 91, a). The (v, z) for (f, s), so common in Dan Michel, have quite disappeared from Kent, and all the East. But a recognition of their existence somewhere in the East of England so late as 1621 is important, if it can be relied on.

\textsuperscript{2} Misprinted \textit{quadam} three times.

\textsuperscript{3} Misprinted \textit{hi} = (nai), for \textit{hi} = (nri). No (o', e') sound of \textit{he} is known in the West.

\textsuperscript{4} (Pez) in the original must be a misprint.

\textsuperscript{5} In his preface he says: Quin etiam vbi dialectus variat, facilè patior \textit{vt} ipsa scriptura sibi minimè constet: \textit{vt}, (fardh'er, furdh'er), aut (furd'er); (mur-dher) aut (mur'dher), (tu fai) aut (tu fi), (tu flik) aut (tu float), &c. Dialectis autem (excep'tà Communi) in oratione solutâ nullus est locus; nisi vbi materiae necessitas postulat: \textit{Poeticæ metaplasmus omnii modestè conceditur.}"

\textsuperscript{6} The passage referred to is quoted at full, suprâ p. 936, No. 7.
Et quod hic de dialectis loquor, ad rusticos tantum pertinere velim intelligas: nam mitioribus ingeniijs, & cultius enutritis, unus est ubique sermo & sono, & significatu. De venenato illo & putidissimo ulcere nostrear reipub. pudet dicere. Habet enim & fex illa spurcissima errorum mendicantium non propriam tantum dialectum; sed & cantum1 sive loqualem, quam nulla unquam legum vindicta coercebit, donec edicto publico cogantur Iustitiarri eius auctores in crucem tollere. sed quia tota hec dialectus, una cum nocentissimis huuius amureae sordibus, peculiari libro2 descripta est; quia exteris hominibus nil commodi allatura; ex oratone mea circumscribam.

No. 5. Dialectal Alphabet.

The alphabet of received English pronunciation has been considered at length in § 1. Notwithstanding the differences of opinion respecting the precise sounds usually employed, it is clear that we can take no other starting-point or standard of comparison than these sounds,3 though we have constantly to bear in mind the possible varieties. This alphabet has then to be increased by letters for the dialectal sounds. And both sets of sounds must be conveniently symbolised. For our present purpose the palaeotypic forms more than suffice. But for special studies on English dialects, symbols based on the present received pronunciation are required. Much of the best assistance I have received in collecting dialectal pronunciation is due to the adoption of glossic (1174, b), and in the course of my work the necessity of shewing how glossic can be applied to the representations of the sounds has been strongly impressed upon me. The adoption of glossic by Mr. Skeat for the English Dialect Society makes an accurate description still more necessary.4 For precise purposes of comparison, such as here contemplated, no symbolisation can be too minute. But when such minuteness is studied, the recorder is too apt to fall into individualities, which he must afterwards eliminate.

The received alphabet may be considered as the following.5 The emphatic vowels are (ii ee aa aa oo uu, i e æ o ø u), with varieties in

1 Cant must have been already a common term, therefore.
2 Title not known.
3 See the remarks on Vowel Quality, below No. 6, iii.
4 The Society which is publishing the Lancashire Glossary finds the use of glossic 'too difficult,' and hence proposes a 'simple' mode of indicating the pronunciation. I have not had the advantage of seeing this 'simple' mode as yet. But any writers who find glossic too difficult have probably every thing to learn in the study of phonology, and it is very likely that any 'simple' plan they could suggest would owe its apparent simplicity to omissions and double uses, which, of little importance to those who do not thirst for accurate knowledge,—to the diletantist of dialectal writing,—are excruciating to the accurate investigator of linguistic change. It is possible, however, for any particular dialect to have a much simpler form of expression than glossic, which should still be severe, but such simpler form would be worse than useless for comparative dialectal phonology of English, for which glossic is proposed. Glossic is simpler than palaeotype for the same reason—it is English, not cosmopolitan.
5 The reader is referred generally to the discussions on pp. 1091–1171.
the case of (e, ə), which many pronounce (e ə), without, however, making any difference in signification. I do not see much chance of having these pairs of signs kept apart by ordinary writers. The distinction (ə, ə) is also so fine that it is not generally felt, and the tendency is to write (ə) short and (əə) long, without much thought as to whether (ə) short and (əə) long would not be equally correct. The distinctions (i ə, u u), although seldom known, are yet clearly made. Many persons vary also in the sound of (ə), using (ah) generally, and sometimes (a); but the distinctions (æ, a) are usually well felt by speakers, and, though hitherto almost unrecognized by writers, have a dialectal value.

Leaving out the diphthongs, then, the above 12 may be considered the emphatic English vowels. Each of them may be long or short, but the first six are seldom short in a closed syllable. The last six are seldom long, with the exception of (ə), which seems to be (əə) in places where er, ur are written, and no vowel follows. This is a disputed point (1156, c). Another vowel (əəə) is assumed to exist in that case. But the distinction (əə, əəə) is very fine, and is certainly not always made. The real point of difference depends perhaps on the fact that long vowels do not glide so firmly and audibly on to the following consonant, as do accented short vowels in closed syllables (1145, c'). When therefore a writer puts (ə) in place of (ə), he wants to produce the effect of the short weak glide which follows long vowels (1161, b). Thus to write iron (ər ən) would seem to make (ən) the same as in sham (shən). By putting (ər ən), this appearance is avoided; but still no r effect is produced, for the theoretical (ər ən): hence refuge is taken in (ə), thus (ər ən), the sound (ə) being only known in connection with r.

For unemphatic vowels (i, u) are practically undistinguished from (i, ə). Those, however, who use (ə) emphatically, do not use it unemphatically, and employ either (ə) or (u) in such cases (1160, d). What the precise differences are cannot be said to have been yet determined.

For the Proper Diphthongs, the long ə varies as (əi, əi, āh, āi, āi), and occasionally (əi, əi, āi). The length of the second element is fluctuating, and the laws which it follows are unknown. They seem not to be so much individual as emotional, varying according to feeling in the same individual. Consonantal action also interferes. The quality of the first element is partly local and partly individual. At least three forms (əi, āh, āi) must be admitted as received, and of these perhaps (āi) is commonest, and (āh) most delicate. But (āi) is also heard from educated speakers, though both (əi, āi) have a broadness which offends many ears. The form (əi) is distinctly "cockney," and (əi, ēi) are mincing, to such a degree that they may be understood as long ə. Hence I would regard only (əi, āh, āi) as received.

The ow diphthong has similar, but more divergent, and more numerous, varieties, and only (əi, āh, āu) can be considered as received; (əu əu əu) are cockney forms, and (əu əu əu, ñu əu, əəə) provincial, and often characteristic of particular dialects.
The oy diphthong has a much smaller range, at most (a'i, aA'i, o'i), of which the first and last are most generally received. From educated people the long i sounds for oy have disappeared, and (o'i, o'i, u'i) are distinctly provincial.

The second element of these three classes of diphthongs is, at least occasionally, tightened into a consonant as (o'ij, o'uw, o'is) or (o'r, o'r, o'j). How far this practice extends, and whether the result ever degrades into being a pure consonantal syllable as just marked, is not yet determined. Practically we may leave this point out of consideration. Also instead of (i, u), the second elements may be always (i, u), thus (o'i, o'u, o'i); but this does not seem to be the usual English habit. Mr. Murray assumes (i, u) in Scotch.

The long u has only one received sound (iu) or (jii), varying in the length of the second element, and with its first element either falling entirely into (j) as (ju), or using a (j) as a fulcrum, thus (jii). These variations are of no importance. But (iu, iu) are distinctly non-received. They are known and ridiculed.

The vanish diphthongs generally recognized are (ee'j, oo'w) already described at length. To these may be added (aa'a, aA'o), although they are generally condemned, because they are supposed to consist in adding an r, and often lead to the euphonic interposition of (r) when a vowel follows. But, when this (r) is avoided, there is no doubt that (aa'a, aA'o) are very generally heard in the pause. There are, however, very few words to which they apply.

The murmur diphthongs generally arising from a suppressed (r) have all long first elements, and are hence of the same character as the last. They consist essentially in adding on the simple voice ('h), and if this is represented by ('), there is no occasion to use the acute accent to mark the element which has the stress. In received English these are (ii', ee', oo', uu'), where either a vowel usually short is lengthened, or a new vowel is introduced, (oo) for (oo'), and to these we must add (aa', aA'), where there is no new first element. These are heard in merely, fairly, sorely, poorly, marly, Morley. The use of (aA') for (oo') is very common. The omission of the vanish in (aa', aA') is also quite common, and in (ee') the vanish is usually very brief. Besides these there is the simple "natural vowel" (ee), or else its substitute (oo), and these may go off into an indeterminate voice sound, as (ee', oo'), in which case the first element would be usually considered short, as (o', o'), although it is as long as in the other cases. When (e) is used, it is difficult to feel any transition in saying (ee'), but (aa', oo') are quite marked. The sound of Mr. M. Bell's untrilled (r), in which the point of the tongue is simply raised without touching the palate, so that the passage of the voice is not more obstructed than for (l), if so much, is scarcely separable from (e, 'h). Whether it is necessary to insist on this separation or not is a question. It is possible that (r) may be in practice, as it evidently is in theory, the transition from (r) to ('h), but its habitual existence has hardly been established, and observations on it are certainly difficult to make. I think that I have heard (r), but I am by no means prepared to say that I have a dis-
tinct consciousness of it, or that it may not have been a personal peculiarity with those in whom I have observed it. The position of the tongue for (a) and (r) is almost identical. At most the point is a little more raised for the latter. Hence the results cannot be much different. The obstruction for (r) is not sufficient to create a buzz. The result is at most a murmur. But for the (h) or (r), combined with a following permissive trill, I use (i), as explained on (1099, c). The notation (iii, eee, aai, aii, ooa, uii, eal, eel, ooe) is therefore ambiguous. But it is so far clear that the (i) must not be employed unless a trill may be used. We must not write really, idea, as (riii-lii, o'idii'r'), because it is offensive, or unintelligible to say (riii'-rli, o'idii''r'). But in common talk merely, really (mii''lii, rii''li) are perfect rhymes. We may, however, say (mii''rli), and also (rii''l), (rii''l), but not (rii''l) or (rii''rli). There are also murmur triph- thongs formed from the first set of diphthongs, as (o'v', aw', ia'). The murmurs ('i, 'm, 'n) act as vowels, and may or may not have the prefixed ('), so that (ll, mm, nn), might be written, as Mr. Bell prefers, or simple (i, m, n) might be used, such cases as stab- ling (stee''bl-iqu) being provided for as above, or as (stee''bl-iqu), or fully as (stee''b'hling).

Hence we have the following list of received vowel-sounds simple and combined.

Long Vowels  ii  ee  eeo  aai  aii  ooa  ooo  uuu
Short Vowels  i  e  eeo  a  a
Proper Diphthongs  o'i  ahii  ai  a'i  o'u  ahau  au  iu  iiu
Vanish Diphthongs  ee'j  aae  a'ae  oo'w
Murmur Diphthongs  ii'  ee'  aai'  aoi'  aai  oo'  uu'
Murmur Triphthongs  o'i'  ahii'  ai  o'u'  ahau'  au'  iu'  iiu'

The list is a pretty long one, and far beyond the usual resources of orthography to note. It has to be considerably augmented dialectally. In the provinces we certainly hear long (ii ee eeo oo uu), which are always professedly short in received speech, and short (i e a o n), which are only known as long in received pronunciation. And there are new long and short sounds (aah ah, aa a, yy, yi), where (yi) lies between (y, e), and varies possibly with (y, e, a) short and long. There seems also to be a well-established broader sound of (u), which is possibly (u), or (u) with the lip aperture for (o), but which may be (uh), and may be a new sound altogether. My northern authorities are not satisfied with (u), which is too fine for them. As their dialects have usually no (a, e) in emphatic syllables, they confuse this (u), as I will write it for the moment, with (a). The confusion thus arising between (a, u), which is the same as that between (a, u), is widely prevalent. But on carefully observing the sounds it is apparent that (a) is not “rounded,” and (u) is “rounded.” This rounding can, however, be imitated by contracting the sides of the arch of which the uvula is the keystone, so that the effect of (u, u) can be given with an open mouth, thus (u'), see (1114, d'). Now rounded (a) is (o), and on p. 306 I consequently
represented the sound by (o). It is certainly more like (o) than (u) is. It may be (uh, u^4, u_o, o_u, u_n, u_{10}), but either one of the first three seems its best representative. As however (o a) and also (e e) have seldom to be distinguished except in phonetic discussions, so (u u_o) may generally be confused. At any rate, the subject requires much attentive consideration. Mr. Hallam has observed in South Lancashire distinctive cases of "rounding" by excessive protrusion of the lips, which may be marked for labials by the same sign (‡) as is used for protrusion of the tongue in dentals (11, d), or as a fifth mode of rounding, thus (u†) or (u^3). The fourth or internal rounding may be combined with any of the four others. In Scotch Mr. Murray has found it necessary to introduce additional vowels between (i) and (e), thus (i, e, e_i, e^1, e_o, e_e), but these are hardly distinguishable by southern ears, to which (i e e e) already present difficulties. See (1106, d^2).

The number of diphthongs must be much increased. Besides the received, and the non-received (a's i /i/ i /i/ E /E/ E u /u/ E u, A n o u o u ou, A u /au/) with either (i i) or (u u) final, there are varieties with (e e, o o) final, and also varieties of the form (i i e a /io in, u i /iu ou ou ou ou), where the second element is quite distinct, and may be short, or glide on to a consonant in accented closed syllables, or may be long, and the first element may vary, as (e, o), thus (e /a eo ao oe). The stress also may fall on the second element, as (i e /ia u a u), etc. But the diphthongs are by no means confined to (i, i, e, e; u, u, o, o) for one of their elements. Certainly (y_e) or (y, a, a_e) occurs as an element, and sometimes the whole diphthong may be made up of these elements. Thus (e /i y) was heard in Norfolk (135, o) as a variety of the (i i u) form, and (a /w y a) is said to occur in Devonshire as a variety of (a u).

There are also murmur diphthongs, not arising from a suppression of (r), consisting of any one of the vowels, but chiefly (i i, e e, o o u u), short and with the stress, followed more or less closely by the simple voice (h). The closeness is sometimes so marked that the net result, as (i^2, u^2) in Scotch, is felt and conceived as one sound, which may be even short in a closed syllable, just as many people consider received long i to be a simple sound. But the closeness relaxes at times, so that the results resemble (i /a in, /a eo in), which belong to those mentioned in the last paragraph. At other times the first element is lengthened, as (i ii), and then the received murmur diphthongs are reproduced in effect, but they have no longer necessarily a permissive (r).

The received consonants are (nh) and (p b, t d, k g, kw gw, wh w, f v, th dh, s z, sh zh, jh j, r l m n q). These all occur dialectally, together with the glottids (u ;). There are, however, new consonants; certainly (k g, kh kh kw h), and perhaps (gh gh gw h), but these are doubtful. (Nh, re) seem to be known, among a few old people, but (lh) I have not heard of. The (sh zh) only occur in (t sh d zh), and practically need not be considered separately from these combinations, which may be written (tsh dzh). But there is altogether an unexpected occurrence of true dental (t, d) formed as
the real mutes of (th, dh) by placing the tongue as for these sounds, but making the obstruction complete. These are seldom found except before (r), or the syllable (or), or (s), or any other indistinct vowel representing (or), although at least a trace of them has been found after (s), and probably, when attention has been drawn to the fact, they may be found elsewhere. But the main case to be considered is the dentality of t, d, before r, as already noticed in Ireland (1239, ơ to 1241, ơ). The question arises whether (r) is also dental in this case, as (r). I have not noticed the dentality, but I am inclined to consider this due to my want of appreciation, for others do hear it as dental in such a case. See also the Sanscrit use (1138, b). The peculiar rolling Irish („r) in these cases (1232, b) must also be noted. Mr. C. C. Robinson thinks he recognizes a dental (r) in some other cases in Yorkshire, as will be pointed out hereafter. A nasal (b), as distinct from (m), is also found in Westmorland and Cumberland. The uvular (r) is well known as the Northumberland burr, and there are no doubt distinct varieties of this burr. There may be probably even a glottal (r) in Shields, and in the Western dialects, though I am more disposed, from what I have been able to observe personally, to attribute the Western effect to the use of a peculiarly deep vowel (œ), gruffly uttered.

In Yorkshire and Cumberland a (t) occurs which is heard before a following (t, d, k, g), as at t' time, at t' door, t' church, t' gentleman, t' cart, t' garden, and is heard also as a distinct element before a vowel, as t' 'ouse, t' 'abbey, without coalescence. I think that in these cases there is a true, though very brief, implosion (1097, †. 1113, ơ), and that the result is (at 't táim, 't,üüs), and at least three of my kind helpers, to whom this t is native, recognize the correctness of this analysis. The effect is quite different from (at táim, tuus), and in the first case does not seem to be sufficiently represented by a held consonant, as (att táim).

These are our dialectal elementary and diphthongal sounds, so far as I have yet learned them. The question is how to represent them. The ordinary spelling will not do. Ordinary dialectal writers help themselves over local difficulties in various manners, which render comparison extremely difficult. We have, in fact, reproduced on a smaller scale, and with more exaggerated features, the European differences in the use of Roman letters, crossed by our insular usages. No system of notation extends beyond a single author. The same author seldom pursues the same plan in two consecutive books, often varies on the same page, and is supremely indifferent to any dialect but his own. Just as an Englishman, accustomed from his birth to received sounds, reads them off from the received orthography, or any conceivable mis-spellings, without hesitation, while a foreigner, after years of training, constantly stumbles; so the man native-born to a dialect, or having the sounds constantly in his ears, reads off his own dialectal spelling without difficulty, but this same spelling put before a stranger, as myself, becomes a series of riddles, nay worse, continual suggestions of false
sounds. Even after acquiring a tolerable conception of the dialectal pronunciation of a given locality, I have been constantly "floored"—I can't find a more elegant phrase to express my utter defeat—by some dialectal spelling of the same variety sent me by a new hand. Of course comparative study remains impossible when the things to be compared are unknown. Conclusions hitherto drawn are merely arrows drawn at a venture—they may hit the mark, but who knows? My Glossic was contrived for the purpose of overcoming these difficulties, and my recent experience has led me to the conclusion that it is really adapted to overcome them, by extremely simple means, which enables the received and any dialectal pronunciation to be written with almost the same correctness as by palaeotype, without any typographical troubles, such as varied roman and italic letters, turned letters, or, except very rarely, accented letters. Having shewn how Glossic can be used for the received pronunciation (1174, b), I proceed to shew how the dialects may be written, because I hope that, through the influence of the English Dialect Society, it may be extensively used for this purpose. But I would especially guard against the error that, because a person can pronounce a dialect, and because Glossic gives a means of writing it, and Glossic merely uses ordinary letters, generally, at least as a basis, in their received meanings, therefore it is only necessary to put the key to Glossic before one's eyes in order to be able to write a known pronunciation straight off. You might as well expect that when a key to the relation of the notes in music to the keyboard of a piano has been given—say by pasting on each finger key the written name of the sound it will give—to any grown girl of average intellect, she will be instantly able to play off a piece of music presented to her. We know that she must learn and practice her scales first. Glossic writing is an art which also requires care and practice. To one who can already read and write, it is comparatively easy for the sounds he knows, not by any means easy for others, as when a stranger would write from dictation—my own case, when I am fortunate enough to find one who can dictate. But if a thing is worth doing at all, it is worth doing well. At present dialectal writing is not done even ill: it is literally not done at all. The present arrangements supersede those above given, pp. 606–618, as they are founded on a much wider experience, but the basis of the system is the same. Glossic symbols are here inclosed in square brackets [ ], the palaeotypic being placed in a parenthesis ( ).

Quantity and Accent.

Each vowel-sign represents either a short or a long vowel. When no mark is added, the letter always represents a short vowel. It is very important to bear this rule in mind.

In unaccented syllables vowels are generally short. If it is considered necessary to mark length without accent in such syllables, two turned periods are added, thus [ee‘].

When a long vowel occurs in an accented syllable, a single turned period is written immediately after it, as [ee‘, eet, en‘, i‘, i‘n].

When a short vowel occurs in an accented syllable, it is generally followed by a consonant, and a turned period is placed immediately after the first following consonant, as [eet‘, een‘, it‘, in‘], but if, as occasionally happens, a short accented vowel occurs without
a following consonant, two direct periods, a usual sign of unfinancial utterance, must be written, as [ee., i.], and [guo. in] for going.

It is rarely necessary to mark a middle length, but when it is, (:) may be placed before the vowel in unaccented syllables, as [ee] = (i); it will thus not interfere with the use of the colon as a point. The combination of this with the turned period, as [ee] = (i^t), marks medial length in accented syllables.

Secondary accent is not distinguished from the primary in Glossic; if it is strong enough to be marked, put two marks of accent, as [tu’nei’kmun'], and leave the actual stress doubtful, as in fact it often is. The preceding use of (:) for medial length renders its accentual use as in palaeotype impossible.

Emphasis is conveniently marked by the turned period before the whole word, thus to two [too \textsuperscript{too}].

These rules for quantity are very important, because they enable quantity to be exactly expressed in every case, thus (aa' a') = [aa aa.], (kaa' ka’t) = [kaa’ kaat'], (kaa) = [kaa’ t]. Of course words of one syllable cited independently of context may be considered as always accented, and hence we may distinguish [too, too..] = (tu, tu).

The rule for marking the quantity of the first element in diphthongs is precisely the same, the second element being considered as a consonant, as will appear presently. It is not usually necessary to mark the quantity of the second element.

The accent should be written in every polysyllabic word or emphatic monosyllable when writing dialectally, because its omission leaves the quantity uncertain, as any sound may occur either long or short. Dialectal writers, who begin to use Glossic, are extremely remiss on this point, and fall into many errors in consequence, probably because in received pronunciation the short and long vowels are known from their qualities. But this is emphatically not the case dialectally. Of course, ease to the writer, without much obscurity to a native reader (1252, d), may be attained by omitting all these troublesome marks of accent and quantity, which necessitate a little unusual thought on the part of the writer. But the difficulties thus occasioned to non-native readers by the ordinary orthography of Latin and Italian, as contrasted with Greek and Spanish, shew how mercilessly the reader is then sacrificed to the writer. Witness those who have been punished at school, or laughed at in after-life, for "false quantities" in Latin, due entirely to the defects of the Latin orthography itself.

All consonants may be considered short, and doubled for length if desired, as [stai’bil, ree’zn], or have the long [’:] added, as [stai’li, ree’zn’]. When then a long consonant ends an accented syllable, it must either be doubled and followed by a turned period, or three turned periods are required, as [lett’let’...].

**Signs.**

The use of short unaccented [ee], medial unaccented [ee’], long unaccented [ee’'], short accented [ee., eet’], medial accented [ee’], long accented [ee’'], should be clearly understood. This notation gets over all difficulties of quantity, and accent.

The apostrophe (’) is used to modify a preceding letter, and should never be used to shew the omission of a letter. If that is thought necessary, the hyphen should be employed, as [dhai doa’n-t]. But it is best not to indicate so-called omissions, for they distinctly belong to the false theory that the word is a mispronunciation, and their object is to lead the reader to guess the proper word. When the reader cannot do so, he requires a gloss or a dictionary, and should consult it. Besides, it is not possible to treat so-called insertions in this way.

The hyphen has sometimes to be used to shew how letters have to be grouped, as [t-h, d-h, n-g], distinct from [th, dh, ng]. As a rule, when two letters come together which can form a digraph, they should be so read; if the middle of three letters can form a digraph with either the first or third, it must be taken with the first. Any transgression of this rule must be marked by a hyphen, or an interposed turned period, when it can be used. Thus [toaud] = [toa-ud], not [to-ud], and may be written [toaud], distinct from [to-aud, to-au’d],

When several words are written together, they may be distinguished to the eye by the divider ), thus—[1wod’ntdoo, dhat’jl)duo]. This has no phonetic significance whatever.
Received Vowels and Diphthongs.

The 12 received emphatic vowels

\[ (ii \ e \ e \ a a \ a a \ o o \ u u \ 1 e \ a a \ a a) = [e e \ a i \ a a \ a u \ o a \ o o \ i e \ a a \ o u] \]

The alternative vowels \((e \ e, \ a \ a) = [a e \ a e; u u \ u u] \), and assumed vowel \((o o, o o) = [e \ e, e \ e] \) are required, as shown. This is considered by the Glossary to be a misprint. Diphthongs are also written in many cases, but this is not necessarily to be distinguished from \([i, u]\).

Any one of the diphthongs for long \(i\) is represented in an unanalysed form by \([a i]\). It constantly happens that the writers know it to be one of these diphthongs, but cannot tell which; and it is then very convenient to be able to give the information that one of these \([a i]\) diphthongs was heard. Similar unanalysed forms are used for the other diphthongs for the same reason. It is rather an inconvenience of paleotype that it does not possess such forms. The three received forms are \((a a, a a, a a) = [u e, a y, y y] \), in accented syllables; the element \(i\) short. If the first element is long, as \((o a, a a, a a)\), write \([u a, a u, a u']\). This rule applies generally. These forms with \([y]\), however, leave unsettled the point whether the diphthong end with a vowel or a consonant, because it has not much practical importance. But when it is desirable to show that the final element is a vowel, and to distinguish which vowel, another contrivance is used, which will be explained presently.

Any unanalysed \(o w\) diphthong is \([o u]\). The received forms \((o o, o o, o u) = [u w, a w, a a w]\), and if the first element is long, \([u w, a w, a a w]\) as before.

Any unanalysed \(o y\) diphthong is \([o i]\). The received forms \((a a, a a, o o) = [u y, a y, o y]\) are all written \([y o]\). It is not considered necessary to mark these distinctions. But, if required, the short \([e e]\) or \([i]\) may now be used, thus \([e e o o, y o, y e e o o]\) or \([i o o, y o o, y i o o]\). On account of the systematic way of representing quantity, the short and long marks need not and should not be used for other purposes, as I formerly proposed.

It is seen that the forms \((a i, a i, a a)\) are all confused as \([a a y]\). But if a systematic way of expressing these is required, we may again have recourse to short marks, thus \([a a i, a a e, a a y]\). And if the second element is long, we must use long marks, thus \([a a i, a a i, a a i] = [a a i, a a e, a a a, a a e e]\). These long and short marks always point out the unaccented element of a diphthong, so that \([a a e e]\) is a monosyllable, but \([a a e e]\) a disyllable. These distinctions are, however, too fine for ordinary use.

The vanish diphthongs \((e e', o o')\) are written \([a i, o a w]\) or the same as \([a e i, b o u]\), with which they are usually confounded. It would be possible to write \([a i, o a w]\), but this is scarcely worth while. On the other hand, \((a a, a a)\) are written \([a a, a h u]\), when they must be distinguished from \((a a', a a')\), to be presently symbolised.

The murmur diphthongs with possessive trill are written with a simple \([r]\), which is always considered to be a diphthongising \([u]\) followed by a possessive trill, and hence must never be used when a trill is not allowable. Thus \((i i, e e, a a, a a, o o, o o) = [i r, e r, a r, a o r, o u r, o o r]\), and since the change of vowel is instinctively made in received pronunciation, \([e r, a r, a o r, o u r] \) might be written as more generally intelligible in popular Glossic, such as that on p. 1178. For all accurate dialectal purposes, however, the vowels should be distinguished, and \([e e r] \) should never be confused with \([i e r', r] \), and so on.

Then for \((a o, o o)\) we should, of course, use \([u, e e']\), but, if there is a possessive trill, \((a a, o o) = [u r, e r']\), manner \([m a n u r, m a n e r']\), earnest \([e e r n e s t]\). An obligatory trill is written \([r]\), which may be added to the former, as \([e e r] = [i i r] \) or \([e e r r i q]\) or \([e e r r i q]\). Mr. Bell's untrilled \((r)\) may, when desired, continue to be so written, the \((\) being the turned \((\) used to mark degrees.

Dialectal Vowels and Diphthongs.

We have thus exhausted the received vowels and diphthongs. For the dialectal additions we have first:

\[ (ii \ e e \ a e \ o o \ u u, i e a a o o u) = [e e \ a a \ a o u, ee a i a a o o] \]

and (ah aah, a aa, y yy, s oo, o oo)

\[ = [a a', a a, a h u, u e u, o o e, o e e'] \]

with perhaps a West\(n\): \((a a a) = [u a a n a]\)

It is not considered necessary to distinguish \((y)\) from \((y) = [u e]\), with which it is generally confused, on the
one hand, or (o) = [oo], with which Mr. Murray identifies it, on the other; but, if required, we may write [aue] for (y), and similarly [e, e'] for (e1, e2). The four degrees of rounding (1116, b) may be marked by superscripts, so that (1) denotes the [au] degree, (2) the [oa] degree, (3) the [oo] degree, and (4) the inner rounding, to which we must add (5) for the pouting (1256, a). Thus (aoo, wao, aoa) = [au2, uo2, oao3], all of which may occur dialectally. It is advisable, however, to avoid the use of such delicate distinctions as much as possible, or, at most, to allude to them in notes and preliminary discussions. If the peculiar sound thought to be (wao) = [uo3], is identified rather with (uw), write it [uo'].

The new y, w, diphthongs represented on the same principle will be

(y' = ai, a'i = a' ti é) (w' = aw, a'w = aw, ew = aw, aw = aw)

with short first element, which would be sufficiently indicated without the accent mark as [aaw], and this form is used in unaccented syllables. A long first element requires the mark, as (dai, daw) = [ah-y, ah-w], or unaccented [ah-y, ah-w]. If (i, u) in place of (e, e') occur in the second element, as (ai, au), write [ahê, ahôô]. The accent mark is necessary in such cases as (iê ía iâu) = [ieê eeê eêê ëêê eeê], and (êê eê eê êêê êêê êêê), which are of very rare occurrence. Even when the second element is [i, êê], we may write [y], and when it is [êê, ëê], we may write [w], with quite sufficient exactness, as [iy, uw] = (i, u). When the stress falls on the second element, as (ié ía ûa ûo), we may either write fully [êêê êêê ëêê ëêê], or conceivably [ye yaa waa woa], as quite near enough for every dialectal purpose.

When the last element is [êê], we may write it thus or by [w], because the effect is a variant of [w], thus (ê'êê) = [aiêê ooêê] or [aiw oo w].

The murmurs diphthongs without permissive trill, when ending in (v), will be written with [u 'u'], but when ending in (v) with [h'], which represents the simple voice, thus:

(iâ íu íu ' íu = ao oo u' u')

of which (ih 'uoh') are the usual forms. Of course if the first element is long, we have [i'h' uoh'h'] = (ih 'uâ'), and this gives us a means of distinguishing [i'r] with a permissive trill, into [ih'], without trill, and [ih'h'] with a certain trill, while [i'r'] has no murmur. Compare English dear me with French dire à moi = (diir'-r' mi), diir a muâ = [dih'-r'i mee', deo'-r' aawaa].

Received Consonants.

The received consonants (p, b, t, d, k, g, w, f, y, th, dth, s, z, sh, zh, l, n) are the same in glossee as in palaeotype. But glossee [ch, j] are used as abbreviations for (t, zh, dzh), which are of constant occurrence; [ch, dj] ought not to be written, in clutches, judge [kluch, juj], unless we desire to shew that the [t, d] are held, as [klutch judji] = [klutsch juddzh].

For (zh, sh) use [yh, yl], and for (r), the trilled r, employ [r'], but, as in received glossee, simple [r] is sufficient before vowels, unless great emphasis is given to the trill.

For (q) use [ng], taking care to write [n-g] when this group is to be read as two letters, thus engross = (engroo's) = [en-gr'oa's].

Similarly as [h] must be used for (nh), and also as a part of the combinations [th, dh, sh, zh], etc., we must always distinguish [t-h, d-h, s-h, z-h]. The mere accent mark, however, is often enough, as in pothook [pot'huok] potter [pud'h-u].

The mere jerk (n), which sometimes occurs dialectally where (nh) could not be pronounced, is written (h) thus get up = [g, haer' v' uop], in Leeds.

The catch (i), which occasionally occurs in place of an aspirate, and sometimes in place of (t), will continue to be so written.

Dialectal Consonants.

The new consonants (g k kh kh kheh) = [k'gy' ky'h kh kw'h], where the apostrophised [g, y, w] answer to the diacritics (j, w), and are thus distinguished from [y, w] = (j, w). Properly (kw, gw) should be [kw', gw'], though few persons may care to distinguish these from [kw, gw]. The (nh, rw) are [nh, rw']. The French il and gn mouillé ([i, n]) would be [ly', ny'], if they occurred in our dialects.

The dental (sh, zh) are not required, on account of (ch, j).
1262

CHAP. XL

DIALECTAL GLOSSIC.

But the dental (^t,
and are written

able,

= Yorkshire
Dental

if

found, must be

common

as

[,r],
is

occur, as
indicated

no

There

trill.

need to mark

it after [t', d'], except in
phonetic discussions, but where it occurs
independently, it should be noted.
The uvular (r) or burr is [*r], Irish
Glottal
roUed trill (, xr) may be ['r'].

(i) is [,r],

is

(b.)

No.

5.

the sign [J pre

[,b],

f foll
following. The same
ceding, instead of
mark [J will nasalise vowels, when they

[waat'nir].

(jr),

the

[r'] is

Nasal

d) are indispens
(t', d'], as water

x

$ 2.

French nasality

[ ( aa'y].

by adding

may have

Implosion
sign ("), but

its

palaeotypic

will generally be

it

is

[n'].

enough

to write (at "t ta/m) as [aat)t)taaym]
or [aat t taaym], or even [aatt taaym],
in place of the full [aat)"t)taaym].

efixed comma.
with pref

"We have thus probably a complete alphabet for all English dia
If new signs are required, they will generally be found in
lects.
the Universal Glossic furnished in the notice prefixed to Part III. of
this book.
The following is an alphabetical list of the Glossic signs
just explained, with their palaeotypic equivalents for convenience
italics are used for glossic, and the parentheses of palaeotype are
;

omitted, unless

it is also

entirely in italic.

Palaeotypic Key
aah.
a
aaee
ai, aa'ee aai,
.##
,
aa-ee aaii, aa-h' aa', aat a/, aa'1 aaY,
aa~r aaj, aau aa, aaw aM, aa'to aaw,
aay a*, aa-y aa/.
ae E, ae' EE, aey E', aew E'M.
ah (a}, ah' (aa}, ahee (ai), ahou (a'u),
'

a a?, a' a3ae,
aa a, aa' aa,

ahy

(di},

ahw

(du},

ah'w

di (e 1 ), ai (e^, aiy

(ti),

ah'y (aa/),

ai' (ee),

(e),

(eu}.
(eei}, ai-y" (ee'j},
o, ao' oo, aoh' o', ao'h' oo', aoaa 6a,

kw, *w'A kwh,

Ato*

*y' kj,

*y'A kjk

MiJMbVl
w

m, ?wm

'm.

'

n,

^

A,

q,

-^r

w^ qg,

ng,

ngk qk,

ww

'n,
y' nj.
o o, o' oo, ow O'M.
oa (o), oa- (oo), o

(COM), oa-w;'

3

(o u ),

(oo'w),

oaw (ow),

oa'w

ooy

o-y

(<n),

(ooe).

oe ee, oe- O3O3,

o^w

oey.

class, no palaeotypic equivalent].
oo u, oo' uu, ooflff ua, oooa uo.

AA'Z.

ow [unanalysed diphthong of the (aw)

aw

a'w

se'u,

ay

&'i, a-y

sese>'i,

ff

r

e e,

x

d,

/?p.

r
'

ee,

^-

ii,

e' ao,

aoeo, e e

1

&y

ia,

eea

,

e

e^ eao

<?e

ea,

ia,

ie,

eee ie,

^ew

iu,

< t, <'

CM.
ei.

V

%r,

,r

Ar,

,r

i,

(w), wo- (MM),

(iu)

WM

-

M,

i

(z'<?),

,

I'M'

fV

IB,

('),

iw

zu.

(WB).

ww

a,

w
uy

(iV), too tu, tw

yy, ue y x .

wo

t?

\(tO,

98, M* B, U'T 88J.

w

y,

no palaeotypic equivalent].

t

"< "t.

w<?

o'

g g,ffw' gw, gy" gj.
h nh, h H, h' 'h.
(0,

(r),

MO2

(t<

<>'

)>

(M'), wo'A" (MM'), uo'r (MMJ),

(u [unanalysed diphthong of the

ey

xt,

W

8,

(ai)

no palaeotypic equivalent].

eo- (99).
(9),
e'r eea', e-'r 8D8DJ.

ew

r,

Mth.

eo

class,

V

1

* s.

ii.

[unanalysed diphthong of the
class,

r

a,

sh sh.
efca

^e? ii, eeo io, eeoo iu, eeoo iu,
ei

o'i.

oy

dh dh.

cao co.
i,

(o't)

no palaeotypic equivalent].

class,

a'y

ah/, a-'y aahe.

,* b,.
t xsh.

ch

d d,

[unanalysed diphthong of the

oz

ahw.

b b,

*

kh kh,

k,

aoe 6e, ao~r ooa, aow du, ao'w OOM.
M2 A , awh' AA', awr
A, aw AA,
AAJ, auu A'Q, auw A'M, auy A'/, awy

M

^

>t

aiw

ai'y

ao

Dialectal Glossic.

4

(da*).

ai

U

'

ah,

wy

d'i,

uuw

aa,

u'w

Q'U,

a'M,

WM^

w,t^

aa'y.

wh wh,

troa

aa'w,

(h)>
wow

^'
(wa),

a't.

aa'i.

v.

M>

w,
wo'

y

J,

<;'

(w;),
urf.

y* j,

yh

Jh,

yeeoo jiu, #zoo
2 z,

A

zh.

yaa ja
Ji'vi,

wa

ua,

woa

?a, ye je
yoo JU id.

ie,


Examples of the use of this alphabet, which for any particular dialect is simple and convenient, will be given in No. 10. A learner ought always to begin with reading received pronunciation as written in glossec, with the conventions of p. 1175, as shewn on p. 1178. He should then gradually attempt to express the diphthongs [ei, oi, ou, eu] in their analysed forms, say as [aay, auy, aaw, yoo]. Next he should endeavour to appreciate the varieties [aay, a'y, aey, aiy], and [aay, uuy, uy, e'y], etc. Then he should turn to the unaccented syllables, and endeavour to express them unconventionally. He should constantly check his results to see that he has not allowed old habits of spelling to mislead him, as in using silent letters, or aay, aw for [ai, au], or y final as a vowel, etc. The encroachments of mute e will be found very difficult to resist. There will also be a tendency to write s for either [r] or [z], to use th for [dh], ng for [ngg], nk for [ngk]; and especially to introduce an r where it may never be trilled, as broot arter, for "bront arter." The difficulty experienced by northerners, who have always read a, u as (a, u)=[aa, uu] in their dialect, to refrain from writing a bad nut instead of (u' baad nut) is very great indeed. It has been a source of very great trouble to myself in deciphering dialectal writing sent to me. Yet it is absolutely necessary to use [a, u] in the senses familiar in the middle, west, and south of England, and in received speech. Since also only one of the two vowel-sounds [u, uu] usually occurs in the accented syllables of any speaker (though both may often be heard, if properly sought for, in the same locality), there is a constant tendency in beginners to use [u] for their own sound, whatever it may be, and to consider [uu] as some mysterious sound which they have not fully grasped. Thus northern writers have constantly confused [uu uo], occasioning terrible confusion and tediously evolved rectifications. Again, there is a very strong tendency to consider [ee, ei, aa, au, oo] as necessarily long, instead of being in dialectal writing necessarily short, unless marked as long. It is this which renders the use of [maan] objected to, because it would be read [maan] at first. There is the same difficulty in reading [i', e', a', o', u', oo'] as long, as in [ti'h', te'h', ba-th, o'd, bu'n, shuo'h'], representing regular sounds of tear n., tear v., burn, sure, and provincial sounds of Bath, old. Great care must be taken with these quantities. Scotch [meet] is not English [mee't], and [ee] short and [i'] long occur in Dorset. Another difficulty arises from the constant tendency to write initial h where the dialectal speaker is totally unconscious of its existence, and similarly wh when only [w] is said. Nay, many persons will dialectally insert h, wh, where there was not even the excuse of old spelling, as burn for run in Somersetshire, where simple [w'n]= (an) is often, if not always, uttered without the least trace of either h or r.

These are some of the rocks on which beginners founder. There is another to which I would draw particular attention. A beginner is apt to vary the glossec signs, to introduce new ones, either new combinations, or accented varieties, or even to give new meanings
to combinations already employed for sounds which he has not considered. This mutilation of a system which it has taken years of thought and practice to perfect, by one who just begins to use it, has I trust only to be deprecated, in order to be prevented. Writers may of course use any system of spelling of their own invention which they please, but when one has been elaborated with great care to meet an immense number of difficulties, so that even a single change involves many changes, and perhaps deranges the whole plan of construction, writers should either use it as presented, or not at all. I feel that I have a right to insist on this, and I should not have done so, had not occasion been given.

There is one point which causes great difficulty, and for which no provision has yet been made. I allude to dialectal intonation. The principal elements of this are length, force, and pitch.

The vowel and consonant quantity has been provided for.

Syllabic quantity is made up of a number of vowel and consonant quantities of marked differences. To go into this minutely requires a scale of length, and those who choose may employ the numerical system already given (1131, d). But for rapid writing, an underlined series like . | — 0 = + \pm will be most useful, to be reduced to figures afterwards. This may also apply to syllables generally. Here the medium length is 0, or is left unmarked, the four shorter degrees are . | — , and the four longer are = + \pm. +1. This is abundant for most purposes.

Force also requires a series or scale, as already suggested (1130, c'), but the musical terms and signs there adduced are more generally known.

Pitch cannot be accurately given. The simplest mode that suggests itself to me is to draw a straight line above the line of writing, to represent the medium pitch, and then a wavy line proceeding above and below it, more or less, as the pitch rises or falls. This, for printing, might readily be interpreted as a scale, 5 being the middle line, 1, 2, 3, 4 distances below, and 6, 7, 8, 9 distances above it.

All these additional marks should either be in pencil or differently coloured ink, and should in print form different lines of figures above and below the writing, commencing with the letters L, F, P, to shew that length, force, and pitch are respectively used, and for each the scale of 9, of which 5 is the mean, should be used.

No writer should attempt to use these fine indications without considerable practice upon his own pronunciation, putting by his writing for some days, and then seeing whether it is sufficient to recall the facts to his own consciousness. Of course till he is able to do this, he cannot hope to convey them to others.

Lastly, quality of tone is of importance. The dialectal writer remembers how the Johnny or Betty who spoke the words used them at the time, but they were mixed up with personal as well as local peculiarities of quality of tone, and he can't convey this, or convey the tone unqualified. It is like the despair of the engraver at not conveying colour. The nature of quality of tone has only recently been discovered, and it would be impossible to use the necessary technical language, because it would not be understood. We are, therefore, reduced to explanatory words, such as hoarse, trembling, whining, drawling, straining, and the like. If there is a character for any district, those who care to convey it should study it carefully, and spend, not five minutes, but many hours and days, at different intervals, in noting its characteristics and endeavouring to describe them in writing. All kinds of description are difficult to write, but descriptions of quality of tone are extremely difficult.
Mr. Melville Bell, in his "New Elucidation of the Principles of Speech and Elocution," (first edition, Edinburgh, 1849, p. 299), a book full of thoughtful and practical suggestions, gives the following summary of points to be borne in mind when representations of individual utterance are given. The symbols are here omitted.

Inflexion. Simple, separately rising or falling from middle tone; compound, waveringly rising and falling, or falling and rising from middle tone.

Modulation. Conversational or middle key, with a high and higher, and a low and lower; and progressive elevation and depression.

No. 6. Dialectal Vowel Relations.

i. J. Grimm's Views of the Vowel Relations in the Teutonic Languages.

Jacob Grimm, after having passed in review the literary vowel systems of the Teutonic languages, proceeds (D.G. I 3, 527) with freer breath (freieres athema) to review the relations of quantity (quantität), quality (qualität), weakening (schwächung), breaking (brechung), transmutation (umlaut), promutation (ablaut), and pronunciation (aussprache). On the relations of sound and writing he says (ib. p. 579):

"Writing, coarser than sound, can neither completely come up to it at any standing point, nor, from its want of flexibility, at all times even follow up the trail of fluent speech. The very fact that all European nations received an historical alphabet, capable of expressing the peculiarities of their sounds with more or less exactness, threw difficulties in the way of symbolisation. An attempt was gradually made to supply deficiencies by modifying letters. As long as this supplement was neglected or failed, writing appeared defective. But while thus yielding to sound, writing in return acts beneficially on its preservation. Writing fixes sound in its essence, and preserves it from rapid decay. It is easily seen that purity and certainty of pronunciation are closely connected with the advance of civilisation and the propagation of writing. In popular dialects there is more oscillation, and deviations of dialects and language generally are chiefly due to want of cultivation among the people. The principle of writing by sound is too natural not to have been applied by every people when first reducing its language to writing. But it would be improper (ungerecht) to repeat it constantly, because writing would then alter in every century, and the connection of literature with history and antiquity would be lost. If modern Greek, French, and English orthography were regulated by their present pronunciation, how insupportable and unintelligible they would appear to the eye! My view is that the various German languages had means of representing all essential vowel-sounds, and employed them by no means helplessly. But it would be absurd (thöricht) to measure the old pronunciation by the present standard,
and unreasonable (unbillig) to throw the whole acuteness of grammatical analysis on to the practical aim of orthography."

It is not pleasant to differ from a man who has done such good work for language, and especially for the branch of languages to which our own belongs, that it would be difficult to conceive the state of our philology without his labours. But Grimm was essentially a man of letters. Language to him was a written crystallisation, not a living growing organism. Its stages as already recognized by writing, he could and did appreciate in a manner for which we are all deeply grateful, but having reached his own stage, he conceived that the new languages were to remain in their present form, for the eye of future generations. The very languages which he cites to shew the insupportability of reinstalling the old principle, "write by sound," are the most glaring European instances of its necessity. It is only by much study that we acquire a conception of what living Greek, French, and English actually are, below the thick mask of antique orthography which hides their real features. If we had not an opportunity of acquiring their sounds, we should make the absurdest deductions respecting them. We have no occasion to go further than Grimm's own investigations of the relations of English vowels (ibid. pp. 379-401) for this purpose. Having nothing to bridge over the gap between Anglosaxon and the English of modern pronouncing dictionaries, which shew only the net result respecting the literary form of a single dialect, he was entirely unable to see the relations of the different vowel-sounds. Notwithstanding even all the previous investigations in the present work, the relations cannot yet be securely traced, and nothing more than indications can here be attempted.

So far from a crystallised orthography fixing pronunciation, it disguises it, and permits all manner of sounds to be fitted to the same signs, as the various nations of China use the same literary language with mutually unintelligible varieties of speech. It is not orthography, but intercommunication, the schoolmaster, and social pressure to which we owe our apparent uniformity of pronunciation. Our medieval spelling was contrived by ecclesiastics familiar with Latin, who tried to use Romance letters to express Teutonic sounds, of course only approximatively, and were able to indicate native variety but vaguely. I have already attempted to shew what would be the effect of trying even a more complete alphabet for representing received pronunciation (1245, o), and I have propounded the list of sounds which are apparently required for dialectal writing (1262, b). If we were to confine ourselves to a mere Latin alphabet, the result would be altogether insufficient. The orthography used by local writers of the present day, founded on the received pronunciation as they conceive it, still confuses many vowel-sounds, and makes perfect havoc of the diphthongs. For the older state of our language, and in the same way for the other Teutonic languages, we have to work up through a similar slough of despond. Hence the vowel relations on which Grimm dwells in the chapter just cited are comparatively insecurely based, and must be accepted as the very
best result that could then be reached, but not as the best attainable as phonology advances.

But coming from the dead to the living,—from the letters adapted by learned priests from Latin to Anglosaxon and old English, and more or less rudely followed by paid and unlearned scriveners (249, d. 490, c), to the language as actually spoken by and among our peasantry,—the problem is very different. Our crystallised orthography has not affected the pronunciation of these men at all. They feel that they have nothing in common with it, that they cannot use it to write their own language, but that it represents a way of speech they have to employ for "the gentry," as well as they can. This imitation of "quality talk" is not dialectal, and is really mispronunciation, of the same character as a foreigner's.\(^1\) The dialectal speakers are in fact foreigners in relation to book-speakers. Although we are obliged to refer their sounds to those of received speech present or past, yet this is only as a help to our own ignorance. No proper classification is possible without a knowledge of the individuals, and that has, in this case, yet to be collected.

The results gathered in Mr. Murray's book on Scotch, and in the present chapter, are quite unexampled for English. They are far too few and too uncertain for scientific results. They can only lead up to theories which will guide future research; but they serve to open out a method which, when generally applied, cannot but prove of the highest philological value. The pronunciation of each district has to be separately appreciated, in connection with a well-chosen and well-arranged system of words. Of course grammatical and other considerations will also have to be weighed, but, from the nature of my subject, I confine myself strictly to phonology. Yet the formation of such a test vocabulary is, in fact, the smallest portion of the task. The discovery of the dialectal sounds of the words it contains for any one district, is a work of very great time and labour, even when the collector has much phonetic knowledge and practice. He must be a person long accustomed to the sounds, one before whom the dialect people speak freely; and he must be able to write them down when heard. There are numerous country clergymen, country attorneys, country surgeons, country schoolmasters, who are in a position to hear the sounds freely, but they seldom note them. They have seldom the philological education which leads them to consider these "rude" sounds and phrases of any value; and when they take them up as a local curiosity, they are generally unaware of their comparative value, and waste time over etymological considerations of frequently the crudest kind. But they are most supremely ignorant of phonology, and have not the least conception of how to write sounds consistently, or of how

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1 We shall have occasion to see how the desire of "talking fine" produces certain modes of speech in towns, and examples of three kinds used in Yorkshire will be furnished, through the kindness of Mr. C. C. Robinson. The Scottish pronunciation of English, as distinguished from the vernacular, of which Mr. Murray gives an account (op. cit. p. 138), is an instance of a similar kind. But none of these belong to natural pronunciation proper.
to use a consistent alphabet when presented to them. Even those who have been partially educated by the use of Mr. I. Pitman’s phonetic shorthand and phonetic printing,¹ are not up to the vagaries of dialectal speech, and make curious blunders, though happy am I to find such workers in the field. If I am fortunate enough, how-
ever, to discover any who have advanced as far as Bell’s Visible Speech, or Murray’s South Scottish Dialects, I begin to have great confidence. But even then the habit of strict writing is so slowly acquired, that slips frequently occur, and I have in no case been able to obtain information without considerable correspondence about it, raising points of difficulty and explaining differences, and worrying myself and my friends with questions of detail.²

The present considerations have been suggested by an examination of the dialectal specimens which follow. Those which are couched in the ordinary orthography, and which I could not get natives to read to me, are such uncertain sources of information, that I have been able to make them available only by guessing at sounds through information otherwise obtained, and from a general sense of what the writers must have meant. But, of course, I was at first liable to the same sources of error as a Frenchman reading English, with not quite so much information on the sounds as is given in an ordinary grammar. I feel considerable confidence in those specimens which I print at once in palaeotype. I could not have interpreted them into this form, if the information I had received had not been rendered tolerably precise. Of course there will be many errors left, but I hope that the specimens are, as a whole, so far correct as to form something like firm footing for scientific theory. The names of each of the kind friends who have helped me in this work will be given in due order. But I wish generally to express my great obligations to them for their assistance, without which this chapter would have entirely collapsed. It was a work of great labour to all of them, and was sometimes rendered under very trying conditions.

Grimm specifies quantity, quality, weakening, breaking, transmu-
tation, and promutation.

Of these promutation—such as the grammatical vowel change in (siq, saq, saq), or (siq, saq, suq)—has no phonological interest in this work, and will therefore be passed over.

Transmutation in German is prospective, and consists in the change of vowel-sound in a word, when a syllable is added containing a vowel of another character. It may also be retrospective, when a sound is reduced to conformity with one that precedes. In one form or the other, this remarkable phenomenon runs through many

¹ See suprà, pp. 1182–5.
² In the case of the comparative example given below, I have often had to send a paper of 50 or 60 (in one case 117) questions before I could make use of the information given. And even then it was difficult to frame them intelligibly, so as to lead to a reply which should really give me information. And my first “examination paper” had frequently to be supplemented by a second one on the answers to the first. I can only be thankful to the patience of correspondents, mostly personally unknown to me, who submitted to this tedious infliction.
languages; it is marked in Polish and Hungarian, more than
in German, and is the basis of the Gaelic vowel rule (52, d). The
essence of prospective transmutation consists in the consciousness of
the speaker that a vowel of a certain kind is going to follow, so
that his preparation for that vowel, while his organs are arranged
for a different one, produces a third sound, more or less different
from both. 1 This consciousness crystallises afterwards into pedantic
rules, which remain after all action of the consciousness has long
disappeared. Not having observations on the English dialects in
reference to this phenomenon sufficient to reduce it to rule, I pass it
over.

Quality refers to the difference of vowels, and, in Grimm especially,
to their generation, as it were, from three original short vowels
(a, i, u). This generation is, I fear, a theory principally due to the
imperfection of old alphabetic usages. My experience of un-
cultured man does not lead me to the adoption of any such simple
theory, although, as already observed (51, a), like the theory of the
four elements, it is of course based upon real phenomena, and still
possesses some value. It is singular that Grimm compares this
vowel triad to a colour triad of a curious description, and the
means, (e, o), inserted between the extremes (i, a) and (a, u), to
other colours, after an analogy which I find it difficult to follow,
thus (op. cit. p. 33):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{red} & \quad \text{yellow} & \quad \text{white} & \quad \text{blue} & \quad \text{black} \\
\text{orange} & \quad \text{rose} & \quad \text{azure} & \quad \text{violet}
\end{align*}
\]

These are mere fancies, unfounded in physics,2 based upon nothing
but subjective feeling, and yielding no result. The qualitative
theory which we now possess is entirely physical, depending upon
pitch and resonance.

1 See the remarkable instances from modern Sanscrit pronunciation (1138, b'.
1139, b). Grimm curiously enough starts
the conception that this transmutation
(umlaut) had some analogy with the
change of old S into later R (op. cit. p.
34, note).

2 If we adopt the vibrational or un-
dulatory theory of light, then there is
this analogy between colour and pitch,
that both depend upon the number of
vibrations of the corresponding medium
(luminous ether and atmospheric air).
performed in one second. In this case
red is the lowest, blue (of some kind)
highest in pitch, green being medial.
Now vowels, as explained on (1278, c),
may be to a certain degree arranged
according to natural pitch; and in this
case (i) is the highest, (a) medium, and
(u) lowest. Hence the physical analo-
gies of vowel and light are (i) blue, (a)
green, (u) red, and I believe that these
are even subjectively more correct than
Grimm's, where white (presence of
all colours) and black (absence of all
colours) actually form part of the scale.
But physically white would be analo-
gous to an attempt to utter (i, a, u) at
once, producing utter obliteration of
vowel effect; and the sole analogue of
black would be—silence! Again, even
his diphthongs, considered as mixtures
of pigments, are singular. With mix-
tures of colours he was of course un-
acquainted. The orange from red and
yellow will pass, but rose from red and
white (pale red), azure from white and
black (grey), violet from red and
black (dirty brown), are remarkable
failures. Could Jacob Grimm have
been colour-blind? Dugald Stewart,
who rested much of his theory of beauty
on colour, was himself colour-blind!

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Vowel Quantity. Chap. XI.

Weakening consists, according to Grimm, in "an unaccountable diminishing of vowel content" (dass zuweilen ohne allen Anlass der gehalt der vocales gemindert wird), ibid. p. 541. The expression is entirely metaphorical, and is unintelligible without explanation. To Grimm, vowels have weight, (i) being the lightest, (u) the heaviest, and (a) intermediate, so that (a) may be regarded as a diminished (u), and (i) as a weakened (u) and (a). This, however, belongs to promutation, and he dwells chiefly on a vowel being "obscured" (getrübt) into some nearly related one, comparing ags. stäf, bac, cräft; engl. staff, back, craft; fries. stei, kreft, where there is no transmutation. He finds a similar change of a to o. He seems to confine the term weakening to these changes.

Breaking is introduced thus (ib. p. 32): "A long vowel grows out of two short vowels, but the confluence of two short vowels does not always produce a long one. For if the two short ones combine without doubling their length, but leave it single, they give up a part of their full natural short quantity, and, on addition, only make up the length of the single short quantity. These may be called broken vowels (gebrochene vocales), without particularizing the nature of the fraction. Assuming the full short vowel to be 1, the long would be =1 + 1=2; the broken =3/4+1/4 or 1+1/4 or 3/4 + 1/4 =1." And then in a note he has the extraordinary statement, quite upsetting all physical notions, and shewing the mere literary character of his investigations: "This breaking of vowels is like the aspiration of consonants"! (ibid. p. 33.) Grimm considers breaking mainly due to the action of a following r, h; his classical instances are Gothic baírân faúra, and, which are for us the most important, the ags. ea, eo, ie, from which he entirely separates ags. ea, eo, ie, considering the latter to be diphthongs having more than the unit length, and hence different from his broken vowels.

There remains quantity. "Vowels are either short or long: a difference depending on the time within which they are pronounced. The long vowel has double the measure of the short." (ibid. p. 32.) We are evidently here on the old, old footing, the study of books—not speakers.

ii. On Vowel Quantity in Living Speech.

The late Prof. Hadley very properly blamed me, in reviewing the first and second parts of this work (down to p. 632), for not having paid sufficient attention to quantity as marked in Anglosaxon works, and especially in Orrmin. With this it is not now the proper place

1 His critique, which appeared in the North American Review for April, 1870, pp. 420–437, has been reprinted in a volume of "Essays Philological and Critical, selected from the papers of James Hadley, LL.D. New York, 1873," pp. 240–262. It was the earliest notice of my work in the English language, and contains the judgment of a profound scholar, who had fairly studied the first four chapters, and cursorily looked over the next two. He begins by giving an account of palaeotype. He disputes some of my conclusions from my own data, and considers that long a could not have been broader than (ææ), "at the opening of the sixteenth century," (p. 247), nor that long u was substantially different from its present sound (p. 250). He confesses to "some feeling of doubt, if not skepticism," as to my "whole
to deal, but I would remark on the essential difference between the letter-length and the speech-length of vowels, consonants, and syllables. The sound of what is recognized as the same syllable lasts a longer or shorter time, according to the wish or feeling of the speaker. The difference of length does not change its dictionary significance, but occasionally (much less, however, than alterations of pitch and quality of tone, which usually accompany the various degrees of length), practically modifies its meaning considerably to the listener. And this syllabic length may be analysed, as already partly explained (1131, d. 1146, b), into the lengths of the several vowels, the several consonants, and the several glides between these parts two and two. The length of the glides is usually thrown out of consideration. But it is often a question to me how much is due to one and how much to the other. In received speech the so-called long vowels are all different in quality from the so-called short vowels; and hence when a Scotchman, for example, gives a short pronunciation to any of the so-called long vowels, in places where the southerner uses his corresponding short vowel, which is altogether different in quality, the latter blames the former for pronouncing the southern short vowel long!

This connection of quality with quantity makes it difficult for a speaker of received pronunciation to determine the real length of vowel-sounds used by dialectal speakers. I find my own ear constantly at fault, and I have no doubt that many of my correspondents are not to be implicitly trusted in matters of quantity. But the length of the glides, the different action of voiced and voiceless consonants on preceding vowels, the holding and not holding of those consonants, and Mr. Sweet’s rule for final consonants (1145, d'), also materially interfere, not merely with practical observation, but with theoretical determination. In many cases, no doubt, our crude, rough way of indicating the quantity of a vowel as (a, a), must often be considered as marking merely a temporary feeling due rather to the consonant than to the vowel. We have no standard of length, no means even of measuring the actual duration of the extremely brief sounds uttered. A long vowel in one word means something very different from a long vowel in another. In the case of diphthongs the lengths of the elements are entirely comparative among one another, and bear no assignable relation to the lengths of adjoining consonants or of vowels in adjoining syllables.

theory of labialised consonants,” (p. 253). And he dwells on my shortcomings with respect to quantity on pp. 269–262. Thus (412, d') as is (a'ase), but (ase)—he should have said (as)—occurs (413, a'). Of course the first should also be (a'ase). On (442, d') we have (don) compared with (doon) below. The latter is correct, of course, and (miis'doon') on (442, d') should, I think, be (mirs'doon'). The (lava'verd, lawerd, ded, forgi'ver, forgiv'reth, forgiv'nes), suprà, p. 443, should probably be (lava'verd, deed, forgiv, forgiveth, forgiv'nes). I am sorry to see that (dead'lit'he) for (dådlit'she) occurs on (503, cd'). Prof. Hadley subsequently did better than criticise; he supplemented my shortcomings, in a paper on Quantity, read before the American Philological Association in 1871, reprinted in the same volume, pp. 263–295, of which I hope to give an account in Chap. XII.
With Englishmen diphthongs may be extremely brief, and short vowels may be pronounced at great length (as in singing) without altering the character and signification of the word.

The length of vowels in received English is very uncertain. How far it is dialectically fixed I will not pretend to say. At times vowels are unmistakably lengthened, but this is not frequent. The two most careful observers on this point among my kind helpers are Mr. Murray for Scotch, and Mr. Hallam for Derbyshire, both of whom are acquainted with Mr. Bell’s Visible Speech. Mr. Murray makes the Scotch sounds generally short, and occasionally long. But he remarks (Dialect of S. S., p. 97): “Absolutely short, or, as it might better be called, ordinary or natural, quantity in Scotch is longer than English short quantity, though not quite so long as English long quantity; but long quantity in Scotch is much longer than long quantity in English. Even in English, quantity differs greatly in absolute length; for though the vowel-sounds in thief, thieves, cease, sees, are considered all alike long e (ii), thieves and sees are certainly pronounced with a longer vowel than thief and cease. It would, perhaps, be most correct to say that Scotch long quantity is like that in sees, short quantity nearly like that in cease.” Much here depends on the consonant; see also Prof. Haldeman’s remarks (1191, a. 1192, b’). Mr. Murray also observes that something depends in Scotch on the quality of the vowel itself; thus: “With (æ) and (a), and to a less degree with (o) and (o), there is a great tendency to lengthen the short vowel before the mutes, and to pronounce egg, skep, yet, beg, bag, rag, bad, bog, dog, as (æg, skæp, jæt, bæg, baag, raag, baad, boog, doog)” (ibid. p. 98). Mr. Hallam, it will be seen, constantly takes refuge in medial quantities, lengths decidedly longer than the usual English short, and yet not decidedly long. Mr. C. C. Robinson occasionally does the same, and all dialectal writers who wish to represent quantity with accuracy meet with similar difficulties.

1 The old theory made diphthongs essentially long, as made up of two short vowels, yet they did not always “scan” as long, or influence the position of the accent as long, in ancient Greek. And Merkel, a German, says: that “syllables with true diphthongs have always a medial quantity, that is, not fully short, but not capable of prolongation, as otherwise they would lose their monosyllabic character,” (Silben mit wahren Diphthogen sind stets mittelzeitig, d.h. nicht völlig kurz, aber auch nicht producibel, sonst geht die Einsilbigkeit verloren. Phys. Laletik, p. 222). His true diphthongs are (äi, äu, äy, öi, öu, öy, öi, y’). He considers combinations like (ei, ex, öei) to be “altogether and under all circumstances dissyllabic, and to have no claim at all to be considered diphthongs” (ib. p. 125), which shows the effect of native habits of speech on even theoreticians.

2 Since beginning to write these remarks, I heard a man cry “Saturday,” while speaking to a mate on the other side of the street. I was not able to determine the quality or quantity of the first vowel, though the word was repeated, and I thought it over for some time afterwards. Most persons would have written (se-ta-rée) without hesitation, but this is merely the effect of old education, which tells them that the first vowel is short and the last long, and that (r) is heard. I took refuge finally in (sah rá tō dē nu), making the first vowel medial, and the two next short and indistinct, though I could not determine their relative lengths, the (t) decidedly dental, the (d) not certain, the quality of the first vowel (ah) not satisfactorily fixed.
difficulties, which do not fail to occur in other languages also (518, a). We are not properly in a condition to appreciate a pronunciation, which, like the ancient Sanscrit, Greek, and Latin, marked length so distinctly as to make it the basis of verse-rhythm, to the exclusion of alterations of pitch and force.¹ At any rate, our own spoken quantities are very different from musical length, and the extreme variety of musical length which composers will assign to the parts of the same word at different times serves to shew to what a small extent fixed length is now appreciated. As regards myself, although I often instinctively assign long and short vowels in writing to different words, yet when I come to question myself carefully as to the reasons why I do so, I find the answers in general very difficult to give, and the more I study, the less certainty I feel.

That there are differences of length, no one can doubt. That those lengths are constant, either relatively or absolutely, cannot be affirmed.² There is naturally a great difficulty in prolonging a sound at the same pitch and with the same quality of tone. Are vowel qualities ever purely prolonged? Does not the quality, as well as confessedly the pitch of spoken vowels, alter on an attempt to produce them? Are not all appreciably longer vowel qualities really gliding, that is, insensibly altering qualities, so that the commencing and ending qualities are sensibly different? Such combinations as Mr. Hallam’s Derbyshire (ii, āu) may possibly rather belong to this category than to that of intentional diphthongs. If we were to examine carefully what is really said, we should, I think, have to augment the number of such phenomena considerably. The London (œj, oœv) are cases of a similar kind.³ To retain the vowel quality for a sensible time requires an unnatural fixity of muscle, and consequently relaxations constantly occur, which alter the

¹ My short experience of Mr. Gupta’s quantitative pronunciation of Sanscrit (1139, a) makes me feel it highly desirable that the reading of Sanscrit, Arabic, and Persian quantitative verse, by learned natives, should be accurately studied. Italian and Modern Greek reading of classics leads to no result, because the true feeling for quantity has there died out. But it really prevails in the East. In France, some writers dwell much on quantity; others, like M. Féline, drop almost all expression of quantity, as in the example, supra p. 327. We have nothing in ordinary Southern English at all answering to the prolongations made by Mr. Gupta in Sanscrit, or Mr. Murray in Scotch. If persons really observe the relative time they employ in uttering Greek and Latin syllables, and especially unaccented long syllables, they will, I think, be struck by the great difficulty of constantly and appreciably exhibiting the effects of quantity, so as to make them a guide to rhythm. This is more especially felt when numerous long syllables come in close succession, as in the following lines from the beginning of the first Satire of Horace:

Qui sit Macênâs, ut nêmô, quam sibi sortem—
Contentus vivat? laudet diversa sequentēs—
O! fortunātī mercātōrēs, gravīs annīs—
Contra mercātōr, nāvim jactātībus austrīs—

where the long vowel is marked as usual, the short vowel is left unmarked, and position is indicated by italicising the determining consonants.

² Not in such living languages as I have had an opportunity of examining, not even in Magyar, as I heard it, although its poets profess to write quantitative metres occasionally.

³ See the remarks on suffractures in iv. below.
vowel quality. Again, the preparation for the following consonant acts so strongly upon the nerves which are directing the formation of the vowel, that they cease to persist in the action, and insensibly modify it, producing other changes of quality, in a manner with which we are familiar as the action of a consonant on the preceding vowel. But it may be said, although these alter the quality as it proceeds, the ear recognises the intention to continue the original quality, and gives credit for its continuance. The credit is freely given in received speech, as judged by a received orthography. But in dialectal speech we have no such assistance. We have to treat the dialect as an unwritten language, and discover what is said without reference to orthography, that is, without reference to what learned men in olden time thought would be the most practical way of approaching to the representation of sounds of other dialects by means of symbols whose signification had been fixed by still older writers in totally different languages. This drives us at once from books to nature, which is very hard for literary men, but is, I believe, the only way of giving reality to our investigations. As long as we do not check literature by observation, as long as we continue to take the results of old attempts at representing observations, as absolutely correct, as starting-points for all subsequent theory, we lay ourselves open to risks of error sufficient to entirely vitiate our conclusions. Much harm has already been done in theoretically restoring the marks for long and short vowels in Anglo-Saxon, in printing diplomatically with theoretic insertions, in systematising an orthography which was not yet understood.

Our real knowledge of the ancient lengths of these vowels consists in the analogies of other languages and the present changes. And these seem to be much affected by the already-mentioned difficulties of retaining the same quality of tone while endeavouring to prolong the sound. But to obtain a real knowledge of long and short vowels, we shall have to study languages in which difference of length, independently of difference of quality, is significant, and in which quantity forms the basis of rhythms.

1 This is apt to be forgotten. At some early time, when phonetic knowledge was comparatively small, or the necessity of discriminating sounds was not strongly felt, alphabetic writing was comparatively vague, and, moreover, it so happens that alphabets invented for languages with one set of vowels have been used for languages with a totally different set. How much languages thus differ will be seen at the end of the next sub-number iii. But still the writing was based on observation, such as it was.

2 "All alteration in the text of a MS., however plausible and clever, is nothing else but a sophistication of the evidence at its fountain-head: however imperfect the information conveyed by the old scribe may be, it is still the only information we have, and, as such, ought to be made generally accessible in a reliable form." Preface to King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory’s Pastoral Care, by H. Sweet, p. viii, an edition in which the new method required for Anglo-Saxon study is well initiated. When a young man like Mr. Sweet is capable of doing such work as this, what may we not hope from his maturer years. His accurate knowledge of phonetics, and his careful powers of observation, to which frequent allusion has been made in these pages, lead us to expect the best results hereafter, if he only have opportunity to do the work he is so well qualified to produce.
The net result for our present investigations on English dialects is that all quantities here marked must be taken as provisional, that too much weight must not be attributed to the separation of long and short, and that in general a certain medial length may be assumed, which, when marked short, must not be much prolonged, and when marked long, must not be much shortened. But allowances must always be made for habit of speech, for intonation and drawing, for the grammatical collocation of the word, for emphasis and accent or force of utterance, for "broadness" and "thinness" of pronunciation—all of which materially influence quantity—as well as for those other points of difficulty already dwelt upon, and many of which are characteristic of speech in different districts. But for the practical writing of dialects, we must continue to make a separation of short and long, if for nothing else, at any rate as an indication of glides (1146, b). When we write [meet] = (mit), we seem to shut up the vowel too tightly, owing to the action of the consonant. This is not usual to the Scot, who says [meet] = (mit). Hence we hear the Scot say [mee't] = (miit), and when he really lengthens, in thieves (thiivz) = [theevz], we almost seem to want an extra sign, as [th:ceez] = (thiivz). For dialectal writing we do much if we keep two degrees, and use the long vowel really to mark a want of tightness in the glide on to the following consonant. The real value of our longs and shorts must not be taken too accurately. The writer had better give his first impression than his last, for the last has been subjected to all manner of modifying influences. We have simply nothing left like the quantity of quantitative languages.

iii. On Vowel Quality and its Gradations.

The quality of a tone is that which distinguishes notes of the same pitch, when played on different musical instruments. It is by quality of tone that we know a flute from a fiddle, organ, piano, harp, trombone, guitar, human voice. Prof. Helmholtz discovered that there exist simple tones, easily producible, but not usually heard in nature, and that the tones which generally strike the ear are compound, made up of several simple tones heard or produced at the

1 Many English dialects, like Hebrew, lengthen vowels "in the pause," i.e. at the close of a phrase or sentence.

2 A tuning fork gives nearly a simple tone; when held over a box of proper length, it produces a really simple tone. A e tuning fork, struck and held over the opening of any cylindrical vessel, tumbler, jar, wide-mouthed bottle, about six inches deep, will produce the required tone. The vessel may be tuned to the fork, by adding water to shorten it, and thus sharpen the tone, and by partly covering the aperture to flatten it. A jar thus tuned to e may be easily tuned to the a tuning fork below it, by still further covering the mouth. It is interesting to observe how suddenly the resonance changes from dull to bright. Every one who wishes to understand the vowel theory should study the first and second parts of Prof. Helmholtz's (161, d) Die Lehre von den Tonempfindungen, 3rd ed., Braunschweig, 1870, pp. 639. A translation of this work into English is at present engaging a large portion of my time, and I hope that it will be published at the close of 1874 by Messrs. Longman, for whom I am writing it, under the title: On the Sensations of Tone as a physiological basis for the theory of music. It is one of the most beautiful treatises on modern science, and is written purposely in a generally intelligible style.
same time. The relative pitches of those tones, that is, the relative numbers of complete vibrations of the particles of air necessary to produce them, made within the same time, are always those of the numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and so on, 1 representing the pitch of the lowest simple tone, which the ear receives practically as that of the whole compound tone. The quality of the compound tone depends on the relative force or loudness of its component simple tones, and this relative force is dependent on the mode of production. Now, in the case of the vowels, the mode of production resembles that of the French horn. In that instrument a hemispherical cup is pressed tight on the lips, which are closed. Wind is forced from the chest, opening the lips, which immediately close by their elasticity, assisted by the pressure of the rim of the cup, and this action being repeated with great rapidity, puffs of air come in regular succession into the cup or mouth-piece, and are transmitted through a small hole at the opposite extremity into a long tube (27 feet long nearly), the contents of which form a resonance chamber, which is naturally only able to resound to certain simple and compound tones. The puffs of the lips are not sufficiently rapid generally, on account of their want of elasticity, to produce the tones of the long tube itself, but they are able to set the air within it in motion, and the action of this confined air is powerful enough to make the lips vibrate properly. The tube can only give certain tones, dependent on the force of the impulse given by the lips; but by introducing the hand and arm at the bell-like opening of the tube, the shape of the resonance chamber is altered, and new tones can be produced, not however so bright and distinct as the others. Now, in the human voice, a pair of elastic bands or chords, pressed closely together in the larynx, serve the purpose of the lips, and produce the puffs of air, which pass through the upper part of the cartilaginous box (often nearly closed by its lid, the epiglottis) into a resonance chamber answering to the tube of the horn, which can have its shape marvellously altered by means of the muscles contracting the first part or pharynx, the action of the uvula in closing or opening the passages through the nose, and the action of the tongue and lips, which last much resembles that of the introduced hand and arm in the French horn.

There are, however, some essential points of dissimilarity between the two cases. Thus the resonant chambers in speech are small, and the resonance is not powerful enough to affect the vibrations of the vocal chords, so that the rapidity of the vibrations of these chords themselves determines the pitch and the full force of tone, while the resonant chambers can only vary the relative force of the different simple tones which compose the actual musical tone produced. It is entirely upon this variation of force that the different vowel effects depend, and, at the risk of being somewhat tedious, I shall venture to give some of the acoustical results, because they

1 It is almost impossible in such a work as the present to avoid repetitions. Some of the present matter was anticipated on p. 161, where the shape of the resonance tube is more fully described. It was found, however, insufficient for our present purpose merely to refer to that passage.
have not yet found their way into philological treatises, and are of the highest philological interest.

Suppose that the puffs of air produced by the vibrations of the vocal chords produce a musical note of the pitch known as B flat, on the second line of the bass staff. Then (in a way explained by Prof. Helmholtz by means of some of the most recent anatomical discoveries of the construction of the internal ear, and numerous experiments on so-called sympathetic vibration), the ear really hears not merely 1. that simple B flat, but the following among other tones in addition to it, namely, 2. the b flat next above it, 3. the f' above that, 4. the next b' flat, 5. the d'' above that, 6. the octave f' above the former f', 7. a note a little flatter than the next a'' flat, 8. the b'' flat above, 9. the next tone above c'', 10. the octave d'' of No. 5, 11. a tone not in the scale, a good deal sharper than e'' flat, 12. the octave f'' of No. 6, 13. a tone not in the scale, somewhat flatter than g'', 14. the octave of No. 7, a little flatter than a'' flat, 15. the major third a''' above f'', 16. b'' flat, the octave of No. 8, and so on, up to 24 or more, sometimes, in the human voice, especially when strained, where the numbers of vibrations in a second necessary to produce the notes written, are in proportion to the simple numbers 1, 2, 3, etc., of their order. These are the tones naturally produced on the B flat French horn. The mode of marking musical pitch just used is adopted pretty generally. The capitals C, D, E, F, G, A, B denote the octave from the lowest note of the violoncello upwards. The small letters c, d, e, f, g, a, b, the next higher octave, beginning on the second space of the bass staff. The once-accented letters c', d', e', f', g', a', b', the next higher octave, beginning at the note on the first ledger line above the bass and below the treble staff. The other higher octaves begin at c' on the third space of the treble staff; c'' on the second ledger line above the treble; and then c''' is the octave to that again. The reader will therefore easily be able to write out the notes here referred to in ordinary musical notation. These are, in fact, the simple tones out of which the compound tone heard may be conceived as formed. But in ordinary speaking the vocal chords do not act so perfectly as in singing, and many very high and dissonant simple tones are also produced.

Now the effect of the differently-shaped resonance chambers formed by placing the organs in the proper positions for the different vowels is to make some of these louder and some weaker, and the joint result gives us the vowel sensation. The shape or materials of the resonance chamber are quite indifferent. Hence it may happen that two or three different positions of the mouth may produce the same resonance. If so, they will give the same vowel. This is extremely important, because it shews that a prescribed position for a vowel is not necessarily the only position, but merely a known position, which will produce the required effect. It may also happen, that if a notation indicates a vowel by giving the form of its resonance chamber, two different symbols, though shewing different forms of that chamber, may denote the same vowel, because these different resonance chambers have the same resonance.

The resonance of a mass of air depends upon many conditions which are ill understood, and can be calculated only in a few cases. Generally it is determined by experiment. Prof. Helmholtz, Dr. Donders, and Dr. Merkel, with others, have thus endeavoured to determine the resonance of the air in the mouth for the vowels which they themselves utter. If we really knew those resonances accurately, the vowels would be determined. But this is far from being the case. We must indeed consider that these gentlemen pronounce the vowels which they write with the same letters, in appreciably different manners, as the results at which they have arrived are materially different. Prof. Helmholtz, however, has practically applied his result to the artificial generation of vowels. By holding a reed pipe tuned to the b flat just mentioned against a resonance box tuned to the same pitch, the result was a very fair (uu); changing the resonance box to one tuned an octave higher, to b' flat, the result was (oo); changing to a box tuned another octave higher, to b'' flat, the result was "a close A," perhaps (nah), while a box tuned a major third higher, to d'', gave "a clear A," perhaps (aa). He also obtained various grades of (ex, ex, ec, ii), by using as resonance boxes glass spheres, into whose external opening glass tubes, from two to four inches long, were inserted, thus
giving a "double resonance." This is a rough imitation of what really takes place in speaking. His previous experiments lead him to believe that, for his own North German pronunciation of the vowels, there are single resonances, namely \( f \) for (uu), \( b' \) flat for (oo), \( b'' \) flat for (aa), and double resonances (the lower for the back part of the mouth and the throat, and the higher for the narrow passage between the tongue and hard palate), namely, \( d'' \) and \( g'' \) for (ee), \( f' \) and \( b'' \) flat for (ee), \( f \) and \( d'' \) for (ii), \( f'' \) and \( c'' \) sharp for (oo), and \( f' \) and \( g'' \) for (yy).

But Prof. Helmholtz went further, and producing the series of tones just described on a series of tuning forks, which were kept in motion by electricity, and placed before resonance boxes in such a way that he had complete command over the intensity of the resonance, he actually made them utter vowels. Let \( p, mf, f, ff \) have their usual musical sense of piano, mezzoforte, forte, fortissimo, and indicate the loudness of the notes under which they are placed. The notes are exactly one octave higher than those formerly described. The vowels corresponded to the different intensities of the tones of the forks thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FORKS</th>
<th>b flat</th>
<th>b' flat</th>
<th>f'</th>
<th>b' flat</th>
<th>d''</th>
<th>f''</th>
<th>a'' flat</th>
<th>b'' flat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(uu)</td>
<td>f</td>
<td></td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(oo)</td>
<td>mf</td>
<td>mf</td>
<td>mf</td>
<td>mf</td>
<td>f</td>
<td></td>
<td>ff</td>
<td>ff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(aa)</td>
<td>mf</td>
<td>mf</td>
<td></td>
<td>mf</td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
<td>ff</td>
<td>ff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(EE)</td>
<td>mf</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>f</td>
<td></td>
<td>ff</td>
<td>ff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ee)</td>
<td>mf</td>
<td>mf</td>
<td></td>
<td>mf</td>
<td>mf</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The vowel (ee) was not well produced, because it was not possible to make the small forks corresponding to the very high notes \( f'', d'' \) flat, \( b'' \) flat, sound strongly enough, and still higher forks were wanted. For the same reason (ii) could not be got out at all. It would have required a much higher series of forks. The table shews at once that (uu) belongs to the low, (aa) to the middle, and (ii) to the high parts of the scale. The reader should, however, carefully remember that this table gives the relative loudness of the component simple tones only when the vowels are sung to the pitch \( b \) flat, and that if this pitch is altered the distribution of the loudness would be changed, the resonance chamber remaining unaltered. It is merely by the natural recognition of the effects of resonant chambers of nearly the same pitch, reinforcing the component simple tones of the sound which lie in their neighbourhood, that vowels are really characterised. We need not, therefore, be surprised at the vagueness with which they are habitually distinguished.

If this reinforcement of certain tones by the vowels exists in nature, the reinforced tones will excite some of the strings of a piano more than others. Hence the following striking and fundamental experiment, which every one should try, as it not only artificially generates vowels, but actually exhibits the process by which vowels are heard in the labyrinth of the ear, where an apparatus exists wonderfully resembling a microscopical pianoforte, with two or three thousand wires. Raise the dampers of a piano, and call out a vowel sharply and clearly on to the sounding-board or wires, pause a moment, and, after a slight silence giving the effect of "hanging fire," the vowel will be re-echoed. Re-damp, raise dampers, call another vowel, pause, and hear the echo. Change the vowel at pleasure, the echo changes. The experiment succeeds best when the pitch of one of the notes of the piano is taken, but the pitch may be the same for all the vowels. The echo is distinct enough for a room full of people to hear at once. The vowel is unmistakable; but, on account of the method of tuning pianos, not quite true.

A vowel then is a quality of tone, that is, the effect of increasing certain of the partial simple tones of which the compound tone uttered consists; and this augmentation depends on the pitch of the
note or notes to which the air inclosed in the mouth when the vowel is spoken will best resound. We cannot therefore be surprised at finding that vowel quality alters sensibly with the pitch or height at which the vowel is uttered. Thus on singing (ii) first to a high and then to a low pitch, the vowel quality will be found to alter considerably in the direction of (ii), and as we descend very low, it assumes a peculiarly gruff character, which only habit would make us still recognise as (ii). In fact, the vowel differs sensibly from pitch to pitch of the speaker's voice, which also varies with age and sex, and other causes, so that what we call our vowels are not individuals, scarcely species, but rather genera, existing roughly in the speaker's intention, but at present mainly artificially constituted by the habits of writing and reading. When, therefore, these habits are of no avail, as in scientifically examining unknown languages and dialects, the listener fails to detect the genus which probably the speaker feels, and hence introduces distinctions which the latter repudiates. Also the habits of different sets of speakers become so fixed and are so different in themselves, that those of one set have possibly many vowels not corresponding to those of the other, and hence they either cannot appreciate them at all, or merely introduce approximations which are misleading. This is one secret of "foreign accents." We have agreed to consider certain vowel qualities as standards from which to reckon departures. But we are really not able to reproduce those standards, except by such an apparatus as Helmholtz contrived, and even then so much depends upon subjective appreciation, which is materially influenced by the non-human method of production, that real standards may be said not to exist. And we are still worse off in ability to measure the departures from the standard as shewn by the metaphorical terms we employ to express our feelings. Practically in each country we fall back upon "received pronunciation," and how much that differs from person to person, how little therefore it approaches to an accurate standard, has already been shewn in §1 of this chapter.

A careful description of the positions of the tongue and lips in producing vowels is of great assistance (25, a), and practically is sufficient, when reduced to a diagrammatic form (p. 14), to teach deaf and dumb children to pronounce with perfect intelligibility, as I have witnessed in children taught by Mr. Graham Bell and Miss Hull (1121, c). Hence the real importance of basing the description of vowels upon the positions of the organ most generally used in producing them. This is Mr. Bell's plan. The diagrams on p. 14 are rough, and curiously enough do not shew the closure of the nasal passage by the action of the uvula, so that the figures really represent nasalised vowels. They give only 9 positions, manifestly inadequate. But each can be much varied. Thus, taking (e) as a basis, the tongue may be a little higher (e'), or lower (e), and in any of the three cases the point of least passage may be advanced (e), or retracted (e), thus giving 9 (e, e', e', e', e'), forms to each position. Again, the cavity behind the least passage may be entirely widened (e), or widened only in front of the arches of the soft palate (e'), or only behind it (e'), or more in front than behind (e'), or more behind than in front (e'). Supposing then that the cavity had not been particularly widened before or in the primary positions, each one of the preceding 9 forms gives six (e, e', e', e', e', e'), produced 6 times 9,
or 54 forms for each one of the original 9, and hence 9 times 54 or 486 forms altogether. Now on each of these 5 different kinds of "rounding" may act, that is, contractions of the aperture of the mouth as for (\(\text{a}, \text{o}, \text{u}\)), or contraction of the arches of the palate, thus \((\text{e}_{\text{a}}, \text{e}_{\text{o}}, \text{e}_{\text{u}}; \text{e}^*\))

for some of which distinct signs are provided, thus \((\text{e}_{\text{a}} = \text{e}, \text{e}_{\text{o}} = \text{e}), or pouting the lips. This adds 5 times as many forms, giving 6 times 486 or 2916 shapes of the resonance cavity for the nine original positions, and these are far from all the different shapes of the resonance cavity producible without the aid of the nose. For example, the contraction of the arches of the palate may be itself of various degrees, and may be combined with each of the contractions of the aperture of the mouth, which may or may not be pouted. But if we merely add two kinds of nasality, the French and Gaelic, as \((\text{e}_{\text{a}}, \text{e}_\text{r})\), we get twice as many additional forms, or, including the unnasalised, 3 times 2916, or 8748 forms, and these, as we have seen, are by no means all; but all these are easily written in palaeotype by the methods already described.

Of course these positions do not tell the result, but they tell how to get at the result, and in this way, as Mr. Bell expresses it, they produce Visible Speech, and his is the only system which does this systematically,—in the forms, as well as the conventional meanings, of his symbols. To discover the results, we must make experiments on ourselves—taking care to be out of earshot of others, because of the unearthly sounds we shall produce. It is best to take a good breath, and hold a familiar vowel, such as (ii, aa, uu) at the most comfortable pitch as long as possible unchanged. Begin with (ii), keeping lips very wide open. Next, keeping the position unchanged, try to change the vowel-sound by intention, and try to detect that you have not preserved your position when the vowel changes. Next begin (ii), and gradually, during one breath, alter the tongue, keeping the lips open. Next begin (ii), keep tongue fixed, and alter lips gradually, closing to perfect closure, reopening with side openings, pouted lips, varying lips. The variations of the vowel are wonderful. Do the same with (aa), and produce (oo) by rounding lips only. Next take (uu), observe the great difference of effect by moving the tongue only, and the effect of keeping the tongue still and opening the lips. Steady practice of the nature indicated will give not only great command of sounds, but great appreciation of those dialectal changes and affections of vowels-sounds with which we have to deal. These are things impossible to appreciate on paper only. But it is a great advantage to the investigator that he has his own vocal organs always ready for experiment, and if he does not take advantage of this, he has no one but himself to blame for want of understanding. If children, actually deaf from birth, can be got to produce excellent imitations of the peculiar English vowels, distinguishing readily (i) from (i), and (a) from (ae), as I have myself heard, there is no reason why those who can hear should not by similar training obtain much better results. All children should be taught to speak.

Now (ii) represents the effect produced with open lips, the middle of the tongue high, the pharynx narrow. It is a thin bad quality of tone for the singer, impossible on low notes, that is, its natural pitch, or the pitch mostly favoured by the shape of its resonance chamber, is so antagonistic to low notes, that its character is disguised, its purity "muddied," as it were, by lowering the pitch. This "muddying" is literally the German "trübung," and may be termed "obscuration."

1 Lepsius (Standard Alphabet, 2nd ed, p. 54) says with "broad lips," meaning with a long transverse aperture. This is not necessary. The corners of the lips should be kept apart, and the middle of the lips may be as widely separated as we please, and the wider the separation the clearer the (i). Still, in quietly uttering the series of vowels (i, e, a, o, u), before a glass, it will be seen that for (i) the lips form a narrowish horizontal slit, which opens wider for (e), and becomes comparatively vertical for (a), the corners being apart in all; then the corners come together for (o) and most for (u).
Again (uu) represents the effect produced with lips so nearly closed as to leave only a small central aperture, the back (not middle) of the tongue high, nearly as high as for (k), and the pharynx narrow. It is a hollow round sound, extremely simple in character, that is, being almost a simple tone, and hence penetrating, but its pitch is naturally low, and it is impossible to sing without "muddiness" at high pitches.

These are evidently extreme positions. But (aa) is produced with lips moderately open, distinctly not rounded by closing the outer corners of the lips, a tolerably flat tongue, with the back not nearly so high as for (uu), and the pharynx open. It has a very complicated composition out of partial tones, and a pitch of moderate height, so that it accommodates itself even to high or low notes without much "muddying." Obscuration is most felt on the low tones which err on the side of (uu); the upper ones err on the side of (ii), and make the vowel too "thin."  

These three vowels (i, a, u) exist in perfection in the Italian, and possibly Castillian. They do not exist in great perfection in English. There, (ii) is frequently obscured, or has its quality deteriorated, by widening of the pharynx, descending to (ii), or, by slightly lowering the tongue, to (ee', ee'). The (uu) is better, but also inclines often to (uu), not, however, reaching (uuh). The (aa) rises to (aah), which is a bright sound, though inclining to the roughness of (ee), or else sinks to (aa), which is much duller, and has almost the effect of rounding. These are the tendencies in the cultivated received pronunciation. In the dialects we shall find both (ii) sinking and (aa) rising to (ce), and (aa) also sinking to (aa, AA), and even (oo, oo); while (uu) approaches (oo) by a peculiar alteration of the lips, or arches of the palate, without the tongue, giving (uu,) or (uu'). These alterations correspond to the effects of Grimm's weakening, but weakening is hardly an appropriate term. If we consider the nature of the alterations, they are found to consist in modifying the resonance chamber, and hence changing its vowel effect, by raising or lowering parts of the tongue, by opening or still further closing and "rounding" the lips, and by widening the pharynx. To none of these can the term "weakening" well apply. But the (ii) sounds a thin whistling effect, the (ee) sounds a rattling reediness, the (aa) sounds an open sonorousness, the (oo) sounds a round fullness, the (uu) sounds a hollow roundness, and we may consider that (ii) or (aa) degrades in passing to (ee), and (oo) in passing to (uu). The sounds (aa, oo), which differ only in the position of the lips, are the best sounds we have, and the passage of one into the other is on a level. It has been very frequently made in our dialects.

A slight alteration, however, materially affects the quality of the resonance. The qualities of the vowels (o a o e) are rough.  

1 To understand the effect of vowel quality in music, sing a simple stave, as the first part of God save the Queen, first with the vowel (i) only, then with (a) only, then with (u) only, and first at an easy pitch, then as high, and lastly as low as the voice will permit, with long sustained tones.
That is, the resonance cavities, which are not well adapted for selecting good sets of simple tones, allow component tones to co-exist which more or less beat or grate, and the general effect is dull and unsonorous. Yet (ε, ι, ο) are merely (u, o, a) with the lips open, and (ο) is (ah) with the pharynx narrowed. Of these (ο) does not seem to occur even dialectally in English, but (ε), I think, does. Both (ε, ο) are frequent, and must be considered as obscurations of vowels for which the positions are nearly the same, such as (aa oo oo, ah, e e ε ε). If Mr. Bell is right, (υ, α) also frequently occur in the same capacity. Here (ε) is (u) with open lips, and (ο) is merely (ο) with a lower tongue. All the flat-tongued mixed vowels (y, ι, ο) have an obscure disagreeable quality of tone, but they are easy to produce in a lazy manner, and hence are very frequent in dialectal English. The qualities of (ε, ι, ο, ω), however, are so much alike, that I feel no certainty in separating them from one another and from (ο). I follow my authorities in each case, but consider their conclusions to be provisional, and that the whole question awaits future judgment. These obscurations mainly occur during remission of accent or emphasis, and consequently they present themselves in far the greater number of English syllables. But the change of sonorous vowels occurs also in accented syllables.

Thus in dialects accented (ι, i, ε, ι) are all likely to be mixed together by the hearer, the real sound perhaps being something different from all, or even varying through all in different speakers or the same speaker at different times. Unaccented, they fall into (y, ι).

Again, (ε, ι, ο) are far from being well separated in accented syllables. No certainty can generally be felt respecting (ε, ι), and few care to distinguish (ε, ο). When unaccented, all become (ι). Again, (α, ah, α, ι) ε) on the one hand, and (α, ι, α, α, ο), on the other, pass into one another when accented. Unaccented, all become (ο). And not unfrequently, when accented, they approach (ι).

But (ο, υ) more frequently interchange with (ι), the former directly, the latter perhaps through (υ), its delabialised form, or through (υο) or (υ), which strangely vary as (ο, ι).

When one of the former in the group (ι, i, ε, ε), or in the group (ε, ε, ε, ε), is replaced by one of the latter, the action is often called thickening or broadening, the pitch of the resonance chamber being lowered. The converse action, going from one of the latter to one of the former, is called thinning or narrowing, the pitch of the resonance chamber being raised. In the first case the vowel is strengthened, in the latter weakened. But when any vowel of the first set falls into (y), or either set into (e, υ), it is obscured.

1 There are probably always many kinds of resonance, and when the cavities are unfavourably constituted, there are reinforcements not only of dissonant or beating higher components, but there are also sounds produced by friction, and divided streams of air, and eddies, all of which will beat, and produce noises which mingle with the true vowel quality. Such noises are never absent from speech, and distinguish it from song. It is one of the great problems of the singer to eliminate them altogether.
When one of the former is replaced by one of the latter in (a, ah, æ, e), it is said to be thinned or narrowed; and when one of the latter is replaced by one of the former, it is said to be broadened, widened, thickened, flattened, etc. And the same terms are used when one of the former falls into one of the latter in (a, a, ʌ) or (a, o, ɔ). The effect of the "rounding" or shading by the lips is always to produce a sensation of thickness, because it disqualifies the mass of air within the mouth from resounding to the component simple tones of a higher pitch, and hence removes the brightness and fullness of the tone, and gives it a dull hollow character, which this term is meant to express.

The passage in the direction (o, ə, u) is also one of thickening, and (œ) or (u') is felt to be very thick indeed. When we come to (u), the tone feels lighter again. This arises from the disappearance of most of the component simple tones. The sound (æ), or a vowel produced by keeping the lips in the (u) position, and lowering the tongue to the (a) position, is the dullest possible (u). It is recognised by Helmholtz as the true type of (u), because it leaves the mouth nearly like a sphere with a very small external aperture, and is the real extreme vowel. It possibly occurs dialectally, as do also, I think, (ø, œ) and various other modifications of (u).

Any approach to (v, ʌ, æ, ə, ɔ) from any quarter is recognised as obscuration. This, as already mentioned, apparently depends on a want of adaptation of the resonance chamber to qualities of tone which are free from beats.

It is thus seen that the effects described by all manner of theoretical terms depend upon the physiological action of the relative loudness of component simple tones, and the scientific study of the relations of vowel qualities is, like music in general, reduced to an investigation of the effects of altering the intensities of these same components. This it is beyond our present purpose to do more than indicate. But we see generally that thinness or hollowness depends upon a bad filling up of the compound tone; the thin tones wanting force in the lower, and the hollow tones in the higher components. Thick tones seem to have several lower components strongly developed (as in the sesquialtera stop on the organ), and the upper comparatively weak. The obscure rough tones arise from beating components due to imperfection of resonance.

In (œ) and (æ) we seemed to have reached the acme of thickness, in (u) the components were almost reduced to the lowest simple tone, but, in consequence, the tone was not thin. If, however, the position of the tongue be slightly changed, so that it glides from the (u) to the (i) position, the lips remaining unchanged, a peculiar mixture of the hollowness of (u) and thinness of (i) results, the German (ɪ), or, with wider pharynx, the French (y). Whether these sounds occur in our dialects or not is disputed. Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte inclines to (y₁) or (ɔ'), which has not quite so high a position of the tongue as (y). In either case the result is that of weakening (u), although, for reasons which will appear in the next sub-number iv, I feel doubtful as to whether the replacing of (u)
by \((y)\) or \((y_1)\), which occurs in Devonshire, Norfolk, and Scotland, is really due to this desire of thinning or weakening. In precisely the same way \((o)\), by a still slighter alteration of the tongue to the \((e)\) position, produces \((o)\), which, on widening the pharynx, gives \((\omega)\). As \((o)\) replaces \((\imath)\) in Scotch, one is not surprised to hear \((o)\) in place of \((y)\) or \((y_1)\), and Mr. Murray recognises \((o)\), or the French \(eu\) in \(peu\), in his own dialect, rather than \((y_1)\), which lies between \(eu\) in \(peu\) and \(u\) in \(pu\). In point of fact this \((o)\) is a "weakened" \((u)\) reduced to \((o)\). The lips are opener, and the middle of the tongue is higher; but the quality of the tone is not only thinner, it is obsurer. That is, it approaches to that of \((\alpha)\). When we get to \((\alpha)\), this approach is still nearer, and few Englishmen, without study, distinguish \((\alpha, o)\) and \((\alpha, \omega)\), and many mix them all up together. In precisely the same way, Frenchmen and Germans hear \((\alpha, a)\) as \((\alpha, \omega)\). The \((\alpha)\) is a still nearer approach. Yet in \((\alpha, a, \omega)\) there is no rounding of the lips. This is an example of how very closely approximating sounds can be produced by very different forms of the resonance chamber. The \((\alpha)\) is supposed by Mr. Baird to occur in Devonshire, where it appears in the diphthong \((\omega y_1)\), an alteration of \((\omega u)\), where first the \((u)\) is "thinned" into \((y_1)\), and then \((o)\) is by "attraction"—in fact by transmutation, owing to the preparation for \((y_1)\)—thinned or obscured, in fact palatalised, into \((\alpha)\). It is possible that some speakers say \((\omega e y)\) or \((\omega \omega y)\), rather than \((\omega e y)\). The diphthongs are probably due to different appreciations of intentionally the same sounds, as heard from different individuals and by different observers.

Finding such hovering sounds, we can no longer be surprised at an original distribution into three \((i, a, u)\), in Sanscrit, at a subsequent development into five \((i, e, a, o, u)\) in the same language, which became \(eight\) in Greek \((i, e, e, a, o, u, y)\). The separation of \((e, e)\) and \((o, o)\) is, however, too fine for this stage, which practically reduces to \(six\) \((i, e, a, o, u, y)\), and this becomes \(seven\) by the addition of \((\omega)\), which must be held to include \((o)\) on the one hand, and \((\alpha)\) on the other. The vowel scale \((I, E, A, O, U, Y, \Omega E)\) practically includes all the "classes" of unnasalised sounds which are recognised, each clearly distinct from the other, and indicated, for convenience, by capitals. They form the "natural" classification, as distinct from any artificial one. But on going into details, we find many sounds which we cannot satisfactorily fit into any class, and other "transitional" sounds which lead the way from class to class. Thus let \((i)\) be developed and distinguished from \((i)\). These two stages are by no means coexistent; for example, \((i)\) has long been developed in English, but phonologists have only quite recently distinguished it from \((i)\), Dr. Thomas Young having been one of the first to do so \((106, \delta)\). Then \((i)\) at once leads on to \((e)\), and the passage is rendered easier by the development and distinction of \((e)\), thus \((i, i, e, e)\). By a similar process \((e)\) generated from \((e)\), and first \((ah)\) and then \((a)\) generated from \((a)\), give the transition \((e, e, a, ah, a)\). Again, \((a)\) develops first \((a)\), and then \((\alpha)\), in the direction of \((o)\); for although the change from \((a)\) to \((o)\) is most
§ 2. No. 6. iii.

VOWEL SCALE.

1285

easy and rapid, yet when we come to hear the intermediate sounds, we
recognise the bridge as being (a, a, ʌ, ə, o), the (o) being on the one
hand confused with (a), which is again confused with (a), and on
the other with (o). The next bridge is (o, ə, u, u). Then begins
the shift of the tongue through the first series (i, e, a), and we have
the bridge (y, ə, ʌ, əh). We have here very nearly reached (a),
whence (ə, ə, y) lead up again to (i) through (i). Thus we obtain
a much extended vowel-scale, which may be grouped under the
former seven heads, thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>U</th>
<th>Y</th>
<th>Ε</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ah</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ə</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ʌ</td>
<td>əh</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This only gives 24 vowels out of our 36. The peculiar (uₒ) or (u⁵),
which would lie thus (o uₒ u) or (o u⁵ u), and (y₁) lying thus
(y y₁ ə), with several un-English varieties, are also omitted. Many
of the rest cannot be placed exactly linearly.

No linear form of expressing relationships of natural phenomena
ever succeeds. The above line does not shew the relation of (I) to
(Y), or of (Ε) to (E) and (O), and in fact, if (a) belongs to the
family (Ε), of (Ε) to (A). This is partially accomplished by a
triangular arrangement, much used, and very attractive, thus:

```
A
I
E
O
Y
U
```

We must remember, however, that the (A, E, I) and (A, O, U)
limbs of this triangle are essentially distinct in mode of formation
and effect, that the “means” (E, O) are really not on a level in
respect either of quality or physiological position, and that the
“extremes” (I, U) are still more diverse. Also the central stem,
(Ε, Y), although necessarily attractive to Germans on account of
their umlaut, is not a real mean between the limbs, as its situation
would imply. Generally (Y) has the tongue position of (I) and lip
position of (U), and (Ε) the tongue position of (E) and the lip
position of (O), but (U, O) have tongue positions, and (I, U) lip
positions, of their own; and, taking resonance, we do not find the
resonances of (Y; Ε) compounded of the resonances of (I, U) and
(E, O) respectively. Hence such an arrangement as

```
I
E
A
O
U
Y
Ε
```

has even more significance.

The triangle has been greatly developed by various writers.
Lepsius begins by comparing the vowel families to colours, but
does not hit on exactly the same relations as Grimm (1269, 4), for,
like the blind man who imagined scarlet to be like the sound of a
trumpet, he makes (Standard Alphabet, p. 47)

```
A
E
I
Y
O
U
analogue
orange
brown
violet
red
yellow
green
blue
```

which, as before, misses the actual analogies between musical pitch
and optical colour. The “indistinct vowel-sound from which,
according to the opinion of some scholars, the other vowels, as it
were, issued and grew into individuality," which should be the undifferentiated voice ('h), he compares to grey, "which also does not belong to the series of individual colours;" does brown?

This triangle Lepsius develops by separating (E) into (e, e, æ), (O) into (o, o, ə), and (Œ) into (œ, œ, Œ), as I presume I may interpret his examples, because he distinguishes the last (œ) from the "indistinct vowel," in which he seems to mix up ('h, u, ə). He thus gives, as "the complete pyramid of the European vowels,"

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{a} & \text{æ} & \text{A} & \text{o} \\
\text{e} & \text{ə} & \text{o} & \text{u} \\
\end{array}
\]

but he is very anxious to omit "the second row," and consequently proposes to identify the vowels in 1) English past, heart (aa), French mâle (aa), German that (aa, aa); 2) English hat (æ), French mâle (a, ah), German hat (a, a); 3) English hut, fur (œ, æ), French heurter (œ, æh), German hörner (œ); 4) English naught, war (A), French cor (o), what, hot (o), French note (o, o), oh, German sonde (o, o). Of course such identifications do not represent national habits. Lepsius's English vowels are given by the words 1 past, 2 heart, 3 hat, 4 head, 5 hate, 6 swear, 7 heat, 8 hit, 9 year, 10 hut, 11 fur, 12 naught, 13 hot, 14 war, 15 note, 16 borne, 17 hoot, 18 hood, 19 moor, which, judging from the values assigned to his symbols by German examples, and using ('r) for 'vocal r,' seem to be considered as, 1 aa, aa, 2 a'r, 3 æ, 4 e, e, 5 ee, 6 e'r, 7 i, 8 i', 9 i'r, 10 a, 11 œ'r, 12 Àa, 13 À, 14 À'r, 15 oo, 16 o'r, 17 uu, 18 u, 19 u'r. Hence omitting the ('r), and disregarding quantity, and the confusions (a, a, e, e), Lepsius admits only (a æ e i, ə æ, ə o u) as English vowels, disregarding (i, o, u), and recognising (æ).

But even this triangle does not suffice for the Slavonic and Wallachian relations, where two vowels are met with which Lepsius describes thus, in our notation for tongue and lip position, taking the lip positions of (i, e, a) as three unrounded degrees of opening (1280, d'). In the first place his u is (u), "the tongue drawn back in itself, so that in the forepart of the mouth a cavity is left," which agrees with Helmholtz's u (1283, b), and may perhaps be considered as the German u, related to (bh) in the same way as the English u, with the back of the tongue raised, is related to (w). The tongue-position for Lepsius's u is therefore that for our (À), the lip-position being the same as for our (u), and this is the meaning of

1 This retraction of the tongue for (À) I frequently found useful when desiring to examine the throat of a child, who, when he opens his mouth, usually stuffs his tongue uncomfortably in the way, from not knowing what to do with it, and is always annoyed by having it held down by a spoon or paper knife, which he naturally struggles against. I used to say, "Open your mouth, and say (AA) as long as you can." The tongue disappeared immediately, and the examination was conducted without difficulty. "Parents and guardians will please to notice!" and also to notice that they must shade their own mouth and nose when examining, so as to avoid the dangerous miasma almost always exhaled from a diseased throat.
\( \text{(a)} \) Then he makes \((y) = (i)\), but makes the Russian \(\text{bI}\) or Polish \(\text{y} = (\text{a})\), or \((u)\), taking the \(u\) he describes, \(^1\) and \((\text{e}) = (\text{e})\), but the Walachian \(\text{a}\), etc. = \((\text{o})\). He would therefore arrange his triangle thus:

```
\[ a \]
```

\[ e \quad e_0 \quad o \quad u \]

\[ i \quad i_u \]

which is very pretty, if correct. But Prince L. L. Bonaparte, as will be presently seen, identifies the Wallachian sound with \((\text{a}) = (\text{a})\), being delabialised \((\text{a})\), which would have the tongue lower and the lips opener than \((\text{o})\), the real representative of \((\text{a})\). Between \((\text{a}, \text{e})\) the difference is not really very great, yet, if I am right in my appreciation of the Forest of Dean sound of \(\text{u}\) as \((\text{ae})\), it is very sensible. The Russian sound has been hitherto treated in this work as \((\text{x})\), and the Prince, being familiar with this sound before he heard the Welsh \(u\), which seems to = \((y)\), felt the connection to be so great, that he at first confused them, and afterwards connected them, as Bell did \((y, x)\). But he recognises a guttural character about the Russian sound, which is absent in the Welsh. For a long time I have entertained the same opinion, and hence, on the principle of \((1100, d', 1107, o)\), I represent it by \((x)\), thereby maintaining an elevation of the flat tongue and a widening of the pharynx behind the arches of the palate, which gives my sensations when attempting to reproduce the sound. In this case, however, the prettiness of Lepsius's triangle is somewhat deteriorated, and it becomes:

```
\[ a \]
```

\[ c \quad \varepsilon \quad \varepsilon \quad o \quad u \]

\[ i \quad y \quad x \quad u \]

Brücke, \(^2\) unable to accommodate all the vowels which he recognises in one triangle, or as he, with most Germans, terms it "pyramid," constructs four such. The first seems to be:

```
\[ a \]
```

\[ e \quad \tilde{\varepsilon} \quad \text{e} \quad o \quad o \]

\[ i \quad x \quad \text{u} \quad y \]

in which, instead of a central stem, there is a central triangle. These are considered to be all the "perfectly formed" vowels, and Englishmen will notice that some of their most familiar vowels \((\text{i}, \text{ae}, \text{a}, \text{o}, \text{u})\) are absent. These are partly provided for in another scheme of "imperfectly formed" vowels, — the "imperfection" existing, of course, only physiologically in Dr. Brücke's own at-

\(^1\) Lepsius gives two accounts, first, "the lips take the broad," meaning horizontally transverse, "position of the \(i\), and the tongue is withdrawn as in the \(u\);" this, with his value of \(u\), gives \((\text{a})\), as in the text. But he afterwards says that in forming this vowel "the middle tongue is lifted up to the palatal [coronal] point in the middle of the hard roof of the palate; from this point it slopes down almost perpendicularly, so as to leave a cavity between this point and the teeth." This is not quite the same, because for \((\text{a})\) the tongue is simply laid down and back in the lower jaw, but the second description implies some connection between the tip of the tongue and the coronal point of the palate.

tempts at pronouncing them. Each one of the above vowels has its "imperfect" form, giving the following pyramid, where (?) represents a sign used by Dr. Brücke, of which he gives no explanation beyond such as is furnished by its locality:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{?} & \text{?} & \text{?} & \text{?} \\
\text{?} & \text{?} & \text{?} & \text{?} \\
\text{?} & \text{?} & \text{?} & \text{?} \\
\end{array}
\]

The other two pyramids are merely the nasals formed by adding (\(\Lambda\)) to these signs. The relations between the ordinary vowels, where all nasal resonance is cut off by closing the entrance to the nose with the uvula, and the nasal vowels, where this entrance is opened, are not so completely understood as could be desired. The forms (\(a, a\)) indicate that the tongue and lips are in the position for (a), but that the uvula is very differently situate, and this, even if the entrance to the nose were cut off by other means, would essentially modify (a) by the opening out of the upper portion of the pharynx, introducing a new resonance chamber, and by the flapping about of the soft uvula. How far the resonance can be affected by stiffening the entrance, or making the entrance to the upper part of the pharynx more or less open, or by some internal action on the membranes of the nasal passages, is not known, has in fact scarcely been studied at all. The two kinds of "nasality" indicated by affixing (\(\lambda\)) or (\(\Lambda\)) to an ordinary vowel-symbol, and the choice of that vowel, are altogether uncertain, as indeed is shown by the various opinions expressed regarding such well-known sounds as the French nasals.

Prof. Haldeman (op. cit. 1186, d., art. 369) endeavours to combine all these vowel-sounds in a single triangle with a central core. See his English vowels, supra pp. 1189–93. The ? in this triangle marks doubtful identification with his vowel-symbols, but a brief key is added.

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{Fr.} & \text{âme} & a & \text{e} \text{urn} \\
\text{owe} & a & \text{a} & \text{Suabian} ? \\
\text{odd} & e & \text{add} & \\
\text{Italian} & o & \text{e} & \text{Coptic} ? \\
\text{Fr.} & o & \text{e} & \text{Fr.} & \text{Suabian} ? \\
\text{owe} & o & \text{e} & \text{there} & \\
\text{obey} & o & \text{e} & \text{Fr.} & \text{ebb} \\
\text{Italian} & u & \text{r} & \text{Gudjarat'hi} ? \\
\text{Swedish} & u & \text{v} & \text{Swedish} & \text{Fr.} \text{e} ? \\
\text{feel} & u & \text{x} & \text{Russian} & \text{i pín} \\
\text{pull} & u & \text{y} & \text{Fr.} & \text{u} & \text{i machine} \\
\text{y} & \text{Welsh} & \text{u} \\
\end{array}
\]

Prof. Whitney, as will be seen in the latter part of No. 7, makes the
triangular arrangement with central stem an instrument for shewing the relations between vowels and consonants.

The conception of a double triangle has been united with that of a central stem by Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte. Omitting the nasals, and some other signs, such as (oh oh u, 'w 'j 'v'), which tend somewhat to obscure the general symmetry, as the complete form will be given on p. 1298, the following is in principle the Prince’s double triangle, in palaeotypic characters.

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{a} & \text{A} \\
\text{ah} & \text{e} & \text{oh} & \text{U} & \text{u} & \text{u}^1 \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c}
& \text{A} & \text{E} & \text{I} & \text{a} & \text{ae} & \text{e} & \text{u} & \text{u}^1 \\
\hline
\text{e} & \text{E} & \text{E} & \text{ae} & \text{e} & \text{u} & \text{u}^1 & \\
\text{e}^1 & \text{E} & \text{E} & \text{a} & \text{ae} & \text{e} & \text{u} & \text{u}^1 & \\
\end{array}
\]

On comparing these arrangements with Bell’s (p. 15), it will be seen that the inner triangle corresponds generally to ‘primary’ and the outer to ‘wide’ forms, and that in the central stem, the right-hand column is ‘primary,’ and the left-hand ‘wide,’ while the only ‘rounded’ forms are all those in the classes (O, U, Y, O). But to carry out this last restriction, apparently, the forms (o, a, o, u, oh, o, o), which have to me all more or less a tinge of the (O) quality, and which are practically constantly confounded together and with those here assigned to the (O) family, are given to the (A) family. The great peculiarity of this triangle, however, consists in not terminating the (A E I) and (A O U) limbs by the typically closest positions of the series. It will be seen that the first terminates with (y x), and that the series then extends along the base, through (i i), where the closest position is reached, to the labialised central core (i), where the palato-labial series commences. And the second limb terminates with (u u), which again are not so close as (u^1 u^1), and these go on to (v), which is almost on the central core, and leads up to (y), where the labial series is palatalised, and the palato-labial series commences on this side, and so on to (i). Hence the base of the triangle would probably be best represented by two curves sweeping from I to Y, and from U to Y, where they unite, and proceed in a vertical line through CE to A, and then (i, u) would be outside, and (i, u, v) just inside, so that the ‘wide’ and ‘primary’ vowels would be kept distinct. By drawing these lines on the printed scheme, together with the limbs A E I, A O U, a better conception of this extremely ingenious arrangement will be obtained.

This double triangle, with central stem and curved base, exhibits the relation of vowel gradations in a very convenient form, and may help many readers to a better conception of certain “intermediate” forms, than any long physiological description of the forms of resonance chamber by which they are produced. The
identifications of the Prince's symbols with palaeotype are practically his own, with the exception of (n), which is a theoretical intermediate form, for which he has given no key-word, but see (1108, a). That the forms with (\(I\)) precisely represent the same as are produced by the physiological actions these signs were introduced to symbolise (1107, \(d\)), may be sometimes doubtful. Nevertheless, for a study of vowel relations, this triangle, here printed from the Prince's unpublished papers, is of more material value than any of the other triangular arrangements which have been cited above, though they all serve more or less accurately to shew the subjective relations of the vowels by which the changes have been generally estimated. But the real causes of the changes are certainly to be sought in the relations of position of tongue, lips and pharynx, and the more or less careless habits of speakers in assuming definite relations, dependent upon the ease with which approximations to definite position, and hence quality of tone, are appreciated. This readiness of appreciation, or perhaps of confusion under one conceived genus, is due, probably, to the necessarily wide varieties in the qualities of tone usually identified by the speaker himself, which arise from difference of pitch, already mentioned, and emotional modifications. It must be remembered, however, in this connection, that what one nation, or tribe, or clique, is in the habit of confusing, another is in the habit of distinguishing. To an Englishman it is indifferent how he modifies his pitch in speaking, to a Chinese such modifications are all important.

All such changes from a vowel in one part of the scale, to another not far remote on either side, may be called gradations (1281, \(d\)), and we may say that a vowel thus replaced is gradated, a general term, avoiding the usual metaphors of weakening, strengthening, etc., or even degradation.

It must not, however, be supposed that dialectal speakers are indifferent to their vowel qualities. Each speaker is tolerably clear about the matter, till he is questioned, and then, like the educated speaker, he becomes bewildered or doubtful. Also, in using his words in different collocations, he unconsciously uses different sounds. Also, when the listener attempts to give him back his sound, almost certainly incorrectly, the native speaker is apt to acknowledge as identical what are really different, or to find immense differences where the listener felt hardly an appreciable distinction. Again, dialectal speakers vary greatly from one another, when the finer forms of elements are considered. The investigator generally knows but few. Hence he is apt to be deceived. Are we to suppose that the great varieties of Early English spelling are due simply and always to carelessness or ignorance? My dialectal experience leads me to think that much may be due to difficulties of appreciation and varieties of pronunciation, and that some of the best spelling, by the most careful men, such as Orrmin and Dan Michel, even when consistent (which, as we know, is not always the case), may give sharp subjective distinctions, and may contain accommodations to alphabetic resources, which are not correct as real representatives of the language spoken. My own personal experience of phonetic
writers, during many years, leads me to a similar conclusion. For older hired scribes, who wrote before the inauguration of a mechanical system of spelling, to settle all questions by an iron rule, and while letters really represented sounds to an appreciable extent, another cause may have acted. They wrote much from dictation, or when they wrote from 'copy,' they transferred the word into sound in their heads, and they were so slow in forming the letters that they laboured an analysis of the sound as they went on. This naturally varied as they used the word after intervals or in different connections. It does so with every one; this is the mere outcome of experience. But with the old scribe the result was a corresponding alteration of spelling. The word was considered in isolation, hence its rhythmical or rhyming qualities did not enter into consideration. The analysis was uncertain, hence it altered. It was tinctured by the local habits of the scribe, with whom, therefore, the spelling changed also in generic character. The point least thought of was the general habit of pronunciation, because it was really unknown, and there was no early standard. It seems to me that very much of the varieties of our early MSS. can be thus accounted for, and some puzzling, but not frequent, groups of letters satisfactorily explained.

The net result then for our dialectal examples is that only class changes can be tolerably well ascertained, such as (I) into (E), (A) into (E), (A) into (O), (E) into (A), (O) into (A) or (U), (U) into (O) or (Y), and all into (E), including (æ). Unmistakable instances of all these will be found, but whether they are due to the feelings of weakening, thickening, narrowing, broadening, obscurcation, or to physiological relations of the parts of speech, or, as I am often inclined to think, to hereditary and imperfect imitations of fashions for some unknown reasons assumed as models, does not seem to be determinable with our present very limited stock of knowledge. Alterations stated to occur within classes, orthoepical distinctions of (i, ï), of (e, e) or (e, ё), of (ah, a, a), of (æ, o, o), of (o, o), of (u, u), of (y, ё), of (æ, e), of (æ, o), (x, v, ё), are all extremely doubtful. When exhibited in phonetic writing, they must be taken on the word of the investigator as the best distinctions he was able to make at the time, to be corrected when his "personal equation" is known. Experience, gathered from myself and others, has convinced me that opinions alter widely, and within short intervals, while listening to repeated utterances of the same speaker, as to the precise shade of sound heard. Hence I consider that it would be premature to draw absolute conclusions from them. We know in France and Germany that much confusion as to (æ, о) prevails. The French distinguish (e, е) sharply, and so do the Italians. The French also distinguish (o, o), but the Italians have (o, uh) in their place.¹ All this is easy when we have written documents and much

¹ Prince L. L. Bonaparte does not make precisely these distinctions. He gives what is here marked (x, ё) in French as (e, e), and what is marked (o, o) in French and (o, uh) in Italian as (e, o) in both. It is certainly sufficient for intelligibility to make the distinctions (e, e; o, o) in both, and
discussion. Both fail for our dialects, where a strict consideration of sound is quite in its infancy.

most probably individuals in different localities, even of the highest education, differ materially as to the precise distinction they make, and believe most firmly that their own habits are universally adopted by received speakers.

Since the above note was in type, I have had a curious confirmation of the correctness of this conjecture. Mr. Henry Sweet informed me (6th Feb., 1874), on his return from Holland, where he had had an opportunity of examining the pronunciation of Dr. Donders, Prof. Land, and Prof. Kern, to whom I have had occasion to allude at length (1102, 1109, d' to 1110, 1111, b), that they have each different pronunciations, and that each considers his own not only the correct, but the general pronunciation. The following notes, with which he has furnished me, are interesting, not only in this respect, but in reference to the passages just cited. The letters D, L, denote Donders and Land, and when they are not used, the pronunciation is general.

Mr. Ch. is [or, as Mr. Sweet's pronunciation sounded to me, (a)] before (l), otherwise (a).

aa = (aa), as in Danish, maan (maan).

e = (e), bed, (bet), sometimes (w), gebed (gewebe\'t), D only.

ee = (ee), L, (ee) D; been (been) L, (been) D, the diphthong quite distinct.

ie = (ee), L, (ee) D; meer (meer) L, (meer) D, so that L follows English use.

e unaccented = (e), de goede man (de ghu\'e maan). The d between two vowels often becomes (w) or (j); Leyden is (Lei\'en), the first (e) running on to the (j) as a diphthong, the final (n) being dropped as usual. This final -e is always pronounced when written, except in een, een man, eene vrouw, een vrouw, (an-man, an-vrou, een vrou).

i = (i) or (ei), Scotch i, unaccented often (o), twentig (twen-tikh).

ie = (i) short, except before r, niet (niet), bier (biir).

o, from original o, = (o) L, (o) D; slot (slot) L, (slot) D.

a, from original a, = (a) L, Danish aan (a) D; bok (bok) L, (bok) D.

oo = (oo) L, (ou) D, boom (boom) L, (boor) D.

oo = (o, o) D, boor (boor) L, (boor) D.

v = (a, e, sh), dun = (dan, don, d\'ohn).

w = (i), minimul (mini\'t), zuur (zuur).

ou = (oo) L, (ou) D, neuw = (new) L, (nu\'w) D.

ov = (eer) L, (er) D, deur = (deuer) L, (der) D.

aai = (aai).

et, ij = (e\'i). Prof. Kern, a Gelderlander, makes et = (e\'i) and ij = (ah\'i) [see Dr. Gehle's pronunciation (293, o)]. L artificially distinguishes ee as (w), and ij as (e\'i), probably learned in Friesland; in ordinary speech he makes both (e\'i).

aau, ou = (o\'u) L, (ou) D, blauw (blou) L, (blue) D, koud (k\'uut) L, (kout) D.

ui = (oh\'w, ah\'i), huis (huis\'je\'s), lui (lo\') (lo\'), final. The (oh) is slightly more guttural than in the English err. [Dr. Gehle said (nh\'e\'s), at least such was his intention, compare the Devonshire diphthong below, No. 10, subdialect 41; Mr. Hoets, from the Cape of Good Hope, was satisfied with (6\'i), as in French o\'e.]

w = (bh), v = (v), f = (f), wat vat fat (bhat vat fat); v and w are always distinct, v is often whispered (v), and appears sometimes to be made voiceless (f), so that it is confused with f (in Amsterdam). Land's slagen onomat or explosive (n) [at which Donders was equally surprised with myself (1103, 6)] is made by drawing the upper lip over the upper teeth so as to cover the interstices without touching the upper lip at all; if the upper lip is touched, the effect is too near to (b). It is peculiar to Land, who, however, hears it always both in Dutch and German. Neither L nor D hear North German w as (v), although identified with (v) by Lepsius and Brücke. Neither Mr. Sweet nor myself have heard (v) from any German. Prince L. L. Bona- parte has recently heard an old Dutch retainer call v (v) and w (bw).

s is often whispered (z).

r is strongly trilled, either with point of tongue (r) or uvula (r).

\(g\) is pronounced quite soft (gh) by good speakers, the trilled (grh) is vulgar.

\(i\) is more guttural than palatal, like the English and Scotch \(i\) [i.e. more near to (tw) than (l)], or rather (l) than (j)].
The kindness of Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte enables me to furnish one of the most remarkable examples of vowel appreciation and classification which has ever been published. The Prince, during last winter, as the outcome of his phonetic studies pursued during many years, with unprecedented facilities for hearing varieties of pronunciation, drew up a scheme of vowel and consonant classification. To the vowel scheme he appended a list of all the vowel-sounds which, so far as he could appreciate, existed in each of forty-five European languages. At my request, and purposely for the present work, he verified his appreciation by giving in each language a word containing that vowel-sound, together with its meaning, serving to identify it. He has thus constructed the most extensive series of key-words ever attempted, and has furnished a means of arriving within comparatively narrow limits at the meaning of the palaeotypic symbols. Of course there will be no absolute identity. First there is his own personal equation in observing, next there is that of another observer, and these may cause so great a divarication that the identification may be disputed in many cases. I have found several in which I do not appreciate the distinctions of sound in precisely the same way as he does. Still the limits of difference are in no case very great, and their very existence is important in relation to the gradation of vowels when appreciated qualitatively.

In order to make this remarkable work more valuable for philological purposes, I have arranged it as follows. First, on p. 1298, I give the Prince’s complete triangle, of which there is an extract on p. 1289. As it was impossible to use the Prince’s own symbols, many of which have never been cut as types, I have confined myself to giving the numbers in his list. Hence, whatever may be thought of the palaeotypic equivalents afterwards added, each vowel can be immediately identified as B 1, B 2, etc., B indicating Bonaparte, and thus referred to in any English or foreign treatise. For typographical reasons I have, as before, omitted the sloping lines of his triangle. These may be readily supplied thus: by drawing lines from A at the top, through E to I, through O to U, and through CE to Y. The first two lines separate the primary and wide vowels. The two uprights between the two horizontal lines should be parallel to the other two, and point to 35 on the left, and 62 on the right. The vertical lines inclosing 67, Y, (65, 66) and the horizontal lines, are correct. The capital letters I, E, A, O, U, Y, CE, indicate the classes, the limits of which are clearly marked by these lines.

Next follows a linear list of the 75 sounds entered as vowels in the above triangle, in order of their numbers, with their palaeotypic equivalents. Except for 5, 9, 12, 22, 26, 30, 36, 38, 39, 47, 52, 56, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 66, 73, 74, 75, these equivalents were furnished by the Prince himself, and hence indicate his own appreciation of my characters. Of these 5 is determined by the Danish example after Mr. Sweet to be (a). Then 22 is the (e) already mentioned (1290, a). Number 36 is only exemplified by an indeterminate unaccented Scotch vowel, scarcely distinguishable from (i); but, as
Mr. Murray considers it nearer to (i), the Prince has made it intermediate to (i, i), and I have used (i') as the symbol, where the greater closeness (1107, b), indicated by (i'), refers rather to the width of the opening of the pharynx than to the height of the tongue. Number 56 is identified by a Swedish sound, which seems to be best indicated by (u). The English and Icelandic examples of 61 sufficiently identify it with ('w'). Perhaps 62, which is only identified in Swedish, is not quite properly represented by (w'), but its position in the triangle leads me to that symbol. A similar doubt hangs over 63, (u'), identified only in Lap and Norwegian. As to 74 and 75, the systematic character of the Prince's symbols leads me to think that (œ1, œ2) are probably correct, especially as the latter is also identified with the Scotch ui in guid. Here (œ') is the sound I have hitherto written (y1). With regard to the other numbers not identified with palaeotype by the Prince himself, they are all nasals or semi-nasals, formed on bases already identified, and hence have been written by adding (A) or (,) to the palaeotypic equivalents of those bases. These additional symbols have been all approved by the Prince, but some doubt necessarily remains as to the correctness of the physiological identification, in which, however, he is not much interested, and very probably some will have to be altered hereafter. Thus (25 e1, 46 o1, 55 o') were identified by the Prince with sounds which Mr. Sweet writes (e, A, o) respectively; see the Danish vowels, language 40, below. It is almost impossible that ears attuned naturally to English and foreign sounds respectively should agree on such minute points.

The numbers in the first column in this list refer to the numbers of languages in the list beginning on p. 1300, in which the sound has been identified with that used in a given word. Taking the identifications to be tolerably correct, these numbers give a very remarkable result. At the end is given after the sign (=) the number of the languages in which each vowel-sound has been identified. Collecting these results, and considering 'l, 'r, as two additional vowels, we find in

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Languages.</th>
<th>the vowels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>15 a, 17 'h, 19 ah, 22 n, 24 e, 42 oh, 44 eh, 45 o, 63 eh, 73 a = 10 vowels.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2 a, 5 a, 6 ab, 9 a, 10 v, 11 e, 12 œ, 13 a, 14 i, 21 æ, 36 i', 38 i, 59 u, 62 w, 64 v, 68 ah, 70 a, 'l = 18 vowels.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>4 a, 26 e, 30 a, 33 y, 40 ', 41 o, 52 o, 66 u, 61 'w, 63 u, 667 a = 11 vowels.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>47 o, 50 oh, 67 r, 74 a, 'r = 5 vowels.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>20 a, 39 ia, 60 u, 75 o = 4 vowels.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>3 a, 23 e, 48 o, 54 ah = 4 vowels.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>27 e, 55 o, 57 u = 2 vowels.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>7 a, 31 e, 32 e, 34 y = 4 vowels.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Languages.</th>
<th>the vowels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>69 ah = 1 vowel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>8 a = 1 vowel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>35 i, 43 A = 2 vowels.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>72 e = 1 vowel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>71 æ = 1 vowel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>16 'h = 1 vowel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>49 o = 1 vowel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>65 y = 1 vowel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>51 e = 1 vowel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>29 e = 1 vowel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>28 e = 1 vowel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>46 e = 1 vowel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>25 e = 1 vowel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>18 'h = 1 vowel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>58 u = 1 vowel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>1 a = 1 vowel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>37 l = 1 vowel.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It appears then that 60 out of the 77 vowels, including ('l, 'r), recognised by the Prince, occur each in less than 9 languages, and only each of 17 occur in 10 or more languages. These 17 are consequently those to which attention must be chiefly directed. In order of the number of languages in which they occur, shewn by the figures placed after the letters, they are—

| 37 i | 44 | 28 e, 25 | 71 ø, 13 |
| 1 a | 43 | 29 e, 24 | 72 ø, 12 |
| 58 u | 42 | 51 o, 21 | 35 i, 11 |
| 18 'h | 41 | 65 y, 20 | 35 i, 11 |
| 25 ø | 33 | 49 o, 15 | 8 ø, 10 |
| 46 ø | 27 | 16 'h | 14 |

From these we may reject (18 'h) as not being generally considered a vowel at all, because not "voiced,"¹ and (16 'h) as undifferentiated voice, which is therefore not usually put among the vowels. It would be in accordance with the habits of many phonologists to consider (4 æ, 7 æ, 10 ù, 11 œ, 13 ð) and (16 'h) as all forms of the same vowel, which, to agree with Rapp and English phonologists, may be looked upon as (æ). Giving then to (æ) all the different languages now credited with those vowels just named, it occurs, under some more or less distinct form, in 20 languages. The appreciation of so many vowel-sounds as (æ) instead of (x) has put (x) out of and (æ) into this series. The Prince has not found (x, æ) simultaneously, except in 12. Ostiaco, and 26. Rhetian; in the first he has not given an example, but in the second he tells me that he has heard the extraordinary series (8 æ, 23 e, 25 ø, 28 e, 29 e, 35 i), where 4 means are interposed between (æ, i).² It is of course possible that other observers might note the sounds rather as (8 æ, 22 ù, 23 e, 28 e, 29 e, 35 i), or even as (8 æ, 23 e, 28 e, 29 e, 31 e, 35 i), or might consider the sounds here separated as (23 e, 25 e) to be the same. The recognition of all the terms in such a series is so difficult, that (æ) may be considered as the Prince’s appreciation of what other observers class as (x); thus in 40. Danish, he appreciates Mr. Sweet’s (æ) as (æ). If we do not count these two languages twice, (æ, ù) together appear in 35 languages. Again, as regards (o, ø), it will be seen that the Prince has not found them both in any language but 21. Italian, and (39). Norwegian after Aasen. As regards Italian, it is only quite recently that the Prince has considered the sounds (28 e, 49 o) to have been used in unaccented syllables, having formerly supposed the sounds to be nasal, and very short, as (vin; 'h.). The (16 'h) when final, he usually pronounces more strongly than is customary with careful English speakers.

¹ The Russians reckon their ŋ, as a vowel, and the Prince identifies this with (18 'h). He also considers a peculiar kind of after-sound in the Wallachian final (n, m) to be the same, see language 27, below. To me it sounded, when he pronounced it, more like ('h), coming immediately after a  

² See also Ascott’s Archivio Glotto-logico Italico, Rome, 1873, which, in a remarkable paper on these dialects, also recognises four means.
(29 e, 51 o) in such cases, and he has also quite recently considered the ‘open’ Italian e, o, in accented syllables to be (e⁰, o⁰), instead of (e, o) as he formerly thought them to be (1180, b), that is, he did not formerly consider the difference sufficiently marked to require independent symbols. The separation of (o, o) under these circumstances is somewhat doubtful. In the Norwegian, the example for (o, o) is maane, which is (a, o), according to Mr. Sweet. Altogether, therefore, we may consider that (o, o) are fine distinctions of sounds usually confused as (o), and for our present purpose so confuse them. Hence, adding together the numbers of languages for (o, o), taking care not to count these two twice over, and crediting them all to 49 o, its number becomes 42.

The scale of importance of the 15 vowels thus distinguished above all others, where (18 ‘b) is omitted, (4 a, 7 a, 10 u, 11 a, 13 o, 16 ’h) are all confounded as (e), (e, e) as (e), and (o, o) as (o), is therefore as follows, the numbers before the vowel being the Bonapartean, and those after the vowel the numbers of European languages out of 45 in which they occur, which are slightly different from those in the last table (1295, a).

| 37 i 44 | 28 e 25 | 71 o 13 |
| 1 a 43 | 29 e 24 | 72 o 12 |
| 58 u 42 | 51 o 21 | 35 i 11 |
| 49 o 42 | 7 e 20 | 43 e 11 |
| 23 e 35 | 65 y 20 | 8 o 10 |

and there is little doubt that with these 15 vowels, forming the series

I E A O U Y OE
i, e, e, ø, a, a o o, u, y ø, ø ø

and supplemented by their nasal forms where necessary, all the principal languages of the world could be written with an accuracy far surpassing any that has yet been exhibited. Different nations would necessarily demand varieties for their peculiar differentiations, and phonetic inquiries into gradations of sound would require the minutest symbolisation; but no foreigner is likely to appreciate a language with more real accuracy, until he has undergone severe phonetic discipline. The 7 classes of vowels are thus divided into 15 genera, of which the numerous species are exhibited in the list of Vowel Identifications, pp. 1300–1307.

In this last list the languages are arranged according to the Prince’s own systematic classification, the whole of the vowel-sounds known to occur in any language are given in the order of the Bonapartean vowels, with the corresponding palaeotype, and an example is given to each, in the ordinary orthography of the language, with a translation. After the name of each language is given the number of vowels with which it is thus accredited, assuming (16 ‘h, 18 ‘h) and (‘r, ‘l) to be vowels. If we reject these, the numbers of vowels, except in languages 19. Modern Greek, 21. Italian, and 22. Spanish, will have to be diminished by 1, 2, or even 3, as in 47. Bohemian. The following will be the numbers of the vowels after these rejections:
The vowels selected by those languages that have the same number are by no means identical; thus Portuguese and English, which have each 19 vowels in this estimation, have only 6 in common, namely (1 a, 8 u, 37 i, 51 o, 57 u, 58 u). This may serve partly to explain the difficulty felt in acquiring the pronunciation of foreign languages. It also by no means follows that the languages most generally esteemed for their sonorosity, or their cultivation, have the greatest number of vowels. Thus 22. Spanish has only 5, 14. Welsh only 7, 21. Italian only 9, 33. High German only 10. 37. English, taking the received dialect, after Smart, and admitting ('j, 'w) to be vowels distinct from (i, u), is put down at 19, which, on removing these, reduces to 17, as in 39. Swedish. But if we include all the dialects, the previous enumeration (1262, c) gives, independently of length and doubtful nasalties, and the numerous fractures, and inserting (i, a) = Glossic [i, ua], which were accidentally omitted, the following 30 vowels from the Prince's list, (1 a, 4 e, 6 ah, 7 o, 8 a, 10 u, 13 a, 20 a, 21 e, 23 r, 24 e, 25 e, 28 e, 29 e, 31 e, 33 y, 35 i, 36 j, 37 i, 41 o, 43 a, 49 o, 51 o, 54 ih, 57 u, 58 u, 65 y, 71 a, 72 a, 75 a), to which (o, u) or ('u) have probably to be added, and other vowels may yet be recognised, for example (42 o, 50 oh), in Bell's unaccented syllables (1160, a).

It is obvious that the 5 vowel signs of the Roman Alphabet a, e, i, o, u, are quite insufficient for intelligibly writing any one of these languages, except 19. Modern Greek, 22. Spanish, and 43. Illyrian, and would be insufficient to write even the dialects of these. What is the proper notation for all these languages is an inquiry not here raised. The notation here employed, whether palaeotypic or glossic, is merely a makeshift, to give a means of writing all these languages so that they could be printed with ordinary types,—an end hitherto unattained, if indeed ever attempted. The "missionary alphabet" of Max Müller¹ is the nearest approach to this, but it is extremely defective in vowel signs, and requires several (4 or 5) special types. Merkel's² is a mere make-

¹ The Languages of the Seat of War in the East, with a Survey of the Three Families of Language, Semitic, Arian, and Turanian, 2nd ed. with an appendix on the Missionary Alphabet, etc., London, 1855. ² Laletik, 1866.
shift also. Lepsius's is full of letters with new diacritical points, difficult to procure, except in a few special founts, not common even at linguistic printing establishments. The Prince's letters are of the same diacritic nature, and are only partly cut, for one fount, which is not "in the trade." Bell's, Brücke's, and Merkel's systematic forms may be also considered out of reach, though the two first have been cut to a certain extent. Hence the necessity of my temporary typographical expedients, without which the investigations in this book could never have been brought before the public. My own private opinion is that we do not yet possess sufficient phonetic knowledge, either analytically or synthetically, to be able to construct a systematic alphabet or use it securely, but that Mr. Bell's attempt is the best yet made.

Few phonologists will hesitate in joining in my hearty thanks to the Prince for his kindness in undertaking the great labour of executing this table, and liberally placing it in my hands for incorporation in this work.

**Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte's Extended Vowel Triangle.**

Arranged by the numbers of the symbols, see (1293, c). The numbers in ( ) are to be considered as only occupying the position of a single vowel in the arrangement. Only the first number in each of these groups is given as a palaeotype letter in the abridged form on (1289, b), in which also other omissions are made.

(1 2 3)

4

\[ \text{A} \]

5 \( (12 \ 11) \)

10

6

7

19 \( (13 \ 14 \ 15 \ 16 \ 17 \ 18) \)

21

20

22

23

24 \( \text{E} (25 \ 26 \ 27) \)

68 \( (69 \ 70) \)

44

43

41

42

\( \text{O} \)

(48 \ 47 \ 46)

45

28

(29 \ 30)

71 \( (72 \ 73) \)

53 \( (52 \ 51) \)

49

50

74

75

55

54

31

32

33 \ 34 \ 35

36 \( (37 \ 38 \ 39 \ 40) \)

67 \( \text{Y} (65 \ 66) \)

64

63

62

61

60

59

58

List of the Vowels in Prince L. L. Bonaparte's Triangle.

See (p. 1293). The letter-symbols are in palaeotype, the preceding numbers are those in the triangle, the succeeding numbers are the numbers prefixed to the names of the languages in the following list which use that vowel-sound, according to the Prince's judgment. The vowel-qualities are considered without relation to quantity. The numbers following = shew the number of the languages named in the next list, in which the vowel has been identified. These vowels may be cited as B 1, B 2, etc. (1293, c).

\[ \text{A} \]

1 \( a \) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13

14 15 16 17 19 21 22 23 24

25 26 27 33 34 35 36 37 38

(39) 39 42 43 44 45 46 47

48 49 50 52 = 43

2 \( a \) 13 = 1

3 \( a \) 1 16 17 23 24 = 5

4 \( a \) 37 (37) = 2

5 \( a \) 40 = 1

6 \( a h \) 37 = 1

7 \( \theta \) 5 13 37 39 40 44 45 = 7
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8 ø</td>
<td>5 12 13 23 26 35 37 (37)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 øA</td>
<td>23 = 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 ø</td>
<td>37 = 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 ø</td>
<td>13 = 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 ø</td>
<td>13 = 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 ø</td>
<td>37 = 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 ø</td>
<td>37 = 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 ø</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
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<td>17 h</td>
<td>37 (37) 49 52 = 14</td>
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<tr>
<td>18 h</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13</td>
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<tr>
<td>19 h</td>
<td>14 15 16 17 24 25 26 27 33</td>
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<tr>
<td>20 a</td>
<td>24 34 36 (37) = 4</td>
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<tr>
<td>21 aø</td>
<td>27 = 1</td>
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**E**

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<td>24 25 26 27 33 34 35 36 (37) 38 (39) 39 40 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 52 = 33</td>
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<td>26 33 34 35 36 38 (39) 42</td>
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**I**

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<td>61 u</td>
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**E**

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<td>69 ø</td>
<td>2 14 16 24 34 35 39 40 = 8</td>
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<tr>
<td>70 ø</td>
<td>24 = 1</td>
</tr>
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<td>71 ø</td>
<td>3 4 6 7 10 12 26 33 34 38 (39) 39 40 = 13</td>
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<td>73 ø</td>
<td>2 10 13 16 24 33 34 35 36 (39) 39 40 = 12</td>
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<td>74 ø</td>
<td>6 8 13 = 3</td>
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<td>75 ø</td>
<td>(37) 38 (39) 39 = 4</td>
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Murmurs.

<table>
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<tr>
<td>'r</td>
<td>43 44 47 = 3</td>
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PRINCE L. L. BONAPARTE'S VOWEL IDENTIFICATIONS IN 45 EUROPEAN LANGUAGES.

See (p. 1293). These languages are arranged in the order of Prince L. L. Bonaparte's revised classification, as given in French in a footnote to Mr. Patterson's account of Hungarian in my Presidential Address to the Philological Society for 1873 (Transactions for 1873–4, Part II., p. 217). The classification is here incidentally repeated and translated. The different observations as they occur, unless inclosed in [ ], are taken from the Prince's classification or MSS. All the vowel-sounds in each language, so far as known to the Prince, are given for each language separately. Occasionally, when differences of opinion exist, the list thus formed is eclectic, and gives his own individual judgment. The left hand numbers in each list are those in the triangular and linear arrangements. Then come the forms in palaeotype, followed by a word containing the vowel, in its original spelling; if the word has more than one vowel-sign, a subsequent number, 1, 2, 3, etc., shews whether the first, second, or third, etc., vowel is intended; by this means the usual printed form of the word is preserved. When this is not sufficient, the vowel not being expressed, the place of its insertion is marked by ( ), or the full pronunciation of the word is given. When two adjacent vowel-signs form a digraph to represent the vowel-sound, their numbers are bracketed thus [1, 2]. Finally, the meaning of the word is given in English, and in italics letters, except, of course, for the English language itself.

Morphological Classification of European Languages.

CLASS I.

A. Basque Stem.

1. BASQUE. 13 vowels.

B. Altaic Stem.

a. Urarian Family.

a. Tshudic Sub-family.

1. Finnish Branch.

2. FINNISH. 12 vowels.

3. ESTONIAN. 14 vowels.

4. LIVONIAN, extinct dialect of Salis, still spoken at the beginning of the xixth century. 10 vowels.

(2. Finnish, continued.)

65 y syys [1, 2], autumn
69 sh kőyhä, 1, poor
72 o työ, 2, labour
18 h esteti(), impediment

37 i ilm, world
46 o tolmu, 1, dust
50 oh wölj, debt
51 o pööö[u]k[prounced(ployol)], half
55 el tolmu, 2, dust
58 u Jumal, 1, God
65 y üiks, one
71 ce öö, night
18 h lühit(), light

4. LIVONIAN, extinct dialect of Salis, still spoken at the beginning of the xixth century. 10 vowels.

1 a kaks, two
25 e mäö, our
28 e bet, but
32 el [esgürd [pronounced (e'ez-gyr d)], high
37 i isä, 1, father
49 o koda, 1, house
58 u k'ulk, side
65 y sūna, 1, name
71 ce lond, 1, to find
18 h pieut(), to take
11. Lap Branch.

5. LAP, dialect of Finmark. 14 vowels.

1 a hallo, 1, pleasure
2 e läkkå, 1, 2, near
3 ø bårdne, 1, son
23 e salla, 1, he lives
25 ø sêne, 1, mother
32 e jurdêlt, 2, 3, to think
37 i sivo, 1, diligence
37 i sivo, 1, beaten way on the snow
46 øt dolls, 1, fire
55 o gönggas, 1, king
58 u rušak, 1, money
63 u jukkim, 1, I parted
68 e bûerre, 1, good
18 h lokkat(), to read

b. Permian Sub-Family.

6. PERMIAN. 8 vowels.

1 a ma, honey
28 e Jen, God
34 y kyk, two
37 i bi, fire
46 o zon, son
58 u jür, head
74 o tyyk, 1, one
18 h mort(), man

7. VOTIAK. 11 vowels.

1 a zarne, 1, gold
25 e niläti, 2, fourth
28 e pel, ear
34 ym, mouth
37 i in, heaven
46 o vor, thief
50 oh òs, door
58 u jurt, house
65 y ù, 1, night
71 æ tody, 1, white
18 h berkut(), eagle

c. Volgaic Sub-Family.

i. Tseremissian Branch.

8. THEREMISSIAN, dialect of the right bank of the Volga. 10 vowels.

1 a mam, but
23 e ergs, 2, son
28 e edem, 1, 2, man
37 i vid, water
46 o kokta, 2, two
50 oh töre, 1, peace
58 u Juma, 1, God
65 y kü, stone
74 o tör, field
18 h olat(), they are

ii. Morduin Branch.

9. MORDUIN, dialect Ersa. 8 vowels.

1 a ava, 1, 2, woman
25 e käd, hand
28 ø lem, name
34 y syfine, 1, gold
37 i k, who
46 ø on, dream
58 u ukka, 1, wasp
18 h kot(), weaving

d. Ugrian Sub-Family.

i. Hungarian Branch.

10. HUNGARIAN or Magyar. 13 vowels.

1 a kár, to injure
25 e nyelv, tongue
28 e veres, 1, read
29 e szől, wind
37 i hid, bridge
43 a kar, arm
51 o pök, spider
54 uh hol, where
58 u tudom, 1, I know it
65 y fi, grass
71 æ ok, 1, 2, ox
72 ø fő, head
18 h atyát(), father, in acc.

ii. Vogul Branch.

11. VOGUL, dialect of the Konda. 8 vowels.

1 a katš, brother
25 e at, hair
28 e ne, wife
37 i ini, 1, 2, thorn
49 o chotel, day
58 u chulp, net
65 y puv, son
18 h kat(), hand

iii. Ostiak Branch.

12. OSTIAC, dialect of Surgut. 13 vowels.

1 a årex, 1, song
8 æ ádhläň, 2, morning
23 e [known to exist, but no example known]
25 e pet, nest
29 e pethléň, 1, cloud
33 y jëg, father
37 i jipel, 1, shade
43 a pas, glove
46 o nok, above
58 u sugus, 1, 2, autumn
65 y múl, cup
71 æ kör, oven
18 h kat(), six
BONAPARTEAN VOWEL LISTS.  

N.B.—Finnish, Estonian, and Livonian, differ from Lapp nearly as Greek from Latin. Similarly for Tseremissian in relation to Mordvin, and for Hungarian, Vogul, and Osttag among one another.

β. Samoyedic Family} with their
γ. Tartaric Family} sub-families
δ. Tungusic Family and
ε. Mongolic Family} branches.

C. DRAVIDIAN STEM, etc.
D. WESTERN CAUCASIAN STEM, etc.
E. EASTERN CAUCASIAN STEM, etc.
F. G. H., etc., etc. Other Stems differing greatly from each other, but belonging to this first class.

CLASS II.

A. INDO-GERMANIC STEM.

[N.B.—The dead languages are placed, and their names printed in italic capitals, but no pronunciation is given.]

a. Celtic Family.
   i. Gaelic Branch.

13. GAELIC. 22 vowels.

N.B.—The letters S, M, indicate Scotch and Manx Gaelic respectively.

1 a adharc, 1 [pronounced (aipark)], horn
2 a math, S, good
7 a déanta, 3, done
8 ì glas, green
11 ì laogh [1, 2], S, calf
12 ì maodail [1, 2], S, tripes
25 ì fear [1, 2], grass
26 ì freumh [1, 2], S, root
29 e céim [1, 2], step
34 ì doar [1, 2], dear
35 í mil, honey
37 í rí, king
38 í, sinsreadh [letters 2, 3, 4], S, ancestors
43 A árd, high
46 qí, son, S, sake
47 qí, didomhaich, 2, S, sunday
51 ì ór, gold
58 u cóil, back
59 u déanadh [3 last letters], doing
72 ì leigh, 1, M, law
74 ì, keayn [letters 2, 3, 4], M, sea
18 h maillacht( ), curse

11. Breton Branch.
   a. Welsh.

14. WELSH. 8 vowels.

1 a hâv, summer
28 e pedn, head
35 í guydn [letter 3], white
37 i piji, 1, prayer
43 A bôz, to be
46 01 kylomman, 2, pigeon
51 ì mor, sea
58 u gobar, 1, wage
18 h bohojok( ), poor man
   e. Breton.

15. CORNISH, as spoken in the XVIIIth century, now extinct. 9 vowels.

1 a madd, good
3 0 á hání [letters 2 and 3], summer
25 e1 dervex, 1, 2, day
26 e1, keanta [letters 2 and 3], first
29 e1 éva, 1, to drink
30 e4 Év [letters 1 and 2], heaven
31 e1 mané, 2, V, mountain
37 i ìt, house
39 i4 iññi, [letters 1 and 2], widower
46 o1 tomm, hot
48 o1A mont [letters 2 and 3], to go
51 ì goló, 1, 2, cover
55 u gouzet [1, 2], [3, 4], to know
65 y ì dů, black
69 sh eunn [1, 2], a
72 0 kúfanúd [1, 2], [3, 4], firewood
16 h 'câret, 2, V, loved
18 h kaout( ), to have

β. Greco-Latin Family.
   i. Albanian Branch.

17. ALBANIAN, Guège dialect. 14 vowels.

1 a amé, 1, mother
3 0 bání, 1, he did
27 e4 l'eng, 1, let
28 e et, thirst
(17. Albanian, continued.)

| 37 i | bir, son |
| 39 ia | ving, 1, they come |
| 48 ø'A | börde, 1, they do |
| 49 o | zot, lord |
| 57 u | bure, 1, husband |
| 60 ua | u, hunger |
| 66 y | krüpe, 1, salt |
| 66' ya | húni, 1, he entered |
| 16 'h | nde, in |
| 18 'h | dielit(), of the sun |

II. Greek Branch.

18. ANCIENT GREEK, dead.

19. MODERN GREEK. 5 vowels.

| 1 a | φεγόφι, 2, moon |
| 28 e | νεφόν, 1, 2, cloud |
| 37 i | πουλ, 2, bread |
| 49 o | χπον, 1, 2, year |
| 58 u | πουλ [1, 2], bird |

III. Latin Branch.

a. Latin.

20. LATIN, dead.

b. Italian.

21. ITALIAN. 9 vowels.

| 1 a | gatto, 1, cat |
| 25 ø1 | sella, 1, saddle |
| 28 e | sellaiolo, 1, saddler |
| 29 ø | stella, 1, star |
| 37 i | fine, 1, end |
| 46 ø1 | bosco, 1, wood of trees |
| 49 o | boschetto, 1, grove |
| 51 e | bocca, 1, mouth |
| 58 u | buoco, 1, hole |

22. SPANISH. 5 vowels.

| 1 a | madre, 1, mother |
| 28 e | mujer, 2, woman |
| 37 i | hijo, 1, son |
| 49 o | plomo, 1, 2, lead n. |
| 58 u | luna, 1, moon |

23. PORTUGUESE. 20 vowels.

| 1 a | más, bad, fem. pl. |
| 3 a | lá, wool |
| 8 ø | mas, but |
| 9 øa | cama, 1, bed |
| 25 ø1 | sé, see n. |
| 27 ø'A | sempre [letters 2, 3], always |
| 29 ø | së, be, imperat. sing. |
| 30 øa | senha, 1, sign |
| 31 ø1 | cerr, 1, to sup |
| 37 i | vicio, 1, 2, vice |
| 39 ia | sim [letters 2, 3], yes |

(23. Portuguese, continued.)

| 46 o1 | avó, 2, grandmother |
| 48 ø1A | som [letters 2, 3], sound n. |
| 51 o | avó, 2, grandfather |
| 52 øa | sonho, 1, dream |
| 54 øh | o, the |
| 57 u | soar, 1, to sound |
| 58 u | tóumo, 1, 2, tomb |
| 60 ua | um [both letters], one |
| 16 'h | se, if |

24. FRENCH. 18 vowels.

| 1 a | chat, cat |
| 3 a | dent [letters 2, 3], tooth |
| 20 a | diable, 2, devil |
| 25 ø1 | père, father |
| 27 ø1A | vin [letters 2, 3], wine |
| 28 e | musette, 2, bagpipe |
| 29 e | dè, site, n. |
| 37 i | if, yew-tree |
| 46 ø1 | botte, boat |
| 48 ø1A | bon [letters 2, 3], good |
| 51 o | beau, beautiful |
| 58 u | poule, hen |
| 65 y | lune, moon |
| 68 sh | veuf [1, 2], widower |
| 70 sha | un [both letters], one |
| 72 ø | feu [2, 3], fire |
| 16 'h | cheval, 1, horse |
| 18 'h | fat(), foppish |

25. ROMAN, Catalan. 10 vowels.

| 1 a | casa, 1, house |
| 8 ø | casa, 2, house |
| 25 ø1 | net, nephew |
| 29 ø | nét, clean |
| 37 i | cosi, 2, cousin, male |
| 46 ø1 | dona, 1, woman |
| 51 o | molt, much |
| 58 u | jutge, 1, judge n. |
| 16 'h | pare, 2, father |
| 18 'h | foch(), fire |

26. RHETIAN, Oberland dialect. 13 vowels.

| 1 a | bab, father |
| 8 ø | essan, 2, we are |
| 23 ø | är, field |
| 25 ø1 | pumer, 2, tree |
| 28 e | valé, 2, to be worth |
| 29 ø | vender, 1, to sell |
| 37 i | figl, son |
| 37 i | masira, 2, measure |
| 46 ø1 | bov, ox |
| 58 u | bun, good |
| 71 ø | oegl [1, 2], eye |
| 16 'h | lader, 2, thief |
| 18 'h | uffont(), thief |
27. WALLACHIAN. 9 vowels.

[There are three orthographies in use, Cyrillic, Mixed, and Roman or etymological. The words are here given in the most esteemed form of the last, and the pronunciation of each word has been added in full.]

1 a actū, (ak, needle
21 ā tatā, 2, (atae), father
25 e1 versū, 1, (vers, verse
32 e1 bine, 1, (be ne), well adv.
34 x2 pāme [1, 2], (px, ne), bread
37 i vinū, 1, (vi n), wine
46 o1 omū, 1, (o m), man
58 u umū, 1, (u lm), elm
18 h bārbattū, 3, (barba t), husband

g. Germano-Scandinavian Family.

1. German Group.

a. Extinct.

28 GOTHIC, dead
29 OLD HIGH GERMAN, dead
30 OLD LOW GERMAN, dead
31 ANGLO-SAXON, dead
32 FRIESIAN, dead

b. German.

33. HIGH GERMAN. 12 vowels.

1 a mann, man
25 e1 fett, fat
29 e ehre, 1, honour
37 i milch, milk
46 o1 Gott, God
51 o ohne, 1, without
58 u buch, book
66 y brüder, 1, brothers
71 ö b öcke, 1, roe-bucks
72 o kö nigung, 1, king
16 h mutter, 2, mother
18 h gut(), good

34. LOW GERMAN, dialect of Holstein. 16 vowels.

1 a dat, the
20 a maken, 1, to make
25 e1 het, he has
29 e leed [1, 2], song
37 i wien [1, 2], wine
43 A wo, how
46 o1 kopp, head
51 o moderator, 1, mother
58 u kuss, kiss
65 y küs sen, 1, to kiss
69 sh aver, 1, over
71 ce döchder, daughter
72 o könig, king
16 h hütten, 2, huts
18 h hart(), heart

35. DUTCH. 14 vowels.

1 a vlag, flag
8 æ ker k, church
25 e1 hel, bell
29 e nemen, 1, to take
31 e1 ik, I
37 i titel, 1, title
46 o1 top, top
51 e komen, 1, to come
58 u zoet [1, 2], sweet
65 y u, you
69 sh durven, 1, to dare
72 o beuk [1, 2], beech
16 h bode, 2, messenger
18 h kat(), cat

36. MODERN FRIESIAN, western dialect. 14 vowels.

1 a makke, 1, made
20 a åld, old
25 e1 sette, 1, to set
29 e leech [1, 2], low
31 e1 stik, piece
37 i wit, white
43 A moarn [1, 2], morning
46 o1 lot, lot
51 o doge, 1, to be worth
58 u hüs, house indefinitely
65 y hüs, house (u, y)
72 o guds, horse
16 h müsen, 2, to mouse
18 h doopt(), baptized

c. English.

37. ENGLISH [see remarks on Smart (1199, a)]. 21 vowels.

1 a father, 1
4 æ the book, 1
6 ah ass
7 e character, 2
8 æ man
10 u pollute, 1
13 æ bird
14 x ea xr
28 e bed
35 i milk
37 i bee
40 j ga te, pronounced (gee jt)
41 o God
43 A all
49 o more, 1
51 o omit, 1
57 u book [1, 2]
58 u pool [1, 2]
61 'w ho () me, pronounced (hoo w m)
16 h open, 2
18 h bit()
(37) SCOTCH, Southern dialect. 14 vowels.

2. No.

32 e there, pronounced (dhee\'r).

36 i fishes, 2

37 i to leave [2, 3]

49 o God

55 o folk, pronounced (foo\'k)

58 u house [1, 2]

75 o guid [1, 2], good

16 h gaed, pronounced (gee\'d), went

18 h that()

II. Scandinavian Group.

a. Icelandic.

38. ICHELANDIC. 14 vowels.

1 a man\'sur, 1, man

25 e1 hestur, 1, horse

29 e bein, 1, bone

35 e vita, 1, to know

37 i rikur, 1, rich

40 e1 bein, 2, bone

46 o1 opinn, 1, open part.

51 o g\'dur, pronounced (good\'dur), good

57 u h\'n, she

58 u ingur, 1, young

61 \w g\'dur, [see 51]

71 ce sm\u00f6jr, butter

75 o1 sumar, 1, summer

18 h lopt\'t, air

b. Modern Scandinavian.

(39) NORWEGIAN. The literary 'conventional dialect of Aasen, which, though founded on the various Norwegian dialects, and used in some printed works, is, nevertheless, the creation of an individual author. 17 vowels.

1 a hat, hatred

25 e1 klade, 1, to clothe

28 e lea, 1, to read

29 e knee, knee

32 e time, 1, hour

35 e skir, to clean

37 i liva, 1, to live

46 o1 maane [1, 2], moon

49 o skot, shoot\'t.

55 o1 stor, great

57 u sumar, 1, summer

63 u1 hus, house

65 y by, town

(39) Norwegian, continued.

71 \o d\k\k, dark

72 o lok, brook

75 e1 stytta, 1, to shorten

18 h hatt\'t, hat

39. SWEDISH. 18 vowels.

1 a all, all

7 o saker, 2, things

25 e1 ara, 1, glory

28 e mej\a, 1, to now

29 e leda, 1, to lead

35 e vinna, 1, to win

37 i vin, wine

46 o1 sofva, 1, to sleep

51 o kol, cole

56 u stor, great

62 u1 skul\d, cause

64 u hus, house

65 y fyra, 1, four

69 h fr\g, firstly

71 ce ko\t, mea\t

72 o d\o, to die

75 o1 syster, 1, sister

18 h hatt\'t, hat.

40. DANISH, according to Mr. Henry Sweet. [Trans. of Phil. Soc. 1873-4, p. 103.] 17 vowels.

N.B. These do not always correspond with those assigned by the Danish Grammarians.

5 a mand, man

7 o mane, 1, to conjure

25 e1 hest, horse [Mr. Sweet writes (e)]

28 e lasse, 1, to read

32 e een [1, 2], one

35 e spille, 1, to play

37 i hvid, white

41 o folk, people

46 o1 maane [1, 2], moon [Mr. Sweet writes (\a)]

55 o1 stor, great [Mr. Sweet writes (\o)]

58 u ugle, 1, owl

65 y skyll, 1, to rinse

67 i nyde, 1, to enjoy

69 sh st\a\r, greatest [latest ortho-

71 o d\o, door ] graph\'y for c]

72 o han d\o, 3, he does

18 h hatt\'t, hat

5. Slavo-Lettish Family.

i. Slavonic Branch.

a. Slave.

41. OLD SLAVE, dead.
42. RUSSIAN. 9 vowels.

[The pronunciation of each word is added.]

1 a палка, 1, 2, (pa'lika), stick
8 ae мясо, (mi'za), meat
29 e дерево, 1, 2, (de'vero), tree
34 x2 mya, (m'ya), we
37 i мир, (mir), world
43 A хула, 2, (ku'la), ill adv.
51 o волна, 1, (vo'lna), wool
58 u муж, (muzh), man
18 'h хвост, 2, (khvo'st), tail

43. ILLYRIAN. 7 vowels.

1 a brada, 1, 2, beard
28 e peta, 1, heel
37 i riba, 1, fish
49 o noga, 1, foot
58 u ruka, 1, hand
18 'h vratak, neck
'r prst, finger

44. NEW SLOVENIAN, Wendish. 10 vowels.

1 a dati, 1, to give
7 e dober, 2, good
25 e jë, he is
29 e jë, he eats
37 i mir, peace
43 A dob, bean
51 o zob, tooth
58 u ura, 1, hour
18 'h vratak, brother
'r hrt, greyhound.

45. BULGARIAN. 8 vowels.

1 a баба, 1, grandmother
7 e дуп, oak
25 e бане, 2, bath
28 e дете, 1, child
37 i зима, 1, winter
49 o злато, 2, gold
58 u kukë, 1, hook
18 'h brat, brother

'b. Polish.

46. POLISH. 11 vowels.

1 a sam, alone
25 e teraz, 1, now
27 eA bede, I shall be

(46. Polish, continued.)

31 e chleb, bread
34 x2 byli, 1, they have been
37 i pil, 1, 2, they have drunk
47 e1 jada, 2, they go away
51 o pogoda, 1, 2, fine weather
54 wh Bóg, God
58 u cud, miracle
18 'h grzmo'tt, thunder

47. BOHEMIAN. 11 vowels.

1 a skala, 1, rock
25 e1 led, ice
29 e mléko, 1, milk
37 i vira, 1, faith
46 e1 zvon, bell
51 o o, o
58 u duch, spirit
67 r kdy, when
18 'h kohout, cook
'l vlka, wolf
'r prst, finger

48. LUSATIAN, Sorbian, Wendish. 11 vowels.

1 a trawa, 1, 2, grass
25 e1 jeho, 1, of him
29 e zemja, 1, earth
31 e1 wéra, 1, faith
37 i figura, 1, fig
43 A wono, 1, thing
51 o woko, 1, 2, eye
54 wh dvr, court
58 u huba, 1, tip
67 r zyma, 1, cold n.
18 'h dvr't, mouthful

49. CASSUBIAN, a still-existing dialect of the extinct POLABIC. 16 vowels.

1 a gada, 1, 2, to talk
25 e1 mecz, moss
27 e1 geba, mouth
29 e zë, evil
35 i jacekinsk, 2, 3, Latin
43 A jod, venom
46 e1 pómoc, 1, 2, aid
47 c1 kat, corner
51 o dobri, 1, good
52 eA dom, house
54 wh Bóg, God
58 u szum, rush
60 a kunst, art
65 y hysôp, 1, hyssop
18 'h nekac, 1, to bear down
18 'h czart, devil
### § 2. No. 6. iv. Vowel Fractures and Junctures.  

#### 50. LITHUANIAN. 9 vowels.

1 a bálkis, 1, beam  
25 e₁ vėžti, 1, to drive  
29 e déžė, 1, 2, box case  
35 i kirvis, 1, 2, axe  
37 i yra, 1, he is  
49 o moma, 1, mother  
57 u nesu, 2, I bear  
58 u pūli, 1, to fall  
18 u kū-met(), at which time  

b. Prussian.

#### 51 PRUSSIAN, dead.

**c. Lettish.**

#### 52. LETTISH. 8 vowels.

1 a gars, spirit  
25 e₁ mettu, 1, I throw  
29 e séja, 1, seed  
37 i bitte, 1, bee  
49 o lôki, pronounced (luoaki), only  
the (o) is referred to, looks  
58 u blussa, flea  
16 h mèle, 2, tongue  
18 h tizzet(), to believe  

**B. SEMITIC STEM,** admitting, as I do, the correctness of Ascoli’s opinion as to the connection of the Indo-European and Semitic stems, although it is disputed by the majority of modern linguists.—L.L.B.

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The word *fracture* here introduced is of course imitated from Grimm’s *brechung*, but it does not in any respect imply his theory of length (1265, b. 1270, b). By *Fracture* will be meant the replacement of one vowel by two, more or less closely connected by a glide. By *Juncture* will be meant, conversely, the replacement of two vowels, generally gliding on to one another, by a single vowel, either one of the two original, or some sound developed in the glide which originally joined them. As to the comparative lengths of the one and the two elements, no theory is started. As to the absolute monosyllabic character of the fractures, no assumption is made. As a general rule, the speaker feels the fracture as monosyllabic, he actually often feels it as containing only one vowel; so that it is only with difficulty, after much hesitation, and frequently unwillingly after strenuous denial, that he comes to recognise the fractured character. It requires generally a fresh ear or a tutored ear to recognise them at all. The fresh ear, if not tutored, is apt only to recognise some peculiarity, without stating its nature, and when it attempts to state it, is often ludicrously incorrect. These statements are the result of experience, not theory. The knowledge of fractures is rather new to myself. There were many ways of speech to which I was well accustomed, without having the least idea that they belonged to this class. Dialectal fractures I scarcely appreciated at all, except as sporadic curiosities, till quite recently; yet they are most conspicuous characters of our northern and southwestern dialects. And extending my view from English to other European languages, I seem to see them largely developed even in written tongues, while the unwritten dialects abound in them. It is therefore necessary to form some classification, pointing out their typical characters. But this must be taken as provisional, requiring probably years of research into living uses, to verify, correct, and replace. If philology is worth anything, the labour of investigating
fractures, and their corresponding junctures, will not be thrown away, for they are vital points in the consideration of vowel relations. It would be quite premature to propound any theory for their origin. The phenomena themselves are not sufficiently known and grouped, and the circumstances under which they arise, although attempted in certain cases to be determined, by Grimm, are far too vaguely felt, or too loosely stated, or too imperfectly ascertained, to render a general theory possible. The diversity of local habits, and even of habits within the same district, as to words used on different occasions, either of collocation of words, or of relations of the speaker to the listener, throws great difficulties in the way of any physiological or even subjective theory. Our present business is, therefore, simply to propose a rough classification of the phenomena, to assist in grouping. The subsequent dialectal examples will furnish numerous instances.

Fractures may be divided into two classes, according as the adventitious vowel is pre-fixed (Prefractures) or suf-fixed (Suffractures). The original vowel may be gradated (1290, c) in any way at the same time.

Prefractures are weak or apertive when the prefixed vowel has a greater closure formed by the tongue or lips than the original vowel, so that the result is a progressive opening. Its types are (ia, úa, ûu), with the first element under the stress, but varying as (iá, úá, ûí). It is the first form (ia, úa) which is so conspicuous and remarkable in our northern dialects. The second, which often develops from the first, as (iá, úá), has a wide range in the literary languages of Europe.

Prefractures are strong or clausive when the original vowel has the greater closure, so that the result is a progressive closing. Its types are (ái, ûí, úí), and do not, at least commonly, vary as (ái, aus), although (uí) is not uncommon.

Suffractures take either of the above forms, that is, may be either apertive or clausive, or may be simply continuant or laxative, the opening of the mouth continuing much the same throughout, or merely relaxing into some of the easy positions, giving obscure resonance, such as (o). The first element is, however, the original, or one of its gradations, and the second the adventitious. In the types, then, the first element is marked long, as (écí, óou, áós). The two first types have crept into received English pronunciation. They are largely developed in Icelandic. They probably were so in old Norman, and have doubtless influenced our Early English forms. The last type (áos) is widely developed in our dialects.

Omissive suffractures arise from the suppression of a consonant, or

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1 Here (ái, aú) must not be confused with Grimm’s Gothic “broken vowels” ai, au, where “i and u, losing their purity, pass over into a mixed sound” (D.G. I, 50), supposed to be different from the usual Gothic ai, au, which he writes di, du, and takes as (ái, au), see table in (561, b). My use of the acute accent in the notation of diphthongs (419, c) was suggested by Grimm’s, but in palaeotype (ái, au) are real diphthongs, and not any “mixed sound,” whatever Grimm may have conceived that expression to imply.
its gradual change into (i, u, a). The types are (ái, áu, áo), and they have been largely developed in the received dialect, or its early forms, by the suppression of g and r, and sometimes l.

False fractures are such as have been simply developed recently by mere imitation, or false analogy. They take any of the above forms. Thus the Londoner's (maa'ə) for gnaw comes from the analogy of his omissive fracture (mæ, mə) for more, replacing (moo'), and similar words.

Junctures arise from the substitution of a practically intermediate sound for a fracture of any sort, or from the suppression of an element, thus (ái, áu) may give (e, o) as intermediates, or (a) by suppression; both cases occur.

The most important point to be determined in examining a fracture relates to the original vowel, and, as that vowel is frequently graded even to obscuration, it is frequently not recognisable without comparison of the forms of a word in various dialects. When the original vowel reaches obscurity, it is necessarily disguised in ordinary alphabetic writing, and will appear under one of the forms e, a, o, u, quite independently of any variety of sound, according to the fancy of the writer at the moment, partly swayed perhaps by etymological considerations. I am not inclined to give medieval writers credit for greater exactness than their modern followers, especially when they had absolutely no sign for an obscure vowel. I do not see why an Anglosaxon scribe in the xth century should not have used ea, eo, precisely as I find modern dialectal writers actually employ them, so far as the second element is concerned. If they had been able to write (eo) in both cases, they would probably often have done so. Not having this power, however, the signs remain ambiguous, and either (eo) may have been meant, or really (éa, éo).

It was in the Cumberland dialect that the apertive prefractures first presented themselves to me in recognisable purity. It was impossible to hear (f'ras, d'ial, l'at) for face, dale, late, and (braid, stian) for broad, stone, with a perfectly distinct (a), and to observe fool, look vary from (f'ul, l'uk), through (f'ol, l'ok), to (f'el, l'ek), without recognising that the original (a, u) had been introduced by an adventitious (i), which, usurping the accent, occasionally obscured the other vowel. The subsequent comparison of three Yorkshire forms of speech with the Scotch led me to formulate the process thus. Speakers in different districts have a tendency to introduce an opener vowel by a closer. The tendency varies very much, even in contiguous districts, even in different speakers within the same district, even in the same speaker on different occasions. The introducing vowel generally usurps the stress, and thus obscures the original vowel, but this obscuration does not always follow, and the stress sometimes passes to the original vowel, or its graded representative, shewing that this was a subsequent process, as the gradation, especially when amounting to obscuration, was more likely to occur

1 Compare the "etymological" a ə i graphy, in the examples, p. 1304, ə ʊ of the Roman Wallachian ortho- language 27.
without than with the stress. The original vowel being of the (e) class, the introducing vowel was of the (i) class; but when the original vowel was (a), the introducing vowel was either (i) or (e). The North Mid and Mid Yorkshire forms of speech, hereafter adduced, are distinguished by this difference. The introducing vowel might also be (u) in this case, but this is not so frequent for an original (a) as for an original (o). The types (ie, ia, ea, úo) are the most general. But as long as the stress remains on the first element, the second is very difficult to hold distinctly, and rapidly passes over into (e); thus the forms (ie, ea, úo) are the most frequent forms of the preceding types. When this stage is reached, the tendency seems to be to drive the obscurcation further, by shortening the second element, till it becomes a mere voice-glide, connected so closely with the preceding vowel as to seem rather to generate a new sound than to remain a mere appendage. Thus arise the close fractures (i', e', e', e', u', u'), of which (i', u') are of constant occurrence in Scotch, where they have been written by Mr. Murray, in his historical orthography (op. cit. p. 103), as ea, uo, the very signs adopted by medieval writers for related phenomena. The following are Mr. Murray's remarks on these two fractures. "This, the ea, eae, in leade, breae, is a very difficult sound to analyse. When pronounced leisurely, however, the main element will generally be recognised as the long of the English i, heard in singing bit to a long note bi-i-i-t, this sound gliding or opening at the end into the e in yet, Scotch y in byt, or perhaps the mid-mixed vowel (e) in the second syllable of real, which occupies a mid position between the Scotch y in myll (mel) and u in null (mal). I often hear the identical sound in English, when the word real (ri-ol) is carelessly pronounced, as (rial, ri'l). When rapidly pronounced, the glide is scarcely heard, and the two sounds seem to mix into an impure ee (i) or close ai (e)." (ibid. p. 105.) Mr. Murray's (i) is rather deeper than mine, and sounds to me generally like (i') or (e'), so that his (i') approximates closely to an (e), but a remarkably altered (e). As respects uo, Mr. Murray says: "This vowel bears precisely the same relation to oo (u) and o (o) that ea does to ee (i) and ai (e). When pronounced leisurely, the main element will be heard to be the same as the English 'wide' oo (u) in book, poor, but this sound opens and glides towards the u in gun (u). When rapidly pronounced, however, the effect of the glide is scarcely felt, and we seem to hear only a very close o, almost falling into oo (u), and nearly, if not quite, identical with the Italian o chiuso, representing a short Latin u, as dolce, rompe, somma." (ib. p. 111.) These introductions of (e, a, o) by (i, e, u) consequently lead directly to the substitution of (i) for (e) or (a), (e) for (a), and (u) for (o). In fact, an unpractised ear receives (i', e', u') for (ii, ee, uu).1 Stone, ags. (staan), which is (stian) in Cumberland, becomes (st'un) in Teviotdale, and we hear of (steen) in "general Scotch," and (stun) in Aberdeen.

The most remarkable of these prefractures is (íu), where (u) is a

1 German lieben and such words have (ii) for (i'), see Grimm (I3, 227).
gradation of (o). In Cumberland I was for a long time puzzled with what appeared from description to be a peculiar (y, u) sound. Subsequent hearing shewed me that it varied as (iu, ɪə, iə°), and was in fact a real prefracture of (u). In Norfolk the custom varies, (iu, iʊ, iy, y, yɪ, ə) being used as substitutes for (uu); this is even the case in a few words in Kent. In Devonshire, while (y, ɪ, ə) are generally acknowledged, see p. 636, note, yet the fracture (mən, mən) may be noticed. The sounds (y, ɪ, ə) as used in these dialects could not be a Norman introduction, as they occur in words where Normans have (u). They are not a necessity of Scotch pronunciation, for the Scotch retain the (uu) sound where it was received from Anglo-Saxon and French. Hence I am led to consider this (y, ɪ, ə) as in all cases a juncture arising from the fracture (iu, io) differently developed in different districts, according to a native custom of pronunciation, and to be in no respects a foreign importation. That the real French (y) which was introduced in French words, as nature, followed the course of the native fracture, is very probable, and this may account for the simultaneous existence of (iu, y) in the mouths of Wilkins and Wallis, just as we have seen they long afterwards co-existed sporadically.¹ It is also possible that the puzzling use of u in the xiii century (424, b), which finally introduced ou for (uu), may have been due to a similar prefracture. Even the short u, which interchanges with i, e (300, a), may be due to a very close (i’, e’) form of this fracture. The consideration of fracture at any rate introduces a new consideration depending upon a native existing habit, with whose various forms the old orthography was powerless to deal. For example, the open (ɛa) could not be orthographically distinguished from the close (ɛ’), except by leaving the former as ea or eo,² and the latter as e. This may account for the remarkable treatment of eo, e, by Orrin (487, od). The hesitation of that writer brought to light by the condition of his manuscript is quite familiar to all those who try to fix a speech on paper. The analysis of fractures is always especially difficult, and the Latin alphabet had made no provision for it. With regard to the particular tendency to interpose (i) before (u), I have been lately struck with its comparative frequency in educated pronunciation, where the speaker would probably have been much offended had any such tendency been hinted at. The (i) is generally (i), and very light, and sometimes varies with (y). Thus I have heard room vary as (rəm, rɪˈəm, rɪˈyəm), so that there would be clearly very little difficulty in reaching (rəm, rɨm, rəm).

When the original element is retained distinctly, the position of

¹ The real French (y) in France itself is derived from an original Latin (u), and the process of derivation may have been precisely the same, from (iu). We find numerous proofs of the existence of the types (iu, ɪən) in French, so that this hypothesis has an historic foundation.

² The Anglo-Saxon fractures ea, eo—to which perhaps the confusion of eo, ae, with each other and with a, will allow us to add ae, too cursorily treated on p. 511—will be reconsidered in Chap. XII. Among dialectal writers I have found the utmost confusion in respect to ea, ae, in the forms (i’, ɛ’).
the stress is very uncertain. Hence (ia, ua) are as apt to become (iá, uá) as (ía, úa). They are, as it were, in a state of unstable equilibrium. This I state from my own personal feelings in listening to Cumberland sounds. But the choice once made has a considerable effect on subsequent development, and either position of the stress may be originally developed. Initially, that is with no preceding consonant, the stress falls on the second element or original vowel, and then, in accordance with present English habits, the introducing (i, u) become the consonants (j, w). But that this was the Anglosaxon custom there is considerable reason to doubt (p. 511), either as to the position of the stress on the second element, or as to the consonantal development of the first element. At present, even in Scotland, we have (jen, jeb'l, jek, jet) for one, able, oak, oat (Murray, p. 105), all being cases of (iá) in the gradated form (iá'). Mr. Murray even writes (nje'm) where I seemed to hear him say (nhié'm). In general I think that the jerk or aspiration acting on the initial (i) or (u) saves it from becoming (j), but that is a matter of theory, very difficult to decide practically. We have also in Scotch (war'tshet, war'pi lif, war'pen) for orchard, orpine, open. And similarly to the (nj), Mr. Murray writes (uwal), where I suspect (uhuz'l), for hole, etc., which is consistent with his secondary historical form huöle, etc. (ibid. p. 112.) The greater number of dialectal writers use y, w, in these cases, even after a consonant, as Jcown in Cumberland, implying (Dzhwon), which is to me a very difficult combination; but I seem to hear (dzhuón), which is easy enough. Even in this word I doubted the stress, and thought at first that it lay on the introducing vowel, thus (dzhúon). This is mentioned first to shew the vowel character of the first element, and secondly the instability of the position of stress. There was no approach, however, to (dzhuán), compare the English pronunciation of Juan (dzhuu'yn). In our received pronunciation we have the fracture (uá) in one (wén). The oldest form of this fracture which I have been able to cite is Jones's (wén), at the close of the xvir th century, suprà p. 1012, for which a little later, in the xvirr th century, we have (won, wán, won), see (1079, a), while at the present day both (won) and (wén, wán) are heard (1091, d. 1097, a). The fractural character and its recent development are therefore well established.

These prefractures often re-act powerfully on the preceding consonant. Where the aspirate exists we ought to have (jh, wh), but these do not seem to be developed. More frequently the aspirate is lost, and (iá, uá) are treated as initials, thus (rep, Jed, wén) occur for (nhiép, nhíed, nhuám), heap, head, home, in Shropshire. When there is a preceding (t, d), the fracture is apt to

1 We have here the same controversy as on pp. 1092-3. With regard to Salesbury's vwyth (762, b. 763, c), I was much struck by hearing Dr. Benjamin Davies (769, c) read the Welsh vwyth = 8, distinctly as (wyth), without a trace of (wyth), on 6 Feb. 1874; yet I have not noticed this peculiarity in his pronunciation of English with.

2 Sometimes the word comes to me as (whis'm), sometimes as (jæm), and may possibly vary as (jæm).
change it to (tsh, dzh), as (tshem, dzhel) for (tiém, diél) team, deal, also in Shropshire. This happens in the received pronunciation. The terminations, -ture, -dure, once (-tyyr, -dyyr), as imported words, split into two directions. In the xviiith century the remis-

sion of accent introduced the ready gradations (-tuir, -duir), whence (-tair, -dair), which became the rule in the xviii th century. But orthography having crystallised, the final -e reminded readers, and especially teachers, that u must be “long.” Now the old (yy) seems never to have died out, but the modern (iú) may not so much be a fracture evolved from it as a false orthographic fracture, not however without opposition, see Webster (1070, b’). Once intro-
duced, however, (-tiuar, -diuar) passed easily through (-tiar, -diar) into (-tshar, -dzhar), precisely in the same way as in Shropshire. And the alteration of even accented (siú, tiú, diú) to (shu, shhu, dzhu) is of the same kind. This became strongly developed among the Irish in the xviii th century. See the words beginning with (su-, tu-) in the vocabulary, supra pp. 1081–2.

In the Romance languages the weak (i, u) prefractures play a great part. Thus in French, (shas) champ is (kiám-pum) altered, and (reca) older (rég) is (rué-gem), for (ree-gem), Latin regem. We have this even initial as in Italian (uó-vsh) uovo, Spanish (ué-vó) huevo, Latin (oo-vum, úo-vum), Lat. ovum. In Slavonic the (i) introductions are constant. The fusions of the introduced (i, u) with the consonants as (j, w), which is a preparation for subsequent gradations, need only be mentioned. The especial tendency of (k, g) to (ki-, gi-), producing (kj, gj), and thence (sh, zh, tsh, dzh, sh, zh, s z) on the one hand, and (ku-, gu-), producing (kv-, gw-), and thence (w, wh, bh), and conversely, on the other, are well known. It is evident that the tendency towards (ki-, gi-) must have been felt very strongly by a man who could say, like Walker, “When the a is pronounced short, as in the first syllable of candle, gander, etc., the interposition of the e (i) is very perceptible, for though we can pronounce guard and cart without interposing the e, it is impossible to pronounce garrison and carriage in the same manner.” (Dictionary, Principles, art. 92. See supra 206, e.) It is curious that under these two words in his dictionary he gives no notice of introduced (i), and does not refer to this dictum in his principles.

The clausive prefractures, (ái áu), have long been recognized. The guṇa of the Sanscritists brought them prominently forward, and the later Sanscrit pronunciation developed the conception of the corresponding junctures (ee, oo), or (ee, oo), the exact vowel being at present doubtful, but the latter were always to my mind most probable, see also Mr. Gupta’s unmistakable pronunciation, (1137, a). But guṇa was a grammatical or accential, at any rate not a clearly dialectal, transformation of (i, u), and we were so little prepared to accept such a transformation in Eng-

lish during the xvth century, that perhaps no theories propounded in this book were more counter to general feeling than that the original sounds of English i, ou, were (ii, uu). Yet the change is
precisely of the same nature as that of (a, o) into (ía, úo), and the changes follow an analogous course in both English and German, where a similar feeling was generated at the same time. In the next chapter I shall be able to produce new evidence, through the kindness of Mr. Murray, for the original (ii) value of English ȝ. But the dialectal treatment distinctly points to the same conclusion. The change of (i, u) to (ái, āu), in various gradations, is a mere fracture, exactly comparable to the apertive prefractions. Where long ȝ was gradated, or shortened, the tendency to fracture did not act. But when (ái, āu) were once established, the second element became often obscured, and we find dialectally (āa) or (a') for both, so that both sink into simple juncture (aa). The pronoun I, originally short, as in (ës) ich, was treated as long (iī), and fractured to (ái), which is constantly (aa) dialectally, and similarly while is (waal) in Leeds, and free is (fā'v) in Mid-Lothian. The word house is retained without fracture in the Scotch (nhus), and generally becomes (nāus) in some gradated form, but in Leeds sinks to (aas), while in the North of Yorkshire it fractures differently, and gives (ii's) from (ius), the old (uus) remaining as a refined form. This is a remarkable illustration of the comparatively recent development of fracture in both forms, furnishing an explanation of such apparent anomalies as the "change" of received (nhaus) into (ius), aas, uus), as they would be naturally but incorrectly conceived by those who only recognise received pronunciation. The Yorkshire lists of words will supply numerous instances. A remarkable confirmation of this view is afforded by the treatment of the high German ei, au, which 500 years ago were (ii, uu), as is undisputed in Germany, in the Bavarian dialects (Schmeller, Mundarten Bayerns, art. 236–245, 157–163, see ai, ei, in No. 8 of this section). Many of these dialects retain the old (ii, uu) untouched, and in the refined pronunciation of almost all, the modern literary (ái, āu) are heard, with various gradated forms, as (di, i'ı, i'; áu), which are also common in English, but the mere obscuration (āa) does not seem to have been observed in this particular case.

These clausive prefractions are very widely developed in high and low German, but have not penetrated into Scandinavian, and are generally unknown in Romance. A curious example near Cherbourg is however given (460, ã'). The prefraction (ui), in the form (üe), subsequently gradated to (uá), is originally rather a clausive prefraction than an apertive, as it now appears, and in that form is frequent. The Spanish (üe) form is perhaps to be considered as originally a suffraction (ue), a gradation of (œe) from Latin (o). When a dialect has once seized a sound, the distinction of precfrac-}

Such fractures, however, play an important part in the development of new sounds. They consist essentially in vanishes, which seem to arise from the inconvenience experienced by the organs of speech in prolonging any sounds. The tongue taught to rise from its
position of rest for (e) rises further to (i); the lips closing for (o) close further for (u); and hence arise (ėi, ọu), of which, however, at least at first, the suffractural character is shewn by the complete subordination of the suffixed to the original element, so that (ėci, óou) are the original types, which only gradually reduce to (ėi, ọu) when they become readily confounded with the clausic prefrractures (ai, āu). The development of (ėi) from (e), which has taken place in almost received speech, at any rate in the speech received by Mr. Melville Bell, plays a great part in our Yorkshire dialects, and it is possible that some of the difficulties in older rhymes e, ēi, as in Havelok, suprâ p. 473, may be solved on the supposition of double forms (ee, ēi), such as the following tables will shew to actually exist in kindred dialects. It must be also remembered that suffractures of the type (ėi, ọu) are largely developed in Icelandic. Corresponding to this (ėi, ọu) type, is the (āa) form, which slightly elevates the tongue, but rather brings the organs to a state of repose. Now this (a) had no alphabetic symbol but (e), or in Scotch i, which has the sound of (e), and represented apparently (a) as well. The combinations ai, ēi, oi, would then represent (āa, ēa, ọa), and readily became forms for long (a, e, o). See (410, č. 637, č. 1085, č. and Murray, p. 52). But the suffractures (āa, ọa) have another tendency. The neutral position of the (a) allows either an (u) or an (i) position to be readily assumed, and hence we obtain the suffractures (ēo ūy, ōi ōe ūy), and the three last may also appear as (uí ūe ūy). Now this would give the developments (ēo ūu), gradating to (iū ūu), which would connect (e) with well-known diphthongs in a simple manner. The suffracture (ōi), as in (góid) good, really occurs frequently in Yorkshire, but I cannot recall an example of (ūi). The types (ūi' cœ' aa' oo' uu') are frequent. These are all simple suffractures, arising merely from the feeling of the speaker, precisely as the precfractures arose, and, like them, co-exist not unfrequently with non-suffractured forms.

Omissive suffractures, arising from the suppression of r, are common in the received dialect, as (iir eε' oò' uu'), see (1999, a'). In the corresponding (aa', āā'), the suffracture reduces to the juncture (aa, āā). Even in (ee', oo') the suffracture is very close, and is barely recognised, so that (oo') often falls into the juncture (āā), or else (ee', oo') are reduced to two syllables, as (eeöa, ooöa), to "make the r distinct," by substituting a clear ungliding (a) for a trill. This suppression is carried out thoroughly in the south-western dialects, and more or less pervades the northern, exclusive of the Scotch, where the trill never fails. The treatment of r in the Bavarian dialects is very similar (Schmeller, arts. 621-637, and under r in No. 8 of this section), by the introduction of an (a) before the trill when preserved, causing suffractures; by its general omission before consonants, and in final syllables when not before vowels; and even by its euphonic insertion, of which Schmeller gives

In the Forest of Dean I have heard the suffracture (ai) as in (naim) for name, compare (253, c), remembering Gower's probable extraction (726, b), and that S. Western English is spoken in Gowerland.
numerous instances. Such instances shew that, in order to get at the laws of phonetic change, a comparative study of dialectal usages will be necessary, and that we must not be in a hurry to generalise. These considerations have induced me to give an abstract of Schmeller's observations, which are unfortunately but little known to English philologists, in No. 8 of this section.

In the early English we recognised a suppression of (g), or rather its mutation into (i, u), generating diphthongs, which did not form a part of the older language (213, a). These diphthongs are real suffractures (ái, áu), and hence different in origin from the prefractions (ái, áu), or the suffractural (éi, ón), already considered. But once received, they are treated phonetically in the same way, for the organs of speech deal with existent sounds, which, when identical, affect them identically, independently of origin. The case of speaker and hearer is in this case identical. There is no intuitive historical appreciation. The history has to be discovered by slow degrees. Those who stamp their own provisional, and hence generally incorrect, notions of the history of a word upon its visible form, by the adoption of a so-called historical or etymological spelling, which designedly misleads as to the real constitution of the word, its audible sound, and very often indeed undesignedly misleads as to its descent, are throwing unnecessary obstacles in the way of philological investigation. The blunders and contrivances of the early scribes are more instructive than the systematic orthographies of later theorists. The (ái, áu), as derived from ag, ah, should then appear not only in their original form, but as (áa, aa), as well as in junctures (aa, ee, AA), and this is found to be the case. The (áu) form, however, comes from ag, through the (gew, wh, w) transformations of g, and hence we must expect it to follow the same fortunes as suppressed w. Thus endwian gives (náa', nál', náa, náá), as well as (nóou, nóo, nóo'w); dohtor appears as (dóu, dái, d'úi, d'ú, d'á, da'ái, daa'tái, dée'tái); veg assumes the forms (wái, waa', waa, wii', wee', wee', wéej, wéesi, wéi, wéi, wéi). Sufractions appear in the received dialect by the obscurance of a following vowel, which ceases to form a distinctly separate syllable. The terminations -ea, -eal, -ial, -ual, constantly lead to these suffractions, which are sometimes so close that the fractural nature is difficult to discern. Thus idea, rafaia, through (o'idii', rafaii''), lead to (o'idii', rafaii'), of which the first is considered ludicrous, the second is received. Real (riil) is constantly miscalled (riil),¹ and really, which is pronounced as rearly formed from rear, that is (rii'-li), rhyming to nearly, is miscalled (rii'-li). A comparison of the following words will bring out the fractures really heard in ordinary speech. Many persons are apt to make the second words, which have no fracture, and are printed in roman letters, identical or rhyming with the first, which have a more or less distinct frac-

¹ Thus (riil), having a well-known S.E. Yorkshire fracture, "genteel" speakers in Hull are horrified, and say (riil), as I have been told by Rev. Henry Ward, who is well acquainted with the district, and to whom I owe the specimens of S.E. Yorkshire in Nos. 11 and 12, variety 15f.
tire, that is, which are always intended to be dissyllabic, and are printed in italics.

Ideal deal, real reel, really mealy, dial crocodile, vital vile, denial Nile, trial rile, diet indite, quiet quite, riot rite, triad tried, dyad died, Dryad dried, diamond, dire moaned, die moaned, bias bice, lisas lice.

The termination -ual is rather (-u'l, -iu'l) than the theoretical (-u'ul, -iujl) in gradual, individual, manual, continual, annual, casual, visual, usual, actual, effectual, intellectual, punctual, perpetual, habitual, ritual, spiritual, virtual, mutual. In some of the commonest of these words, especially when -ly is subjoined, the fracture reduces to a juncture, as (-ul, -ol, -l); thus actually, individually, mutually, punctually, usually, are constantly called (æ'ktsh'li, indivi'dzh'li, miu'tsh'li, pœqksh'li, iju'zhi'l), in place of the more theoretical and not unfrequent (e'kti'ul, jiùu'zhi'ul), etc. It is by a consideration of such words that those who use received pronunciation may attain a proper conception of such close fractures as (s', u'). See (1310, c).


The illiterate peasant, speaking a language entirely imitative, unfixed by any theoretic orthography, untrammelled by any pedant's fancies, is the modern representative of our older population, which, confined to small districts by feudal superiors, the custom of villanage, and the difficulty of travelling, and entirely untaught, kept up their language by the mere necessity of talking, with no conception of a literature, or prevision of the importance which would be subsequently attributed to their natural utterances. The priests and scholars who, desirous of communicating with them, attempted to reduce their utterances to writing, on the model of the literatures, Latin, Norman, and Saxon, with which they were more or less acquainted, for the purpose of instructing them ecclesiastically, or, as in Robert of Brunne's Chronicle, delighting them with literature, in some degree resembled those country clergymen and literary men who have attempted to collect and fix our present dialects by writing. The strictly dialectal writing of past ages must be judged of as that of to-day, by taking the normal alphabet (which was then Latin, with Norman proclivities), and supposing that the writer endeavoured, with insufficient knowledge and insufficient means, and hence with a vacillating pen, but with a good conscience, to record what he heard. Hence it is necessary to compare the spelling actually used by good dialectal writers with the sounds actually heard by good phonetic observers. This I am not able to do as accurately as I could wish, because I have very seldom been able to compare the sounds heard with the words written in the district for which they were written. But I am able to approximate with sufficient closeness to bring out the principle, and make it intelligible. As our studies of the older English dialects, as such, are as yet quite in their infancy, though taken up by good heads and hard workers, the importance of these considerations is manifest.
Next, by a comparison of different dialects as really spoken, we have to discover, so far as possible, the dialectal treatment of sounds originally more closely related. It would be rash to assume that they were originally the same as now, because the Saxon and Danish tribes which came to our shores of course already spoke dialectally, and present habits are the result of a fusion, subject to many influences through many generations. The general character of such treatment has just been roughly sketched. We are as yet far from having data to complete the picture, and the imperfect materials whence the sketch was drawn will be found below. But enough exists to shew that received English, as a spoken language, is only one dialectal form among several, although it has been more controlled than the others, through having become the dialect of the court, of government, of established priesthood, of law, of the schoolmaster, of the higher social ranks, and of literature. All these influences have often been brought to bear upon it with the iron hand of prejudice, which, unillumined by any sound philology, regarded all other dialects as barbarous, and proceeded to deck out its victim according to fancied notions of propriety. But they cannot disguise its dialectal character, and hence cannot prevent our seeking in a comparison of the living dialects a confirmation of the results obtained by an examination of traditional literature.

One result of this is that the primitive character of the sounds represented by $a$, $e$, $i$, $o$, $u$, cannot be mistaken. The present forms are clearly seen to be either gradations of these, as in $a$, $e$, $o$, or fractures, as in $i$, $u$.

A. The dialects point to an original (a) for $a$, both long and short. This is shown by the existence of the (a) sound almost universally in the dialects, by its occasional gradations into (ah, æ, e) or (A, o, o), and by itsprefractures into ($i\alpha$, $i'$, $e\alpha$, $e'$), and its suffractures into (a$\alpha$, a$i$). The hypothesis of (a) explains all these cases satisfactorily; the hypothesis (ee'j, e) would lead to endless difficulties.

E. An original (e) for modern e, o$\alpha$, is likewise a necessity of the constant existence of long (ee), with its possible variety (ee), and occasional gradation (ii), a gradation occurring in cases where it does not occur in the received dialect, as in (wi$\alpha$, dh$i\alpha$, gri, bri$\alpha$) for where, there, great, break; and of its frequent prefracture into (ii') or suffracture into (e$i$), which remarkable form is probably more properly connected with (e) than with (i) in numerous instances. The variations of the short sound, generally (e, $e$), but gradating into (æ), or even (a) before r, on the one hand, and (e) on the other, point the same way. As no one could think of (i) as the original short sound of e, so the conception of (ii) becomes impossible for the original long sound. The possibility of an original distinction such as (e, e) or (e, $e$), both long and short, but principally long, though not apparent, is possible. We require, however, much more accurate and extensive observations than we yet possess before we can take any point so delicate into consideration. As far as my kind helpers go, I find a difficulty in getting the (ee, ee, $e$) recognised at all at first, as distinct from (ee, $e$). Most dialectal observers have
been educated to consider \( (ee) \) as the long and \( (e) \) as the short sound. Many do not hear a difference of vowel quality in \textit{whale where, alo air;} many are not aware of the \( \acute{e} \) \textit{fermé} and \( \acute{e} \) \textit{ouvert} of the French, the \( \acute{e} \) \textit{chiuso} and \( \acute{e} \) \textit{aperto} of the Italians. The triple distinctions \( (e, e, \acute{e}) \) require an educated ear. I have found some who at first heard \( (ee, e) \) always, come round to \( (ee, e) \) always, which may be equally incorrect. Again, the sound recognised as \( (ee) \) in Scotland, is so much deeper than my usual \( (ee) \), that I should at first hearing put it at \( (ee) \), though not \( (ee) \). It is possible that many \( (ee) \) sounds occur which have not been noticed. At present, therefore, with our imperfect means for taking observations, we can only say that dialectal studies do no more than point to \( e \) having belonged to the \( (e) \) group of sounds. In the next chapter we shall see reason for supposing that the old difference was not sufficient to prevent inter-rhyming, but that is hardly a satisfactory criterion, for though it applies in French, it would entirely fail both in modern German and in Italian. To suppose that an original Gothic \( i, e \), should be the parent of two \( (e) \) sounds \( (e, \acute{e}) \), is very seducing, especially when put beside the Italian practice. In old high German the rhymes separate the sounds strictly, as in modern French (Grimm, D.G. I\textdagger, 74), but this only refers to the \textit{short} vowels, whereas Englishmen feel the difference especially in \textit{long} vowels. As to old Saxon and Anglo-saxon, Grimm (I\textdagger, 233, 333) confesses to great difficulties in finding any distinctions, and remarks that the middle low German and ags. dialects seem to neglect the difference more than the high German (ib. 233). As regards middle high German, he observes (ib. 139) that, in the xixth and xiii th centuries, the difference of the two sounds, \( a \) broad \( (e, \acute{e}, \acute{e}) \), and \( \acute{e} \) narrow \( (e, i) \), was very strictly observed, although with exceptions there given; but in the xiv th century \( e, \acute{e} \), began to rhyme more freely, which Grimm laments. But coming to his own day, he says (ib. 220) that the difference \( e, \acute{e} \), remains in pronunciation, "at least in the principal cases: \textit{legen} ponere sounds to us quite different from \textit{gelegen} positus, \textit{regen} movere different from \textit{regen} pluvia: but our present poets are so hard of hearing, or so accommodating, that they rhyme both vowels together." Now Schmitthenner (Dictionary) writes \textit{r\text{\'e}gen} for both the last words, but Hilpert (German Dict.) distinguishes \textit{r\text{\'e}gen} to move, with the close sound, from \textit{r\text{\'e}gen} rain, with the open sound. The distinction depends on locality. Grimm was born and lived chiefly in the Electorate of Hessen Cassel. Now Rapp (Phys. d. Spr. 4, 85), after dividing the custom of modern German pronunciation into three systems, of which the six characteristics are, 1) the treatment of \( e \), 2) of the diphthongs, 3) of the relations between long and short accented vowels, 4) of \( g, 5) \) of \( s \), and 6) of \( ng \), locates the first system, which he calls the "orthographical," in the north-west, embracing Cassel, and says that all \( a \) which evidently come from \( a \), and all \( \acute{a} \) which come from \( i \), are thrown together as \( \acute{a} \), and such \( \acute{e} \) as thence appear to be radical remain. Here \( \acute{a}, \acute{e}=(ee, ee) \) or \( (ee, ee) \), use varying. The separation is not quite that of Grimm, which was of course influenced by
his studies. Here are the words in Rapp's example (ib. 87), the derivations go. gothic, old high german, etc., are from Schmitt- 
henner:

\[\text{ä} = (\text{ee})\]

\[\text{e} = (\text{ee})\]

\begin{align*}
\text{seela, goth. saivala} & \quad \text{evig, goth. ëwa} \\
\text{ordan, go. air} & \quad \text{gegen, goth. kakan} \\
\text{or, goh. ar, ir, ur} & \quad \text{dem, goth. dem} \\
\text{vscheben, KB gohen, goth. kipan} & \quad \text{edel, goth. adal} \\
\text{vnbete, goth. anapet} & \\
\text{verklärt} & \quad \text{from klar, from lat. clarus} \\
\text{der, goth. der} & \\
\text{beben, goth. pip} & \\
\text{leben, goth. lep} &
\end{align*}

The same so-called "historical ä" is found in the second or "historical" system stretching over the North of Germany to Russia, and in some isolated spots in the middle provinces, on the lower Rhine, by Fulda, etc.; and in the whole South-west of Germany. The following are additional words from Rapp's example to this system (ib. 89):

\[\text{ä} = (\text{ee})\]

\[\text{e} = (\text{ee})\]

\begin{align*}
\text{wer, goth. hu} & \quad \text{entgeht, (goen, goth. kân, kankan)} \\
\text{nebel}, \text{goth. n} & \quad \text{wenig, goth. wéna} \\
\text{sehen, goth. sé} & \quad \text{elend, goth. elilenti} \\
\text{schwe} & \quad \text{en, goth. suír} \\
\text{sábel, French sabre} & \\
\text{drehen, goth. dríhan} & \\
\text{weht, goth. wahan or wejan} & \\
\text{sahr, goth. sé} & \\
\text{nahr, go. nasjan, goth. nerjan} & \\
\text{fálle, goth. vélahan} & \\
\text{thráne, goth. trahin} & \\
\text{kzähle, goth. zellan} &
\end{align*}

It is evident that though these systems distinguish e, ë, in one sense, they confuse o from á and ã from i altogether, and that they are not even consistent in so doing. It is a relief to Englishmen, then, who wish to pronounce German intelligibly, to learn that the third or "practical" system, which extends over the whole middle part of Germany, uses (oe) for all long and (e) for all short e, as in English. It is no wonder, therefore, that Modern German poets are so "hard of hearing." No one in Germany seems to hear as Grimm's theory requires. Whether anything will be hereafter discoverable in English dialects, it is difficult to say; at present I see nothing certain in the distinctions apparently made between (ee, eo). To my ears (ee) is more frequently used by English dialectal speakers than (oe), but my experience is limited. The distinctions between (e, ë) are still more uncertain.

O. An original (o) is more difficult to determine. The sound (o) itself is decidedly heard in our dialects, but, owing to the habits of received English, hearers naturally confuse (AA, oo) and (o, o), and, when the long sound does not appear yet to have reached (AA), it is put down as (oo). The prefraatures of (oo) would be (io, io, íu, í'; óo, óo, éu, ee'), and (oo) would grade so easily to (oo, uu, un) that I can only express my general conviction and not any certainty.
That the (o) was not (uu) when long admits of no doubt, but that it may have been (o, u, u', u) when short, in various cases, at an early time, seems probable. It is more likely that the fracture (u') is due to (uö) than to anything else, but of course (uö) is quite possible. Although o has a double source, from a and from u, yet there does not seem to be anything in the dialectal treatment to justify the assumption of (o, o), which is not even made by Grimm. The double sounds exist in Germany, but do not co-exist in the same system of pronunciation. Schmeller, however, has a few instances of (o) in Bavarian dialects (ib. art. 319, see art. 68, and see o in No. 8 below). The regular sounds seem to have been (oo, o) universally at an earlier period. It will be shewn in Chap. XII. that the rhyme usages of our older poets are not enough to separate them. It is only when we find au (AA) written for long o in our modern dialects that we can feel sure of a difference having been felt.

I. That long i was originally (ii, i'') appears dialectally from the preservation of that sound in many words (291, o), and from its clausive prefractions (ai) in various forms, which sometimes becomes the juncture (aa) even when (i'') exists in the same dialect. Long i might indeed be (aa) under these circumstances, but no one has probably ever imagined such a thing.

I. By the long u I mean the original sound, afterwards represented by ou. This appears to be (uu) by the preservation of that sound throughout the Northern dialects, and by its prefractions (au, u), degenerating into (as, i'). Of course it would be ridiculous to suppose that u was originally either of these latter sounds. The short u may have been the close fracture (i', e') when it interchanged with i, e, and finally necessitated the use of ou for (uu) as a mark of distinction. Owing probably to the existence of the sign ou, the prefracture was always assumed to be (ou, A', o') by our older phonetic writers, and not (au). Of course the labial (u) tends to work back on the prefixed (a) by transmutation, and thus labialise it into (o), so that the change of (au) into (ou), or the original formation of (ou), is quite natural. In Devonshire, after u had been conceived as (y) in some form, the transmutation of (o) into (u), producing the fracture (u'y), was equally natural. The use of u in French words was a foreignism. In dialects this u is a fracture (iu, i''), and varies as such a fracture.

AI. AU. The combinations ai, au, seem by the dialects to be treated as (ai, âu), whether as prefractions of (i, u), or as suffractions of (a). The persistence of (ai), not merely in the South-Western dialects, but in the Eastern and South-Eastern, and the mode in which the (ai, ee, ii) sounds are mixed up together within the same dialect, seem to be inexplicable on any other hypothesis but an original (ai, éi). The forms of (au) as (AA, oo, o') tell a similar tale.

EW, OW, were also fractures (éu, óu), arising from the dis-appearance of w, or occasionally g. That laugh, when gradated from (laawh) to (lowh), and thence passing to (low, lóu), might have become (luu) or even (lui), would not be surprising, when we find a
bow appearing as (bi? , bun, b?u) within the same (North Yorkshire) dialect.

**Double Forms.** One of the most interesting points forced on our attention by dialects is the great variety of co-existing forms within the same or closely-connected districts, and also the fact that a word alters its sound according to its position in a sentence, and according to the meaning of the sentence. In old pronunciation we were continually puzzled by a similar variety of form, of which we have not many relics in received speech, as *either* (ii’dhar, a’i’dhar), so that it seemed like begging the question to assume it. But the present investigations make such assumption far less bold than the alternatives to which we should be otherwise forced.

**E final.** The controversy respecting final *e*, to which we shall have to recur in the next chapter, makes it important to discover any traces of its pronunciation. As yet none have been discovered. This refers to pure *-e*, and not to *-e* as the representative of *-en*. The pure *-e* seems to have altogether disappeared, but though *-e* as a form of *-en* does not appear to be known, *-en* itself is still preserved in the usages of several dialects. Now, as the absence of *-en* in some dialects is thus seen not to prove the original absence of *-en* in others, so the absence of *-e* in some dialects at an early period, as in the Northern Hampole, would not disprove its contemporary use in some other dialects, as in the court language of Chaucer and Gower. Just in the same way, the universal reduction of *-ed* to *-t*, *-d*, in speech, far more than 50 years ago, would not disprove the universal pronunciation of *-ed* as a distinct syllable by clergymen when reading lessons from the Authorised Version of the Bible in church, within the last 50 years, even in such cases as *crucified* and *buri??*, as marked by Bishop Wilkins (998, d) more than 200 years ago, and by Gill, 250 years since, supra pp. 855-857. Indeed some clergymen have not even yet given up a practice which had an air of solemnity resulting from archaism. It is a very familiar reminiscence to myself. The transmutation of *-ed* into *-t*, *-d*, sounded almost *heretical* when I first heard it.

We cannot be surprised at the absence of *-e*, which disappeared from our versification nearly 300 years ago. We should be more surprised at the preservation of *-en*, for we know that in most cases *-en* degenerated into *-e*, and then disappeared. The modern dialectal absence of any sound does not establish its original absence; but the dialectal presence of any sound either establishes its original presence, or the original presence of a sound from which it could be derived, according to the ordinary usages of speech. Now with regard to *-e*, there is no doubt whatever of its lively presence in high German at the present day. It is part and parcel of usual speech. It is not confined to poetry or music, as the French *-e*. It is really used on every prosaical occasion by every prosaical speaker. Three years' residence in Germany has brought this fact so many thousand times before my ears, that no doubt in the world can exist in my own mind. As all the world knows and admits the fact, it would seem superfluous to attest it so explicitly from personal
knowledge. But there are some deniers of English -e, who insist that people could not have used it, simply on account of the absurd waste of time and energy in pronouncing it. Hence it is necessary to establish the fact that another great nation does not find its use involve an absurdity. As, however, the modern English final -a, -er, are pronounced generally (-ə) or (-ə), much as the final German -e, and as the old final English -e, if pronounced, was most probably so called (119, 6), and as we should not find it either elegant or particularly time-saving to omit this sound and say pie', Americ', armad', panace', ide', are', naphth', acaci', cyclopædi', umbrell', vanill', vill', scroful', uvul', dram', anathem', enigm', sign', dogm', dilemm', comm', hyen', duenn', Chin', er', chimér', oper', etc., or peculi', pill', angul', mast', mist', doct', etc., etc., it is evident that such an argument is hardly worth consideration. To such vile uses we may come at last, but we have not yet reached Chinese monosyllabism, much as we may have spoiled our language by mere pruning. The reason, however, why I especially insist on the lively use of -e in high German is, that this -e has disappeared in many high German dialects, except as the representative of -en. The preservation of -e in any form, or even of e in the prefixed be-, ge-, is extremely rare in all the Bavarian dialects, although the sound of -e is used for -en in about half, the other half reducing -en to a vowelless n. See the instances in Schmeller (arts. 209-235, 572-592, and under e final in No. 8 below). We have herein the positive proof that the dialectal disappearance of -e is compatible with the co-existence of its dialectal use, which may or may not be fixed by literature. It is, therefore, a perfectly justifiable view to take, that final -e may have disappeared in some dialects in Early English and have existed in others. Moreover, this disappearance or use cannot be proved by manuscripts, because we find scribes who spoke different dialects transcribing the same original, and preserving their individual orthographic habits. It can only be established by habits of internal versification, not even by rhyme endings, and the inquiry into its use in the middle of lines is rendered wonderfully difficult by the uncertainty of readings, and the recklessness of scribes, so that single manuscripts are by no means conclusive. In the next chapter this point will be examined, with especial reference to Robert of Brunne’s Chronicle.

1 Remarkoning on this loss of flexional form, which in literary high German had been already reduced to -e, Schmeller says (on his p. 51) that "this does not prevent these same dialects from having more or less evidently preserved isolated remarkable forms belonging to the older or even oldest phases of the language, which, when literary speech was fixed, were not admitted, owing to the prevalence of certain views or fashions."  

2 Dutch is often quoted as a tongue allied to English in which final e is lost. See Mr. Sweet's remark on the preservation of its sound in (1292, 6). In Johan Winkler's Algemeen Nederduitsch en Friesch Dialecticon (s Gravenhage, 1874), giving 186 versions of the Parable of the Prodigal Son into as many Low German dialects, final e seems to crop up somewhere in every example. At the same time it flits in and out, so that we may feel prepared for similar uncertainties in our own dialects, especially about the beginning of the xvth century. Even if poets were careful, copyists were not.
No. 7. Dialectal Consonant Relations.

The relations of consonants in our dialects are altogether simpler than those of vowels, although they present some peculiar points of difficulty. The distinction of voiced and voiceless is very generally kept up. It is only in the southwest that (f, th, s, sh) become (v, dh, z, zh) with tolerable regularity. But the same dialects do not confuse (p, t, k) with (b, d, g). This is singularly in opposition to German habits, which are uncertain of the explodents, but certain of (s, z). The continuants (th, dh, zh) not occurring in German, and (bh), not (v), being used in middle Germany, which is most addicted to the interchange of (p b, t d), there is no opportunity of examining the continuants further. The (th, dh) are sometimes confused in the north of England. Thus though is (thoo) in Scotch, and the usual the (dhe) is voiceless and vowelless (th-) in South Lancashire, Cheshire, Derbyshire, and elsewhere. This seems to confirm Mr. Sweet's view of an original (dh) which became (th) in isolated cases (p. 541, n. 2); thus both (dh) and (th) are found in South Derbyshire. In the North again a (z) appears where the received use is (s) in (prisai-z, dezember, nhaxz) for precise, december, us, and other words, and a (v) for an (f) in (kaav) calf, etc., so that the confusion of hisses and buzzes is not exclusively southwestern.

The interchange of (b bh, g gh) is not to be looked for, as (bh, gh) do not occur, at least consciously, in our present dialects. The (d dh), which do occur, are not perfectly related, as (d) is not, at any rate generally, dental, although the fact of dentality may have been often overlooked. In the southwest (d) replaces (dh) initially, especially before (r), as (druu, drii) through, three, and occasionally elsewhere, as (dis'1) thistle in East Cornwall. I have not been able to ascertain if the (d) is then dental as (druu, drii). Medial substitutions of (dh) for (d) are not uncommon, and have even crept into older received orthography, as burthen, murder, now burden, murder. In Norfolk three becomes tree. This again raises the question as to whether (t d) in English were not originally dental (t, d), as in Celtic, and on the continent generally.

This inquiry is, however, complicated by the acknowledged existence of (t, d) in some northern dialects, but almost, if not absolutely, exclusively before (r) or the syllable (or) or its substitutes. This dental, or something like it, is also found in Ireland in the same places (1239, a'). There are even phases of dialect which are distinguished by having the usual coronal (t d) in precisely the same situations as those in which related phases use the dental (t ,d), for example the Chapel and Taddington varieties of the Peak of Derbyshire, the first having (t ,d), the second (t d), and similarly in Yorkshire. This singular distinction entirely corresponds to the Sanscrit, which occasions such difficulty to Englishmen and Germans (p. 1096). The area and origin of the English coronal (t d) require strict examination, but so few Englishmen hear the distinctions (t, t, d ,d) that the inquiry is beset with as much difficulty as that of the distinction between (v bh) in Germany. See Mr. C. C. Robinson's observations on Yorkshire usage in No. 11, below.
In connection with this must be noticed the occasional assimilation of (dh) to (t), after a following (s) or (t), as (nha'ste) for *hast thou?* and even of (th) in Derbyshire, as (*ti-standz ut-'t-bak-v aar waa*), he stands at the back of our wall, where (et th-bak) would have been the regular form. In the example of W. Lincolnshire given below, it will be observed that *the*, which had the regular form (dh-) before vowels, varies as (th-), and even (t) and (d), according to the adjoining letters. This is similar to Orrin's custom (490, b), and must not be confounded with the use of vowelless (t) for the article in Yorkshire and Cumberland. Is this last (t) the degeneration of (th), which is itself an altered (dh), or an independent formation? This is a matter of controversy. But that the (t) may be the degeneration of (th, dh) is certain, because in the Orkneys and Shetlands all (th, dh) have become (t, d) or (t, d), and in Kent and E. Sussex *th* in *the, this, them, those, there,* that is, (dh) in certain words, is always (d); while we have seen that neighbouring consonants in many places reduce the (th, dh) to (t, d). The pronunciation of this vowelless (t) when used as the article is most singular. To my ear it does not in native speech run on to the following vowel, but is, if possible, connected with the preceding word.¹ When it stands initially in a sentence, so that this connection is impossible, as when it precedes a voiced consonant, as (b, d, g), *t* dog, or stands between two voiced consonants, as in *t* backhouse, or stands between two similar consonants, as at *t* time, at *t* door, the method by which its effect is made evident—and it is always evident—seems to be mainly by a slight implosion, as ("t"), see (1097, c'). Both Mr. C. C. Robinson and Mr. Hallam, to whom this *t* is vernacular, accept this theory. There is, however, a certain holding, and a certain delay, in passing from the presumed implosion to the following consonant, giving a little catch or hesitation, so that it is difficult to determine the precise sound. Yet the existence of a distinct syllabic (t), which is certainly not ("ht, t'h, t'h), is a remarkable phenomenon, well deserving of most careful investigation. Our old *t* for *it* is not comparable, for it always glides on to a preceding or succeeding letter. The Slavonic preposition (v) is a voiced consonant, and hence quite pronounceable. The manner in which the French *de, te, je, re-,* are spoken, when they seem to be entirely swallowed, and yet produce a most sensible effect to French ears, comes perhaps still nearer to it. To merely write (t), or the etymological *t, 't,* according to the difference of view as to the *the* or *et het* origin of this *t,* is of course helpless. I have, however, generally adopted (t) in the following examples, and left the reader to glide it on to the preceding letter, or to make an implosion, as the case may be.

The interchange of (t, k) is well known among children, and some Polynesians could not get nearer than (Tu-te) for Captain Cook's name. The use of (tl, dl) for initial (kl, gl) is very general,

¹ Mr. Hallam felt the same difficulty in marking this (t) in the Chesterfield variety of Derbyshire. On referring to his notes he finds the (t) grouped to the preceding vowel in nearly half the cases which he wrote from observation.
DIALECTAL CONSONANT RELATIONS.  

CHAP. XI.

even among educated people,¹ and in some dialects my authorities adopt it regularly. Though (k) has generally disappeared before (n), Cumberland, as will be seen, retains traces of it, as (nun-), and even (tn-), where the change is similar to that of (kl-) into (tl-), and may be regarded as a prospective transmutation, occasioned by preparing the organs for following (l), whereas in Italian, (l) sinks by retrospective transmutation to (i), making way for (k, g), as in chiama ghiaccio (kiá'muh giá't t sh). In (lok) for (lot) in Cumberland, the opposite tendency appears.

The effect of an unaccented (i)-sound, generally a fractural prefix, upon a preceding (k, g), frequently shews itself in the dialects, by generating (t sh, d zh). In Scotch (k, g) generally remain, but in English this is quite the exception. The same cause sometimes, but not always, makes (t, d) into (t sh, d zh), and (s) more generally into (sh). The (zh)-sound is not very frequent, it is generated in words, as vision, azure, which are not dialectal. As the -ture, -sure, endings do not generally develope a fracture, they more often remain as (-tar, -sar, -zor), but being altogether strange are treated very irregularly; compare Yorkshire and Shropshire. Mr. Murray (op. cit. p. 85) informs us that in the central valley of Berwickshire initial ch, that is (t sh-), is pronounced as (sh-) simply. It would be worth while ascertaining distinctly whether this is (sh) or (sh). It may be simply the latter, and hence the inhabitants of (Sh r set) Chirnside (56n48, 2w12) may be as much maligned as the inhabitants of Rome, for using (sh) in place of (t sh). But the intermediate sound is worth noting.²

The habits of speakers in different localities differ very much respecting ease and difficulty in consonantal combinations. The (-mr-) frequently develope (-mbr-), by dropping the nasality of (m) before releasing the lips, and thus we have our received timber, chamber, number. Our dialects, however, do not patronise this, and (tr'mar, tsha'mar, na'mar) consequently occur. The name Hamilton is often (rha:m b'lite)n in a Southern mouth, but the Scotch are content to call Campbell (kae rm'l). Similarly (-nl-) often generates (-ndl-), but dialects generally content themselves with (-nl-), as (uha'n'l) handle. There is indeed a constant inclination to carry on the nasality of (m, n) until the contact is released, and thus substitute simple (m, n) for (mb, nd). The participles in -ing in the received dialect, which were originally in -nd, consequently appear

¹ When I was a boy at school, I suddenly became conscious that I pronounced the radical forms k'daw and g'daw in the same way. It cost me much trouble and years of practice to obtain (kl-) with ease and certainty, and the same for (gl-). As a consequence, my attention has been constantly drawn to this defect of speech in others. The Welsh (ll) heard at a distance from a crier shouting out Llandudno at Rhyl sounded to me much more like (tl) than (thl), with which Englishmen generally confuse it.

² The demonstration of (sh), see (1104, d'), makes it possible that the French may not have developed (t sh) at first, as has been thought; but only (sh), and this may have generated (t sh) in Norman mouths, whence its English form, but have reduced to (sh) in French. See (207, a). This is merely thrown out for consideration; indeed (kj) may have come first (1120, d').
as (-in) in most dialects. Of course this is not the reason why the gerund or verbal noun in -ing has also fallen into (-in) in most dialects. In Southern Scotch the distinction is made in the vowel, not the consonant, (-en) participle, and (-in) gerund (Murray, p. 211), but the other dialects confuse the two cases. This may have been an assimilation. There is no powerlessness to pronounce (q), which some dialects even take as (qg) final, not (qk). Medially they seem as a rule to prefer (q) to the occasional (qg) of the received dialect, saying (fi'-qar) rather than (fi'-qar). Before (th), the (q) sinks very generally to (n), in (lenth, strenth).

L and R are the two most vowel-like consonants, forming distinct syllables of themselves. In this respect they differ materially from (w, j), which, if really prolonged, are almost as unvowellike as (z), but in consequence, perhaps, naturally and easily gradate to (u, i). If R is untrilled, the resulting (r,) instantly gradates to (a), and thence to some other obscure vowel. L obstructs the cavity of the mouth by its central contact, much more than (r,), but still it is very apt to gradate to (a), and thence be entirely lost. Sometimes in Romance languages it passes rather into (i) or (u), according to the tendency of the people to raise the middle of the tongue, or somewhat round the lips to improve the resonance. In the dialects both l, r, are apt to disappear entirely after (aa, AA). Indeed, received pronunciation adopts the same habit in balk, etc. After (oo) the l, by prospective transmutation, inclines to (ul, u), and the diphthongs (oul, ou) result, the foundation of (a'w, a'u, aw), in roll, shoulder, etc., which were once received, but are now only dialectal, and not unfrequent in dialects. After the other vowels (l) does not seem to have the same tendency to disappear, though (uu, ul) degenerate to (uu).

LD final seems to be a distasteful combination, either l or d being frequently dropped. The d-closing of the passage by the sides left open for l requires an amount of pressure apparently inconsistent with the lazy ease of dialectal speech.

R is treated very variously. In Scotland it is a distinctly and rather harshly-trilled (r), but how far dental I know not. Where Scotland breaks into England, just about Berwick, the uvular (r), which Southerners call the burr, and natives of the (krup), begins, but marks out a very small district. Coming more south, the initial

1 "The northern limits of the burr (r) are very sharply defined, there being no transitional sound between it and the Scotch r (r). From Carham [55n 39, 2w 23, the extreme N.W. point of Northumberland] eastwards, the boundary follows the Tweed, which it leaves, however, to include the town and liberties of Berwick, which in this, as in other respects, now adheres to the Southern in preference to its own side of the Tweed. Along the line of the Cheviots, the Scotch r (r) has driven the burr (r) a few miles back, perhaps because many of the farmers and shepherds are of Scottish origin. In the vale of the Reed [which runs into the Tyne, 55n 19, 2w 22] we suddenly enter the erhoup (krup) country in the neighbourhood of Otterburn (otahr-bohrn) [55n 15, 2w 10]. In Cumberland, Westmorland, and the rest of the North Angle area, the r is now pronounced as in other parts of England." Murray, op. cit. pp. 86-7. There are apparently many varieties of the burr. The one I heard was (r), but extensive observation is necessary to determine this
trill is distinct, but not so powerful, and generally more or less of a trill exists, even when no vowel follows, but such trills seem never to be very marked. In S. Shields speech, remarkably similar to Southern Scotch in its general character, and close by the country of the burr, but where the burr is unknown, this final r seems entirely to disappear, or crops up as a faint (3, v, '), or perhaps a glottal ('). But in Westmorland there is apparently an occasional, possibly dental (r). Whether this (r) appears generally after (t, d) is questionable. Mr. Hallam thinks the tongue in his tr is more advanced in the mouth than usual, and that he consequently really says (t,r). Mr. Robinson finds a dental (r) occasionally after (g) in Yorkshire. In Yorkshire this final r seems to be in a state of transition, sometimes appearing, often disappearing, and generally being rather permissive, as (x), than obligatory, as (r). But there are times when the trill is indispensable. In Shropshire it is stated to be always felt, but to be slight. To speak of "feeling a letter" is sometimes misleading. A Spaniard once told me that his final 3 was rather felt by the speaker than heard by the listener. If the speaker confines himself to putting his organs into the proper position to articulate, but neglects to issue breath, vocalised or not, he may feel his words, but the bystander will be none the wiser. Schmeller, speaking of the initial ge- reduced to g, and lost before a following explodent (op. cit. art. 485), says that "it is not heard independently (für sich), but that we recognise the preparation (Ansatz) made by the tongue to pronounce it, by the greater decision (Entschiedenheit) with which the initial sound strikes the ear." Thus gebunden becomes (.bun'd'n), or perhaps (bnu'n'd'n). The case of 3' dog, already referred to, may be the same, (.dog) rather than ('t dog), and this is one of the points to which attention should be directed. In the same way, while pronouncing a vowel, even (aa, 3a, 3a), the speaker may feel the tongue rise at the end. It may only take the position (3), the tip may rise to (rc), it may give the slightest quiver ([r], and all this may be felt by the speaker, but it would be difficult for the listener to hear. The habit of writing, and moreover the habit of not trilling final r, may, the incapability of trilling it, which is often experienced by Englishmen, and, finally, the habit of assuming the long-vowel glide in (baad) to be a representative of an existing r, because it is felt to be so different from the stopped-vowel glide in (bad, badd), see (1156, d'), are all so misleading to an English observer, that I frequently mistrust the accounts given to me, thinking them open to these sources of unconscious error. People seem to be afraid of admitting that r is not sounded. Critics and reviewers laugh to scorn such rhymes as morn dawn (575, d. 593, d. 1195, b'. 1228, b), till the judg-
habit. Sometimes the sound seems to come up to (grb), sometimes to sink to (r), and sometimes to reduce to (gh, g), or an hiatus of powerlessness. At other times the uvula is very sharply and brightly trilled. The sound seems also to differ in the pitch of the ac-compounding vowel. The subject is difficult, but the sound is so diffused, sporadically and unacknowledged, in England, France, and Germany, not to mention its acknowledged existence in Arabic, that it deserves attentive study by all philologists.
ment is confused, the nature of the trill is forgotten, the "something" usually uttered or positioned or imagined when r is seen on paper, is called an r, and final r is said to be distinctly pronounced, when it may be that a vowel is merely lengthened, or at most a suffracture introduced. When any one writes larf brot to indicate (laaf braat), in which words no trilled (r) was ever pronounced,—and such spellings are very common among writers of dialectal specimens,—the whole question is reduced to chaos. A trill is a succession of beats, that is, of sounds of very different intensities in rapid succession; it is of no consequence how the beat is produced, but, unless at least two maximum and one minimum, or two minimum and one maximum, degrees of intensity have been heard, unless a succession of "makes and breaks" has been at least indicated, there is no trill in any one of the forms (brh, w, r, r, r, grh, t), all of which probably occur at some place, or at some time in different places, or among defective speakers, in England. And other r's may occur, as the Irish rolling (,r), see (1232, b), a retracted (x), see (1098, b'), and an r made by a striking of the tongue against the teeth, gums, or roof of the mouth, for which (r) may be used, the difference between (r) and (r) being that between the actions of the clarinet and harmonium reeds. Anything, in short, which gives a final roughness (the characteristic sensation produced by rapid beats) will pass muster for an English r, and, what is more, be intelligible. See also (1194, s').

But there are parts of England in which the disappearance of r is fairly acknowledged, namely in parts of the southwest. The

1 Donders (Spraakklenken, p. 19), referred to (1098, c), see also (1099, c'), gives some interesting drawings of the phonautographic curves produced by the trills (brh, r, r), showing how the trill shuts off and opens out the voice some 20 or 30 times in a second. The lip trill (brh) produced long silences, and rather faint intermediate sounds. A fine voice and weak (r) trill gives short weakenings of tone rather than complete silences interposed between bold sounds. A weak voice and strong (r) gave long silences and faint intermediate sounds. The same singer with a loud voice produced equally marked silences. A distinctly sounded tip tongue (r) gave sound and silence of nearly equal length, but made the sounds quite clear. The effect is nearly the same as when two tuning forks, sold as of the same pitch, but almost always slightly different, are struck and held over the same resonance chamber. The sound and silence follow one another with remarkable distinctness. It is not precisely that of a shake in music (It. trillo), but so like it that I have known an excellent imitation of a shake produced on musical glasses by sounding two together which differed by half a note in pitch, and the tremolo stops on the harmonium and organ are produced in a similar manner. The exact cause of tremulous speech, as in emotion, or in that very disagreeable habit of tremolo singing, which may be noted as (as), etc., I am not yet able to assign. The bleating voice (a) is another species of trill, the snarl (a,) another, "sonat hic de nare canit suiter," Pers 1, 109.

2 The faith in a pronounced r dies hard. A great deal of difficulty is felt about Gloucester, Wiltshire, and Dorsetshire. To my own ears the real sound of vocal r, that is, r when not preceding a consonant, is in these districts really a vowel, and that vowel much resembles (w). But to say so seems to those who use the sound to imply that they do not pronounce r at all, whereas they know, truly enough, that they do make a great difference in speech according as r is or is not written, and hence they do pronounce
presumed transposition of r and the vowel, as run urn, red urd, reduces itself to the omission of r and obscuration of the following vowel with a long vowel-glide, as (ron œan, red œad). The rationale of this, and of all similar cases, being the inherent difficulty of trilling without some perceptible untrilled vowel preceding and following, just as for the Sanscrit ri (1146, d'), as explained by the old grammarians. How can we tell that there is an interruption, unless there is a thread to interrupt? And then how easy to snip off the interruption and lengthen the thread! Certainly (œan) is much easier than (.ron), which readily becomes ([œran, œrœan, œrœn, œœn]. And thus the Scotch (.r) finally disappears in Devonshire!

The r and l readily unite with a preceding consonant, but some forms are little found. Although (bl) is easy and common, (vl) is not found (it is common in Dutch), and (wl-) seems to have vanished, a faint reminiscence of (w'l-) existing in Scotch, with a problematic change to (fl-) in one word flunkey. No labial (lw-) in place of (wl-) has been reported. On the other hand, (w'r-) is said to occur in Scotch, degenerating to (vr-, bhr) in Aberdeen, and the labial (wv-) and also (w'r-) are reported from Cumberland. There is really no more difficulty in the combinations (ml-, mr-) or (wl-, wr-) than in (bl-, br-), but they are simply unusual. In every case there is a tendency to simultaneous instead of successive utterance, when the organs can readily be posed accordingly, and this is especially the case for the (t)-series, so that (lw-, rw-) are more likely to be heard than (w'l-, w'r-), which rather resemble the efforts of a foreigner to pronounce an unusual combination, as in (1136, c).

The interchange of W and V is usually marked as a cockneyism, when occurring initially. Its American existence has been already shewn (1067, d. 1220, d'). In Norfolk, the change of initial V to W, according to one authority (see No. 11, below), is regular, and in Essex and Kent it is frequent, but the change from W to V is not so well known. The medial and final interchange also occurs, as in the Scotch (slaœen) for sloven, and (daœu) for dove, and the Devonshire (roov) for row. The exact nature of the (v) in this case I have not been able to ascertain, because I have not examined 'uncorrupted' peasants. It would be interesting to know whether the change is from (w) to (v) direct, or through the mediation of (bh), as Dr. Beke asserts (1221, d). We have certainly a change of (b) to (v), or a sound which is taken to be (v), even if it were once (bh), in such words as (maa-v'l) for marble, which favours the original (bh) hypothesis; but this sound is such an incomprehensibility to most Englishmen, that it may be very long before anything satisfactory is discovered in this direction. For philological purposes, and for Latin and Italian pronunciation, the fact that hearers their own final r, and never having heard another they are utterly perplexed by being told that they utter a vowel and not a trill, and perplex me in turn by their observations. More of this hereafter when considering these counties. The varieties of r are the most remarkable in English speech.
do generally assert an interchange of (w, v) is of real value, whatever be the means of transit. The fact also of the very different degrees of pressure of the under lip on the upper teeth, already alluded to (1102, c. 1103, c), should be borne in mind, to which must be added the possibility of making a considerable buzz when saying (bh), by merely constricting the lips without touching the teeth.

The ear readily confuses hisses and buzzes arising from different sources. Those due to the central obstruction by the teeth in the case of (f) and (th) are closely allied. Hence we must not feel surprised at the Scotch (three) for from, or the Shropshire (threks, f'r's'lz) for frocks, thistles. The change of (s) to a sound closely resembling (th) in the lip arises merely from a defective organism or an affected advance of the tongue; it is not dialectal.

The gutturals (kh kjh k'eh) are only heard in Scotland, and the two latter are almost confined to the southern counties. Their voice forms have quite perished out. In the north of England no gutturals are now heard, though they existed in Dent within the memory of an aged man of science, Prof. Adam Sedgwick, whose death we have had to deplore since my quotations from his book were printed (supra, pp. 289, n. 4; 311, n. 1). But though gone they have left an impression, partly as (j), partly as (o, u), and partly as (f), even in the received dialect (213, a). This (f) is still more developed dialectally, and sometimes interchanges with (th). The old interchange with (s) has not hitherto been confirmed dialectally (464, c).

The appearance of (dhon, dhon) for yon, ags. geond, both in Scotch and Irish English (1242, b'), is very remarkable, and ought to point to a previous (gh) form, which properly generates (j) initially, but it may be otherwise derived. A similar abnormal generation of (shuu, shii) from ags. heö, through (gheöo,

incite, for vice, invite, with what sounded to me (and I was sitting very near to him) as a distinct (w); it may have been prefrastructural (u-), but it was certainly not (v), and it did not recall (bh). He called the Vêdas (vedaz).

1 The air escapes through a narrow central chink, of which one edge is sharp. The resulting sound is peculiar, and, according to Dr. W. H. Stone (lecture on Auscultation, delivered 22 Feb., 1874), immediately produces the effect called agophony (or bleating sound) in the lungs, when examined stethoscopically, while a person is pronouncing the letter. These teeth-hisses consequently require much more attentive analysis to distinguish them from the sounds through a narrow, but unobstructed, central aperture, as (ph, s, sh, kjh).

2 Mr. Hallam has also heard (fr's'lz) in the Peak of Derbyshire and in North East Cheshire. It is the only instance he can recollect of the change of (th) into (f) in the Peak.

3 As z in Scotch words remains as the representative of j, that is ags. g, so y is the written form for j, as we see by mutilating this letter to p, which in MSS. interchanges with y very often. We constantly write ye for pe=the. So yon in Scotch (and the Belfast use is mere Scotch) may stand for non, and this for the accusative case of the ags. demonstrative pronoun, so that you may when called (dhon man) may be like them men used for those men. This is merely thrown out as an alternative suggestion. A counter misreading of p for y was suggested (639, d'), and has been confirmed by an actual inspection of the MS. by Mr. Murray in 1871. Hence the use of dotted y in old MSS., to point out that it did not mean p.
gjho, gjhö, gjhe'), has been already suggested (489, a. 1142, c'). If this view be correct, the Lancashire (nhu), the Leeds (shuu) and the received (shii) she, have the same ags. heb for their origin.

The aspirate, in the form (nh), seems to be invariably used where written in Scotland, and not to be introduced where not written, except in the predicative (nház) us. But we have scarcely passed the border before it darts in and out like sunlight on a cloudy day. Perhaps the intermediary is the simple jerk (n). But certainly in most of Yorkshire, in Shropshire, in Derbyshire, in the Midland counties, in Lincolnshire, in Essex, in Kent, and in the Southwestern counties, it is almost extinct. One might be inclined to think that it is only the classification of "dropping aitches" among social sins which keeps the aspirate alive in the received dialect. And even there (wh) has failed to make its mark. Although acknowledged and used among a large section of people, (wh) is almost solely an artificial sound in our language. Curiously enough, although it has nearly disappeared where written, it seems to reappear occasionally in some (u-) fractures, not merely as a remnant of h, as when ags. hám crops up as (whóo'm) home, but where there is no original h, as when ags. dte becomes (whóó'ts), oats. This is, however, not usual. The familiar dialectal writing whoam, whoats, of course proves nothing; but from Mr. C. C. Robinson, for Yorkshire, I heard a distinct (wh) in such words as he has so written below.

According to the same authority, there seems also to be in the very vulgar form of Leeds dialect an inserted (n) jerk after certain consonants, where (t, d) are lost in a permissive (x), see (1261, d'), and other curious phenomena occur, which will be detailed hereafter. This jerk (n) certainly often occurs after consonants in Irish, and requires careful investigation, in relation to the Indian post-aspirated consonants (1137, c), and their subsequent treatment in European languages.

Before (u, i), the consonantal (w, j) are very apt to disappear, and where that is the case, it may be rash to insist very strongly on the difference between these consonants, and the con-sonants, or prefractural (u-, i-). Where however (wu-, ji-) occur, the consonantal change is effected.

The contributions made to consonantal philology by the observations on dialects are therefore not either numerous or novel. They are chiefly confirmatory. The great points of interest are, the co-existence and distinct appreciation of (t, t, d, d) in the same or adjacent dialects; the vowelless syllable (t) in Yorkshire, Cumberland, and Derbyshire; the treatment of r; the confusion of (w, v); the passage of the guttural into (f, th, dh); and the flitting treatment of h, wh.

The real bearing of these changes upon general philology can be distinctly felt only when something like a general survey of consonants and their relation to vowels has been obtained. Curiously eclectic as we have found languages to be in the use of vowels (1297, a), this is still more the case in relation to consonants.
Even the great relations between voiced and voiceless consonants are very insufficiently carried out in individual languages, and much curious information would result from "consonant identifications" in the various languages of the world similar to those "vowel identifications" previously furnished (pp. 1300–7). In default of this, some systematic arrangement must be attempted. It seems to me that we have not yet a sufficient knowledge of the relations of consonants to each other and to vowels to do this satisfactorily. At any rate, I have not been able to form any system satisfactory to myself, which should embrace the extremely complicated phenomena with which I have become practically acquainted, while numerous others, apparently still more complicated, remain so vaguely described or so inaccessible as to elude me altogether. Much is mere conjecture. I prefer then not to present any systematic arrangement of my own, but to give such an account of different systems formed by others as will assist the reader in understanding the nature of the present changes.

The distinction between vowels and consonants is not in general well understood. The word ‘consonant’ is used in the vaguest possible manner, sometimes, as appears to me, merely to designate diphthongising vowels which have not the stress, as (i) in the fractures (iā, āi), or (ʼ, ʼo), in (iiʼ, ē), called y, r, respectively. The controversy as to where h is or is not "a letter," a vowel, or a consonant, points to this. Hence the importance of first inquiring what are the classes of sounds which we have to consider. I cannot suppose that the following analysis is exhaustive; but it will at least answer the present purpose better than any other which I could cite. For many details see pp. 1128, sqq.

Analysis of Speech Sounds.

The sensation of sound is due, generally, to an undulatory motion of the atmosphere striking the drum-skin of the ear. This motion itself is often called sound. The classes of sounds here considered are those in which the undulatory motion is produced by a speaker, through his vocal organs.

1. Air independent of respiration. The air within the mouth, not drawn in or driven out, and hence at rest so far as respiration is concerned, may be set in motion by clicks or smacks (zh), or cheek puffs ( expired), as in using the blowpipe [the symbol ( ∙ ) typifies, by the upper and lower lines, the two cheeks pressing out a stream of air, the central line, between them], or implosions ( "h"), see (1128, b. c). All of these help to form consonants. The clicks and puffs form Prof. Haldeman’s "independent vowels" (Anal. Orth. art. 445–8).

2. Air inspired. The air drawn into the mouth may meet with obstacles, or pass through channels, creating sound-waves, in a way not at all peculiar to speech, which the resonance chambers of the mouth, etc., may sufficiently reinforce to be audible ( i’), as in chirps, inspired whistles, sobbing, gasps, etc., see (1128, a), and may be nasal, as in snuffling ( i’), or orinal nasal (a) and fluttering (a), as in snores ( i’), etc.

3. Air expired.

a. Glottids (1129, c), including the bellows action of the lungs, continuous, varying in force, jerked (air), etc., and the motion of the vocal chords towards each other, or their retention in fixed positions, and the same for the fissura laryngea or cartilaginous glottis, and all modifications of expiration which take place within the larynx itself. These seem to have been first carefully considered and distinguished, as part of an alphabetic system, by Briicke (p. 10 of op. cit. on p. 1287, n. 2), and have already been dwelt upon at some length (1129, c), but not exhaustively. Some
of these (th, nщ, ηh) have been usually considered as consonants.

b. Undifferentiated Glottal sounds, as flatus (‘b), wheeze (‘f), whisper (‘h), buzz (‘h), bleat (‘h), voice (‘h), nasal voice (‘h), nasal bleat (‘h). Of these (‘b, ‘f, ‘h) are usually taken as consonants (h, g).

c. Differentiated Glottal sounds.

i. The differentiation takes place by the action of resonance chambers, as already explained (p. 1276), on its way to the external air through the open mouth, nose, or both, and meeting with more or less obstruction on the way. When the resonance chambers are best suited to reinforce voice, the results are generally called vowels; when best suited for audible flatus, the results are called consonants. The vowel and consonant positions shade into each other insensibly, and any glottal sound may be modified by either set of positions. Between perfect vowel, as (a), and perfect hiss, as (s), there can be no mistake. The letters (r, l) and even (з) occasionally fulfill the linguistic function of vowels. The contacts between vowels and consonants are especially:

- voiced (i, j, g‘h) and flatted (“i, ‘h, k‘h, kjh, kh, kп); and also through (kjh) to (sh, s), etc.;
- voiced (u, w, y) or (u, v, gw‘h, gw, g), or (‘h, bh, b); voiceless (“u, wh, f), or (“u, wh, k‘h, k‘h, kп), or (“h, ph, p); according as we start with English (u) having the back of the tongue raised, or German (‘h) with the tongue depressed; also voiced (y, w, bh, b) and voiceless (“y, w’h, ph, p);
- voiced (a, o) lead to (r, r), and thence to (l, l), and so to (d) and the coronals and dentals, or through (a, o, a) to lip, and even guttural consonants, etc., and when voiceless to (h, ηh), and thence either to (kh), etc., or to (rх, sh), etc.

ii. Glottal sounds differentiated by passing into the closed mouth, so that they cannot be continued beyond a short time, because they condense the air too much, and when forced produce the inflation of (1113, d). These are the sonant consonants (b, d, g), or (b, d, ‘g), as distinguished from the imploded (“p, ‘t, ‘k). They may also be bleated, as (‘b, ‘d, ‘g).

d. Non-glottal sounds differentiated by resonance chambers, as in expired whistles, see also (2). When they reach the state of musical whistles, they cease to be real speech sounds.

e. All the above are distinguished by pitch, force, and length, and by continuous or discontinuous changes. The continued sounds, due to the maintenance of the same resonance chamber independently of pitch or force, and changing discontinuously, so far as the resonance is concerned, are the theorist’s vowels and consonants, in this class; but even in these, pitch and force generally alter continuously. The changing or gliding sounds due to continuous change of form of resonance chamber are the most common in actual speech.

4. Air checked. The air passing through an opening is gradually totally shut off or obstructed, or a total obstruction is gradually removed. This may take place in the glottis (‘), by closing the vocal chords or bringing down the epiglottis, or both, and in various ways in the mouth, producing the mute consonants (p, t, k), etc. These mutes make themselves felt solely by gliding differentiations of glottal sounds, due to continuous changes in the form of the resonance chamber passing from perfect silence for the mute, to perfect resonance for the vowel, and vice versa (1111, ‘c).

Note on Symbolisation.

Palaeotype is meant to be a mere convenient system of notation without implying any system. Thus (b) has been used as a mere diacritic without any constant meaning, and sometimes as an occasional mere supporter of signs which would otherwise become confused, as (‘h ‘h ‘h), etc. On the other hand, some diacritics, as (j η wj), have been used with tolerable consistency. Italics and small capital letters are used as convenience dictated and with no systematic feeling or intention. Whether there appear to be any systematic character or not in the sign, my own wish is that each symbol should be regarded as one of Linnaeus’s ‘trivial names,’ merely denotative, not connotative; shewing a fact, not suggesting a theory. My letter denotes a certain sound, or mode of utterance. How that sound or mode of utterance is to be systematically placed is a totally different question. My symbols lend themselves to any system, because they do not pretend to belong to a peculiar
system of their own. In this respect they differ essentially from Brücke's and Bell's, and even from Lepsius's and Prince L. L. Bonaparte's or the historical suggestions of Prof. Halle-
man. Palaeotype letters are then merely tools by which we may handle sounds on paper, pending our acquisition of sufficient knowledge to understand their systematic relations.

The classification of consonants generally relates to those in 3 and 4, and refers to the positions of the obstructive organs, and the accompanying flatus or voice, or absence of both. It is fortunately very easy to make a simple arrangement of this kind, which is essential as an elementary guide, but it is very difficult to fit into one scheme the immense variety of forms found in actual use, of which comparatively few are familiar to any one systematiser. In no language perhaps occur sufficient consonants to construct a perfect scheme. But in the old Sanscrit tongue, as reduced to the Devanāgari character, there was a grand development of the surd (voiceless) and sonant (voiced) series of the classes in 4, and 3, c, ii. above, and a full conception of the differences of flatus, voice, and, as I think, bleat, as well as nasality. The Indian put the earlier European phonologists to shame in this respect. They were very acute, not merely in the analysis, but in the synthesis of sounds, and, as far as their means extended, did not hesitate to indicate every change, and even pointed out in their commentaries under what circumstances sounds were generated synthetically which had no alphabetic character. That this generative action is in full force in India at the present day we have already seen in remarkable instances (1138, \( b \) to 1139, \( b' \)). But the language was extremely deficient in vowels, in diphthongs, in buzzes, and in glottids, and hence was not suited as the basis of a classification which should include even Semitic sounds. Still, as one of the earliest, and down to the present day one of the acutest, and as embracing the earliest forms of speech to which our own language belonged, it should be first considered. If the old commentators had paid equal attention to the Indian dialects, little would have remained to be done now.

In the following table I have endeavoured to exhibit the old Indian classification, giving it first in the transcription of Sanscrit used by Prof. Whitney, and secondly in the palaeotypic equivalents which result from my own investigations (pp. 1136–1140, and places there cited). And as the old phonological treatises are not remarkably accessible, I give the text and translation of the rules bearing on this classification in Prof. Whitney's *Aṭhavā-Vēda Prātiṣṭhāya*, with additions from his notes. The general reader will thus, for the first time, be put into a position to understand an early native classification of an alphabetic system which is the foundation of his own.

In this classification the repetition of some letters in different classes is due to difference of opinion in native commentators. In the palaeotypic interpretation the cerebrals are still distinguished as \( \text{TDN} \), as proposed on (1096, \( c' \)). The \( y \) \( v \) are marked as \( j \, v \), but I believe them to have been originally diphthongising vowels, as \( ia \, \acute{a}i, \, u\acute{a} \, \acute{a}u \), and to have been only recently squeezed into \( j \, v \), compare (1103, \( d \)). Also the (ee oo) are retained, because it is clear
that these junctures of (ai áu) were established at the time of the old rules cited, though the original diphthongal form admits of no doubt. When (j i ii ee aai) come together, therefore, in this table, they properly illustrate the vowel (i) only, of which (ii) is the mere prolongation; (j) and (aai) shew the initial and final diphthongising forms, and (ee) the juncture from (ai). Similarly for (v u uu oo aau).

Sanscrit systematic arrangement of the Alphabet, as deduced from the Rules of the Indian Phonologists.

(1) Prof. Whitney’s Symbols.

<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>surd</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>surd-aspirate and surd-spirant</td>
<td>kh kh</td>
<td>ch ç</td>
<td>th sh</td>
<td>th s</td>
<td>ph hp h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sonant</td>
<td>g a a r j</td>
<td>j y i i e ái</td>
<td>á r r</td>
<td>á r r l</td>
<td>b v u u o áu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sonant-aspirate, and sonant-spirant</td>
<td>gh</td>
<td>jh</td>
<td>dh</td>
<td>dh</td>
<td>bh h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) Presumed Palaeotypic Equivalents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mute</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>kʃ</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>ʃ</td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flated</td>
<td>kʰ kʰ</td>
<td>kʰ jh</td>
<td>th sh</td>
<td>th s</td>
<td>ph ph h</td>
<td>th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced</td>
<td>g a a a ’l</td>
<td>j j i i ee aai</td>
<td>d b ’r</td>
<td>d b ’r ’l</td>
<td>b v u uu (oo áau)</td>
<td>[’h]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bicited</td>
<td>g ʃ</td>
<td>g ʃ</td>
<td>d g</td>
<td>d g</td>
<td>bg</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nosed</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>nʃ</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>(,)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rules of the Indian Phonologists,

Taken, Sanscrit and English, from Prof. Whitney, op. cit. (1131, c’), the parts between inverted commas being the Sanscrit text transliterated as above and Prof. Whitney’s translation, the rest (except references to this work, palaeotype, and parts included in [ ]), being an abridgment of some of the information in Prof. Whitney’s notes on the rules. Only such rules are given as bear upon the classification, and they are referred to as i. 3, book the first, rule the third, etc.

i. 3. “padántyaḥ padyaḥ. A letter capable of occurring at the end of a word is called a final (padya).”

i. 4. “anikārah svarāḥ padyaḥ. Any vowel, excepting i, may occur as final.” The Rik Pr. also excepts r long.

i. 5. “lakāvarisvarjantaḥ ca. Also l and visarjantaḥ.”

i. 6. “sparīṣṭh prathamottamah. Of the mutes, the first and last of each series,” that is, k t t p, n n n m; c and ṅ being excepted by the following rule.

i. 7. “na ca vairjāh. Excepting the palatal series,” that is, c and ṅ, the ch, jh, being excluded by previous rule.

i. 10. “devīya ca utarīthāḥ sōshmāgah. The second and fourth of each series are aspirates” [see (1131, c’) for comments].

i. 11. “uttamāḥ anudākāḥ. The last in each series is nasal.” The Rik and Vāj. Pr. describe the nasal mutes as anudākā, as does the Tātt. Pr., including with them anuvāra.

i. 12. 13. “cīsā-ghoshevavapuradānāh; nādo ghoshacavacārṣeshu. In the surd consonants the emission is breath; in the sonant consonants and vowels it is sound.” [The literal rendering of
surd,' root āras, is 'breathed,' that is, 'flated;' of 'sonant, root nad, is 'spoken,' that is, 'voiced;' of 'emission,' anuprādana, is 'emitted material;' of aghoṣa, is 'without sound,' that is, mute; and of ghoshavant, is 'sounding.' It is evident that where no voice was used, the result was not considered sound proper.] The commentator enumerates the sonants as vowels, sonant mutes, semivowels, h, and the yamas of g and gh. The yamas, or 'twins,' are thus defined in Tāttī Pr.: "after a mute not nasal, when followed by a nasal, are inserted in each case nose sounds (nāṣikya); these some call yamas," [that is, nasalised voice differentiated according to the preceding mute, before being differentiated according to the following, so that atma requires a generated n to be inserted between t and m, thus (atma).]

i. 18. "mukhe vicsahād karanasya. In the mouth there are differences of producing organ." [That is position (sthāna) to which approach is made; that is organ (karaṇa) by which approach is made,] according to the commentator.

i. 19. "kaṇṭhyād mandhara kanṭheḥ. Of the throat-sounds, the lower part of the throat is the producing organ." [See discussion (1134, b–1135, d).]

i. 20. "jihvāmūltiṣyānām hanumulam. Of the gutturals, the base of the jaw is the producing organ." The word translated guttural means 'formed at the base of the tongue.' The commentator assigns as gutturals the r vowels, see (1146, c), the guttural mutes, k k h g gh ni, the jihvāmuḷṭya 'spirant,' or (kh), see (1134, a), and the vowel l. By hanumula, 'root or base of the jaw,' must be here understood, it should seem, the posterior edge of the hard palate.

i. 21. "tāloṣyānāṁ madhyajihvam. Of the palatals, the middle of the tongue is the producing organ." The commentator enumerates e āi y, ā c ch j fh ni and the vowel i. [The expression 'middle of the tongue' exactly corresponds to the modern sound described (1120, c); tālu is 'palate.]

i. 22. "mādhrāyānāṁ jihvāgranḥ pratīveshṭitam. Of the linguals, the tip of the tongue, rolled back, is the producing organ." [See the discussion (1094, a–1096, c).] The word mādhran means 'head,' hence an exact translation of mādhrana would be 'capital.' Müller holds mādhran to be used directly for 'dome of the palate,' but it must be so taken, if at all, indirectly, as the highest point of the head which the tongue is capable of reaching. [Hence my term 'coronal' (1096, c).] The commentator gives as this series sh, t ṭ d ḍ dh n, and fortifies his assertion by adding the half verse mārdhasthānāṁ shakāraya tavargasya tathā matam. They are known in all the Pr. by the same name, and the Vāj. Pr. and Tāttī Pr. describe them in the same manner. [The question of inversion or simple retraction of tongue—Prof. Whitney uses the ambiguous term 'reversion'—depends on the meaning of pratīveshṭitam = back-rolled. The term is too vague, and may mean a further retraction than in the English (t).] The semivowel r and vowel l are in the Paninean scheme.

i. 23. "shakāraya dronikā. Of sh, the trough-shaped tongue is the producing organ, 'from drona, a 'wooden tub or trough.'

i. 24. "dantyānāṁ jihvāgranḥ prasthrayam. Of the dental, the tip of the tongue thrust forward is the producing organ." The commentator gives the series t ṭ, t th d ḍ dh n, and the Vāj. Pr. adds ṭ. The Rīk Pr. makes the class consist of l s r, t th d ḍ dh n. The Tāttī Pr. defines the same letters, except r, as formed, dantamūleshu, 'at the roots of the teeth' [that is, 'alveolar,' rather than 'dental'], the t-series, and s as produced by the tip, and the l as produced with the middle of the tongue. [This ought to make it palatal = (lj).]

i. 25. "osṣṭhyānāṁ dharauṣṭham (or -osṣṭhya). Of the labials, the lower lip is the producing organ." The labials are o ōu, p ph b bh m, the upadhmāṇya spirant [(ph), see (1132, b)], and the vowel u ū. Here v is emitted, doubtless by fault of copyist, as it is not otherwise placed. The Vāj. Pr. adds further, that in the utterance of v the tips of the teeth are employed, and so in Tāttī Pr., its commentator explaining that in the utterance of the letter the points of the upper teeth are placed on the edge of the lower lip. [See discussion (1103, c).]

i. 26. "nāṣikyānāṁ nāṣikā. Of the nose-sounds, the nose is the producing organ." The commentator cites ṣ ni n m, anusvāra, and the generated nasals, that is, nāṣikya after h i. 100, and yamas after mutes i. 99.
i. 27. "amanstikam mukhanstikam.
Of the nasalised sounds, the mouth and
nose together are the producing organs."
The Tättt. Pr. says, "nasal quality is
communicated by the unclosing of the
nose." 

i. 28. "refhasya dantamulani.
Of r, the roots of the teeth are the pro-
ducing organs." There is a consider-
able difference of opinion respecting r
among Indian phonologists. Rik Pr.
includes it among dentals as dantamul-
liva (see i. 24 above), but adds that
others regard it as gingival. Vāj. Pr.
makes it to be produced at roots of
the tip of tongue. Tättt. Pr. by the
tip and middle of tongue, close
behind roots of teeth. The Paninean
scheme makes it mārdhanya. [See
(1138, a).] Probably several modes of
forming r, dependent on the adjacent
consonants, are confused under one
symbol.

i. 29. "spratran sparcan karaṇam.
In the case of mutes the organ forms a
contact." From this contact sparrca
the mutes derive their name [literally,
'contact letters'].

i. 30. "ishtapsrṣṭamantākṣṭhānām.
In the case of the semi-vowels, it is
partially in contact." The Rik Pr.
calls it dukṣprṣṭam, 'imperfectly or
hardly in contact.' The word antākṣṭhā,
'intermediate, standing between,' as
applied to the semi-vowels y r l v, is
supposed to refer to their alphabetic
arrangement, between the mutes and
spirants, but more probably refers to
their neither forming a complete contact
like the mutes, nor an open position
like the vowels.

i. 31. uṣmānāḥ vīraṁ ka.
In the case of spirants it is also open." The
ka should make these ishtapsrṣṭam, or
partially open. The Tättt. Pr. says
the spirants, in their order, are uttered
in the positions of the mutes, but with
the middle part of the producing organ
opened. The Rik Pr. includes the
vowels anusvāra and spirants together,
as produced without contact. The
Rik Pr. makes the spirants to be h
(visarjanīya), h k (jihamūliya), c s k,
s, and ḫp (upadhānīya), and anus-
vāra; the Vāj. Pr. only c s h k; the
Tättt. Pr. omits the visarjanīya and
anusvāra.

i. 32. "svaṁnāṁ ka.
In the case of the vowels also it is open." 

i. 33. "ekā sprṣṭam.
Some con-
sider it as forming a contact." No
one of the other treatises favours this
obviously and grossly incorrect opinion.

i. 34. "ekāraukārayorvērttamam.
In the case of e and o it is very widely
open." [That is, these were even at
that time very open vowels, compare
(1137, a).]

i. 35. "tato-pyākārasya.
And even
more so, in the case of ā." 

i. 36. "sainérta -kāraṇ.
The a is
obscured." In Vāj. Pr. and Pāṇini, a
is ordered to be treated as qualitatively
the same as ā, implying that it was not
so in practice. The Tättt. and Rik Pr.
donot notice any difference in the quality
of a, ā.

i. 37. "sainyapṛṣṭeṣeṣnavarvānam.
The r-vowels are combined with an r.'
[This seems to give ('r) or (').] 

i. 38. "salaṅkāravārangam.
The l-
vowels are combined with an l." [This
gives ('l).] 

i. 40. "sainḍhyākṣaraṁ saṁyapṛṣ-
teṣeṣnavānavadērtitāṁ.
The diph-
thongs are composed of combined
vowels; their treatment is that of a
simple vowel." Here sainḍhyākṣaraṁ
is literally 'syllable of combination,' and
is the usual name for a diphthong,
and saṁāṇḍkṣaraṁ, 'homogeneous syl-
lable,' is sometimes used for the simple
vowel as opposed to the diphthong.
The diphthongs are e o ā āu. [Of
course originally āi, au, āai, āau.]

i. 41. "nāṅkāṛukāravṛto sthānavi-
dhāu.
Not so, however, with ā and
du, in a rule of position." The
commentator's paraphrase is āṅkāṛukā-
ṛavṛto sthānavidhāne ekavāravaṇavādērtit
na dhavati. What the meaning and
value of the rule is, is not altogether
clear; it may forbid the inclusion of
āi among palatals only, and āu among
labials only, since they are also both
throat-sounds.

Prof. Whitney, moved probably by his study of this classification,
seems to have developed from it his 'unitary' arrangement (1289, d),
which is here given from the Journal of the American Oriental Society,
vol. 8, p. 372, first in his own letters, and then in their palaeotypic
equivalents. His position of h depends upon his theory that it is
"the common surd of all those sonant letters which are too open
to have each its own individual surd," see the discussion, beginning (1141, d').

This scheme has the advantage of being a mere skeleton, and consequendy evades most of the difficulties which arise when we attempt to clothe it in full. But as a skeleton, it will be found very useful and suggestive.

Prof. Whitney’s Unitary Alphabet.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sonant</th>
<th>Vowels</th>
<th>Semivowels</th>
<th>Nasals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>y, r, l, w</td>
<td>i, e, o, u</td>
<td>j, r, l, w</td>
<td>q, n, m</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Surd  k  Aspiration  q
Sonant  s, t  Fricatives
Surd  s, t  Mutes

Lepsius, however, includes them in his general alphabet (Standard Alphabet, p. 76), which here follows in palaeotype, the Arabic sounds being given according to his (much disputed) theories. Lepsius’s interest was chiefly transcriptive, and is only partly or incidentally physiological. He uses chiefly Roman, but some Greek and a few new characters, with diacritical dots, hooks, accents, marks, etc.

Consonants of Lepsius’s General Alphabet.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I. Faucales</th>
<th>explosives v. dividuae</th>
<th>fricatiae v. continuae</th>
<th>ancipites</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fortis.</td>
<td>lenis.</td>
<td>nasalis.</td>
<td>fortis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>;</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>II. Gutturales</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>III. Palatales</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kjh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gjh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zbj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lj</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IV. Cerrebrales (Indicae)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V. Linguales (Arabicae)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>d(l)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z, dh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VI. Dentales</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s, th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z, dh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VII. Labiales</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Brücke (1287, d') has not given a tabular scheme, although he has developed a system of writing. His classification of consonants, in reference to his alphactical signs, is here reproduced in brief, because it is strictly physiological, and because the state of the glottis is throughout carefully indicated.

1. Voiced consonants may be shut (verschusstaut), continuant or fricative (reibungsgerausch), an L-sound, trilled (sitterlaust), or resonant in the nose (resonant), and may be articulated in three principal places:
   a. With the lips, solely, or with lips and teeth.
   b. With tip of tongue and palate, 1) alveolar, 2) dental.
   c. With back of tongue and palate, 1) middle of hard palate, 2) back part of hard palate, 3) soft palate.

   These are illustrated by signs, to be thus translated:
   (b), lips shut.
   (v), lips and teeth, fricative.
   (m), lips, nasal.
   (n), alveolar, fricative.
   (d), dental, fricative.
   (l), dental, L-sound.
   (r), dental, trill.
   (z) back of tongue and middle of hard palate, fricative.
   (r) back of tongue and soft palate, trill.

2. State of the larynx:
   a. Closed glottis. Vocal chords in position for voice (h); no sign.
   b. Open glottis. Vocal chords apart as for breathing; its sign united with sign for (g) gives German h (h); with sign for (b) gives sign for p, which is therefore (ph); with sign for (dh) gives sign for (th).
   c. Position for the wheezing breath (h), which is taken to have the chords 'nicked in' by the arytenoid cartilages, and hence to be different from that described by Czermak (1130, b).
   d. Position for whisper (h), see (1128, c), which Brücke attributes to the Saxon letters regarded by Merkel as imploded (1097, c).
   e. Larynx closed by epiglottis and arytenoid cartilages (i), united with those shut consonants which do not come under (b). The check (i) and clear glottis (i) are not distinguished (1129, d', 1130, a).
   f. Trill of glottis (r).
   g. The ain-action of glottis continued through the vowel (a), see (1134, a'), always united with a vowel.
   h. Direction to put more metallic quality into the voice; [this affects the following vowel, and must be mainly contivered in the resonant chambers].
   i. Direction to deepen, or put more roundness into the voice; [this is also mainly a question of the resonance chamber; these two last are for the effect of Arabic letters on the following vowel; the effect here intended seems to be the (a) of (1107, c), and is recognised as present in the Russian (ya)].

3. Consonants with two places of articulation. "When a consonant has to be noted, for which there are two straits, one behind the other, either of which separately would give its own fricative, the signs for each are written in succession." Thus (zh) is written as alveolar, between back of tongue and back of hard palate, fricative; to which for (sh) is added: open glottis.

4. Consonants with double sound. As (grh), written: between back of tongue and back of hard palate, fricative, trill; to which in the case of (krh) is added: open larynx.

   Compound sounds are expressed by groups of symbols; thus German z, taken as (z,s), is: alveolar, shut, open glottis + alveolar, fricative, open glottis; ancient Greek ζ, taken as (ζ,ζ), is: alveolar, shut + alveolar, fricative. Italian c before e, taken as (čsh), is: alveolar, shut, open glottis + alveolar, between back of tongue and back of hard palate, fricative, open glottis, etc.

This extremely ingenious and philosophical method of writing, of which various specimens are given in numerous languages, printed in movable types, becomes, in Dr. Brücke's words, at least for his consonants, eine bereute Zeichensprache, literally, "a speech-endowed sign-language"—a term closely approaching to that chosen by Mr. Melville Bell, whose "Visible Speech" has been so much used.
On (1121, c) I found it necessary to give a new palaeotypic symbolisation of Mr. Bell's columns 2 and 3, p. 15, and on pp. 1125–6 I had to reconsider some parts of cols. 5 and 9, which I have now still further studied. It will therefore be best to reproduce the palaeotypic equivalents of all his table on p. 15, except the vowels. In the following table I annex Mr. Bell’s own nomenclature, which may be compared with Brücke’s. The columns and lines refer to Mr. Bell’s symbols (15, a).

Mr. Melville Bell's Consonants.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Voiceless.</th>
<th>Voiced.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>primary</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mixed</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>kwh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>divided</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shut</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>qh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mr. Melville Bell’s Aspirate, Glides, Modifiers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>5</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th></th>
<th>5</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;h&quot;</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>'r'</td>
<td>x₁</td>
<td>voice glide</td>
<td></td>
<td>g</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voice glide</td>
<td>x₁</td>
<td>x₁</td>
<td>[doubled letter]</td>
<td>accent</td>
<td></td>
<td>i</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;r&quot;</td>
<td>'r'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>back glide</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'r'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;w&quot;</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>'r'</td>
<td></td>
<td>point glide</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>round front glide</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;w&quot;</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>'h'</td>
<td></td>
<td>lip glide</td>
<td>t</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>round lip glide</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'h'</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>'hw'</td>
<td></td>
<td>breath glide</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mr. Melville Bell’s consonant arrangement, as thus shewn, is based on the following distinctions. In the original symbols the open glottis is not considered in relation to the consonants, but voiceless and voiced forms alone are symbolised. He has subsequently added a mark for whispered as distinguished from voiced forms, but he has not yet found it necessary to distinguish the open glottis, except by adding his 9a = (x₁) or 6f = ("h") to the (1127, d) shut consonant. Only four places of articulation are distinguished, col. 1 back of tongue and palate, col. 2 front, that is, middle of tongue and palate, col. 3
point, that is, tip of tongue and palate, and col. 4 lips. But by signs for outer or advanced \( (\text{th}) = 9t \), and inner or retracted \( (\text{th}) = 9k \), and for open \( (\text{th}) = 9m \), or close \( (\text{th}) = 9l \), these are practically extended to 20. Confining attention to the consonants:

The lines \( a, g \), are continuants with "the organic aperture contracted to a central chink," a voiceless, \( g \) voiced.

Lines \( c \) and \( i \) are continuants with the "organic aperture divided by a central check." In the case of \( (\text{th}) \) this is very intelligible, but for \( (\text{f}) \) and \( (\text{v}) \), although there is the "central check" in the shape of the teeth, this only acts as a sharp wind squeezer, and makes the hiss or buzz more decided. See Dr. Stone's observations (1331, \( d \)).

The union of \( (\text{th}) \) and \( (\text{v}) \) in one class is liable to considerable reclamation. Line \( e \) is voiceless, and line \( i \) voiced.

Lines \( b, d, \) voiceless, and \( h, k \), voiced, give peculiar means of obtaining the simultaneous action of two of the former positions, of which the first mentioned in each case is the most prominent. These signs might be entirely dispensed with, and thus answer really to Brücke's third series (1340, \( e \)). Thus for line \( b, (\text{kch}) \) is taken to be \( (\text{kh}+\text{ph}) \), but \( (\text{wh}) \) to be \( (\text{ph}+\text{kh}) \), and again \( (\text{s}) = (\text{r}+\text{h}) \), but \( (\text{sh}) = (\text{r}+\text{h}+\text{h}) \). As respects these last, Mr. Graham Bell at least has just reversed the combination of the symbols (1121, \( e \)). Again, for line \( a \), we must suppose \( (\text{kh}) = (\text{lh}+\text{f}) \), but \( (\text{fh}) = (\text{f}+\text{h}) \), and \( (\text{th}) = (\text{lh}+\text{lh}) \), but \( (\text{zh}) = (\text{lh}+\text{lh}) \). The two last will probably be disputed. With regard to \( (\text{th}) \) Mr. Bell says (V. S. p. 58): "the 'front-mixed-divided' consonant \( (\text{th}) \) has its centre check at the tip of the tongue, and its apertures between the edges of the flattened point and the teeth or the upper gum—the front of the tongue having considerable convexity within the arch of the palate." It is difficult to see how the form of the symbol and its relation to \( (\text{zh}) \) or \( (\text{lh}) \) shews this, unless \( (\text{zh}) \) is taken as very dental \( (\text{lh}) \). Although the back of the tongue is raised for \( (\text{b}) \) almost as much as for \( (\text{zh}) \), yet the action between the tongue and teeth is most marked, and the stream of air is only squeezed, not divided, by the teeth.

Lines \( e \) voiceless and \( l \) voiced are merely the ordinary shut positions, and lines \( f \) voiceless and \( m \) voiced the corresponding nasal positions.

For the aspirate, glides and modifiers, after again considering the discussion on pp. 1125—8, respecting \( 5 a, f, 9 a, b, c, h, l, m, \) and \( 10 c, e, f, \) I believe that the marks placed in the present table are the best palaeotypic equivalents of Mr. Bell's symbols, according to the principles developed in this chapter. Observe that the glides have all \( (\text{th}) \) before them, which mark would be placed against or over the preceding or following vowel (1099, \( d \)). To agree with Mr. Bell's system of notation, voiced-consonant forms are given to all the glides, except \( 5a, f, g, m = (\text{h}, \text{h}, \text{w}, \text{x}) \), the last of which I was never able properly to separate from \( 5a \) ("h"), even when I heard Mr. Bell pronounce it. I have, however, in practice generally thought it best to use vowel-signs as marks of his glides, thus \( (\text{aa}) \) for \( (\text{ar}) \), \( (\text{ai}) \) for \( (\text{as}) \), \( (\text{au}) \) for \( (\text{aw}) \).

In fig. 4 of a plate accompanying Mr. A. Graham Bell's "Visible Speech as a means of communicating articulation to deaf mutes" (Washington, U.S. 1872, pp. 34), I find that in the place of the glide \( 5 l \) in pole, (pewl) according to Mr. Melville Bell, Mr. Graham Bell writes a vowel-sign small, answering exactly to (pouil). This was first suggested, I believe, by Mr. H. Sweet. The use of ("h") for \( 5f \) is my last appreciation of this sign, and agrees in the main with (1127, \( b \)).

Mr. Melville Bell's Key-words.

The following list contains the examples by which Mr. Melville Bell illustrates these signs (V.S. pp. 93—4), and for convenience I give them in the order of the above table, referring to column and line and annexing the palaeotype. When two palaeotypic signs are given, the first accurately translates Mr. Bell's sign; and the second gives the form I usually employ for the sound indicated by the example.

**Abbreviations.**

| a. American | it. Italian |
| b. Cockney | p. Polish |
| c. English | pec. peculiar |
| d. French | sc. Scotch |
| e. Gaelic | sp. Spanish |
| f. German | w. Welsh |
| g. Hungarian | z. Zulu |
| h. Irish | |

**Key-words.**

1. \( a \) (kh) nach ge., pech sc.
2. \( b \) (kch) auch ge., sough sc.
1. c. (th) hiss of water fowl.
1 d. (wh).
1 e. (k) c, k, g, e, (k) = my (kj) kind e.
1 f. (gh) sink e, compare (1141, a).
1 g. (gh) tage ge, (gh) = my (gjh) zeige ge, (gh) = my (gjh) buried r.
1 h. (gwh) variety of g ge, and of defective r e.
1 i. (th) laqgh ga, buried l p.
1 k. (hw) labialised variety of l ga.
1 l. (g) go e, (g) = my (g) guide e.
1 m. (q) sing e.

2 a. (sh) ich ge. [I hear (ikjh), which would be Mr. Bell's (ikjh)].
2 b. (s) s, c, e, (s) ciudad sp. [doubtful].
2 e. (lgh) variety of defective s.
2 f. (th) thin e.
2 g. (k) variety of t, see (1120, b).
2 f. (qgh) variety of [voiceless] n.
2 g. (j) yes e.
2 h. (z) zeal e., (z) d, final, sp. [doubtful].
2 i. (l) llano sp., gh i t. [These sounds are (l) or (lj), not (l), the distinction consisting in the tip of the tongue touching the palate or gums for (lj, lj), and being held down for (l), the middle of tongue comes in contact with hard palate for all three.]
2 k. (dh) then e.
2 l. (gj) Boulogne h. [properly (dj), see 2 f.]
2 m. (qj) Boulogne f. [The French sound is neither (qi) nor (qj), but (nj) or (nj), see 2 i.]

3 a. (rh) théâtre f. [colloquially (rh), never with untrilled, (r,h)], -r/h w. [never untrilled in Welsh].
3 b. (sh) show e., chaud f.
3 c. (lh) temple f. [colloquially (lh)], felt e., see (1141, a).
3 d. (th) ll w., hl z., see p. 766, n. 2.
3 e. (t) tie e. [The foreign (t, t) do not seem to have been noticed.]
3 f. (nh) tent e. See (1141, a).
3 g. (rj) race e., (rj) = my (r) r sc. sp., etc.
3 h. (zh) pleasure e., jour f.
3 i. (l) lie e. [The foreign (l, l) not noticed. See 3 e.]
3 j. (dh) dhl z. See (756, d).
3 k. (d) die e. [The foreign (d, d) not noticed. See 3 e.]
3 l. (n) sin e. [The foreign (n, n) not noticed. See 3 e.]
3 m. (n) sin e. [The foreign (n, n) not noticed. See 3 e.]

4 a. (ph) variety of f or wh. See (1141, c, 1518, b, 542, a, 1099, c).
4 b. (wh) wh/ry e.
4 c. (t) tie e.
4 d. (th) gutturalised variety of f.
4 e. (p) pie e.
4 f. (mb) lamp e. (1141, a), mAm sc.
4 g. (gh) weg ge, b sp.
4 h. (w) way e.
4 i. (v) vie e.
4 k. (vh) gutturalised variety of v.
4 l. (b) buy e.
4 m. (m) seem e.

5 a. (h) va'ry e. [that is (vee'hr, s), for which I write (vee'r), with the reduction of (h) to (r) for convenience, and the trilled (r)].
5 b. (r) are, smooth burr, e. dialects [that is (aar) or (aar), as distinct from (aa, r)].
5 c. (s) die e. day e. [that is (dar, dez), which I write (d'ar, dez)].
5 d. (re) are e. [that is (aar), which I write (aa) or (aa), not distinguishing o a, and o a].
5 e. (bh) lai fr. [that is (bbhi) or (bbhi), in place of (lwj) or (lyj)].
5 f. (h) p'aper ir. [that is (p'hace-), where I hear (phace-) or (phace-); hence this is the sign for Sanscrit surd aspirates, see (1127, b)].
5 g. ("w) now a. and e. [that is (naw), (naw) not quite (naw, nay')].
5 h. ("r, w) not [exemplified, possibly a burred our (uar, w)].
5 i. ("w) new north ir. [possibly (nij), or (nij), found in Norfolk].
5 k. ("r, w) our e. [that is (uar, w), my (a w')].
5 l. (w) now e. [that is (naw), my (naw)].
5 m. ("x') are pec. a semivowelled sound of 9 ë. [See 9 h, the glide is shewn by the accent.]

9 a. (xj) he e. [The new symbol (x) is introduced to enable me to write Mr. Melville Bell's symbols 9 a, b, h, and 5 m, in accordance with his theories, which differ in this respect so greatly from my own that my symbols, although I use them freely in transliterating passages written phonetically by him, will not serve the present purpose, when everything turns upon representing his notion of the formation
of the sounds. The new symbol (x) represents the passage of
flatus, with a moderate degree of force, through "the super-
glottal passage," or pharynx (that is, between the epiglottis
and the position for (k) or (x), whence the form of the symbol),
independently of its subsequent differentiation. The open state
of this passage is shown as usual by adding on 9 m (.) thus:
(x1). Of course the effect of (xii) is nearly (thii), or even
(,"hii). No jerk (h) seems contemplated. See (1125, c) for
description.]

9 b. (x1) vowel whisper. [See 9 a. Here the contraction of the
super-glottal passage is shown by adding 9 i. See description
(1126, b). The effect is nearly (,h) or (h). The distinction
between (x1, x1) is marked by Bell's circular and elliptic form
of symbol, see p. 16.]

9 c. (,) bu'er for butter, west of Scot-
land

9 d. (,), This sign "applied to any of
the preceding consonants shows
that the breath flows through
the nose as well as through the
symbolised configuration. The
effect is to dull the oral sibilla-
tions, and to deprive the transi-
tional action of percussiveness,"
(V. S. p. 65.) "Partial nasality
without guttural modification—
such as is heard in some of the
American dialects, and from in-
dividual speakers — is repre-
sented by the ordinary nasal
sign (,) placed after the affected
vowel." (ibid. p. 78.)

9 e. (,). "When the nasal valve is
opened simultaneously with the
formation of a vowel, the breath
or voice issues simultaneously,
partly through the nostrils, and
partly through the oral configu-
ration. This, with a degree of
'gliding' semi-consonant con-
traction in the guttural passage,
is the formation of the common
French sounds represented by n
after a vowel letter. To in-
dicate the 'mixed nasal' or
naso-guttural quality of these
elements, the special symbol 9 e
(a) is provided. This symbol
[see its shape on p. 15] is formed
by uniting 9a (x1) subordinately
with the ordinary nasal sign
(,)." (V. S. p. 77.) Hence sys-
tematically it should be rendered
by (x1).

9 f. (hese) [no example].

9 g. (,), "Symbol (,) denotes a loose
vibration or quiver of the organ
to which the symbol applies.
Thus the tongue vibrates against
the front of the palate in form-
ing Scotch or Spanish R," this
would make them to result from a
striking and not a free reed
action, and be (r), but Mr. Bell
writes the equivalent of (r,); "the
uvula vibrates against the
back of the tongue in producing
the French R 'grassé' [liter-
ally, 'lipped,'] or the Northum-
brian 'burr' (r). The lateral
edges of the tongue vibrate in
forming a close variety of L;"
[this is apparently different from
his 3 r = (l), and should be (l')];
"the lips vibrate when they are
relaxed and closely approxi-
mated, (brh); and in the same
way the edges of the throat-
passage vibrate [? exact mean-
ing], with a 'growling' effect,
when the current of breath is
intercepted by sufficiently close
but loose approximation. Sym-
bol (,) thus refers to the element
after which it is written; as
(h2) a flutter of the breath;
(h2) a quiver of the voice;
(x2) throat vibration; a 'gruff'
whisper; (x'2) hoarse vibratory
murmur:—"growling."" (V. S.
p. 47.)

9 h. (x1), variety of defective r, emis-
sion of voice with the throat
contracted. See description
(1126, a'). [See 9 a and 9 b,
to the last of which (,) is pro-
fixed to shew the buzz. See
also end of last quotation about
9 g. The glide of this, of
course, becomes ('x'), see 5 m.]

9 i. (,), see examples to 1 e, g, l, 2 a.

9 k. (,), see (1098, 8').

9 l. (,), see (1107, 8).

10 a to m. [no special examples are
given].
In the preceding systems we commenced with an acute ancient classification confined essentially to one language, but that the most important for European investigations, the Sanscrit; and from this proceeded to Prof. Whitney's skeleton arrangement, which contemplated some of the derived languages. Thence we passed to Lepsius's, which embraced the Semitic as well as the Aryan forms of speech, but was also incomplete and sketchy. From this we proceeded to two physiological arrangements. Dr. Brücke was mainly influenced by German habits, and, as shewn by his examples, his acquaintance with other European pronunciations, and even with middle and south German habits, left much to be desired. He had, however, endeavoured to examine the Arabic sounds with great care. His consonantal scheme professed to be purely physiological, and hence to be applicable to all languages, although his vowel scheme, founded on the triangle already exhibited (1287, c), was purely literary. Mr. Melville Bell's scheme is physiological both for vowels and consonants, and, though his physiological knowledge is of course greatly inferior to that of such an eminent professional physiologist as Brücke, and hence makes default in hidden laryngeal actions, he has produced a system which is admirable in its general arrangements. But it is quite impossible that any one with a limited knowledge of the living habits of speakers can succeed even in the analysis, much less in the synthesis, of spoken sounds. In pondering over the possibilities of vocal effects producible by our organs of speech, we are constantly liable to omit forms quite common to other nations, because they are totally unfamiliar to ourselves, while we may excogitate theoretical sounds which no one has ever adopted. I shall conclude, therefore, by giving two arrangements of consonants which have been chiefly formed by an examination of sounds heard, and not so much by hypothetical construction. Of course these two systems are not purely observational or purely literary. Both schemes inevitably contain some theoretical sounds suggested by others observed, and both classifications are more or less founded on the organs in or near contact.

The first of these is Prof. Haldeman's (1186, d), which has already been given for English only (1189, c), so that no long explanations will be necessary. The great peculiarities of Prof. Haldeman's investigations are—1) an examination of literary languages, when possible by personal audition; 2) an examination of many North American Indian languages, which other phonologists have disregarded, but which are full of curious phenomena; 3) great attention to the synthetic effects of speech sounds in modifying their character, and to synthesis in general; 4) in notation, an endeavour to make his symbols a real extension of the Roman alphabet, to the extent of not using any symbol in an un-Latin sense, according to his own theory of Latin pronunciation.

The following table is taken from Art. 577, compared with Art. 193a., of his Analytic Orthography. It was first published by him in the Linnaean Record of Pennsylvania College, for June, 1846.
Prof. Haldeman's Consonant System.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonantal Types</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Lingual</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Pharyngeal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Labial</td>
<td>w, w', w</td>
<td>l, lr</td>
<td>lh, lb</td>
<td>nh, nb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lenis 1</td>
<td>lenis 2</td>
<td>lenis 3</td>
<td>lenis 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>asper 2</td>
<td>asper 3</td>
<td>asper 4</td>
<td>asper 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>surd 1</td>
<td>surd 2</td>
<td>surd 3</td>
<td>surd 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Phonetic Symbols:
- "w", "w'" (Palatal Fricative)
- "l", "lr" (Lateral)
- "lh", "lb" (Lateral)
- "nh", "nb" (Nasal)

Notes:
- Little Liquids: "m", "n", "ng"
- Much Mutes: "b", "d", "g"
- Pure: "t", "th", "k"

Interpretation: The chart outlines the classification of consonants based on their articulatory and phonetic properties, distinguishing between dental, lingual, palatal, and pharyngeal categories.
Key-words and Explanations,

Arranged by the number of line and letter of column.

1 a. (w, 'w), nasal (w) as a separate element, and as a glide. "The effort to produce vocality may, perhaps, be transferred from the glottis to the contact, so that instead of (b, d, g), a modified (p, t, k) will occur, made with the points of contact (as the lips) flattened against each other, producing what we call a flat sound" (art. 181).

In the case of the German, it is considered by Brücke as a whisper, and this notation is given by me, and by Merkel as an implosion (1097, c). This is an element in Prof. Haldeman's classification, and he marks the lines 1, 2; 5, 6; 1', 2'; 5', 6', as having flat sounds, in his theoretical scheme, art. 193a.

1 f. (r), nasalised (r), or 5f, which see.

1 g. (r'), nasalised (r) as a separate form, and as a glide. "Nasal (r) occurs in Jakutisch, we have heard it in Cherokee" (art. 546a).

5 a. (w 'w), the (w) as a separate element, and as a glide, see (1193, b).

5 b. (l), "formed by a light contact of the tip of the tongue at or near the base of the upper teeth" (art. 469 a).

(r), "an intermediate sound in Samojedic, which has more of the (smooth?) r than l, although both are heard simultaneously" (art. 477), see (1133, a). Prof. H. uses the capital symbol 'l, made by cutting an h.

5 c. (r 'r), see (1194, d), where they are 16 c, 17 c, 18 c.

5 d. (l), Polish barred l, judged to belong to the Arabic.

5 e. (l), supposed Sanscrit l with inverted tongue.

5 f. (r), see (1195, d).

5 g. (r 'r), the (r) as a separate element, and as a glide, see (1193, c).

6 b. (lhh), "a vocal aspirate lhh, which we attribute provisionally to Irish, its surd cognate being Welsh" (art. 198). "We think it occurs sonant in Irish, where it is considered to be a kind of d" (art. 474). Hence it is assumed to be the same as the Manx (lhh), see (756, d), where note that (lhh) is, through a mistake on my part, erroneously said to occur in Manx.

6 c. (rzh), more properly (r'zh), the Polish rz, (art. 512), [considered as (zh) with the tip of tongue trilled, as it seemed to me when I heard it, but I have since been assured, though I have not personally observed, that the (r) and (zh) are separate, and successive, not simultaneous].

7 i. (j), "liatus is a break or pause commonly caused by dropping an intermediate element, and not closing the remainder" (art. 660).

8 a. (wh), see (1194, b).

8 b. (lhh), "the sured Welsh aspirate l. We have heard the Welsh ll in Creek Choctaw and Cherokee" (art. 474), see therefore (756, n. 2). "The following are examples from the musical Creek (an English name), more correctly (maskook'i), in which the name of the 'large river,' Withlacoochee, and 'figured rock river,' Chattahoochee, are respectively (ulilhlukutsati tsaturhu'tasi); the former from (u'wa) water, and (lhhkali) large, (lhhlakima'uhli) larger, (lhhlakir'a) largest. All the vowels are short." (art. 475). "We are doubtful whether the French l, r, of simple, matire, are whispered or sured aspirate," that is, whether they belong to lines 7 or 8, "but we incline to the former" (art. 476). This would give 7 b = (lh), 7 e = (rh), and make 8 b = (lhh), and 8 e = (rhh), a corresponding sound.

8 c. (rhh), "The Welsh sured aspirate rh may be the smooth element" [that is, the lenis or 7 c]. "We do not remember its character on this point," see (p. 759, n. 1).

(rhh). The surd of 6 c, which see.

8 f. (r'hh), see (1195, d).

8 g. (r'zh), see (1194, b).

8 h. (r), "the Sanscrit visarga" (art. 571), see (1132, b).

8 t. (rh, h), see (1196, a).

1' a. (m), usual.

1' b. (n), usual, see 5 b for dentality.

1' d. (n), "Lepsius adds a (theoretic?) n to the [Arabic lingual] series" (art. 489).

1' e. (n), presumed Sanscrit cerebral n with inverted tongue.

1' f. (q), a Sanscrit letter, which should be located farther back than r, s. It may have been a French j nasal afflate (zh)," (art. 198). The Sanscrit character given is that which I now attribute to (qj), see (1137, c).

1' g. (q), usual sing.
2' a. (sh) German sh, Ellenic (Romaeic) θ, the sonant of φ. See (Arts. 126, 127, 461).

4' a. (mh), voiceless (m).
4' b. (nh), voiceless (n).

5' a. (b), usual.
5' b. (d), usual.
5' d. (ā), Arabic lingual.
5' e. (n), presumed Sanscrit cerebral with inverted tongue.
5' g. (g), usual.

6' a. (bh), German Ṽ, Ellenic (Romanic) β, the sonant of φ. See (Arts. 126, 127, 451).

6' e. (z), usual.

6' f. (zh), French j.
6' g. (g'h), as g in könige.

6' h. (gh), "the 19th letter, ghain, of the Arabic alphabet" (art. 549), considered as vibrating, but as related to (x), that is our (grh) is made (=ch).

7' a. (p), usual.
7' b. (t), usual, for dentity see δ b.
7' d. (d), Arabic lingual.
7' e. (r), presumed Sanscrit cerebral with inverted tongue.
7' g. (g), usual.
7' h. (k), "the 21st letter of the Arabic alphabet" (art. 547).

(x'1). "In the Waco of Texas, the entire surface, from the glottis to the (x) position, forms a contact, which is opened suddenly and independent of the lungs, upon a vowel formation, producing a click or smack like that which accompanies the separation of the closed palms when wet with soap and water. The preceding closure bears some resemblance to the incipient act of swallowing. We describe it from our method of producing it, and we were said to be the first person with whom it was not vernacular, who had acquired it," art. 575. The (x'1) gives merely the position, (x'1) is the full click, which is abbreviated to (g) on p. 11. The following are examples: (g'tr'gr'14) eye, (a'srk'14) foot, (esk'14) hand.

7' i. (j), "hamza is a closure of the glottis" (art. 568).

8' a. (ph), "It differs from (f) in not being made by the lower lip and the upper teeth, but by contact of both lips, as in blowing," art. 119.
8' b. (f), usual.
8' c. (s), usual.
8' e. (s), Polish ś, considered as "between (German) sej and scek; we have heard such a one in the Waco (we'ko) of Texas, as in (iskweet'sj), five, a word derived from that for hand, as in (Lenaa'pe) and Hebrew" (art. 490).
8' d. (s), Arabic lingual.
8' e. (sh), presumed Sanscrit cerebral sh, with inverted tongue.
8' g. (k'h), ch in German ich.
8' h. (kh), "the seventh Arabic letter" (art. 548), taken to be vibrated, and hence as my (krh).

In the scheme, theoretical sounds are excluded, and many minute varieties left unnoticed. I here put in such as I have noted in Chap. XV., on the consonants, but there are many scattered elsewhere, which I have probably overlooked.

Art. 451, Nos. 12 and 13, and arts. 452, 463. (prh, brh), "the labial trill, a rapid alternation between (b bh) or (p ph). . . . The sonant labial trill is used in Germany to stop horses, and we have known a child who emphasised the word push by trilling the p, when desirous of being pushed to the table after having climbed into his chair." Art. 472. "The t, d, in tsh, dzh, are drawn back by the following palatal, and in fact they may be considered as the lenis forms of s, z," that is (tsh, dzh) are what he would write, see (1117, d').

Art. 483. (nh), "surd afflate," or blowing of flatus through the nose, "we have heard in Cherokee, and a forcible sonant form in Albanian," see 2' b.

Art. 484–6. Indistinctness, for scarcely heard m, n, before p, d, etc. "We have heard this n in Wyandot (wond3), where the speaker denied its existence, and would not have written it had the language been a written one, as in (ndjkh), four, and in the name of the town (skan'ndenhir-tutj), beyond the pines, Skeneckety, in New York, spelt scheneckety, the sch being due to the Dutch. A slight (n), not (q), occurs before (g) in Wyandot (uu'ngla';), nuts.
Art. 517. "In Sanscrit द, according to Wilkins, 'is produced by applying the tip of the tongue to the fore part of the palate, and passing the voice as in pronouncing our a.'" "This," as Prof. H. observed in a letter dated 3 July, 1873, "would make it the true aspirate of t." See (1120, c).

Art. 525, Nos. 4 and 8, and art. 540. The Swiss and Modern Greek (κρ, grh) are adduced, and an opinion is expressed that they are different from the Arabic sounds, which he writes (κχ, ch), see 6°, 8°, 8°, 8°. The chief difference of the Swiss and Modern Greek sounds from the Arabic, to my ear, is that the former are much less forcibly pronounced than the latter. The Greek ɣ is very soft indeed, and might be written (μgrh).

Art. 563. "The sign (') represents a slight phase, whether aspirate, or independent, or even vocal, at the close of abrupt syllables." The "aspirate" is true ('h) coming from the lungs (1127, b'), and the vocal is (h'), see (1164, b), the 'independent vowels' are clicks (th) or mouth puffs (ε), see (1334, c). Following Prof. H., but not entirely using his words or signs: (p't) is breath drawn in on opening the lips, (p+t) is "the sound made faintly by smokers when separating the lips under suction, (t.th) one of the clacks, having force," etc. (art. 447). "In the (Nadaa'ko),—an English name, An-a-dah-has, of Schoolcraft,—a Texan language, we have heard such a sound following t, with an effect as loud as spitting, and somewhat resembling it, as in (kaba't, $\xi$) thread, where the resonance is modified by an o cavity; (ναι. $\xi a$), paper; (τ $\xi a$) thu), tooth, with final h, it may be considered a dissyllable; (υκώλω $\xi o$), wind; —(κ $\xi a$), thigh, a monosyllable, the vowel of medial length" (art. 447).

There seems to be a little confusion between (ε) and (e), but the whole observation is important in observing sounds. I have used the subscript (o, a) in (ε, a), to shew the form of the resonance cavity, instead of subjoining (o, a) as Prof. H. has done.

Art. 551. "As independent (p $\xi$ ph, t $\xi$ th, k $\xi$ kh) can be formed without air from the lungs, so in the Chinook of Oregon (κ $\xi$ kh) is similarly treated, according to the pronunciation of Dr. J. K. Townsend, which we acquired. In the following examples an allowance must be made for two personal equations: (beak $\xi$ khεκεξ $\xi$ kh,6e), grandmother; (κ $\xi$ khάwκ $\xi$ khάwκ $\xi$ kh), yellow."

Art. 570. For "the Arabic and Hebrew ain, ... the vowel is heard with a simultaneous faucal scrape, which may be regarded as a sufficient interruption to make it a modified liquid; and the vowel and scraping effect being simultaneous, they cannot be represented by a consonant character preceding a vowel one," as (ga), hence he writes a minute < below the vowel, answering to (gα), see (1130, c. 1134, d'. 1334, c).

The other of the two methods of arranging consonants previously referred to (1345, c), is by Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte. It is not only the most extensive, and travels over much ground not touched by others, but it proceeds upon a principle which I think it important to enforce. Instead of attempting, from the narrow resources of a few languages, to predict all sounds that could be made, and erect almost à priori a set of physiological pigeon-holes, into which each sound could be laid—or squeezed, the Prince has endeavoured to ascertain what sounds are really used in those languages to which he has had access, and, as we have already seen (pp. 1300–7), these are not few, although limited in area, not embracing the Indian, Semitic, Chinese, Japanese, Malay, Polynesian, African, North and South American, and from each there is doubtless very much indeed to be learned, which may require new pigeon-holes to be constructed for their proper reception. The question with him was—and I trust it may become the question with philologists generally, as thus they can chiefly secure the proper consummation of their own science, and render to philology the
assistance of which it now stands so sorely in need—the question was, not what sounds may, but what sounds do, exist? Having collected a large number of these, the next business was to arrange them, not à priori, but à posteriori, by an examination of actual characteristics, and finally to suit them with a notation agreeing with the arrangement. Every one who attempts to classify natural objects—to which category speech-sounds are thus reduced—knows very well that the discovery of new objects is continually forcing him to change his arrangement. As in the old story, the giant grows too fast for the castle to contain him. Hence even the Prince's last effort, to classify about 300 consonants, is far from supreme. There may be 300 more yet to classify, though many of them will doubtless fit into his framework. Those who take up these investigations for the first time, or with a view of condensing the results into a short system, thinking that such will be "enough for all purposes"—an opinion generally entertained when very few purposes are known or contemplated,—may find in this extensive list a needless amount of repetition and circumstantiality. Granting that consonants may be labialised, or palatalised, or labio-palatalised, what need is there, they may think, to do more than adduce a few cases as evidence of the fact, or opinion? Granting that consonants may have moderate, or considerable, or very great, or very little, energy, what need to write down every case of the kind as a separate consonant? But it certainly is of scientific importance to know what cases of this kind actually occur, and when we come, years hence probably, to endeavour to understand and compare the various modes of synthesis (or syllabication) used by different nations, to understand the interaction of consonants, and their modifications by environment and habit of speech, we shall regard such distinctions as rather too few than too many. Again, in judging of the change of words in English dialects when properly attacked—scientific phonologists face to face with native, with no literary screen between them—an accurate knowledge of all these distinctions will be really needed. Again, in attempting to suggest origins and changes of words, even our best philologists are continually at fault, from supposing that what has happened under some circumstances will happen under others, not knowing how extremely eclectic different speech-forms are, not merely in the range of sounds used, but in the subjective assimilation of those sounds to sounds heard. Such lists as the Prince's are extremely valuable—but they are really only the preliminaries of scientific phonology.

In the following list I have endeavoured to combine the Prince's linear and tabular arrangements. The use of consecutive numbers—continued from the vowel-list on p. 1299—will enable any person to identify almost any European consonant, and refer it simply as B 100, B 101, etc. Each consonant is accompanied by a key-word,

1 A few theoretical signs occur in the following scheme furnished me by the Prince, and they were adopted mainly from my own list (supra, pp. 3–10), where they had generally been taken either from Lepsius or Bell; but there are very few, if any, which the Prince inserted of his own accord.
pointing out the letters by which it is ordinarily spelled, translated, and referred to its own language, and this alone would make the list of great use. The systematic arrangement, however, shews how that sound appears to the Prince to be connected with other sounds, and thus, nearly in the same way as by his vowel triangle, he indicates his own view of the nature of the sound. His view may not agree with that taken by others, who derive theirs from different sources. It does not attempt, like Brücke's or Bell's schemes, to give an accurate physiological account of each consonant. But it is the view of a man, who, born in England, educated in Italy, a good Spanish scholar, speaking French by right of country, has for more than twenty years devoted himself to linguistic study, particularly to that of a language rich in strange sounds and numerous dialects, the Basque, which he has learned literally from the mouths of men, the peasants of each little hamlet, heard on the spot; and who has travelled, especially to hear sounds, over England and Scotland and other countries; who has familiarised himself more or less accurately with Celtic and most literary languages of Europe; who has entered minutely into the phonology and construction of English, French, and Italian dialects, by actual contact with natives and intercourse (often months of intercourse, obtained at great cost) with those who had studied them on the spot, causing extensive series of comparative specimens to be prepared for him, in the last few years taking up the remarkable series of Uralian dialects;—a man who, in all that he has done himself or through others, has worked not as a princely dilettante seeking amusement, but as a scholar, a man of letters, and a man of science, working for the end of men of science—the discovery of natural laws. However much any individual observer may, therefore, think him wrong in some details,—as in the classification of the sounds native to that observer,—or in some principle of classification, or in some identifications, or some analyses,—yet as the conscientious work of one observer, gathering sounds from sources often accessible with difficulty or not at all, and comparing them together with great care and thoughtfulness,—this system of consonants must remain for long a great mine whence to dig the materials for future phonologic edifices. I feel personally greatly indebted to the Prince for having placed his MS. at my disposal for the purposes of this work, and allowing me to edit it with the addition of my own palaeotypic symbols, which I have had greatly to augment in consequence. A few years ago, wishing to complete the table with which I began this work, and to identify my symbols with the Prince's as far as possible, I requested him to go over that list, mark his own symbols in the margin, and add notes of any sounds which I had omitted. This was the origin of the following list, which he began preparing as an arrangement of the other for a foreign scholar, and which finally grew to its present vast dimensions. Thus associated with the instrument which has rendered this work possible for the printer, it is in every way fitting that this phonologic system should take an honoured position in its pages. The two lists, of the vowels and of the consonants, together
form the most complete series of signs which has been constructed, and will, I hope, stimulate other phonologists to complete it, by the addition of extra European sounds, verified, like these, by actual examples, of which those collected by Prof. Haldeman from North American Indian languages may serve as a specimen.

**Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte's Classification of Consonants.**

See p. 1349. The numbers, which stand in place of the Prince's symbols, run on from the numbers of the vowels given on p. 1299, and are to be cited as B 76, etc. The original table was arranged in 19 columns, each consisting of 40 lines. The columns are here numbered and distinguished by headings, of which, to prevent mistakes, the original French is annexed. The class names thus introduced are often not the same as previously used in this book; this can hardly lead to confusion, however, except perhaps in the word *palatal*, which is synonymous with my *coronal* (1096, c). Several stages are also often distinguished where I had only one, thus *dentals* become *dentals, alveolar-dentals, double alveolars, and alveolars*, and so on. The lines are in the original divided into 10 groups of 4 each. These groups are here distinguished by italic letters prefixed to the first number in each, as follows:

- He hard explosive, explosives fortes.
- Se soft explosive, explosives douces.
- Ne nasal explosive, explosives nasales.
- He hard continuous, continues fortes.
- Sc soft continuous, continues douces.
- No nasal continuous, continues nasales.
- Hi hard liquid, liquides fortes.
- Sl soft liquid, liquides douces.

where *hard* means 'voiceless,' and *soft* means 'voiced.'

As there are often several symbols in one line in the original, the first line of each group must be considered to begin with the above marks; the second with those involving the letter (j), the third with those involving (w), and the fourth with those involving (v). These are the palaeotype symbols for palatalised, labialised, and labio-palatalised, or, *mouillées, veloutées*, and *mixtes*, formerly called *fuitées*, characters which distinguish the consonants in these lines (1115, a'). Several lines, and even groups of lines, are not unfrequently blank, and these are not entered in the list, as the position of those written is sufficiently distinguished by the prefixed and involved letters. They furnish positions for possible sounds not yet recognised in actual speech.

The palaeotype symbols have been identified by the Prince, as far as my original list of symbols extended (pp. 3–12), but I have been obliged to add many new ones, distinguished by *. In doing so I have been guided by the systematic forms of the Prince's symbols. The combinations are sometimes very clumsy, but they are adapted to the 'old types,' and hence can be printed by any printer, whereas the Prince's are many of them not cut or are else not available by "the trade" (1298, a). Where the palaeotypic forms differ from those given on pp. 3–12 in this book, they must be considered as emendations.

The sign for "weakening the consonant" has been represented by a prefixed (ļ), a cut [, see (419, d)].

The sign for "rendering the consonant energetic," by *doubling it*, see (799, d').

The sign for "rendering the consonant semi-energetic," by prefixing the strong mark (.), see (10, d), which is now never used for indicating dental consonants, (1095, c).

The sign for "rendering the consonant alveolar," or dental, or 'advanced,' is (ļ), and for rendering it 'retracted' is (ļ), and these signs are freely used.

The sign for "rendering the consonant semi-palatal," or *semi-mouillé*, an operation I do not perfectly understand, is represented by (ļ) an undotted (ļ), which is the usual sign for palatalising.

After the palaeotype is given an example of the word in its usual spelling.
in Roman letters, followed by the combination of letters which indicate the sound in it, its meaning in italics, where the word is not English, and the name of the language, abbreviated as follows, and by any necessary remark, which, when not due to the Prince, is inclosed in [ ].

ab abasian e english
al albanian f french
ar arabic fin finnish
da danish g german
dr dravidian ga gaelic

1. Labials.

Labiales.

He 76 p pea, p, e
77 pp &orun, p, glass, k
78 pp & coppa, pp, sup, i
79 pph pferd, pf, horse, bavarian

Se 95 b bee, b, e
86 bj & bar, b, pond, k
87 bb & gobba, bb, hump, i
88 p saxon
89 w wine, w, e
90 bj jedwab, b, silk, pl
92 bwej & huis, bu, box (wood), f

Ne 93 m me, m
94 mj & naq, m, thirst, k
95 mm & stamma, mm, flame, i
96 mh tempt, m, e [after Bell (teemht), see (1141, o)]
97 b,* sebun, m, seven, Westmorland eng.
98 w & saurad, m, summer, ir
99 mj & karm, m, feeding, pl
100 mw mo, mo, me, f
101 mwj & muid, mu, hoghead, f

He 102 ph [from my list]
Se 103 bh hoba, b, beam, sp
104 bwe* an occasional, if not the standard Dutch w, between sp. b and e. w

He 109 r [theoretical, from my list]
Se 110 b [from my list, see (1292, d)]
He 111 f foe, f, e
112 ff* schiaffo, ff, slap in the face, i
113 f [theoretical, from my list]

2. Labio-dentals.

Labio-dentales.

He 114 fh [theoretical, from my list, where I took it from Bell, see p. 1343, f d.]
115 fj* faix, fy, flee (imperat. plur.) Guernsey norman
116 fve foie, fo, liver, f
117 twj* tuite, fu, flight, f
Sc 118 v vine, v, e
119 vj* warta, v, plate, k
120 vv* avventura, vv, adventure, i
121 lv* kjobenhavn, b, Copenhagen, da
122 v [theoretical]
123 v* an occ. if not the standard Dutch w
124 vj* [theoretical]
125 vj paw, w, peacock, pl
126 vvo voix, v, voice, f
No 127 v* féim, m, mild, ir

3. Labio-linguals.

Labio-linguales.

He 128 p* a't, t, hay, ab
129 ppp* y'a, t, sit down, ab
Se 130 b* ad'y, d', field, ab
St 131 lw* lamh, l, hand, gu

4. Dentals.

Dentales.

He 132 *t* talain, t, earth, ir
133 *tj* tirm, t, dry, ir
Se 134 *d* donn, d, brown, ir
135 *dj* dia, d, god, ir
He 136 th thin, th, c
137 c existence doubtful, see (4, b)
Sc 138 dh thee, th, c
139 c [existence doubtful, see (4, b)]
Hi 140 xh [theoretical, from my list]
St 141 d ooyl, l, apple, manx

5. Alveolo-Dentals.

Alveolo-dentales.

He 142 c metsi, ts, wood (forest), West Nyland fin
143 th* vizio, z, vice, i
Sc 144 s zot, z, lord, al
145 dh lid, d, lawsuit, sp

Aévolaires Doubles.

He 146 s* lo zio, z, the uncle, i
147 s*s* pazzu, zz, mad, i
148 s* aca, c, granary, ab
149 f* ac'âbyrg, ç', truth, Bayb ab
150 f* ac'a, ç', wild cherry, ab
151 f* ç'abu, ç', much, k
152 ej* siac', ç', to sow, pl
153 sw,sw* ac'a, ç', apple, ab
154 sw* ac', ç', oz, ab
Sc 155 z* lo zelo, z, the zeal, i
156 z*z* rozzo, zz, coarse, i
157 zj* cjd', d', go (imperat.),
     pl
158 zw* az'y, z', some one, ab

7. Alveolars.

Aévolaires.

He 159  t* tas, t, heap, f
160 t* tai, t, coal, k
161 t*t* matto, tt, mad, i
162 th* til, t, to, da
163 th* japonsa, t, red, k
164 th* tuix, t, salt, thush
165 nj* IVIIIb, IIIb, way, rus
166 tw* toil, to, thec, f
167 tw* étui, tu, case, f
Sc 168 d* doux, d, sweet, f
169 dj* doxlu, d, freshness, k
170 d* Idio, dd, God, i
171 d [from my list]
172 dj* JOPHAb, AB, horse, rus
173 d* doigts, do, finger, f
174 d* conduire, du, to conduct, f
Ne 175 n* nain, n, dwarfs, f
176 m* nak, h, blue, k
177 n, n* canna, mn, reed, i
178 d, bean, n, woman, ir
179 nj* INH, Hb, tench, rus
180 n* noix, no, walnut, f
181 nj* nuit, nu, night, f
He 182 s* so, s, e
183 ss* cassa, ss, box, i
184 sjs* șat, ș, hour k
185 sm* șc ar
186 sj kos', s', mode (imperat.) pl
187 sw soe, so, silk, f
188 sw* suie, su, soot, f
Sc 189 z* zeal, z, e
190 zz* azzaal, zz, with, hun
191 x* zaqa, z, how much, ab
192 jz le'z, z', go up, pl
193 zw rassor, so, razor, f
194 zw* dixhuit, xhu, eighteen, f

No 195 zh* [theoretical]
Hl 196 leh [theoretical]
St 197 l, lait, l, milk, f
198 l* lap, l, shine, k
199 l* la Stella, ll, star, i
200 lj* KOPOL'b, LB, king, rus
201 lw loi, lo, law, f
202 lw* lui, lu, him, f
St 203 r, rey, r, king, sp

8. Whishes.

Chuintantes.

He 204 sh she, sh, e
205 shy* šarabúc, š, fellow countryman, k
206 shsh* pesce, sce, fish, i
207 shjsy* şoldi, š, green, k
208 .sh* aša, š, rope, ab
209 shj BONIH, IIIb, louse, rus
210 shw choix, cho, choice, f
211 shushe* aš, š, plane tree, ab
212 .shw* aš, š, door, ab
213 shuj* chintua, chu, wish, f
Sc 214 zh pleasure, s, e
215 zhzh* a' zseh, zse, the pocket, hun
216 .zh* aža, ž, hare, ab
217 zhj jin, j, come (participle), soulinet basque
218 zhw joie, jo, joy, f
219 zhuzhuw* až, ž, cow, ab
220 .zhvuzep* žaba, ž, ten, ab
221 zhuvj* juin, ju, june, f
Hl 222 rhv prez, rz, through, pl
St 223 rzh [theoretical], see B 284
     (rzh)


Palato-chuintantes.

He 224 .sh* pece, c, pitch, i
225 .shsh* caccia, cc, hunting, i
226 .sh* ača, ĩ, quaint, ab
227 (fh* a'ʃy, ʃ', mouth, ab
228 .fh* a'ʃy, ʃ', horse, ab
229 .fj* ʃan, ʃ, early, k
230 .shj* KOPČb, CB, night, rus
230" shw* cnuou, chu, to cook, Louisiana fr. creole
230"' shuj* cruite, chu, to cook, Trinidad fr. creole
Sc 231 zh* regio, gl, royal, i

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ultra-palatales.</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>He 272 t</td>
<td>sn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Se 273 d</td>
<td>sn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ne 274 n</td>
<td>sn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He 275 nh</td>
<td>dr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hc 276 sh</td>
<td>sn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>277 rhh</td>
<td>dr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sc 278 sh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>279 rhh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hi 280 rh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sl 281 l</td>
<td>sn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ht 282 nh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St 283 r</td>
<td>sn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>284 xhh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[The whole of this set of letters was taken from my list, where again they were taken from Lepsius's Alphabet, and they must be considered therefore as very doubtful. For sn, see (1096, b'). 1137. 1138); of dr. I know nothing. The (sh, xh) were entirely theoretical to match (sh, x).]


Gutturo-Labiales.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gutturo-Labiales.</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>He 285 p</td>
<td>[from my list, and that from Lepsius] peruvian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>286 wjh</td>
<td>ih'y, h', speak, ab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Se 287 b</td>
<td>[theoretical, from my list]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>288 wj</td>
<td>huile, hu, oil, f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He 289 fh</td>
<td>[theoretical, from my list, and that from Bell]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sc 290 vh</td>
<td>[theoretical]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[Note.—The marks over the t in the examples to B 291, 292, 293, and over the d in B 295, 296, 297, should properly go through the stem of the letters.]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gutturo-Dentales.</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

[Note.—The marks over the t in the examples to B 291, 292, 293, and over the d in B 295, 296, 297, should properly go through the stem of the letters.]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gutturo-Dentales.</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>He 291 th</td>
<td>kaf, t, day, s. os. [See Note.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>292 thth</td>
<td>wattax, t, without, s. os. [See Note.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>293 thj</td>
<td>sira, t, gunpowder, low s. os. [See Note.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>294 thjdhj</td>
<td>[theoretical]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sc 295 dh</td>
<td>ádan, d, morning, s. os. [See Note.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>296 dhdh</td>
<td>waddax, d, without, s. os. [See Note.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>297 dhjsida</td>
<td>d, gunpowder, high s. os. [See Note.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>298 dhjdhj</td>
<td>[theoretical]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15. Guttural Whishes.

Gutturo-chuintantes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gutturo-chuintantes.</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>He 299 sh</td>
<td>la chjai, chj, the key, tempiese sardinian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300 ,sh,sh</td>
<td>vecchju, cebj, old, tempiese sardinian</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Gutturo-palatales.**

**He 304 t**

* ar

**Se 306 d**

+ ar

**Sc 311 s**

* Jesus, both s, Jesus, souletin basque

17. Double Gutturals.

**Gutturales Doubles.**

**He 313 kh**

mac, c, son, ga

18. Gutturals.

**Gutturales.**

**He 314 k**

key, k, o

315 k <i>kn</i>, k, nest, k

316 kk boce, ec, mouth, i

317 kjh kumm, k, come, upper g

318 kjh kala, k, white, k

319 k jh <i>k</i> jok, k, foot, thush

320 h hand, k, hand, g

321 nhnh ahhoz, hh, thereto, hun

322 h hand, h, e [pure jerk

323 <i>ar</i> [hamza]

324 kj la chiave, chi, the key, i

325 k jk occhio, cchi, eye, i

326 n hj la chiave, chi, the key, florentine i

327 kw quoi, quoi, what, f

328 hch [from my list, but (h'w) is the new form (p. 1341, 9j)]

329 h w [from my list, (hch) is the new form (p. 1341, 9j)]

330 kwj biscuit, cu, biscuit, f

**Sc 331 g**

go, g, e

332 gg* veggo, gg, I see, i

333 g argem, g, I sing, os

Ultra-gutturales.

He 372 k ɔ ar
373 ky* ʔapa, ʔat, k
Sc 374 g [theoretical, from my list]
375 gw [theoretical, from my list]
Ne 376 q [theoretical, from my list]
He 377 kh nacht, ch, night, dutch

378 kh* x'tort, x, pear, k
379 .kh* x'ata, x, house, k
380 kwh [theoretical, from my list]
Sc 381 gh God, G, God, dutch
382 owh [theoretical, from my list]
Ht 383 th [theoretical, from my list]
St 384 ð ret, r, right, da
385 η* var, r, was da

No. 8. GERMAN DIALECTAL CHANGES.

i. Schmeller on Bavarian Dialectal Changes.

In the present section, as in the former part of this work, reference has been very frequently made to the labours of Schmeller on the Bavarian dialects. It seemed therefore that a complete systematic account of the variations of sounds he has observed would be the best possible introduction to the following fragmentary account of English dialectal usages.

Schmeller adopts a phonetic alphabet, of which the following seems to be the palaeotypic signification:

Vowels.

a (a), â or a (a), á (o), é (e) and perhaps (ε), é (i), í (i), ó or o (o), õ (œ), u (u), ú (y), ρ (o).

Sometimes his symbols indicate etymological relations, thus ŋ shows the ('l) sound before l which replaces é (e) and ŋ an (i, i), which seems to have become some obscure palatal and may be vaguely represented by ('j), as in (es'j). ['] indicates an omitted vowel, ["""""""] sometimes merely the nasisation (\_), sometimes also the omission of m, n.

Consonants.

g (g), gg (k), gh or hh (gh), kh (kh), -l (l), an (l) disunited from the preceding vowel; -bn, -fn, -pm, -wm, (-b'm, -f'm, -p'm, -bh'm) where ('m) has arisen from en, -chng, -gnq, -kng (-kh'q, -g'q, -k'q), where ('q) has also arisen from en, but after a guttur; hr (rh), s (z), š (s), sch (zh), fch (sh), z (d, z), ts (t, s); ['] omitted l, ["""""""] an unpronounced m or n, after a nasalised vowel, or after a vowel which cannot be nasalised in the dialect, that is (i, u, o), so that ai means (a, i); ['] an unpronounced r, (') any other omitted letter, or an omitted m and n after an unnasalised vowel which might have been nasalised.


Unfortunately, in his verbal examples Schmeller generally confines his phonetic symbols to the point under consideration, and prints the rest of the word in ordinary gothic characters. Even in his literary examples, "in order not to render the text unnecessarily unintelligible, some letters, as ãë eë ë ù st, etc., are not always translated into the peculiar forms belonging to the dialect," referring generally to the particular tables. This facilitates the reading of the sense to the detriment of the reading of the sound. The same feeling has unfortunately widely prevailed in writing English dialects, but it is altogether unscientific, and often produces the utmost bewilderment. It has materially added to the laboriousness and uncertainty of my own researches. The correct principle is to regard sound only, and when written words threaten to be unintelligible, on account of their differing so much from their ordinary appearance, the usual spelling should be given in addition, and sometimes a complete translation is requisite.

In the following notes the arrangement of Schmeller, arts. 102-691, has been followed. The whole is materially abridged. My own insertions are placed in brackets [ ], verbal translations between inverted commas. The numbers in parenthesis refer to Schmeller's articles. Sounds are given in palaeotype. Ordinary German spelling is given in italics, or capitals, large or small, and in the latter case ã ë ù have been resolved, as usual, into æ, œ, ū. Schmeller uses an etymological spelling, which is not generally followed, but will be explained as it arises. When some letters are put in a parenthesis in the midst of a German word, these only are in palaeotype, as a(Þ)er, for aber. This is to imitate Schmeller's notation, and to avoid the errors which I should almost certainly commit in attempting to give the whole word in the dialectal form, when there was no authority for the other sounds in his book. The particular localities of each pronunciation are omitted. But the following abbreviations will be used:

gen. generally, fr. frequently, sm. sometimes, rr. rarely. 1, 2, 3, etc., pl., in one, two, three, etc., places. N. E. W. S., North, East, West, South of Bavaria. tn. town, cn. country, ed. educated.

Vowels.

A (102-123) is:—(aa, a) gen. in non-German words, esse (kä'se), rr. in a few German words, before m, n, r, and others, gans, spass, arg (gans, spas, arg) :—(aa, a) gen. in common non-German words, as Max (maks), and W. in all German words, but È. only before two or doubled or strong consonants, acht (akht); which rr. becomes (o), graç (groot);—(a) fr. before l and single or weak consonants, alt, eagen (olt, zo'ghan), sm. otherwise:—(âu) sm. when long, blasen (blâu'zon), or as (âu) before r, haar (nha'aur):—(ðu) 1 pl. even before 2 consonants, opfèl (ðw'fèl):—(âo) before lost ñ 1 pl., before r fr., before lost ch 1 pl., before r fr., before lost ch 1 pl., and when long 2 pl., sanft (zha'ft), arm (aarm), näch (nàst), schof (šhàf):—(e) in a few scattered words, alles arbeit hart nach acht (èl's er'bet xhert ne ekht):—(i) rr., in sounta (zu'n'tigh):—(âo) 2 pl., especially before r, arm (aarm), halb (nha'lbl):—(ä) sm. in unaccented syllables sounta Laibach, dàvon (zu'n'to Lâb-a da'ton). "If the pronunciation of high German by educated low Germans, or by educated upper Saxons, is to be taken as the rule, a, to be free of all provincialisms, should be (a)."

AE (124-139) short, and long, "in
good high German pronunciation sm. è (e, ee), and sometimes ë (e, ee), as:—
(a, aa) 3 pl. in various primitives hächsen (hatha'ksen), derivatives väch-
se (bha'ksen), subj. pret. ich nähne (naam), diminutives mädlein (mad'Il),
plurals plätze (pla'ats'), etc.:—(e, ë) fr. in most of the above cases:—(e') 2 pl., später (shpe'ar):—(e') 2 pl., gnädig, ich thüte, män, säen (gne'ïd', i te't', mi'ni', sa'e'n) [observe, for
English]:—(i) fr. in plurals, kälber (kai'lor), comparatives and superlatives, ärger,
der kältesten (i'ger, kir'test), and conjuga-
tional forms, er fällt (felt):—(i) fr. before r, ärger, du fährst (i'ger, du
fierst):—(i) 2 pl. in a few words, vächsen (bhi'ksen):—(œ) rr., kälter
(ko'lar).

AI (140–156), usually written ei, derived from original ei, gothic ai, "in
good high German pronunciation (äi)," is:—(aa) 3 pl. tn. ou, breit fleisch
klein (braad flaash klaa), and by umn-
laut becomes ë in a few cases, breiter
kleiner (bre'ïer kla'ner):—(äi) gen.
tn., hence ecclesiastical geist, heilig,
and terminations heit, heit, have (äi)
gen.:—(a, o) 2 pl. tn. ou, in uninflected
forms, especially before l, m, n, sein
(baa, boo), stein (shtaa, shtoo),—(äi),
i) in inflected forms, although the inflec-
tion is gen. lost, der kleine (klai i), mit dem
stein (mi't shtoi), breiter (bro'ïer),
weinen (bho in), and 1 pl. ou, in unin-
inflected forms, fleisch (flOish):—(d) fr.,
klein, beiner (klai, bai'n), which by
umnlaut becomes (ë), breiter (bre'ëyar):
—(ëe) fr., fleisch (fleesh):—(ee) fr.,
iklein (klei), leib (leib):—(ëi) 2 pl.
in inflected forms, reife (reif):—(i) 2 pl.,
in certain forms of verbs, replacing ag,
as du saisst = sagtst (du zatst) (ëi) 2 pl.
before m and n, eins (ïns) (eins), heim
(hëi):—(ë) gen. in unemphatic article ein;
and fr. in other unaccented syllables,
arbeit (arbat), gewohnheit (gebung
net); or is quite lost, eorthet (voor't).

AU (157–163), original U, "in good
high German pronunciation (au)," is:—(a) sm., aus dem hause (aa's
nhaus), especially before l, m, as faul
(faul):—(au) ed. gen. except W:—(a)
1 pl. (aa's nhaus):—(au) ou (ou) W,
haus (hnoo':) :—(ou) according to
in origin in SW. and N., auf brauch faust
(uf bruu'ka fuust), but in N. often
(ü), brant faust (brit' fust).

AÉU, the umlaut of AU (164–170),
in good high German pronunciation
(äy)," is:—(äy) fr., häuser, mäuse
(hhai'zor, màis):—(äy) sm. "more
careful pronunciation tn. ou. ed.,
(hháïyzor, màis):—(di) 1 pl.:—(ke)
2 pl.:—(i) 2 pl., träublein (tra'ïb'l):
—(ëi) W, mäuse (meis):—(y) where
au from u is still (un), which in SW.
becomes (i), faust (fyst), hüuser
(hii'zor).

AU, or ëu, older ou, gothic au, which
in Scandinavian, low German, on upper
Rhein, and in most high German dia-
lacts, is almost always distinguished in
pronunciation from the former AU (171-
178) "in good high German pronunciation
(au), the same as the former au," is:
—(aa) E, auch baun staub traum (aa
baum staab traam):—(äu) W, and ed.
gen.:—(aa) ry', glauben (glaa'ba), baun
(baam):—(du):—(oo) 5 pl. (boom):
—(ou) 2 pl. (boum):—(ee) 1 pl. in
several words when (aa) is not com-
mon, glauben (gizeb'): 1 pl. gen.
staub (shteeb):—(ye') 1 pl. in some
forms where (ou) is not heard, glauben
(gle'yb).

AÉU = ëu, the umlaut of the last
AU = au (179–182), is not distinguished
from au where the latter becomes (aa,
est, e'yi): where au = (au), ëu becomes
(i): where au = (oo), ëu becomes (ee),
where ëu = (ou), ëu becomes (i'),
(ëe).

E (183–208), "in those words where
good high German pronunciation has
(e, ee)," is:—(a, aa), as sehen (zaa),
gesehen (gsha), geben (gaab gaa),
and 2 pl. rr., feld (fald).

E, "that long e of certain words,
which from the most ancient times
in all high German dialects, although not
in the same way in all, is distinguished
from the usual short e," "in good high
German pronunciation (ee)," "the é aigu
of the French" (art. 71) [with which
(e) seems to be confused], is:—(ä) 2
pl. ou, kle, seehe (klai, shnai), ich gehe
(i gåi), and 1 pl. ou (e) before eh,
hehe, schlecht (shlAts, shlAtkt):—(ë),
(ee) fr., beten, leeken (bee' ten, le'ken):
—(ë) gen. before lost m and n "ob-
scured by nasalisation," mensch (mes'sh):
—(ë) gen. before r, herr (her):—(ë'ë)
2 pl., ehe (ë'ë), reh (ë'ë):—(ë') sm.
short e before r, erde (e'erd), and 1 pl.
before l, and other consonants, gold
peßer (ge'old pe'zë):—(e') fr. long
ë, kle, seehe (kle'ë shnë'):—(e, ee)
E, gen., even "in those words which
Adelung pronounces with (ee); edu-
cated people of our parts pronounce
almost all e like (ee)," and sm. before l,
“when it is not pronounced in conjunction with it (mit diesem verbunden),” as gelb (geelb): -(a) before l, gen. E. even ed., feld, gold (feld, gold), and even (l) alone in 1 pl.: -(ee) before r in 1 pl. en., as ernst (eernst): -(ei) rr., as beten (beiten): -(i) E. tn. on., “in most words which Adelung classes as (B),” as geben (gui-ban), blech (blirkh), “some of these words are peculiar to small districts”: -(i), “before l, the (i) is mutilated in a peculiar way, which cannot be described, and must be heard,” E. in several pl. even ed., as stellen (shji-l’n), zählen (tsj’il’n); and rr. before (r), herbst (nh’jrbst): -(i), “obscenely by nasalisation before m and n: -(e) before m and n 2 pl., dem (de’am): -(i) 1 pl., esel, heben, lader (ii’z-al, nh’-ban, li’dar): -(ii, ja, ja) for e long, in several pl., schnee (shnia, shnia), gessen (gijn): -(o), or lost “in unaccented root syllables” E. en., erd- beer (eprpa), tagwerk (ta’bha), herberg (nh’rba).

E in initial syllables (209-216). Be- or, ge-, have generally (o). Be- is sm. only pronounced before explodents, as (be, bi, bi), and is otherwise lost, as b(e) gehehn, b(n) deuten, b(n) k(e) nen, b(n) halten, rr. (bii) long and accented, (bii-faq, bii-naq, bii-klim). Ge- is fr. (ge-, gr), “only in substantives, adjectives, and adverbs before explodents,” otherwise (g); fr. also the e being lost, g itself disappears before explodents, as *biet = gebiet, etc. Ent- = (int-, unt-) sm., and rr. (ant’-). Ver- very often (vor-).

E final (217-235). E, as ending in nom. sing. of subst., “in good high German pronunciation unaccented (-e),” is lost, gen. en. tn. and fr. when used for -en fem., and sm. when used for -en mas.; but -e from old -iu is kept as -(e-i) in menge süsse kurze lange gute, but it is omitted in N. E, as ending in dat. sing. and nom. and acc. pl. of subs., *is gen. lost. E, as uninflected ending of some adjectives, as böse enge müde öde, is also lost. E, as old adverbial ending for adjectives and participes, on the Danube is (a), on the Lower Inn (s), (gantsa gantsa) entirely, (na’tsa) near, etc. E, as nom. ending of adj. after der, die, das, is lost, gen. tn. en., but rr. kept as (i, o). E, as fem. ending of adj. derived from old inu, is (i, i, i) sm., eine rothe (e re-khtia, a re-khtia), more fr. (a re’khtia), and sm. lost, eine gute (e guu’ta). E in nom. and acc. pl. neut. derived from inu, and of mas. and fem. derived from e and o, remains fr. as (e), gute herren (gù’de), and fr. as (a), (guut’a). “On the upper Nab, tn. on. the remarkable distinction is made, that e neut. from inu is (a), and e mas. and fem. from e and o is lost, (dei) = diese herren, Frauen; (dëh) = diese weibler; (goud sh’i o’kson, kei), gute schone ochsen, kühe; (goud’o sh’i na pfaa), gute schöne pferde. Question: *Wie viel Ochsen, Kühe? Ans.: (fë’i fi’mf zë’kse). Qu.: Wie viel Pferde? Ans.: (fë’i fi’mf së’ ksa).

Traces of this very old distinction are found elsewhere. Between the Lech and Inn uneducated countrymen, to the questions: *Wie viel aegfel, wie viel biren? will reply, (fiar fyrm zëks); but to the question: Wie viel hüber, kinder? reply, (fiara fyrm’ze’ks). E, as ending of the 1 pers. sing. pres., and 1 and 3 pers. pret. ind., and 3 pers. sing. pres. subj. of verbs, is lost, gen. tn. en., as ich esse, suche, möchte, könnte, machte (i is, zùagh, makht, kunt, makht). E in -el, -en, -er, -es, -et, is sm. (a), more fr. (o), or is quite lost, depending on preceding consonant, see under l, m, n, r, s, t below; “certain participles in end, et, by retaining e in pronunciation, have passed entirely over into the class of adj. and subs., E. tn. en., as das (re’ned, sh’ossed; guakh’kast).”

*The important bearing of this German final e treatment on English final e has made me give this account at greater length.*

El, derived from original i (236-245), Gothic ei [for the other ei see AT], “in good high German pronunciation (ài),” is: -(aa) rr. in a few words, sei (saa); E. regularly before l, as weil (bhaal): -(ai) E. gen. en. tn. ed., in more careful pronunciation: -(di) in 1 pl.: -(ee) in 3 pl., wissen, ihr seid (bheis, iir zëet): -(e’i) 1 pl.: -(ei) W. gen. tn. en. ed., drei (drei): -(ii) according to origin S., and rr. in other places, as drei (drii), shreiven (shrii:ba): -(o) 1 pl. in bey mir (bo mis).

EU (246-261), see also AEU=dew, “in good high German pronunciation (ài),” is: -(aa) E. rr. before l, as neuacht (nash’o); and in neut., drei (drea): -(ai) E. gen. en. tn. ed., as neu (nài): -(au) 1 pl., es reut (roaut) mich: -(ày) on lower Mayn, especially tn., fewer (fiy’är): -(di) fr. deutsch (dëitsh): -(da) sm. before n, freund (frëd): -(de) 2 pl., neu deutsch (ne dëetsh):-
(e) lower Mayn, tn. on. ed.: -(i)u) 1 pl., neut. (nui): -(ii), proper (yy), 2 pl., deutsch (driisb) : -(i) short 2 pl. in prounou euch, when unaccented suffix: -(iiu) sm., neut (nui): -(i'i) sm.: -(i)u) 1 pl.: -(ii) sm.: -(yy) 1 pl. "In none of these cases does en sound according to its constituents, as the Spaniards pronounce it in Europa, namely (eu), the Spanish sound is, I think, (eu).

I, and also where ie is usually written for a merely long old i (262-293), is: -(ai) E. en. in Katharina (Katru), Quirinus (Kiru), anis firmis hornsio paradis (an'is fi'rnis hburnais para' das), in der stadt (a di da shtod, a i d shtod). [The interest attaching to the change of (ii) into (ai) induces me to add the following note at length]: "Manuscript of the book of laws (Recht'
buch) of 1332: EIN DER STAT, EIN DI
stat. for in der Stadt, in die Stadt. The form ein for the original en has maintained itself in the written lan
language only in composition (as hinein, eingehen),

Written language has generally restored the original long i in many forms in which—following a high German inclination which was active even in very early times (nach
ennom schon fruhe wirksamten hoch
deutschen Hange)—i had been resolved into ei. Thus, in the xirth and xiv th centuries, not only was the present diminutive termination in called LEIN, but also the adjective terminations -lieb and -in were pronounced -leich and -ein, as: MINNIGEICH, HERLEICH,
WEILBICH, — AULDEIN, HULZEIN, HURNICH. Just as now we say latein from latin, so formerly they said: MARTIN for 'Martin, CHRISTEN for 'Christina,' and as we now have Arznemey, Probesy, they formerly used: SOPHYE, MALEY, PHILOSOPHY, etc., resolving the termination i of 'i-a, 'i-e, 'i ein into ei:']-(e) before r sm., mir (mer):

-(i) before n and m fr., blind nicht
nichts (blind nit niks), and in end of unaccented syllables, habe ich (habe'i), ewig (eebhi): -(i) in cases not included under (i): -(j) before I, "a very pecul
ardescribable sound; like the second syllable of the words hasel sattel, when pronounced without e, E, as, still, will, spielen (sht'jel, bh'jel, shp'jel-n), but it is sm. so purely pronounced that it seems quite unconnected with the i, as still (shtjel); the same (j) sound sm. occurs before r, as kirche (k'rh'k):-(ia) before r gen., mir (mir), hirsch (hirsch), but is sm. pure, as (mii, rhiish); sm. in other places, nicht (nibt), nichts (nits), ihm (iim), euch (iik), nieder (niera): -(u) rr., as tisch (tish), kind (khund), fisch (fush):

(a) gen. tn. on. in the pronouns used as suffixes, as wir, mir (mar); E. tn. on. in phrases like hab ich dich, lass ich
ich, thate ich dir, denke ich mir
urho-badi, las'sami, tara'tada, dr'okama); and in many unaccented syllables, as
inn, liech, in, iin =lein:—lost sm.
in -ig, iin =lein, inn; gen. tn. on. in hat sie, ist sie, sind sie, gib es ihm,
iinien, las ihm (ubats, iints, grips'n, las'n); and ich is lost in da
where ich ich dich, wenn ich dir es sage, so
will ich dir es machen (do bhrerli,
bhan darz zag, so bh'el dorz mar'kho.

IE (294-315), "where the old lan

language has ia, io, ie, and ie is a real
diphthong in the southern high German
dialect; in good high German pronun
ciation (ii)." The old diphthong ia
gave rise to ie by obscuring t, and eu
by obscuring t. The ie readily passes into i long, and eu into io long. Verbs conjugated like bieten may in southern
places interchange ie with eu, pro
ounced as (ai iu iu iu di), in 2 and 3
pers. sing. pres., and sm. other tenses and
words. IE is called: -(ai di) in 2
and 3 pers. sing. pres. of verbs con
jugated like biegen: -(ii) in die, wie, je
(dii, bhi, ii): -(ei) sm., as (del, bhei,
en, tieb, tieb (teib, teif); sm. in 2 and 3
pers. sing. pres. of verbs like biegen:

-(ii) sm. in last case, and some others,
as biehng (biuhng'):-as (a) or (a) before m and n sm.: -(ii) sm. in lieb
(liib), and gen., sie die (zi dii); these
last two forms vary in other places:

(ia) in the whole upper Rhine and
Donau territory from the Vosges to
Hungary, tn. on. and even ed. (die
bhi liab, iam'd) jemand:—(in) rr. in
particular cases, (tiu diub) tieb dieb:—

-(oi) sm. in certain words and forms
(tol, diob): -(ai) sm. ditto: -(o) or is
lost in suffixed pron. sie, as ich habe
hie (hie bha-bza), gib mir sie (gee-marsho).

O, short, often inclining to u, and in

gothic u (316-324), see O = o, is called:

- (aa) sm. lengthened before m and n,
von sohn baron (taan zaan baaraan n):

- (au) sm. before i, hohl (nhaul):

- o, "as an o inclining to u," fr., boden

gold (bo'dan gold), but (o) is occasion
ally heard: -(ao) or (e) rr. in some
words before i, soldat solcher (zooldar't
zü’ler) — (ōu) rr. and sporadically in lengthened syllables, as (bōu-dan):—
(u, uu) sm., (buu-den kupf) kopf:—
(ūa), rr. (būu’don kōæpf).

OE, as unumlaut of the last o (325-329),
is treated as simple o, and hence sm.
trades as (e), but gen. as (i); böcke
(bek), oel (iil ’il); so that in old books
o is written for (i) in other cases. OE
is:—(i) sm. as unumlaut of û, köpfe
(kipf):—(i)a sm. as unumlaut of (ūa),
(kipf):—(e) sm. tn. (kœpf).
O = ò, the long o, which inclines to a,
and not to u, and is au in gothic (330-
344), is called:—(äu) sm., cn. blass
(blaus):—(ōu) sm., cn. and even ed., strom (subtra)am; and
before r in the same places, cn., as dorf
(durf); and sm. cn., brood gross (broad
gross):—(ōu) fr., blass brood dorf (blōas
brood dorff);—(āu) rr., ochs (duks):—
(ōu) fr. cn. blōas brōud), and sm.
before r, thor (töyr):—(iu, io) sm. cn.,
hoch (hōiu), tod (tōyd):—(o) fr., so that
roth rath, gross gross, are confused as
(root, gross, in the common pronunciation
of (ōu) rr. onth (noät):—(o) sm. tn. ed.:—(u) sm. (bruud gruus):
—(ōa) sm. (grūas), dorf (dūərf), fioh
(flāa).

OE = ò’æ, the unumlaut of the last O = ò
(345-362), is:—(u) sm. as unumlaut of
(a):—(ūi) as unumlaut of (au):—as (ōi)
sm., bōse größer hööher höören schöon
(bōis gröi’sær nhōö’r nhōö’r’n, shōi):
—(e) as unumlaut of and before r:
(ē’a) as unumlaut of (ēi);—(e, ee) gen.
tn., blößen fühen (blee’son flören),
nōthyg (nēr-dig), and even rr. before r,
fröven (fre’n):—(ē’i) as unumlaut of
(ūa, őu):—(ēa) rr. ——(i) rr. ——(i)a rr.
genös (gotôs):—(i) for (y) as unumlaut of
(ūa) sm. for (y)’s as unumlaut of
(ōa) sm. ——(e) sm. ——(e) rr. ——(y)
sm. (y)’s, bōse schöon (by’os shy’o).

U short (363-371) is:—(a, a) fr.
before r, as durst (dersht):—(i) sm. in
-uung:—(a) fr. before m and n, as jung
hund (rog nhond) ; and sm. before r,
as burgh (borgh):—(u) pure gen.:—(y, i)
rr. in a few words, uns unter um (yns
yn’ter ym):—(ūi) sm. before r, stürm
(shtüim):—(ūo) sm. before r, durst
(düersht):—(a) in unemphatic words,
und (ad, a), uns suffixed sm. (as), gib
uns (gi’bas), -burg, -berg, often both
(barr):—lost sm. in du, as was will’s
st du (bloos bhilsht).

UE, as unumlaut of the last u (372),
is only rr. (y), but is generally treated
as i see I. Even in reading books ū
is pronounced as i.

U long, or ue, “Gothic and Scandinavia
n perhaps hovering in pronunciation
between (o) and (u),” has been
better retained in Low than in High
Germany, where it early passed into
the diphthong ou, au, ęe. But it has
remained especially in the diphthongal
form (ōu) by the northern affluents of
the Danube. The tendency of this
sound towards (u) is so strong, that
Dutchmen and Englishmen, although
they write it oe and oo respectively,
pronounce it usually as (u),” (373-
385), is called:—(aa, ãa, ãa) E.
sm. in some words before m, n,
as blume (blaam bleam), muhme
(maam mām):—(oo) 1 pl., as gut fuss
(good foos), 1 pl. before t, as stuhl
(sthoole):—(ii) 1 pl. gut blut bruder
mutter (gōid blōid broi’der mói’tar)
[compare Leeds (gōid) good].—(ōu) fr.,
bus buch (bōû buûk):—(u) pure,
sm., and ed. gen. (bunb bukkuh):—
(ei) rr., stute (stüto):—(ūa) “from the
Alps to the Danube below the Lech,
and above the Lech to the Mayn regions,
where (ūo, u) interchange,” bube buch
(bōû bōûk):—(o) before t sm., schule
(shol):—(e) in unemphatic syllables
fr., as zu uns (tsa-n-yns, tsa-r-yns), zu
-dir (tsa dorr), handshuk (huamsho):
—is lost in unemphatic syllables, as zu
thun. (t.s.tuun).

UE = ụ, the unumlaut of the last U = u
(386-393, “in good high German
pronunciation (y),” is sounded as:—(ē’a)
fr., as unumlaut of (a), before m and n,
blumein (blee’emlin):—(ee) sm. as unumlaut
of (oo):— (e) sm. as unumlaut of (ūa):
— (i) sm. as unumlaut of (u):—as (la) sm.
as unumlaut of (ūa):—as (ăi) 1 pl., müde
fuss (móid fōis):—(y, y’s) as unumlaut
of (u, āa), where ā is not pronounced as
(i):—(a) rr. before t, as külhe (kel).

Consonants.

B (394-413) is:—(b), “pure Italian
b,” gen. tn. cn., at the end of words,
lei (b); in the middle of words before
consonants, or gi (b)t; uncertainly at
the beginning of words, oscillating
between (p, b) in (b)py, (b)ier, (b)lau,
(b)rando:—(f) in a few words and places,
as a’f’er, gel(f)licht, kno(f)lauch;
pi(f)el, schnauf’(f)en, zu(f)el:—(p) gen.
tn. cn., “pure Italian p, not an affected
German p, after which a certain amount
of breath may be perceived,” at the
beginning of words "where the high German, with an uncertainty peculiar to himself, cannot make any consistent distinction between p and b, so that in romance languages he is prone to confound beau and peau, boule and poulle; a fault which declaimers seek to remedy by introducing a certain after-breath, especially in foreign words, so that for (p)anzer, (p)ein, (P)alermo, (P)aul, one hears (p-rh)anzer, (p-rh)ein, (P-rh)alermo, (P-rh)aul. This seems to have been the origin of the middle Rhenish (p-rh), and high German pf at the beginning of non-German words. And it is to the circumstance that initial b has been used as p from the earliest times that there are so few genuine German words beginning with "p" [see (1097, d' 1113, a'. 1129, d'. 1136, a.):](p) before lost t, er gi(p) = gicht, in which case, as always in such elisions, the remaining consonant is more strongly pronounced [that is, either (kipp) or (ki.p), see p. 798, note, on energetic Italian consonants]; "it is also a rule that final consonants are strengthened when a terminal syllable follows, even when it consists of a lost vowel":(pf) [probably (pph)] when the initial syllable be, is reduced to (b), is welded on to a following (nh) or (rh), as (pfendt) behende, (pf)raut bereit; --(bh) except initially, gen. tn. en., obacht, in the beginning of words from the Latin, (Bkerndikt) Benedictus; "in ben, this b pronounced as (bh) is fused into (bhnm), that is (m") [this is not distinct enough, compare the Westmorland and Cumberland (b) in this situation]:--often lost E. (bds) gro hol kap) babe grob hal b kord, sm. in the end and middle, (rhan, gen gan) haben, geben [comparable to our loss of medial e].

C (414-415) is in E. in words of Latin origin perfect (k), as in Italian: --se, ska, is sm. called st, sp.

CH, not initial (416-435), is as a rule (kh, kh), the following are exceptions. CH is: --(t) in E. en., sei(t) for seicht, git(t) for gicht [compare our usual (f) for the lost gutturall]:--(g) sm. in -ich followed by a vowel:--(gh, gh) E. en. tn. at the end of uninfllected words, ( bogh) bach, (i magh) ich mache: --(k) before s gen., in -bach final and a few words:--(q) in the termination -lich, fruind-liq, herz-liq [compare our dialectal -ling for -ly, from ags. -lyq]:--lost, fr. in various places, at end, (i) eh, (tua) such; in middle after l, (bhlar) welcher; after r, (o ki)a eino kirche; before s, (bhlas) wachsen; before t, (it) -icht, (nit) nicht. It is in similar cases sometimes inserted, aehlurwurm = asel [woodlouse], knichtel = knuettel, (rhu-khtm) rathe, (o'ktem) othem [for athem breath].

D (436-461) is:--(d) pure final, medial between vowels, initial where the high German wavers between (t), (d):--(g) rr. before l, (si'g) sled, a seat; rr. after n [it does not appear whether his ng means (q) simply or not, and as this change of nd into ng is interesting in connection with our participial -ing, I give his orthography in Roman letters: beng hinder, bieng blind, feng finden, gefonge = gefunden, empfonge = empfunden, keng kinder, o' lenga = linde];--(r) before ending en, (bu'rom) boden:--(t), gen. en. tn. initial, no constant distinction between (d, t) being made; E. en. tn. at end and in middle before lost vowel, (zhent) hände;--lost, sm. at end, (bo) bad, (kshai) gesheit; sm. between a vowel and final en, em, ( bom) bodem; fr. after l, m, n, and before a terminal et, em, en, er, the l, m, n is then strengthened, (awon) fel'ar ander felder, (bu'nu) wunder; sm. at the beginning of da, der, die, das, etc., (ee-2 i 'dis taat) ehe dass ich dienes thüte; (rs.to) desto, (s)haim = daheim [interesting in relation to the vexed question of dialectal 'at=that']. "When the article appears simply as (d), and the following word begins with an expeditor, the (d) cannot be heard alone [für sich selbst]. The preparation made by the tongue to pronounce it can only be perceived by the greater distinctness [entschiedenheit] with which the initial sound of the following word is then heard," as in the region of upper Rhine and Danube [using his orthography in roman letters], 'Bueben die bueben, 'Cutschen die Kutschen, 'Dieb' die Diebe, 'Gans' 'Gäns' die Gans die Gänse, 'Kunst die Kunst, 'Pillen die Pille, 'Tag' die Tage, 'Zung (die Zunge). [The examples are quoted at length, because of the analogous case of the dialectal e for the in English, where I think ('t) is often heard, (1285 o). Certainly (t*buu'b-n), where the tongue is placed in position for (t) and the lips in that for (b), and (t*b) must be distinguished from (twe), which is rather (t*bu) with a much looser
position of the lips—is quite different in effect from (bun-'bun). The release from (t, b) simultaneously on to the vowel (un) produces a perceptibly different glide as well as a distinct 'hardness of edge,' so to translate vondebideheit. Similarly for (t'kunts). But in (t-t-suq) nothing but (['t-t-suq', t-suq] occurs to me as possible.) "On the contrary, when this d occurs before vowels, it has the appearance of forming part of the word, and hence a radical initial (d d) is sm. omitted as if it were merely the article," (an ar'skel) for deichsel [carriage pole], "and it is sm. prefixed where not radical," (der-ar'born) erarbeiten. [There seems to be a similar usage in an adder, a nag, in English.]

F (452-462) is:—(v) E. on. tn. ed. after vowels, as gruv(y)'t, kra(v'y), but elsewhere (f):—(pf) rr. initial:—(bh) rr. medial. FF, answering to low German [and English] p, is sm. (y) and sm. (f). F is rr. lost.

G (463-490) is:—(g), "pure French g," fr. at end and middle of words, au(g), ja(g)d, and regularly after n, [meaning (ag)?] but sm. only immediately before consonants, as ma(g)d:—wavering between (k, g) initially:—(k) sm. at end or middle, especially after d, s, t:—(gh, gh), "also in good high German pronunciation," fr. at end or after vowels, in the termination -ig, sm. before consonants:—"changes according to ancient custom into i before d, and in certain verbal terminations st and t: jaid for jagd, nied for magd, du fraist, er fraist, geift, from fragen, etc. This ai is more usual along the Alps than N. of Danube, and has the sounds described under EI, from (ee) onwards." [This is interesting in relation to the formation of diphthongs in English from ags. -ag, -eg]:—(k) sm. final after n [that is (nk) is said for (q)] in Din(k), gesau(k), etc.:—(q) rr. in ending -iq:—(fr. initial before t, n, (t)lanz = glanz, (t)naus = genug, (t nuu'ma) genommen [compare English (dl) for (g)], and presumed Cumberland (tnaa) for known; but is not this (t,n) properly (d,n)?]:—(bh) rr. medial, (pleo'bhan) plagen:—lost, fr. final and medial, before consonants, and final vowelless et, em, en, es, et, and sm. in -an for -agen, the preceding vowel glides on to the n and is nasalised, so that all trace of g disappears; sm. the n is made (q), and the preceding vowel not nasalled. The prefix ge, reduced to (g), is heard before an expolonent only by its greater distinctness, see (d) for die, under D above. "G is sm. added in pronunciation to syllables ending in a vowel or l, n, r [using his spelling], E. rr. schauen schauen, aug au, häugen hüen, make hay, knieng knien; ilg, ligg ilte, galg galg [interesting for the Westmorland usages, and also in Robert of Brunne]; sm. to so, seh, as hltesg, fleiss, mitfgen mischen.

H (491-502) is:—g [with some of its pronunciations] sm. in middle and end, and even commencement of some foreign words, as (groor'las) Hieronymus:—(nh) initially:—(gh, gh) fr. in the end and middle (in the Alps, in the Zillerthal, also at beginning) of words, and immediately before consonants:—(bh) rr. medially, (gzan'a-bha) gesehen:—lost, "as in good high German, in the middle and at end of words where spoken as above":—fr. at beginning of suffixes her, hin, when following consonants, (a-be, a-bh) for herab, hinab, sm. in -heit, (bou'sob) boshett. "H is sm. prefixed to words beginning with a consonant, as (nho)bans = abans = hinab; (nh)art = art = ort; (nh)indruken = inindruken [chew the cud]; (nh)inter, (nh)inther = unter." [These omissions and additions initially contrast strongly with the English habitas.]

J (503-506) initial is fr. (g), "that is, passes into the distinct consonant (g), just as w becomes (b)," (G'uk) Jacob, and is added finally, especially after i, hence old y = i.

K (507-520) is: (kh, kh) sm. at end of stem-syllables after l, n, r:—(g) sm. at end of unincluded words; and after n [that is, (ag) is used for (gk)]:—(rr, (nh), especially after (q), (beqth) bank:—(k) pure, as in French, Italian, or Spanish, very gen. medially, sm. finally, gen. initially before l, n, r:—(kb), "like a pure k with subsequent sensible breath, and also in all high German, on. tn. ed.," initially before a vowel, (kb)alt, (kb)ind, (kb)om- men, (kb)urz; sm. before a consonant (kb)lein, (kb)necht; and in the same places medially and finally:—(t) rr. initially before l and n, (t)laa, (t)le, klem, (t)le lo, kie, (t)nakht) knecht:—lost rr. finally (muu'zi) musik. [The interest attaching to post-aspiration (1130, a) induces me to give the following note at length.] "In low Germany
k does not receive the breath after it, which is common in high Germany; and this pronunciation ought to prevail generally if we upper Germans had only first learned not to confuse pure \( k \) with \( g \)—because we should otherwise confuse \( ga, ge, gi \), etc., with \( ka, ko, ki \), etc., just as we now fail to distinguish \( gl, gn, gr \), from \( kl, kn, kr. \) In Catullus's verse: 'Chommoda dicebat si quando commoda vellet,' the \( ch \) appears to answer precisely to our \( k-h \). [Catullus's epigram is numbered 82 and 84, the whole of it is valuable.] This hard breathing (starke Hauchen) is common to many mountain people, as well as to us highlanders. Thus in the Alpennines, the 'Gorgia florentina' is remarkable, and has earned. For Florentines the nick-names 'hoboi, babafagivilo,' because they persistently replace \( e \) by \( i. \) The Andalusian breathes the \( h \) in Arabic words, where other Spaniards omit it: 'Alhambra, Almohada, Alba-haca, Atahona.' In the patois of the Vosges, a strong breathing, like our \( ch \), replaces even \( r \), \( s \) and \( sch-\)choê (sex six), coêch (coeae, les cousins), gêcho' (garçon), mächo' (matron), tichêt (uce-cello, oiseau), wbach (vert).'' [We see here the usual confusions about aspiration, post-aspirations, and guttural hisses.]

L. (521-545), "a certain obscure vowel-sound attaches to the semi-vowels (1 m n q r), the sudden termination of which is what makes them really consonants; hence \( l \) acts as a pure consonant solely on those vowels which follow it in the same syllable, but on the preceding it acts to some extent (gewisserweise) as a vowel, by either forming a diphthong with that, is slurred (legirt), or quite purely and not united with it at all, that is, unslurred (nicht legirt)."

There is a difficulty in exactly interpreting the above into palaeotype. It seems as if the first case meant (')('l'), wherever ('l') forms a diphthong with preceding vowel, so that all gold gulden = (d'l) gôld gûl'd'n), a complete fracture being established, and thus faul, properly (fauel), becomes (fu'l), see under AU (1549, e). The second case would then be simply pure \( i \), as (olt) alt, not (öl'l).] L is (i) rr, finally, as (kaa't) for (kaa'tl) Katharina: (i, i, a) after \( a, o, u, (o)ld \) alt (producing a sylphacture), and, when after \( e, i, \) this vowel becomes (')(i'), or indeterminate palatal breath? (')(i) frr. as

"generally in North Germany, only after \( e, i \), (bild) bild; this (l) is generally preserved when a consonant has been omitted between it and preceding vowel, as (al) adel: -(l) gen. after \( a, o, u, \) and an altered \( e, i, o, \) becoming (a, e', o). Final EL becomes wholly -(l) gen. en. tn. after linguals, and nearly -(l) sm. in stem-syllables, where the \( e \) or \( d \) would be otherwise (').

M and N (546-555) frequently nasalise the preceding vowel in Bavaria when it is (a, e, o), or when these are the first elements of a preceding diphthong, making them (a, e, o), but do not affect a preceding (i, u, o). Such sounds as (lom maõn râiõ, trâum shew, n), common in North Germany, never occur, but are replaced by (la meõn râõõõ, trâum sheõ, n), The nasalisation is only omitted when an intervening consonant has been lost.

M (556-561) sm. sounds as (n) at end of stem-syllables, and even in dat. sing.; after \( l, n \), and also initially, it is sm. (bh).

N (562-609) in stem-syllables, before \( d \) and \( s \), is sm. (m, mb, mp), and is sometimes \( n \) finally. N is gen. lost at end of stem-syllables, when no vowel follows, and the preceding vowel is then nasalised. [Much is here omitted, as not of interest for present purposes.]

The final EN becomes (a, n, ')n), very frequently (a), and is often only shewn by nasalising the preceding vowel. The (')n alone,—becoming (m) after labials—is preserved in the E., and the (o) alone in W., but, to avoid hiatus, the W. inserts the \( n \) before a following vowel. The E. also reinserts the \( n \) omitted in stem-syllables before following vowel. These habits give rise to an inserted pure euphonic \( n \), where there was none originally, as wie-n-i sag = wite ich sage. In some words the \( n \) of the article has thus become fixed, as (post) = ast, and similarly an original \( n \) is omitted, as ganz'atvirli = naturlich.

NG (612-614) is generally (q), but sm. (m), as (da dum 'du-mad du-ma) for der dung (dung'er) dung; (hu-mar) = hunger; and -um is used for -ung in E.

P (615-618) is (p), rr. (b); \( pf \) rarely
(by) final, and sm. (ph, phh, ph?) initial — p-hann, p-herd, p-halt, p-heller = Pianne, Pferd, Pfaltz, Pfeffer.

QU (620) is regarded as kow or guo, and the w is often omitted.

R (621-637), which is generally (r), changes the preceding (a) to (a, æ, ø, i, øu) to (øu), (e) to (æ, e, e', ø), (xi') to (xi'), (i) to (e, i), (o) to (ø, a, æ, ø), (øu) to (øu), (o) to (e), (u) to (a, æ, o, û, ø), as already seen under the vowels. R initial "in some regions near the Alps, on the Rot and Itz, etc., is pronounced with a very perceptible aspiration, a sound which seems to be the same as the old hr, as in Hrobpert, Hraran," which S. writes hr, hhr. [He has used hh for (gh). Whether this sound hhr is (rh) or (gtr) it is difficult to say. In his own symbols he writes õ "Hrab, ø" Hring, õ Hroufn, ghhrd, ghhrns, ghhrdn =geritten, and he says:] "Before d, t, z, only the hh of this hhr is heard, as bãhhd =erd, bãhhd' =herde, füht' fort," etc. [which may mean (a'aghd, hrh'agh, fught), etc.] In art. 636, referring to this place, he says, "where r sounds as hh' or ch'" which gives (kh) and not (gh). The phenomenon is very interesting, and should be examined. It may be only wovar after all.] R is:—(l) in a few cases:—(r) in W. almost universally; this is the case in part of E., with r, rr, at the end of stem-syllables, but rr is constantly considered as simple r in E. [which means that the preceding vowel is not "stopped," but may be lengthened, or glides on to the consonant with a long vowel-glide; in fact is regarded and treated precisely as a long vowel, as in English]; the r, rr, have their due effect only before a following vowel. R may sm. be replaced by s in the forms frieren verlieren, but not in gefrieren verloren; and sm. becomes s before z. [These interchanges of (r, s) are old, and valuable to note as existing.] R between vowels and consonants in stem-syllables is fr. lost, (daf daf) dor, and even after a consonant and before a vowel, as (ghod) grade, (shagq) shrunk. In final syllables, when no vowel follows, R is usually lost in E., and is consequently euphonically inserted between vowels where there was no original r [precisely as in English], and this euphonic r occasionally comes to be fixed on to the following word, as (g rôw'z'm) ein asen [beam]. An obscure vowel (o) is inserted between r and the following consonant in W., as (dor)(f) dor [just as in our Irish after trilled r, in (w)ork, etc.].

S, SS, SZ (638-663). [Schmeller writes sz for s, ss, sz, of ordinary spelling, which comes from an old high German z with a tail, something like z, and corresponds to Scandinavian and low German t; and s, ss, for those z, ss, which correspond to s in Scandinavian and low German. The ss is used after a vowel to "stop" or "sharpen" it.] S in E. en. tw. ed. "is always soft = (z), not merely where it is so in good high German pronunciation, but even before a t of uninfluenced forms," as A(z)â, 1(z)â, bi(z)t [possibly (azd, 1zd)], as t=(d) at the end of uninfluenced forms in E., see below; (azt, aazt, aazd) are, however, all possible. In the same places SS is (z) at end of uninfluenced forms, E. en. tw. ed. S.(z), almost gen. en. tw. ed. after consonants, as dach(z)s, nich(z)s; and E. en. after vowels in inflected forms; E. gen. before t in inflected forms, aez(z)t, fa(z)ten. SZ = (s) in the middle and at the end of forms in E., and sm. of some uninfluenced forms, "as in good high German pronunciation," as has(z), nu(z)s. S.(z) initially, before p, t, k, quite gen. en. tw. ed., and even before b in names of places, as Regensburg (rêg'seoburg), Miesbach (mîzsha), and occasionally before a vowel, as (zh)unst =sonst [Schmeller uses here his sign for (zh), see SCH]. S.(z) fr. after r at end of words and syllables, unser(z), water(z), für(z)ih =für sich ; almost gen. en. tw. ed. after r and before t, dur(z)h't, or also dur(z)h't = durast. [Schmeller here distinguishes his two signs (zh, sh), and both are possible, (t)urzsh't most probable; his signs for (zh, sh) being sch, sh, differ so slightly that confusion is inevitable, and hence I go by his original references to this place in his art. 92.] "S = (sh, zh) before p, t, and after every sound, from the upper Isar to the Voges, from the Spessart range to the Saar, en. tw. ed.," Ang(z)t, bi(z)t, Ca(z)per, Ha(š)pel, ha(z)t, i(z)t, kan(z)t, ken(z)t, lu(z)'tig, Mi(z)t, saq(z)t, Schw(e)z'ter, die schöm(z)t. [Here I have given all his examples, because he refers to this art. 654, in both art. 92
for (zh), where the reference is misprinted 644, and in art. 93 for (sh), so that the variations, which are extremely remarkable, are intentional. The sound (zh) is generally unknown in Germany, its introduction in Bavaria, and generally of the use of (zh) is distinguished from the exact German counterparts of the Somersetshire initial (zh), whereas on the Nab they say men(sh), deul(sh)."

Now, independently of the impossibility of (d) (zh), which should at least be (d) (zh), I certainly never noticed any high German pronunciation of final sch as (zh), nor have I seen it noticed as occurring. Rapp (Phys. d. Spr. 4, 42) referring to Schmeller's upper German (zh), seems to have overlooked this reference to high German. Rapp considers it "more exact to say that popular speech everywhere uses neither (zh) nor (zh), but an indifferent sound lying between them, for which our theory has no sign." This could only be (zh), which would show itself in the usual way as (slzh) before and (zsh) after voiced letters. The interest in us lies in the Western English dialectal usages, their intimate relation with West Saxon, the use of Saxon (zh) as v, the probable development of (zh) from an original (dh), the dialectal habits of confusing voiced and voiceless letters, with the received sharp distinctions. Philologically these confusions are of great importance.

T (668–681) initial = (t), "pure Italian t, not (trh, trnh), but is often confused with d." [Schmeller complains much, in a note, p. 150, of that pronunciation, first, in the German pronunciation of foreign words, as T-hit-an, T-hit-us, T-hart-a-rey, T-hee, T-hac-it-us, T-hem-peat, and adds:] "This inserted k after initial t is quite inappropirate in foreign words, but it is disgusting (widerlich) and affected (affectirt), and as it were a mere mockery of our hardness of hearing (wie Spott auf unsere Harthörigkeit), when we hear it used in genuine German words by declaimers, actors, etc., so that we have to hear Tag, Tod, teutsch, theuer, That, as T-hag, T-hod, t-teutsch, t-heuer, T-hat, etc.," and also almost universally in the middle and end of many words. But in uninflected forms, final t, tt, often become (d), which disappears before l and n, as bi(d), bia(d), bre(d), Go(d); (be(d), n bettel.

[Here, again, Schmeller has a note implying that t final is (d) "in good high German pronunciation only after...
long vowels and diphthongs: Blūd, brāid, Hūd, Rad Rāth, rōd roth, wālid wēl, zāld Zeit. His symbols are left uninterpreted. This pronunciation is not usually admitted.] TW medial becomes (p), gen. en. tv. (i̞p̩a i̞pas) etwas etwas, and E. (a̞p̩m na̞p̩m a̞bm a̞bm,d) all = athem. T or TT medial is sometimes (r), as (a̞ram) athem, (bhr̩-der) wetter. T is often lost, in conjunction endings, after s, sch; but is sometimes added after s, ch, f.

W (682-687), "as a u contracted to a consonant (zum Consonten verkürzt), has usually the sound known in German," [certainly (bh) so far south as Bavaria. How can German (bh) be considered as a compressed (u)? A key is furnished by Helmholz, who says (Lecture von den Tonempfindungen, 3rd ed. p. 166, and p. 157 of my translation): "for the vowels of the lower series, O (o in more) and U (oo in poor), the opening of the mouth is contracted by means of the lips, more for U than for O, while the cavity is enlarged as much as possible by depression of the tongue" (1283, b). This makes German u (= Aa), with tongue as if for (a), quite low, whereas English u has the tongue high. The proportion (Aa): (bh) = (u): (w), is perfectly correct. I have always assumed German u = English oo. This must be my fault appreciation."

"This sound is sometimes so indistinct (unentschieden) as to be scarcely observed, thus rr (aal) for (baal) weil, (a̞rgaq) argwohn, (mi̞-d̩iko) mittenwochen [corresponding to our (Gri̞ndzh) greensich]. Sometimes it is too consonantal, and becomes quite (b), as (B)urzgarten for Wurzgarten, (bål, bos, bu) weil, was, wo and after b, n, it becomes (m). Possibly mir for wir, common in all High Germany, has a similar origin. W is often inserted between vowels as a consonantal termination of an open syllable, (iets geebli) jetzt geh ich, (bhos tůb̩eh-) was hlueich.

Z (688-690) initially = (t,s), after vowels sm. (s), finally, "in uninflected forms, it is soft" (d,z), as Bti̞(d,z), Kλo̞(d,z), Pla̞(d,z) [which Schmeller admits to be good High German after vowels and diphthongs, as Krezn, Schweiz, Geiz, that is, (krāy d,z, shbhū d,z, gāi d,z); this must be taken with his remarks on Sch (1367, c), but before (even lost) inflectional syllables it becomes "sharp" (t,s), as (mi̞,t'n krāi,t,s) mit den Kreuzen."
ii. Winkler on Low German and Friesian Dialects.

In a note to p. 1323 I gave the title of Winkler's great *Dialecticon*, into which I had then merely peeped. It was not till after receiving the first proofs of the preceding abstract of Schmeller's researches on the comparative phonology of the Bavarian section of High German dialects, that I became fully aware of the necessity of devoting even more space to giving an account of Winkler's collections of Low German and Friesian dialects. Schmeller's researches shew the influence of precisely similar forces to those which have acted in producing the varieties of our own dialectal pronunciation, working on a sister language. Winkler's researches shew how the pronunciation of the same language as our own varies over its native, extra-British area. Schmeller's researches present most important analogies, and thus explain seeming anomalies. Winkler's collections, by being spread over such a wide region, remove the anomalies at once, and shew them to be part of one organic system.

English is a Low German language, much altered in its present condition, both in sound, as we have had occasion to see, and construction, under the influence of well-known special circumstances which have reversed the usual rule (20, a), and have made the emigrant language alter with far greater rapidity than the stay-at-home. On the flat lands in the Netherlands and North Germany the Low German language has, except in the single province of Holland, ceased to be a literary language. It has therefore been allowed to change organically, in its native air, instead of in the forcing-houses of literature. It is chiefly now a collection of peasant tongues, like our own dialects, with here and there some solitary exceptions, where the old citizens still cling to the old tongue they knew as children, or some poet, like our own Burns, gives it a more than local life. There has been no reason for codification and uniformation. The language of education is merely High German, Dutch, and French, though the clergy have occasionally found it necessary to speak to the peasant in the only language which goes to his heart. Pronunciation, vocabulary, and grammar differ almost from village to village.

Low German is therefore much older than its apparent date, much older than English, much older than the English dialects. As I have gone one by one through the surprising collection of examples which Winkler has been happy enough to find and print, I have had most strongly forced upon me the conviction that Low German is two or three centuries older than our own dialects, and that it therefore presents us with a resuscitation of the Early English which we have hitherto met with only in the dead shape of old manuscripts. It gives a new meaning and force to our old orthographies and our old manuscripts; it shews in situ the *dejecta membrana* which have been thrown piecemeal on our islands, and will, I think, allow us to reconstruct our language after its true type.

1 Mr. Klaassen of Emden, an East Friesian, tells me that in his own country, as well as in England, dialects must be collected now or never. Even street labourers in Emden (specimen 37) now speak High German.
It may be said that this is all well known; that our Anglo-Saxon and Old Saxon MSS. and our many Low German specimens have done all this already. But MSS. represent shades of dialectal forms very few and very far between, doctored by literary men in the first instance, who, knowing Latin, and hence knowing a language grammatically taught, have endeavoured to force "improved" constructions on to their own language (we are still doing so), and, considering medieval Latin orthography another name for perfection, have endeavoured to give a regularity to the written forms of pronunciation which did not exist in reality. No blame is meant to attach to these efforts, which, had the language really fought its way to the literary stage, would have been most valuable, and, no doubt, have been most valuable, in paving the way for the dialect which ultimately prevailed. It is only for the history of language that such treatment of language is lamentable. For that, it poisons the stream at the source, and throws the observer and systematiser on false tracks. But further still, the MSS. we possess are but rarely original. They have been transcribed, and re-transcribed, and "edited" by early writers, to whom the very conception of correct tradition was unknown, and who indeed wished to "adapt" them to general use. Excluding then the horrors perpetrated by modern editors, which the most modern are learning to eschew, the consequence is that the best old writings were the most exposed to literary deformation. It is difficult frequently to discover amid the mass of change what was the meaning of the author:—it is almost impossible to determine what were the sounds he actually used or meant to represent. The manuscript record of language reminds us, then, of the geological record of life. It gapes with "missing links," and the very links it furnishes are so broken, unconnected, disguised, charred, silicated, distributed, that it requires immense ability and insight to piece them into a whole.

Such collections as Winkler's furnish the missing links, erect the fossil animals, and make them breathe and live. We have no longer to guess how such a radical change as we forefeel on examining our museums could have occurred,—we see it occurring! And it is this feeling that has induced me to devote so much space to an account of Winkler's collections. Those who can read Dutch should study the original, and pursue it into its details. In the mean time I believe that even the following mutilated presentation of his work will prove one of the most essential parts of mine, by making my readers feel what must have been that Early English, to which we owe the texts that our Societies are now issuing, those English dialects which still prevail in a continually dwindling state, and finally the English language itself as it exists to-day.

Winkler's work presents many difficulties to an Englishman. In the first place, it contains 948 closely-printed pages of Dutch, a language which few Englishmen read with the necessary fluency. In the next place, the Parable of the Prodigal Son, which was selected as fullest of peasant life, is presented in versions written by very numerous contributors, and each in his own orthography, very
little, if at all modified by Winkler himself, and often insufficiently explained. These orthographies are, however, greatly more intelligible than those used by Englishmen, as, for example, in No. 10 of this section, because the High German, Friesian, and Dutch orthographies are themselves much more phonetical, and hence form a much securer basis, to those that know them, than our own. But, in the first place, the generality of Englishmen do not know them. Then their sounds are decidedly different in different parts of the countries, where German and Dutch are spoken as the languages of educated people. And, lastly, the sounds to be represented were frequently not to be found in these languages, and hence signs for them had to be supplied conventionally, and of course different writers have fancied different orthographical expedients. Hence a direct comparison of the different dialects from the letters used in Winkler's book is not possible. It seemed to me therefore that I should be doing some service if I merely reduced the whole, albeit it but approximatively, to my own palaeotype. In working out this conception, I have, however, met with considerable difficulty, and I am fully aware how faulty many of my interpretations of these versions must be, especially in delicate distinctions of sound. But I trust that I come near enough for a reader who glances through the following extracts to arrive at general conclusions.

As regards High German, a long residence in Dresden, and considerable attention paid to the varieties of local pronunciations, have made me tolerably well acquainted with its sounds; but I have not resided and scarcely passed through the Low German districts. This occasioned me great difficulties. I have not felt sure as to the sounds given in High German on the spot from which the writer came to the vowels a (a, a, ah), e (e, e, ę), or o (o, o, o); and as to the diphthongs ei (éi, ái, ęi1), and eu (ói, ąi, óy, áy, óh'ý, ó'ý). I have therefore, except when especially warned, contented myself with (a, e, o, éi, óy). I selected (éi) because the late Prof. Goldstücker of Königsberg objected to my calling ei (éi), which is the general Middle German sound; and I selected (óy) because Rapp gives this or (óh'ý) as the North-East German pronunciation of eu, and because, where eu was used, the sound (ói) appeared impossible; whereas even Donders would have said (óh'ý); see (1292, a') and (1101, b) for the Dutch and (1117, c) for the German. The ó might be (óe, ø), I have selected (ó). Thus my vowels are (a, e, i, o, u, óe, ý) and (ó) for the unaccented e, unless specially warned that other sounds were meant, and then I have selected the others in the series on (1285, ab) which seemed to be indicated by Winkler. I have treated the Dutch spelling in the same manner, so that Dutch eu appears as (ée), u short as (óe), ui as (éi), etc. For particulars of Dutch vowels I was fortunate in having Mr. Sweet's trustworthy report given on p. 1292. For Friesian I have had mainly to rely on Winkler. But I received some valuable větda vôce hints from two West Friesian gentlemen born at Grouw (see specimen 87* below), and an East Friesian lady born at Emden (see specimen 37 below). The reality of the fractures, together with many points of interest
which I have detailed in the specimens cited, and in the notes appended to them, were thus made clear to me.

The consonants presented another difficulty. I have given p, b, k, as written, and used (t, d) for t, d, although the latter ought almost certainly to be (\textsuperscript{2}t, \textsuperscript{3}d). It is a point of considerable interest in relation to English usage, which I have not yet been able to settle. My impression is that the dental (\textsuperscript{2}t, \textsuperscript{3}d) are original even in English, but this is scarcely more than an impression. The (pl, tl, kl), see (1097, a', 1129, e), I have not even thought of discriminating. There were a few allusions to them, but not safe enough for me to deal with. The g is a great difficulty. Finding that the Emden lady used (gh) or even (sh), although the specimen was written on a High German basis, and hence had simple g in all cases, I have used (gh) for g throughout; but my West Friesian authorities more generally used simple (g) initially. This (gh) will be right for Dutch dialects no doubt, but may be erroneous initially for the North-East of Germany.

As to b, d, final, I have "followed copy," but no doubt the rules of Dutch, given at (1114, b, c), are carried out pretty generally. My Friesian authorities did not wholly agree in their practice, and I did not think it safe, therefore, to change anything.

The initial s in German I have treated as (\textsuperscript{2}z), and the initial sch as (sh) in the German and (skh) in Dutch. I have felt doubt at times whether the German writer's sch did not also occasionally mean (skh) in Low German. The Dutch sj I have generally left indefinitely as (sj), the Polish sound, intermediate between (s, sh), and only rarely made it (sh) when this seemed certain. The tj in Friesic I have made (tj, tj, ti-), the latter before a vowel. My Emden authority repudiated (tsh) in such places, but my West Friesian authorities were more distinctly in favour of (tsh), although (tsi-) still seemed to linger. Certainly (si-, ti-, tsi-), diphthongising with the following vowel, were older forms. The case is similar to our nation, nature. The final Brussels "sneeze" (see specimen 156), which Winkler writes tjsj, I have left as (tjsh), which may be called (t.sh) or (t.shj), with very energetic (.shj).

The glottal r (\textsuperscript{1}r) is not sufficiently marked in Winkler. All the final r's in the North of Germany are very doubtful. They are not the Italian lip-trilled (r), and at times fall into (\textsuperscript{5}r) perhaps, see (1098, c). I have generally left them, but have sometimes written (lr). There is also a peculiar d on the North Coast of Germany, into which r falls, and I am almost inclined to consider this as (\textsuperscript{5}r), which is certainly not an r in the usual sense of a trill, and which is ready to become (d, dh, l, z) or a vowel. This is not marked by Winkler, and hence is left unnoticed.

The w I have given as (bh), except where it is expressly stated to be "English w." In the Netherlands this will probably be right, and all my authorities used it in Friesian. The v I have left (v), even in the specimens written on a High German basis; but my Emden authority said (\textsuperscript{1}v), and told me that the sound lay "between" (f) and (v); and one of my West Friesian authorities
volunteered the same remark. An initial (fv-) will be quite near enough, like the High German initial (sz-) and our final (-zs), see (1104, c). The difference between v, w, was strongly marked by all three. See also Mr. Sweet’s remarks (1292, c).

The h I have left as simple (m). It is no doubt often (mh, lh), see (1132, d), and was distinctly so spoken by my Friesian authorities; but as it is also frequently omitted altogether, and also frequently misplaced, or regularly used where no h is written, I felt too much doubt to venture upon any but a conventional sign.

Some other peculiarities are noted as they arise in the specimens. The account of the pronunciation of Antwerp (specimen 160) and Ghent (specimen 168) prefixed to the specimens, and the complete transcription of the Parable in the West Friesian pronunciation (specimen 87*), will be of assistance.

As to the length of the vowels, I have often felt much uncertainty, especially in North Germany, but I have followed the rule of marking the vowel as short unless the writer clearly indicated that it was long. Perhaps I have been wrong in treating Dutch oe and ie as representing (uu, ii); Mr. Sweet and Land both say that these vowels are short in literary Dutch (that is, pure Hollandish), except before r, but this gives no way of expressing the long sound in the dialects. It did not seem to be a sufficient reason to make the vowel long in Low because it was long in High German. There are too many examples of exactly contrary usage in this respect, see the Bavarian usages on p. 1368, col. 2. In literary Dutch, as in English, length often determines quality, but not so dialectally, and we have Winkler talking of “imperfect vowels” (short in closed syllables) being made “perfect” or “half perfect” (long or medial in open syllables). In such cases of course the converse is also true, and quality gives the feeling of length, see (1271, b).

These remarks are sufficient to shew the difficulties to be overcome in this reduction, and the amount of allowance that has consequently to be made by the reader for the necessarily imperfect transcription here presented. Enough however remains, I trust, to make the result very valuable to the student of comparative phonology, the basis of comparative etymology.

Winkler’s work gives 186 numbered and some unnumbered versions of the Parable of the Prodigal Son, Luke xv. 11–32. The unnumbered ones are chiefly older forms from books, and there are also a few other book forms, and the two last numbered specimens are in a species of slang, very peculiar and interesting in other connections, but not in the present. Hence I have confined my attention to the first 184 numbered versions. It might be thought that the number could have been materially reduced without inconvenience. But many links of the chain would thus have been snapped, and the completeness with which Low German and Friesian will be represented in this book from the borders of Russia to the Land’s End in England, and from Magdeburg in Germany to Caithness in Scotland, would thus have been defeated. It is the
very completeness of the view, in which all these forms of speech are represented in one alphabet, thus rendering comparison easy and direct, that forms its great value to the student. And though the subject translated is not the same in England as abroad, yet there are practically only two subjects, Winkler's Parable and my Comparative Specimen; for Prince L. L. Bonaparte's Songs of Solomon are given below in glossic, and not in palaeotype. It would, of course, have been impossible to reproduce the whole Parable in palaeotype. Hence a selection of a few verses and phrases has been made, the same for each as far as was practicable, which was not always the case, on account of the very free treatment of the subject by some of the translators. As indeed each verse is frequently treated very differently, I have thought it best to prefix in English the general character of each fraction of verse given, and when anything out of the way occurs, to annex the translation in the specimen itself. All such notes and additions are bracketed, so as not to interfere with the general palaeotype. Each verse is numbered for the same reason. Sometimes a few additional words are given. As another basis of comparison, I prefix the literary High German and Dutch versions, as given in the usual editions used in churches, and I have added the pronunciation, as well as I could,—not distinguishing (t, d) however. The Authorised English Version according to the original edition will be found above, p. 1178, and the present literary English pronunciation of it, as given by Mr. Melville Bell and myself, occurs on p. 1171. The older Wycliffite Version and its conjectural pronunciation are given on p. 740; the Anglosaxon Version and conjectural pronunciation on p. 534; the Modern Icelandic Version of Mr. Magnússon, with the pronunciation as gathered from his own lips, on p. 550; and the Gothic Version with conjectural pronunciation on p. 561. Hence the comparison can be carried backwards to the oldest records, and most divergent modern forms. It would of course have been advisable to have the Danish and Swedish versions, and especially the various Norwegian dialectal forms, to compare; but these I am not able to give.

The arrangement is geographical. The countries and provinces are numbered with Roman numerals, and distinguished by capital and small capital letters. Winkler's Dutch name is generally placed first, and then the German, English or French added, with a reference to the volume and page of his book. Where he has distinguished linguistic districts, as the Low German and Friesian, by separate sub-headings, these have also been introduced in small capitals. The place to which each version relates is numbered in the usual Arabic numerals, and printed in Italic, first as given by Winkler, and then, if necessary, in English or French, and its style as district, city, town, small country town, village, or hamlet, is added. As the names thus given are not very well known, and indeed were sometimes not to be found on maps, I have added the latitude and longitude from Keith Johnstone’s Index Geographicus, which is generally correct enough for finding the place, although I have detected a few glaring errors occasionally. When the name
could not be found even there, I have added the name of some town or village which is mentioned by Winkler as adjacent, and which could be there found. The reader will therefore find no difficulty in referring each version to its proper locality. The reference to Winkler is added as before, and occasionally a few words of explanation are subjoined to the title of the specimen; but the necessity for brevity has caused me generally to omit such remarks, and always to abridge what I have given. They are generally on Winkler's authority, and substantially in his words.

These arrangements preclude the necessity of an index. The student fixing on any word in any verse can trace it through its various forms with great rapidity. The words selected had always especial reference to our English habits. Thus:

The omission or retention of final -e or -en is shewn by: 11 had, 12 dealt, 15 the swine, to feed, heed or watch, 18 I have, 22 the best robe, shoes, his feet, 23 a or the fatted calf; 24 is found, 25 his eldest son, in the field, near the house, he heard, 29 with my friends. It will also be found in some versions, especially in Belgium, that -e has been added-on, so that the use and disuse of the -e has become a mere matter of feeling, independently of any supposed origin.

The passage of a, not always original, (ii) or (ee) to an (ái) form is well shewn by: 11 two, 12 he, dealt, 15 swine, 22 his, 24 my, 31 my, ever with me. It will be seen how local such changes are, and how impossible would be the hypothesis of an original (ái) sound of i in English. The word 12 dealt was selected with especial reference to the forms in Havelok, suprâ p. 473, and it thus appears that there is no occasion to assume Danish influence for such a form as to deyle, but that Low German forms fully suffice; and subsequently, when we come to English dialects in the East of Yorkshire, we shall see how rooted such forms still are in England.

The changes of the (uu) and (oo) are well shewn by the words: 11 sons, 22 shoes, feet, 24 dead, 25 son, house, 27 brother.

The changes of (a) may be traced in: 1 man, 18 father, 22 clothes, 23 calf, 25 came.

The changes of (e) in: 1 man in the form mensch, 11 dealt, Gothic ai, 25 field, 27 friends properly (i). For er falling into ar see 15 furrow.

In addition to this, the great number of fractures which occur, especially in the Friesian dialects, are very observable. An examination will, I think, fully justify the application of the laws (suprâ p. 1307) which I had previously deduced from English and Bavarian dialects only. But this is a subject requiring extensive additional inquiries.

For the consonants the chief points of interest seem to be the following. The lost r and interchange or loss of h have been already referred to. But the approach of d to (dh) in parts of North Friesian (at least according to Winkler, my East and West Friesian authorities knew nothing of it, and it may be a Danism in North Friesian), and of w to (w) in the same (according to Winkler again), marks the tendency more fully developed in English. It is ob-
servable that we have English dialects (as in Kent) where the (dh) of pronouns sinks to (d). The loss of (dh) in most Low German dialects and its preservation in Anglosaxon, English, and Danish (the last only final and medial), or its transformation into (th), is a point which still requires investigation.

The loss of final -d, either by passing through (r), or by passing through (s) and then vocalising to (a), or by passing through (z) and then vocalising to (i), is remarkable. We have the old Latin and modern Italian loss of final -d in quite another domain. But in Low German it presents peculiar features, and it is further complicated by its medial disappearance. Compare especially the various forms of 11 had, 15 feed or heed, 18 father, 22 clothes, 27 brother, and again after l, 25 field, and after n, 24 found, and 29 friends. The treatment of n in such cases as (q) in many dialects is singular, as is also the frequent lengthening of the vowel preceding (q). The change of (q) final into (qk) was perhaps more frequent than is marked. That l in 23 calf should have been almost uniformly retained is, in consideration of the loss of d, and frequent loss of l before a in 25 as, very remarkable. But the word was frequently disyllabic, and has some very strange forms.

The (gh) has already been referred to. On the locality whence our ancestors came, its existence is undoubted. Even Holsteiners are accused of saying (khu'tor Khot), and we know that Berliners indulge in (jnu'tor Jot). The change of (gh) to (s) is not unfrequent in the word 18, 31, you. Combined with the elaborate Icelandic treatment of g (see p. 543), and the English reductions of Anglosaxon g, it renders the guttural character of this last letter (512, d) nearly certain.

These hints are merely for the purpose of drawing attention to some salient points which have engaged our attention hitherto. The Low German seems almost to settle some of these disputed points, especially long i, ei and ai, and final -e. As to the open and close e and o, their treatment has been remarkably different. They have generally been distinguished by the different courses which they have run; but this has by no means always favoured the change of the close to (ii, uu), and the preservation of the open. On the contrary, the close tend to (ëi, óu), and the open to (i', u'). This fracturing is very remarkable at Antwerp (specimen 160), and when completed by a juncturing, would often lead to precisely opposite results, making the open vowels thin, as (ii, uu), and the close vowels diphthongal, as (ëi, óu), which result again in broad (ëë, óo, òo, ìì). In the examples as written, when no actual change was made in orthography, I was obliged to take refuge in an indifferent (e, o); but when any marks or directions justified me, I have distinguished (e, e, ë, ëë) and (o, o, ò). Winkler himself comes from Leeuwarden in Friesland, where, however, a variety of Low German, not Friesian, is spoken (specimen 91), so that I cannot feel certain that I have rightly understood these indications. Mr. Sweet tells me that there is no (ëë) in literary Dutch, but only (ëéë), the rules in grammars being purely orthographical. But Winkler continually inveighs against the prevalence of Hollandish
pronunciation. The general consideration of this very difficult subject of the double pronunciation of e and o, especially in reference to Early English, on which Mr. Sweet has recently made some important studies, in his "History of English Sounds" (Trans. Phil. Soc. 1873–4, pp. 461–623), is reserved for Ch. XII. (supra pp. 1318–21).

Preliminary Versions.

i. English version corresponding to the general forms of Low German versions in the passages selected from Luke xv.

11 a certain man (mensch, married man, churl, rich man, father) had two sons (lads, young ones, young men, unmarried men, servants). There was once (one time, one turn) a man (etc.) who had two sons (etc.).

12 and he (the father, the old man) divided (dealt) his (the) property (goods, estate) among them (both, each other). and he did it. and he gave each his part (portion, lot, effects). he gave them-people (usual polite Dutch hun-teedt for them) their, (etc.). he gave the younger his mother's inheritance.

15 to feed (heed, watch, guard) swine (farrow). to be a swindriver, swineherd.

18 father, I have sinned (done wrong, misbehaved, done sins, done evil, done unseemly) before (towards) you.

22 (haste and) bring (fetch, haul) forth immediately (quickly, nimbly, in an instant) the best (gladdest, smartest, Sunday's, Easter's) robe (pack of dress, chest-dress, store-clothes, breeches with silver seams) and put (draw) it on him.

ii. Dutch Version.

Ordinary Spelling.

11 een zeker mens had twee zonen.
12 en hij deelde hun het goed.
15 om de zwijnen te weiden.
18 vader, ik heb gezondigd tegen (voor) u.
22 brengt hier voort het beste kleed, en doet het hem aan, en geeft eenen ring aan zijne hand, en schoeuen aan de voeten.
23 het gemeste kalf.
24 want deze mijn zoon was dood, en is gevonden.
25 en zijn oudste zoon was in het veld, en als hij kwam, en het huis genaakte, hoorde hij het gezang en het geroei.
27 uw broeder.
29 op dat ik met mijne vrienden mogt vrolijk zijn.
31 kind, gjt zijt altijd bij mij.

and give (do, put) a ring (finger-ring, gold-ring) on his hand (finger) and (new) shoes (with buckles, boots) on his feet (legs, used politely for feet).

23 the fatted (masted, fat) calf. the calf in the stall.

24 for this my son (son of mine, man, lad) was (as good as) dead, and he is found (caught) again.

25 but (meanwhile) the eldest son was in (on, upon) the field (acre, mark, for work, for some days, and knew nothing of it), and as he then (now) nearer to (close to, within a bowshot of) the house (farmyard) came, he heard music (singing) and dancing (playing).

27 your brother.
29 that I might (can, may) make merry (have a feast, jollification) with my friends (mates, comrades, companions). to treat my friends (etc.) to eat it (the kid) up with my friends (etc.).
31 my son (child, young one), thou (you) art (are) always (ever, all times, always all times) with me.

Lukas, Hoofdstuk 15.

Literary Pronunciation, as revised by Mr. Sweet, see pp. 1292 and 1114.

11 on zær-kor mens nhat tbheeti zōoun-an.
12 on nhē' deē'lda nhēn nhēt khat. 15 om do zbheē'-nān to bzhē'-don.
18 'vā-ōdor, e'k nhēp khooz̪ɛndikht tēē'ghon (voor) i.
22 breqkt nhēr voort nhād bēr-stō klē'ād ənd dūt nhēt nhēm an, ənd gheēlīt ən rē' ān zan nhANT, ən skhu nan an dā 'vū'tān.
23 nhāt khomē-rsta kalfe.
24 bhand dēē'za man zōoun bhar dōōnd, an e's kha'vendān.
25 an zan ōurtstā zōoun bhaz e'nh nhat fīlt, an as nhē' kībham, an nhat nhah'-wje khānāa-kto, nhoo'-rō do nhē' nhat khāzā'q on nhāt khā-zī.
27 1 bru-dor.
29 ob dat e'k met mān 'vrii'ndān mokht frōw-lāk zkīn.
31 ke'nt, khē' zkīt a'ltəw'kād be'ī mā'ī.
iii. High German Version.

 Ordinary Spelling.

11 ein mensch hatte zween sohne.
12 und er theilte ihnen das gut.
15 der saeue zu hueten.
18 vater, ich habe gesuendiget vor dir.
22 bringet das beste kleid hervor, und thut ihn an, und gebet ihm einen fingerreif an seine hand, und schuhe an seine fuesze.
23 ein gemaestetes kalb.
24 denn dieser mein sohn war todt, und ist gefunden worden.
25 aber der aelteste sohn war auf dem felde, und als er nahe zum hause kam, hoerete er das gesaenge und den reigen.
27 dein bruder
29 dass ich mit meinen freunden froehlich waere.
31 mein sohn, du bist allezeit bei mir.

Abstract of Winkler’s Universal Low German and Friesian Dialecticon.

I. RUSSIA. I. 1.
[The German inhabitants of Esthonia, Livonia and Curland were originally Low German; and though High German is now exclusively spoken, it has a strong Low German colouring.]

II. GERMANY. I. 3.
[North of a line from Aix-la-Chapelle, Cologne or Bonn by Gottingen and Wittenberg to Berlin, and thence to Koenigsberg, the language is Low German, except two little parts of Oldenburg and Schleswig, where Friesian prevails, and some parts of Pomerania and East and West Prussia, where Cassubian, Polish and Lithuanian are spoken. This part of the Low German language is divided into Low Saxon and Low Frankish, and is generically called plattdeutsch, and plattendutsch (plattdäitsch).]

III. EAST PRUSSIA. I. 6.
11 ein mensch na-ha tshee zeens.
24 den dis'or miin zeem bhe er doot, on nee aes ghos'thu'da bho'ra. 25 aa'bor dee e'ler zer zeem bher opp dem fe'lda, on als nee nae tomm hui'za keem harte nee dat ghaze'qa on den reig'han. 27 diin broo'dar. 29 dat ek med mi'n'or fri'find fros'likh bheer'a.
31 miin zeem, duu biist a'la-tsait bai miir.

IV. WEST PRUSSIA. I. 12.
11 daa bheer maal 'n man de' nad thbee zeens. 24 den miin zeem bhe er doordik, on nee es nuu bhe'bor-fu'qa. 25 aa'bersht zi'n diezer zeem bheer up det feld, on as nee neeg'har keem an't hui'wa dAA heerd nee si'qa oon dea.'nto. 27 diin broo'dar. 29 dat ek kum lo'stikh zeem mi'na frind. 31 miin zeem, duu best e'marsh bi miir.

V. POMERANIA. I. 20.

Lucae, das 15 Capitel.

My usual Pronunciation.

11 ain mensh na-to tsbee zeen.
12 und er tali-to iir'n das gutu.
15 deer zeo'ju tsu hyt'tu.
18 faarter, skjh naa-be geyn-diighat foort diir.
22 brqast das be'sta klaid hafoor, undt tuut iun an, und gee'bet iun ain'enn frqrraif an zii-na handt, unt shuwe an zai'na fyy'sa.
23 ain game'states kalp.
24 den diiz'er main zoom bhaar toedt, und ist gosfund bhor'dun.
25 aarbar dar e'iz'to zoom bhaar auf dam fe'lda, und als er naa'tsuum hau'za kaa'm, bezre eer das gazo'qa und don rai'g'han.
27 diin broon'or.
29 das skjh mit ma'ir'or friind'non froo'likh bheer'a.
31 main zoom, duu bist a'la-tsait bai miir.
11 en minsh naar tbhee zoeëns, [described umlaut of (AA), between
(EE) and (AE), openier than the first,
duller than the second; it may be
only (sh), it may be (eh); it is
most probably one of the three
(æ, oh, æh).] 12 un ne deel'da
et dat ghoot. 15 de zbhiin too hooe'dan.
18 vadar, ik hof syndiket vor dii.
22 briigt dat be'sta kleed her un doot
om dat an, un ghebt om e'en'en fiquer-
riq'k an zi'na'nt un shoo up zi'na' foëq'.
23 en ma's'tka'lf. 24 den dees
miin zoeëns bhas doot, un is funen
bho'r'n. 25 de oel'sta zoeëns oëv'erst
bhas up'-n feld un as ne diikt an-
nuu kam, hAerda ne dat si'qen un
dastsan. 27 diin brooder. 29 dat ik
mit mi'i-na fry'n'n lunstik blhir, 31
miin zoeën, duu byst y'mer bi mi.

4. Rügen, island (54 n 30,
12 e 30). I. 25.

11 en minsh her tbhee zoeëns.
12 un ne deel et dat ghool. 15 de
zoeëghen to hooe'dan. 18 vadar,
ich hieb syndight vor dii. 22 brii-
gt dat be'sta kleed her un trekt om
dat an, un ghebt om e'en'en fiquer-
riq'k an zi'na' hand un shu a an zi'na' foët.
23 en utme'est kalf. 24 den dii-
sir miin zoeën bhaas dood, un is funen
bho'rdan. 25 oel'bhar de oel'dsta
zoeën bhaas in 'n feld, un an ne
diikt an d't huus keen nyrt' ha dat si'qen
un dantsan. 27 diin broor't. 29 dat ik
mit mi'i-na fry'n'n kun fry'n'kun
krey'liik zin. 31 miin zoeën, duu
bist a'ltiid bi mi.

VI. BRANDENBURG. I. 28.

5. Neumark, district about
Frankfort on the Oder, town (52 n 21,

11 t'ha'da -n minsh tbhee zoeën.
12 un de ol deel'to [spelled dielte]
dat ghoot. 15 de shbhiin hooe'n. 18
vaa'r, ich heeb syng'heit vor dii. 22
seekt dat be'sta kleed foëqer un trekt' t
em an, un stac'ek om an riq an sua
hand, un gheeb't om shu oor sua
been. 23 'n gme'est'kab. 24 den
diis'er miin zoeën bhir doot un
her is hee'der fun'n. 25 ah'bher
de oel'sa zoeën bheer up -t feld, un
as't naa huuur'keem nyrt' -r dat
ghaziq'lo ughad'nts. 27 diin broor't.
29 dat 'k met miin fry'n froe'liikh
ziin kun. 31 miin zoeën, doo bis
a'ltiid bi mi.

VII. SAXSEN, in English
PRUSSIAN SAXONY. I. 33.

[About Magdeburg; the kingdom
and dukedoms of Saxony are Upper
Saxon.]

6. Altmark, district from
Sülzwedel, town (52 n 51, 11 e 9), to
Stendal, town. (52 n 56, 11 e 31). I. 34.

11 en minsh nat tbhee zoeën. 12
un de vaa'dar gheef't'o'm. 15 de
shbhiin to hooe'ghan. 18 vaa'dar,
ich hief mi zoo'shekht badraag'ghan.
22 broqt dat best kleed, un trekt-at-am
an, un ghef om e'en'en fiquer'q an
zi'na'hand un shoo' a an zi'na' foëte.
23 een gme'est kalf. 24 dys miin
zoeën bhas dood, un is bher funden.
25 as de oel'st zoeën von-t feld rin
kam un dat si'qen un dantsan 'riet.
27 ziin braa'dar. 31 miin zoeën, duu
bist a'ltiid bi mi.

7. Meitendorf, village, in en-
virons of Magdeburg (52 n 9, 11 e 38).
I. 37.

11 et bhas en minsho de harto
tbhee zë'l'no. 12 un he dif'tlda u ndor
eer ziin als. 15 de zbhiin'na hoo'e'en.
18 vaa'dar, ich har zyn'da daan voir
dik. 22 haitt mi dat best kleed von
'n bod'an un trekt om dat an, un
'n riq daut an zi'nam fiquer un shuwe'an
zi'na' fo'yt'a. 23 en fettet kalf. 24
den diis miin kint bhas dood un ik
he-e amo nu fun'en. 25 derhiile
bhas do graz'tste von de zoeën op 'n
feld, as de naa's bi dat nuus kam dun
he'ta nei de muzii ka un dat ghaz'riq.
27 diin brau'dar. 29 dat ik
kun'da lunstik naa'kan mit mi'i-ne
fryn. 31 miin kint, duu bist a'le tiid
bi mik.

8. Hohen Dodeleben, village in
environs of Magdeburg, see No. 7.
I. 41.

11 et bhaar maal en mensh, der
haret tbhee juq'qu. 12 un he dif'tlda
undar zee zii'n'no doof. 15 de
shbhiin'na to hoo'e'en. 18 vaa'dar, ich
he-e syna adla'n vor dik. 22 he-yikt
dat besta kleed for un trekt om an
un 'n riq daut an zii'n' na pe'na
un shuwe'an zii'n' fo'yt'a. 23 'n kalf
dat omes't is. 24 den diis'miin zoone
bhaar doot, un hei is oof'un. 25 der-
hiile bhaar do graz'tste von de
zoeën op 'n feld, un als hei dik'kke
an-t nuus kaim dun he'te nei de
muzii'ke un dat ghada'nts. 27 dii
bräu'dar. 29 dat ik mik hau to cen
lustik h maak'kon mit mit'na frien-
shap. 31 miin kint, duu bist a'loetiit
bi mik abherte.

VIII. MECKLENBURG. I. 46.

9. New Brandenburg, town
(53 n 32, 13 e 15). I. 47.

11 daar bhas maal eens en man, 
dee thaar tbhee zeezens. 12 un de
vat'tar deelt'a en dat farmace'ghan.
15 de shibiin to hoo'edan. 18 vat'tar,
ik hef mi farsynight gheeg'hon dii.
22 briit den a'lorbeston rok heer 
un treet om den an, un steekt on nan riq
an'ni fi'qar un gheebht om shoo an 
zii'n foe'ta. 23 'ne-fetas kalf. 24
bhii dii miin zeezen as dood bhas, un
he is bheer'ar funan. 25 de ce'lsto zeezen 
chee'her bhas up 'n feld, un as he
maa to huus kam hyy'to ne do muzii'k
un dat da'stont. 27 dii broo'dar.
29 dat ik mit mi'na fry'n 'n mi lu's-
tigh his-lon kun. 31 miin zeezen, 
duu byst a'tbbeug bi mi.

10. Stevenhagen, town (53n41, 

11 dor bhas mal en man, deii har 
tbhii ejeezens. 12 un nei'de'lo un'e 
zii dat farmace'ghan. 15 de shibiin 
tau hoo'yon. 18 vaa'tar, ik heeb
zyndight vor dii. 22 briit dat best'a
kleed nierr'ana un treet om dat an
gherbht em e'ron fi'qar'q an zii'n 
hand un shau an zii'n foe'yt. 23 en
ma'stkalb. 24 den deezo miin zeezen
bhas doon, un is fun'non bho'rn. 25 de
ce'lsto zeezen e'heer bhas up don feet'ny,
un en nei'ne'gher an't nuus kam,
hyt hii dat zi'qon un da'stonen. 27 
dii brau'ra. 29 dat ik mit mi'na 
fry'n 'n free'e'likh bhii. 31 miin zeezen, 
duu byst tai guy're (evey') s'tun bi mi.

IX. HOLSTEIN. I. 54.

11. Friederichstadt, town on 
the Eider (54 n 23, 9 e 4). I. 56.

11 een minsh har tbhee zeezens. 12
un he deel'do za dat ghuud. 15 de
shibiin to huy'yon. 18 fudar, ik heeb
zyndight vor dii. 22 briit dat best'a
kleed nart'er, un doot st om an, un 
gherbht om an fi'qar'q an zii'n hand,
un shoo an zii'n foe'eet. 23 en ma'st-
kalv. 24 den deezo miin zeezen bheer
doos, un is fryn bho'rn. 25 aa'bar de 
cel'sto zeezen bheer op dat feld, un as 
ne neegh an't nuus kein, mord'he 
dat zi'qon un dat da'znan. 27 dii 
broo'dar. 29 dat ik mit miin freen
freer'li bheer. 31 miin zeezen, duu
bis y'mor bi mi.

12. Dithmarsch, district about 
Meldorf, town (54 n 6, 9 e 4). I. 59.

11 en man har tbhee zeezens. 12 
un de ol deel dat ghunt. 15 de 
shibiin to hoo'edan. 18 vaa'tar, ik hef mi
selekt badra'ghan gheeg'hon dii. 22
briit de besto an'toogh un treet om 
dan an, un steekt om an riq an'ni 
fiqar un gheebht om shoo an a foe'eet. 23 en 
ma'rskalf. 24 den miin zeezen niir 
bheer dot, un is bheer'dar fun. 25 aa'bar 
do cel'sto zeezen bheer to feld un as 
i neegh bi't huus kein, hor ne dat 
si'qun un dants'en. 27 dii broo'dar.
29 dat ik mal mit miin fryn lustigh 
bheer. 31 miin rau, duu byst a'ldaasch 
bi mi.

X. SCHLESWIG. I. 62.

a. LOW GERMAN IN SCHLESWIG.
I. 63.

13. Angelen, district between 
the Schley river and Flensborg fiord 
(54 n 50, 9 e 35). I. 65.

11 en man har tbhee zeezens. 12 un 
zoo deel'dar do oo'la zii'n ghoad. 15
as swi'dnivial, 18 vat'tar, ik heev 
groo'ta syn baga'th vor dii. 22 
haal dat besta von miin klee'dar for zii'n 
arm'lii (evey'), go'lno fi'qar'q 
for zii'n henn un mi shoo for zii'n 
foe'eet. 23 en fe'to kalv. 24 nce bheer 
doos, un is we'erdar funen. 25 aa'bar 
de cel'sto zeezen bheer op dat feld; un 
as ne nuu op de bheegh naa nuus 
in de neegh dat zi'qun un da'znan 
ot hoo'edan kreegh. 27 dii broo'dar.
29 un mi mit miin fryn freer'likh 
zi'n to loo'ton. 31 miin zeezen, 
duu bist a'likd bi mi.

b. FRIESIAN IN SCHLESWIG.
I. 70.

[In these Friesian dialects the short 
i is said by Winkler to be 'nearly per-
fet,'' by which he apparently means 
that it is pure (i), and not (j', e', e), 
or other Dutch sounds of short i.' 
These dialects seem to have (dh), 
see note to specimen 14.]

14. Bökingharde variety of the 
Möringer dialect, which is spoken 
in a district containing Niebüll, town 
(54 n 34, 8 e 49). I. 78.

11 an mon nei thbe'er saarna. 12 
an ne düild zan at ghoo'd. 15 da 
bhiiin to shoo'daarn (joo'rdarn) simply .f. 18

tee've, ik heeb me forsee'night in dee.
15. Karrharde, district about Stedeassand town (54 n 44, 8 e 56). I. 81.


17. Amrum, island (54 n 38, 8 e 20). I. 89.

18. Syllt, island (54 n 54, 8 e 21). I. 94.

XI. TERRITORY OF THE FREE CITIES OF LUEBECK, HAMBURG AND BREMEN. 

I. 103.

20. Schlutup, village near Luebeck (53 n 52, 10 e 51). I. 104. [To serve in place of a Luebeck specimen, which Winkler could not obtain.]

11 een minsh har tbhee zoonz. 12 un he deel-là dassgh qu'dar u-nar eer. 15 de sbhinn heeœ'ë'don. 18 vaa dar, ik nev zyn daan för dì. 22 haalt mi dat beste kleed heruu't, un tee -t em an, un'doo't om a riq an zin hand un shoo an zin fot. 23 een ma'tkalf. 24 den bhat min zoon is bhash dood, un is bhe'dar fun. 25 de œlste zoon æe'ë vers bhas in -t feld, un as he nee'ghor an -t huus koom hoe he dat zi'qan un da'mën. 27 din broö'dar. 29 dat ik mi mit mi'n-fry shul lustikh hœ-lan. 31 min zoon, duu byst a'l'tiid bi mi.


11 een minsh har tbhee zœœns. 12 un hee deel-là dassgh maq jum. 15 de sbhinn to hœœ'ë'dan. 18 vaa dar, ik nev zyn'dicht ver dii. 22 briq dat beste kleed heru't un trekt om an, un ghevet om een'an frq'riq an zi'ë'hand un shoo an zi'ë'feœ'ët. 23 een ma'sted kal. 24 den dyse'min zoon bhash dood, un nee is bhe'dar fun. 25 AA'bars ziin œlste zoon bhash up -n feld, un as he dat huus nee'g'hör koom daa hœœ'rda dat zi'qan un dat da'mën. 27 din broö'dar. 29 up dat ik mit mi'n-fry'ndan lustig'h bheœœzan kyn. 31 min zoon, duu byst y'ë'mars bi mi.


11 daar bhas un minsh de har tbhee jœ'ë'ëns. 12 un he deel-là dassgh u-nar zem. 15 dat ne dar de sbhinn hœœ'ë'dan shol. 18 vaa dar, ik hebh zu'night gheœ'ë'g'iin dii. 22 haalt mi dat beste kleed heru't un teet id om an, un st'eekt om e'en an riq an zi'ë'hand un trekt om shoo an. 23 en meest'ed kalbh. 24 den min zoeœn [for (æ) see spec. 3, v. 11; here how'er it is said to be "a middle sound between œ and æ or ø and a" German, and that it sounds at Bremen very nearly as æ or ă," that is (æe); this would favour the supposition that the sounds were nearer (æh) or (oh),] bhas dood, un is nnu bhe'dar fu'n'an. 25 AA'var de œlste zoeœn bhas up dam fê'lun, un as he duun bi nnu'za keem hœœ'rda hœœe dat zi'qande un dant'sonde. 27 din broö'dar. 29 dat ik meel ['once'] mit mi'n-fun fru'don farghœœ-ght zin shul. 31 min kind, duu byst y'mar bi mi.

XII. Hanover, Brunswick, Schaumburg, Oldenburg. I. 122.

23. Detister, district (52 n 16, 9 e 28). I. 124. [A remnant of the old Hanoverian speech of the Calemborg species.]

11 e minsh hœœeä tũhþe'j qu'ë'gans. 12 un hœ œœ de'ë'ë u-nar zëi dat a'ri'deël. 15 do sbhinn to hœœy'an. 18 vaa dar, ek nee'va zyn'g'hört vor yik. 22 briq dat gña'de'o'te kleed, un trek ot eem an, un gheevet an riq an zin'na hand un shaa'e an zin'fœ'te. 23 dat fe't emaa'këte kal. 24 den dyse'min zoon bhash doot, un hœœi is o-fu'n'an. 25 zin œlste zoon aa'bær bhas up en fê'la, un as hœœ in de nœœg'dho zin'ës nuu'zæs kam hœœ'rde hœœe speel' ["playing"] un dans. 27 nuu bräur. 29 dat ek mit mi'n-fen fry'nan lu'stigh bheœœt. 31 mi'n-lë'bdëi kind, duu bist y'ë'mar bëi mek.

[Some additional words are given compared with German, on account of their vowel fractures.] 12 güi'òrn güë'tern. 14 vartë'ë'te versëhërt, lian leiden. 17 vë'ëlë wiele. 19 biirtit. 27 bheœœr wiede'r. 29 y'ë'siehe. 32 güœr guther.


11 da bheer ins en minsh, dej mar tbhe'j zœœns. 12 un he'j deel jum dat ghod. 16 dej sbhin to hœœ'don. 18 vaa'r, ik nee zyn'dicht je'j-g'hans zoo. 22 briq dat beste tygh her un trekt om dat an, un gheefit om en frq'riq an da'hand un shoo an da fêt. 23 en mej'st kal. 24 den dyse'q ruq bheer dood, un is bhe'dar fu'n'an [32 fu'n']. 25 bhi'lder bheer de œlste zoeœn op'f'ër'yn, un as he'j bi huus koom hoe nee'j dat zi'qan un da'mën. 27 jon broö'dar. 29 dit ik mit mi'n-fen fry'nan farghœœ-ght bheœœr. 31 min zoeœn, duu bys a'litïids bi mi.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 12 see sate'. 14 fyq fëng'. 16 nym's niemand. 19 mee'j
bhe'jrt mehr werth. 20 sce'jgh sah, 
ym um. 26 e'jnen einen, froegh frug. 
29 zyy sich, oowbhar beere-un uvertreten.


11 en vaad'ar har tbhee zeezens. 12 un de vaad'ar-deel jym dat ghood. 15 do sbhinn to hoee'en. 18 vaad'ar, ik heebh un'reekht daan vör dii. 22 briqt dat best kleed her un teel om-t an un 
ghebbt em an ti-quiriq an zin 
hand un sho an zin focet. 23 en mëst't kalbh. 24 den min zeezen 
bbad dood, un is bhee-ler fun'dn. 25
aaa'hher de o-ëste zeezen bheer op 'm feld, un as he noo'gewaar naa hus keem heer
he dat zi'qen un da'son. 27 din broo'dar. 29 dat ik mit miin'n frynd'n 
forg'nhegheit bheen kun. 31 min 
zeezen, duu byst jyner bi mi.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 12 ghoozer-dirn gunern. 
13 ghooq ging, hindewet hindurch. 19
ik byn ieh bin. 26 froegh frug. 
29 duu bheest dii weissest, gae-bha-
GAAN üvergangen. 32 ghoo'des moo'ds
gutes muthes.

26. Rechtenfleth, village between Bremen and Bremerhaven (53 n 82, 8 e 84). I. 143. [The speech is Friso-Saxon.]

11 en minsk har tbhee seee-man. 12
un hee deel'da sam dat ghood. 15 do 
see'ghan to seee'en. 18 vaad'ar, ik
hef zurndight for dii. 22 briqt dat 
beste tygh her un trek-t om an, un 
ghevt om an ti'quiriq an zin hand 
un sho an zin focet. 23 en meest' kalb. 
24 den dis'en, min zeezen bheer 
dod, un iz bheer fundun. 25 de oistle 
zezen aa'var bheer op-n feld, un as 
he naa hus keem heo'e'rd-a nee dat 
zi'qen un dat da'nts'en. 27 diin broo'er. 
29 dat ik mit miin'n frynd'n lustighe bheer. 31 min seezen, duu bist a'tiid bi mi.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 12 zee sagte. 14 fuq fng. 15 huq hing. 16 buk bauch, 
numa niemand. 29 zyy sich, aa'var-
TREE'N übertreten.

a. LOW GERMAN IN OLDENBURG. I. 145.

27. Eckwarden, village between Jahde river (53 n 26, 8 e 12) and Weser river. I. 147.

11 eemmal ins ['once;' Dutch eens, a repetition] bheer d'e een man, de

har tbhee zeezens. 12 un hee deel'da er 
dat ghood. 15 do sbhinn'n to hee'en. 
16 vaad'ar, ik heebh ghroot'e zyn 
daan gheegh'an dii. 22 haalt dat
besta kleed her un teel om-t an un
stekt om 'n riq an 'n fi quer an shooh 
ee'ver zin focet. 23 'n good fet 
kalbh. 24 den dis'miin zeezen bheer dood, un is fun'n bhoor'en. 25 aa'hher de oistle seezen bheer up-t land, un as he dikht bi-t nuus keem heo'e'ra he 
dat zi'qen un spri'qen. 27 diin broor. 
29 dat ik mit miin'n fraen'n for-
ghneugheit bee'zean kun. 31 miin 
zeezen, duu byst soo a'tiid bi mi.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 14 guugq ging. 16 buuk 
bauch, nynms niemand. 17 zee sagte. 
20 zoeegh sah. 29 zyy sich, noo'nikh 
noch nicht.


11 t-bheer mal ins ['once;' Dutch eens] een minsk, dee har tbhee zeezens. 12 un de vaad'ar 
dee dat. 15 ziin sbhinn to bhaar'en. 18 vaad'ar, ik
hef un'reekht daan teergh'en dii. 22 briqt up da stee her de beste klee'dazii 
un trekt ym dee an un gheef't ym een'n 
riq ym ziin viqar un gheef't ym shooh 
pee'gewaar ziin focet. 23 'n fett kalb. 
24 den dis'en zeezen bheer doot, un hee 
is bheer fundun. 25 do oistle zeezen 
bheer up don ak'er, un as hee keem un 
dikht bi-t nuus bheer doo heo'e'ra 
hee lystikhe ['merril'y'] ziqan un 
la'rman ['making a noise'] van de 
zee'shup ['from the company,' German 
gesellschaft]. 27 diin broo'er. 29 
dat ik mit miin goo'de fryn lystikhe 
ee'ze an kun. 31 miin ruq, duu byst 
ymar bi mi.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 13 't-dyyrda es 
dauert, de blier'da bhill die wite wel't, 
14 fuq fng. 15 ghuq ging. 24 'n 
ghroot'a maal'tiit eine grosse nahl'sert. 
26 froegh frug. 27 zee sagte.


11 en minsh har tbhee zeezens. 12
un hee deel'da er dat ghood. 15 de 
sbhin to hee'en. 18 vaad'ar, ik 
hef zy'n'da daan vor dii. 22 haalt dat
besta kleed her un teel't om an, un
stekt 'm riq an-o hand, un shooh 
a'var zin focet. 23 'n mest kalb. 
24 den dis'miin zeezen bheer doot, 
um is bheer'fur nun bhu rm. 25 aa'hher 
de oistle zeezen bheer up-t feld, un as
ne dikht birt huus keem hœrde he
dat zir'gon un dat du'ntson, 27 diin
broor. 29 dat ik mit miin fru-no
farghineurght bhee-zen kun. 31 miin
zœen, duu byst a'ilid bi mi.

[Additional illustrations compared
with German.] 13 herdœer hindwurc.
17 zee sagtse. 26 to beddy'gon zu
bedeuten. [N.B. Final r scarcely heard;
d, l, soft r confused, so that wedder
sounds nearly wedde, weddada, werre,
werra, welle, wella, in Winkler's spell-
ing.]

b. FRIESIAN IN OLDENBURG.
I. 165.

30. Sagelterland, district about
Friesooythe, town (53n, 1°51). I. 158.
[The inhabitants are genuine Friesians
in descent, language, dress, and cus-
toms.]

11 deer, bhas ins en maa'nska un
di miit-da tbehe'n suu-no. 12 doo deex-
leda di oor'-da man it him too un 12a'a't
him bheet him too'keem. 15 umm du
sbhir'a to bhaa'-rjan. 18 baa'-ba,
['father'] ik he'ba seendhged juun
dii. 22 haa'ale mi ins ['once'] gbau
['quickly'] do besto kloodd'a hirr,
un luuk-kot him do oon, nii-maat ook an
riq med, un dwoot ['do,' put'] him dii
oon hoo'nda un riek him skoo'or
oon-o feete.' 23 en manst'd koolv. 24
dan dis zuon fun mii bhas foar uus zoa
ghood as dood, un nnu he'ba bhi him
bhiir fuur'dan. 25 too bhiir'tan bhas
di oor'Isa suun op-titfeel too aarbê-
djen ['work']; man doo hii's eesmds
[almost spoken s'evena, says Winkler,
in the evening,' old Friesic iond] fent
feeld e'ter ['alter'] huus bhe'i ['away']
Giq naaw-eeda nii det shuqgon un det
doon'jana fon doo heer'kuply'ya'x
['workpeople']. 27 diin broor.' 29
det ik un mii ne frynda ook ins lysithg
bhee'e kru-dana. 31 miin liiou
beeg'da'n, [the (r) scarcely heard] dun
best a'ilid bi mi.

[Additional illustrations compared
with German.] 12 do beo' den beiden.
13 fiaa'and frenad, yeeld geld, to liujan
zu leben. 14 lii-da leiden, niks neen
niechts kein, brood' brood. 15 dwoo
thun, bhel bhii him ook in zii ttonst
nii'ma? vor will ihn auch in seinen dienst
nehmen, buur bauer, saa'nts sande.
16 jeer'dan gern. 17 nii bitoghto zii'k
er bedacht sich, kwaad sagtse [English
quot'a], funlo viele, steer'ru darben,
heend nii'de gehabt hatte. 18 blii'ne
bleiben, kwee'de sagen. 20 bloorkad
geblickt. 21 baa-y'de leute. 26 to
bitty'dan zu bedeuten. 29 siuch sich,
naa'ni lii'ta buk keien kleinben bock
[English little, (lieftik) in other posi-
tions].

31. Wangeroog, or in North
Friesian Wrangeroog, island (53 n 47,
7 e 52). I. 171.

11 dar is äinmoo'l en sheel ['churl,' used for married man] bhi-zin, dan haid
thhein fentar ['unmarried men']. 12
daaf pardelf'd dan oor' mon sin jil
['money,' geld] un ghood fonoo'n
[Dutch van elkander, from each other,
apart] un' nor da beied, un ro't oon dan
juq't sin deel, saa fas as nim too
kaum. 15 um da sbhiir too waa-riin.
18 bab! ['father,' maam,'mother'] ik
neh symnikht jen dii. 22 maa'lium
jim ins ['once'] kitigh ['quickly']
va best klo'dar hoo'd ['hither'] un
chjot him da oon; reii-kot him uk en
riq oon sin hana un nii skoo'or
['new shoes'] oon sin foot. 23 en fat
dalf. 24 umdelt din fent fon mii sa ghood as
doo'd bheer, un nnu h'bat bhi him
bhiir'dar fuur'en. 25 unarstuskon
bheer dan mon sin all stent up-tit felt
bhi-sin, to aarbê-dan. man daa ni
ai'viens ['in the evening'] naa huus
ghiit un thikht bii kii mien bheer daa
neerd nii dait shoqgon un dait doon'sen.
27 diin broor.' 29 dait ik un miin
fry ana ai'moo'l frau kuun'nan. 31 miin
liiiaef beeg'nn, duu best za a'ilid bi mi.

[th is both (th) and (dh); (dh) is
assigned in (beidh, kwir'dhii, liidh,
up sti'dii, sin lee'dhii), in German
beide, sprechen, leiden, zur stelle,
sein leibag; in (thikht, thioo'nten) Ger-
mân dicht, dienstknechten, it is not
assigned, but it is stated that no rule
can be given for the different use of
(th) and (dh); (sh, tj, dj) are conjec-
tures for sj, tj, dj. Winkler in his
notes writes in v. 11, sjeel scheht, but
an East Friesian lady would not hear
of (sh, tsh) for her sj, tj, which are
nearby (sj, taj), see notes on specimen
87'; the plural in u is remarkable,
as (nuus'u, skyy'pu) German hauser,
schiffer. The whole dialect is remark-
able.]

XIII. EASTFRISIAN L. 182.

[East Friesian consists at present of
Low German, Friso-saxon (chiefly),
and Old Friesian (as a trace). In Emde
and near it Hollandsich has also influ-
enced the speech.]

11 'n minsnaar tbheee zeens. 12 un he deo'ld hee'g hooth. 15 de sbhiin to bhaa'tdan. 18 vaa'dar, ik heb zyn'ght vyee dii. 22 briigt best kleed her un doot hym-tan, un gheeht hym 'n fi'qarriq an zii hand un sho'o an zii fook. 23 'n meest'k half. 24 den dis miin zeeen bheer dood, un is bheer fund'n break't'n. 25 man de oolst zeeen bheer up-t land, un as he naa bii-t ruus kuoo'm hee'g na dat ghooz'ilq (["singing"] un-d ri'i'gdonds ['country dance']). 27 diin broeser. 29 dat-k mit miin frynd'n lystigh bheer. 31 miin zeen, duu bust a'l'tiid bi mi.


11 en minsnaar tbheee zeens. 13 un de vaa'dar deel hee'g dat hooth. 15 to sbhiin bhaat't. 18 vaa'dar, ik heb zyn'nghed veoer dii. 22 briigt dat best styk klee'er heer un doo tog hym-tan, un gheeht hym 'n fi'qarriq an zii hand un sho'o an zii footan. 23 'n mes [mest?] half. 24 den dis miin zeeken bheer dood, un is bheer'er run'n. 25 man de o'lst zeeken bheer up-tf led, un as he diikt bii-t ruus kheebem, hoo'g hee'g na dat ziq'n un spriq'n. 27 diin broeser. 29 dat ik mit miin fryn lystigh bheer. 31 miin zeeken, duu best a'l'tiid bi mi.


11 en minsnaar tbheee zeeken. 12 un he vare'deel dat hooth un heer. 15 de sbhiin to hoo'z'dan. 18 vaa'dar, ik hef zyn'ght dierdi. 22 biiait dat besto kleed her un trekt rum dat an, un gheeht rum 'n fi'qarriq an zii hand un sho'o an zii footan. 23 'n fet half. 24 den dis miin zeeken bheer dood, un is bheer fun'an. 25 aabar de o'lst zeeken bhas up-tf led, un as he diikt bi ruus keem, hoo'g hee'g na dat ziq'an un darzoon. 27 diin broeser. 29 dat ik mit miin fryn lystigh hoo'z'dan kun. 31 miin zeeken, duu bust a'l'tiid bi mi.


11 en minsnaar naa tbhai zeons. 12 un heo'k deel heo'k dat hooth. 15 de sbhiin'non to hoo'z'dan. 18 vaa'da, ik hef zyn daan veo dii. 22 briigt dat moiest ['most beautiful,' Dutch mooiste] kleed nea un doot rum 't an un gheeht rum 'n ryk um zii fiqa un sho'o'en um zii footan. 23 'n fet half. 24 din dii sa miin zeon bhas dood, un hoo'i is hheee'furaan. 26 aabheer doozi olst zyn bhas up-t feld, un as hoo'i naa bii-t ruus kheem, hoo'a hoo'i dat zik'qon un spriq'an. 27 dii broe'a. 29 dat ik mit miin frynan munta bleee'a. 31 miin zo'en, duu bust a'l'tiid bi mi.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 12 zai sagte, paat part, theit. 15 hoo'i varhyn'ya zyk er vermietete sich. 17 ik vag'ar ich ver-gehe. 20 hoo'i mook zyk up er maachte sich auf. ["The r final is pronounced indistinctly or not at all; if unaccented e precedes it, er sounds almost as a, vadar as vada. The r is a stumbling-block for all Friesians and all Saxons that live near the coast." This final r has therefore been omitted throughout this transcript.]

36. Borkum, island (53 n 44, 6 e 52). I. 201. [This dialect is nearer Groningemish than East Friesian.]

11 'n see'kar minskaar twee zoonen. 12 on hoo'di dier dier-hgooth. 15 de swir'non to waa'ttan. 18 vaa'dar, ik heb zyn'ght dierheem dii. 22 breect't besto kleid heer on trekt nom't an oon gheeht nom 'n ryk an zii hand un skhoo an de foo'tan. 23 't-mesta half. 24 want miin zeeken was dood, on is hoo'i weer foon'dan. 25 on zii o'lst zeeken was op-t led, on as hoo'i kham, on-t ruus naa'darde, kooer'ra hoo'i zik'qon on darzoon. 27 suo broe'iri. 29 dat ik mi met miin fru'ndan voo'ma'kon kon. 31 kind, duu bust a'l'tiid bi mi.

["The letter o in the words on, jongste, honger, hom, etc., is very ob- seure, almost exactly like High German o in und, hunger, etc.," and hence is here given as (o). "The w is the usual Friesian and English w." I have hitherto used the German and Dutch (bh) even for Friesian; but in this example I have employed (w). Is Winkler right here? I shall venture to use (bh), except when specially direct-ed not to do so. My Emden authority said (bh) distinctly, even in (kham), not (kwam, kwam). See notes to speci-men 87*.]


[A lady, who is a native of Emeden, kindly read over this version to me, and I give her pronunciation as well as I can remember, which is not very
distinctly, as there was not time to write anything from dictation. She found fault with some of the phrases, and supposed the writer to have been a German. I have followed her changes.

11 dor bhas eens 'n misk, do ha [the (r) effective, but almost (r)] dhee zoeens. 12 un do vaa'r deel'do do bou'del [distinctly, not merely ‘nearly’ as Winkel says] un do bard'an [distinctly (ái), not (éi)]. 15 tu shibhir'na bahacen. 18 vaa'r, ik bin 'n frees'li kghrou'ta zu'ndor teerg hani dii. 22 zee zurl'an up-a stee't best pak klee'v bre'qon un zu'rl'an zii zoeen dat a'ntre'kon, un num ouk 'n go'l'u'q an-d hand steer'kon un zurl'an num sho'o un ziin fou'tan doun. 23 'n fet kal'f. 24 undat ziin juq tu do dooc'dan al noort har, un bhas tu'ndan korm'an. 25 man do o'lsto zoeon bhas up-feld bhest. as ne nuu dikht bi nuus hkham, dlo vorn'am no al fon feer'en't ziq'an un speer'lon un dun'san. 27 jun bree'er. 29 dat ik mit miir'na kla'rant mii dar bhat bi vrmka'kun kon. 31 miin juq, dun bist jaa a'nt'dan bi mi.

38. Leer, town (53 n 13, 7e 27). I. 212. [My Emden authority said the writer of this was a native personally known to her, and the version good.]

11 dor bhas ins 'n man deev'j har dhee'j zoeens. 12 un do o'lo deev'j'do dat gheoiud [(siou) one tetraphthong, in rapid speaking sounds as (jou)] un'da hooer. 15 do shibhir'na to hoo'idan. 18 vaa'dar, ik heb mi aii ddi vor'ny'dight. 22 breqt do'ne sta'kle'v reer un trekt zo'num an, un stekte num 'n riq'a up a fiq'ar un trekt num sheiou un de firi'stan. 23 'n mest'kal'. 24 den dikht, di'so miin zoeen bhas dood, un heed'j is heer funan. 25 man do o'lsto zoeon bhas up'fild, un as heed'j di'khite bi-t nuus hkham, hooer'de heed'j dat ziq'an un spri'qan. 27 diin bree'er. 29 dat ik maal mit miin fry'nde lestigh hee'zon kun. 31 miin lee'j'v zoeon, dun bist a'ntid bi mi.

"[(oj)] is a dull sound, like Dutch ou, approaching Dutch ij." I have taken it as the London long o. "The fracture aiou (siou) in the Dutch words good, to, hoven, scho, foten, etc., as pronounced in Dutch, is difficult to render. In Dutch letters eiou would come nearest; the stress is on ou. In rapid speech the sound is nearly jou, jou (iou, jou). The oi (oai) sound in hoiden, broir, is nearest to Dutch ui."

XIV. Westfalen, in English Westphalia. I. 216.

39. Wittlage, village, near Osnabrück, town (52n17, 8o3). I. 218. [Transitional from Friso-Saxon to Low-Saxon.]

11 een misk har'ta dhee zoeenaans. 12 un he deel'de tu'sen bo de eerd'en dat vormy'ghan. 15 dat hee do shibiir'na hoo'da. 18 vaa', ik heebb'no zyn'da dau'vori dii. 22 haa'vlet dat besta kleid un teee'et et em an, un ghii-bhat em en riq an de hand un sfoooc' an zii'sna foci'ta. 23 an meestat kalb'h. 24 den duy sa miin zoeena bhas daut, un is bhir funan. 25 sa'hbar do o'lsa zoeena bhas up den fei't'da, un as ne nie'gar an dat nuus khham, heer'da he ziq'an un spel ['play']. 27 diin broo'er. 29 dat ik mi mit miir'ne fry'nde en vorgnoo'ghan maak'ka. 31 miin zoeena, dun bist ar'to tivit bi mi.

40. Vreden, town (52 n 3, 6 e 49). I. 221.

11 dat bhas es 'n man, dee had dhee zoe'era, 12 un he verdoo'lda un'da heeket vormy'ghan. 15 de varken te hooce'en. 18 vaa'dar, ik heebb'no zyn'da daa'thau dii. 22 haa'vlet 't bestra kleed un trekt 't em an, stekt 'n riq an zii'na hand un trekt em shoo an zii'na vec'ta. 23 't mest'kal'. 24 den duy sa zoeena bhas dood, un hee is heer vuanan. 25 doo bhas do o'lsa zoeena in't feld doo doo noo kam un naa an -t nuus bhas, hoo'er'de hee da viool ['violin'] un't dun'san. 27 diin broor. 29 dat ik met miir'na fre'nde mit ples'er 'n maak'tiit'kon noo'len. 31 miin zoeena, dun bist ar'tiit bi mi.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 13 vre'am fremd, vedee' verthat, dea durc'h. 14 varz'ta'ard verzehrt. 15 kowter [Eng. oetter]. 18 uu eech. 19 ik byn ich bin. 20 ghyygging, medli'digh mitleidiig, em ta mo'ita [Eng. him to meet]. "[zoeena] is pronounced nearly as Dutch zuene,

variously with (e, a, ah), see (1292, a). "(e)y in (vermy'ghan) is between Dutch vermuggen and vermussen."

41. Münster, town (51 n 57, 7 e 37). I. 224.

11 et bhas dernmaal en man, de haa'de dhee zoe'ena. 12 un he ver'deel'de zii vormy'ghan un'der de bei'dan. 15 do shibiir'na to hooce'na.
18 va'al'dor, ik he'vo mi varfeilt grii-
ghau dii. 22 nuu men, flik' [quickly']
un ha'l'at den a'lorbe'ston rok un
trek'st am an am, stiek'et am e'enan
riqk an da fi'qar un ghi'vet am sho'oe
an da fie'sta. 23 an fet kalv. 24 den
dvla'm mi zaan bhas dâu, un he is
bhiir funan bha'etaan. 25 un'der'de'san
kbbam zin o'ldsta zaan fom fe'lo
nAA huu'za, un as he in da ne'ghi'dh
bhas un da muzi'ik un dat da'nten
he'e'etsa. 27 diin bhaar. 29 dat ik
mit mi'm'un fro'dan he'du lu'stigh
maak'kon ko'won. 31 miin zaan, duu
bhi'vest y'far bi mi.
[Additional illustrations compared
with German.] 12 too'kymph zukommt.
13 lie've'en leben. 14 faqk furg, to
lii'don zu leidei. 15 bhoo'nda wohte,
ku'dtaa [Westphalian word, Eng. cots].
16 gie'een gern. 17 bráut brod, stiek'
tve [Eng. starve]. 21 bhi'veet
worth. 22 liy'don leuten. 23 laa'tat
us ie'e'ton [Eng. let us eat], ghoo'dar
guter. 26 râip rief, frãgh frug,
bady'don bedeuten. 28 to frû'don
zu'frieden. 29 nyms niemals.

42. Paderborn, town (51 n 43, 8 e 45).
I. 229.
11 et bhas mol en man deî ne'da
tbehe zyy'na. 12 doo deî'lo deî va'at
un ghaif-ne' bhat-ne' ta'maam. 15 de
shhi' nie táu ne'y'en. 18 va'at, ik
ne'e' zyn'dighet vo'uer dii. 22 haalitt
mi den been rok, un trek'st na e'ne
an, stiek'et na ak on ak zir'zhan
fi'qar un ghi'be't na shu'a an da fe'lo.
23 dat be'sta kalv. 24 den di'sa ju'qe
bhas von mi dzeet, un héi is noo bhiir
funan. 25 un déi o'ls te'ju'qe bhas
ter tiit ghra'as ['at that time recently']
up en fe'lo, un as de'nuu ter héi'me
kam un dat zi'ran un spekta'kaal hee'ro.
27 diin bhaar'. 29 dat ik mit mi'm'un
frudy'don mi mol lu'stigh maak'kan kun.
31 miin zuuun, duu bist o'ntit bi mi.
[Additional illustrations compared
with German.] 12 ki'nsdei' kindes
theit, tãukymt zukommt. 14 na ghee'ta
hu'newze'et eine grosse hungersthout.
16 var'mei'et'am vermiethe. 16 kree-
ghan kriegen. 17 breed brod, gee-
naugh genug. 26 râip rief, froo'ghar
fragte. 30 haun'rtykh hurenzeug.

43. Sauerland, district about
Soest, town (51 n 35, 8 e 7). I. 233.
11 et bhas mol na man, déi har tbehe'ni
zy'na. 12 un de va'ter shi'khtade
['shed,' divided] tyskar [Dutch russch-
en, between] dieën be'ghon ['both,
(d) changed to (gh)]. 15 da sbheéine
main ['heed,' (d) omitted]. 18 vaar,
ik he've'zy'na doon türghan dik.
22 ghoot un haalitt da steen'dightson
['statelest'] rok un tre'kar na in'me
an un ghi'ze'tt ['give'] ma na riqk an
du hand un shu'an ze'enei fàita.
23 en fet kalv. 24 bheece'ar'qk ['because'
xii mieée zuun bhas dâu, un niit'ezk
bhiir funan. 25 niu bhas la'bhar da
e'lsota zuu bi'tan op 'm fe'lo, un as
e'na kan un noo'gha béei hiih-bha
[German ho'fe, 'farmyard'] bhas, doo
noort e muixitka'nt 'n [musicians]
sfîl'onen un zir'zan. 27 deëin brau'er.
29 dar ik trakhtami'nta fiir'an ['cele-
bire as a church feast] kom mi
mei'éen frawendskop. 31 mieée zuun,
duu bist y'mar un ar'theit béei méee.

[Additional illustrations compared
with German.] 12 fyæet vor, tâu'kyymt
zukommt. 13 da bheé'ta bheît die weite
weite, dâi y'yastie láit séeí bhual zeein
der jüngste liés sih' wohl sein. 14 in
di'ee'r ghi'ingheid in disser gegendid,'t
feqk iem ['i'm dat., ('ie'ne'] iem acc.]
au kuum to ghoom es furg ith an kaum
to gehn. 15 twer' bauer, ku'f'ten
[cots]. 16 doo hei hái zeei ghërten
da hâthe er sehr gern, det leef vun
gheît'aten den lëib voll essen (‘), van dem
riú'ta'g von dem raun'zeg, boö mee
die sbheëi'na mit faúerde sve man die
schweine mit fütterte. 17 daaghli'ñar
taglëhër, ter hii'ma in der heinimath,
iki goi nu dàut ich gehe hier todt.
23 bho'nta bheë'mar'digh wurde wehmi-
thig, laip 'me in de màite lief ith
entgenres [Eng. to meet him], kyar
na kùste ith [-r for -d, in weak
imperfect]. 23 bhiëi bheît ie'et'tan wir
wollen essen. 24 tour'af'ren verloren.
25 biuton [Eng. dial. bouteën, without;
similarly (lut) out, (nuu) now, (bhu)
how = wir]. 26 râip rief, froo'ghar
fragte, luas los. 27 hii'e'l un gsezünd
[Eng. whole and sound]. 29 a'mafo
twartete, gebû'art gebôl ['eei], (e) dis-
tincter than (i); (iu, ú, ú, yé', ii, xi)
have their stress vowel thus dis-
tinguisheb by Winkler].

XV. NEDER - RIJNLAND, in
English LOWER RHINE, province.
I. 239.
44. Emmerich, in German, Em-
merich, town (51 n 51, 6 e 15). I. 241.
11 'm mins had thhëe zoons. 12 en
héi déi'ldo zin vormee'ghan mit en.
15 en de verkâs ta hu'uraan. 18
\[\text{vaa'dar, ik heb min var\'zendigheid teeq'ha\'ou. 22 gh\'au ['\text{quick'}] breqd oem 't be\'sta kleed, trek't at oem aan, en duud oem 'n riq aan zin hand en shuun aan zin vyyt. 23 't gham\'ste kalf. 24 bhant deeq'za min zoon bhas dood, en nei is bheer ghavo\'nda. 25 zin i\'ldsta zoon e\'bhar hius op-t veld, duu nei n\'o dikh b\'ei n\'ius kham, hoo\'enda nei da muuizi\'k an dan dans. 27 o\' nuur. 29 dat ik met min vri\'nda 'n vwo\'kike part\'ei kon noo\'lda. 31 min zoon, ghe\'i bont a\'toos b\'ei min.}

\[\text{[I have generally not distinguished Dutch \textit{eu}, \textit{e}, except as long and short (\textit{ee}, \textit{e}), considering it very uncertain whether in the specimens (\textit{e}, \textit{e}) were consistently distinguished; but as Mr. Sweet gives (\textit{e}) for long Dutch \textit{eu} (1292, \textit{a}), and as Winkler here states that his \(\hat{o}\) is used for short Dutch \textit{eu}, "which cannot be easily rendered in Dutch letters", I have used (\textit{e}) for his \(\hat{o}\) in this example.}

45. \textit{Gelderen, in English Guel-
ders, town} (51 \textit{n} 31, 6 e 19). I. 244.

11 eene vaa'dar had thhee zoeen. 12 ghe\'ti mish min k\'indsdeel ['give me my child's-share'] en de vaa'dar d\'ei dat. 15 oem do verkkas te nhuye\'en. 21 vaa'dor, ek ghe\'ezendigheid teeq\'han au. 22 za zo lan zi\'i\'n zoon nei kleer ghoe\'en, oem e\'e\'ana riq an da fr\'qars steek'a en oem nei shuun a\'ntre\'ka. 23 eeen vet kalf. 24 bhant ghe\'ti mot bhe\'te ['for you must know'] deeq'e mi\'na zon bhor ver mikh varlooe\'ra, mar nem net zikh bok\'eert ['he has reformed, converted, himself'] oen es n\'au b\'er min kind. bh\'oi z\'ei n\'au t\'o za\'am mon bhor\'en, 25 k\'hoom den e\'lsta zon van-t veld terygh en n\'o\'erde dat zi\'qan an dan\'so. 27 din bryyr. 29 dat ek mikh met min vri\'n\'dan ly-stigh maak'a kos. 31 min kind, duu bly\'ist eem\'ar bai mikh.}

46. \textit{Meurs, in German \\Morse\textit{, county, and town}} (51 \textit{n} 27, 6 e 37). I. 247.

11 ee\'e\'na man had tbhee zoeen. 12 on ne deeq'lda oen net ghud. 15 oem de poo\'kaan te nhuye\'en. 18 faa\'dar, ik heb zo\'yn ghada\'an for dikk. 22 briend dat be\'sta kleed niir on trek\'ed et oem aan, on ghoe\'f-oom e\'e\'na fr\'qarri\'q aan zin hand, on shuun aan zin fyyt. 23 an ghamaa\'st kalf. 24 deeq'e mi\'na zoon bhor dood, on ces bhuir ghoe\'f\'o\'nda. 25 maar de e\'lsta zoon bhor op et feld, on es ne kort be-t huus kbhoom, n\'o\'erde ne dat spoec\'de\'en un dan\'soen. 29 dat ik ens mid min fr\'\'en free\'lek koos zin. 31 mi\'na zoon, dou b\'oos eem\'ar bee mikh gbhoo\'hee\'s.}

47. \textit{Dusseldorp, in German Dusseldorp, town} (51 \textit{n} 13, 6 e 46). I. 250.

11 no man had tbsh\'eei [High German form] joq\'as. 12 doo de\'le de\'na da\'vtar de e\'r\'sh\'aft ['inherit-
ance']. 15 de verkkas tso hoo\'e\'da. 18 vaa\'tar, ekh\'an ghezoendig ghee\'g\'han dek\'h. 22 briend op dar stiel et be\'sta kleed, on trek\'ed et oem aan, on dod\'-im an reeq\'k on de ha\'aqk ['hand'] on shoon an de fees\'as. 23 dat fe\'e kalf. 24 den nee mi\'na joq bhoor dood, on es bhi\'dar ghaf\'oo\'q bho\'o\'da. 25 zi\'na e\'lsta joq bhoor e\'bhar op dam feld; as hoo\'e\' noo ['now'] no huus koom, hoo\'e\'d\'an\'e speel on dans. 27 dii broo\'dor. 29 dat ek met min fream\'da \'(e) sa\'ha\'lda kunnt. 31 zyk\'h ['see'] joq, duu bes i\'mar b\'ei mikh.}


11 ne vaa\'tar hat tbsh\'eei zoen. 12 un hee de\'i\'lan dat verno\'e\'g\'ho u\'qar zee. 15 da verkk\'e\'sa te hoo\'e\'da. 18 vaa\'tar! ihk\'an mish mikh vorzy\'endig ghee\'g\'han deer. 22 floe\'k ['quick'] briend im dar be\'sta rok eru\'s, trek\'ed im en aan, doet eeq\'na riq aan ziq hand on shoon aq ziq fees. 23 dat marskab\'h. 24 dan dis\'a, miq\'e\'na zoen, bhor duut, un noo es hee hii\'dar fu\'qoo\' bho\'do\'a. 25 et bhoor e\'eer szqan ['his'] o\'lsta zon oen feld. als de\'e nuu haim ghiq\'un ob et muus a\'nakoom hoot hee\' dii muuizi\'k\'un et dam\'tsa. 27 diin broo\'dor. 29 dat ikh met miq\'a ['my'] fry\'ndan ens et feet\'t\'u\'khen [diminutive from French \textit{festin}] hoo\'e\'lda kunnt. 31 zyk\'h ['see'] zuq, duu bes i\'mar b\'ei meer.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 12 zeet sage\'t tsq kyt zook\'om. 13 bh\'ys weise ['\textit{manner}']. 15 boor bauer. 16 kiin ziil ghoo\'f za im keine seele gab sie ihm. 19 bheet werht. 20 feen fern. 27 khee\'gh\'an kriegen.

49. \textit{Bonn, town} (50n43, 7e5). I. 258.

11 ne man hat tbsh\'eei zoen. 12 on be\'et dat vamoo\'e\'g\'ho uqoo zo deeq\'e. 15 de s\'e\'y tso hoo\'e\'da. 18 vaa\'tar,
ikh ham mikh važy-ndiğh ghée-ghé dikh. 22 ghashbih'n 'quickly', bræqt em t bel'sta kleed oruus, doot et em aan, on stekt eeñi riqk aan ziq hand on shoon aan ziq foes. 23 't ghañnesta kalf. 24 den disa mi'qá zon bhoor duut, on es bi'da ghafuqua bhoood. 25 æt bhoor e vocational riqk eñl zon on den feld. alts dees nuu koom on dem huus noo bhoor, hyyt'a de muunziik on dan danz. 27 di'qá brood'ar, 29 dât ik met mi'qá frend eeñi frav'y-domoo-itsik [German 'joy-resentation'] ghaañ'la hêt. 31 mi'qá lee've zon, duu bes i'mar bèi miir. [Additional illustrations compared with German.] 12 zeet sagte. 14 hu'qu'sharhuurt hungeswirth. 17 brood brood'. 26 reed rief, kne'khaa knechte. 29 ghoghovovo gegeben.

50. Aken, in German Aachen, in French and English Aix-la-Chapelle, town (50° n 46, 6 e 8). I. 261. 11 e'qá man hau ishfei qe'qeshera. 12 ghef mi'qá a'ndaal doar âuá 'old man'] dogh dat. 15 de verkas no'ya'. 18 va'dar, ik han beq'likh [German 'bengel-like, like a palm'] ghâæ-nilgeñt an dar ni'mel. 22 bræqt hém de bèi-sta montuur, on tekt deè hém an; gheft hém no req a'qan 'on the face' haaq 'hand' 'n shoq 'shoes' a'qo puut'a 'feet,' either an interchange of f and p, or related to Dutch puuten, paws; in Zeeland (puur-ton puu-tas) are hands, and in Leeuwarden, in children's language, both hands and feet are called (puur-tan, puu-taks) or (portan, poertaks); compare the English nursery term, 'little patches'. 23 en fet käuf. — [This specimen contains only 23 verses.]

XVI. NEDERLAND, in English THE NETHERLANDS or kingdom of HOLLAND. I. 265. [Winkler prefers calling the present kingdom of Holland, the North Netherlands, and the kingdom of Belgium, the South Netherlands. This is chiefly because the whole language is Low German. See No. XXVIII.]

XVII. LIMBURG, North-Netherlandish or Dutch portion. I. 269.

51. Maastricht, town (50°n51, 6e42). I. 272.

11 dâa blahas ins na maan, deee nat bthi zoeccens. 12 an duu verdé'l-êden or za ghoort o'ndar z'n bthi zoeccens. 15 em de verkas to hweez'a. 18 va'var, ik hoeb teeq'ho ekhk zbhur ghazo-nilgeñt. 22 bríeq se'sfans ['fast,' a Flemish word] éin van de bèsta klié'ar on doot-st-am aan; ghem-on na riqk aan z'n vi'qer en doot m shooren [sjoen] aan z'n vœet. 23 't veete kaaf. 24 bhant deo zoon van mikh bhaas duut an nuu is er hbeer ghavoroda. 25 den abbtsta zoon bhaar op-t feld, an bhii or tære'k kaam, on al kort bo'i z'n huus bhaar, hyy'rdan or daa zi'qo on dânsa. 27 oor broor. 29 em m'n vreën ins ['once'] to trakteet's ['treat']. 31 hyyr ins nêi, joq, dikh bi a'ldtid bo'i mikh.

52. Sittard, town (51 n 0, 6 e 52). I. 277. 11 na minshe hêt tibhe zoeccen. 12 on hêe vorede-lêden oqar hœcoen-t ghûot. 15 om de verkas to ñoee've ['he'd,' (n) lost, (d) changed to (z)]. 18 va'var, ik noeb ghazun'niqht, teeq'heân ok. 22 biqk nuu rektu nuu gi' gloh ['good,' W.] kleer an doogh za-am aan, an giheef ñoecem na riqk aan ziin enj en shimân aan dà vœoot. 23 't vit käuf. 24 bhent mi'naa zoon bhaar doot, en za hœcoen'tm bheer ghéfu'naas. 25 an den hântsta zoon dëe bhaar in -t feldj, on bhii er eëvesh [Dutch 'homecomings, homewards'] koom, duu hœcoen-tân hœe-t zi'qan en-t dânsa. 27 dîi brour. 29 omdat ik mit miin fœenjy okkh ins da gîhekk [Dutch get, German geck, English gawk], here for 'mad fun'], koos af'gheëva. 31 kindj, duu bis a'ldtid bii mikh. — [The Limburgers pronounce g = (gh) in Dutch as (ghj) or nearly (z), and also palatalise a, n, and change st, sl, sn, into (shj, shl, sn). Possibly the (di) may become (dzhi).]

53. Roermond, town (51 n 12, 6 e 0). I. 280. 11 e'tna zee'karo mins had tibhe zoeccen. 12 on hêe dêl'da hœcoer -t ghool. 16 om de verkas to hweez'a. 18 va'var, igh hoeb zenañ ghâdaan teeq'heân oegh. 22 biqk var' t bel'sta kleed hii, on doot t ham aan, on gheft e'nman riqk aan ziin handj en skhoon aan de vœoot. 23 't vêt kalf. 24 bhant deeq'zæ mi'ne zoon bhaas doot, on is tære'k ghavoroda. 25 an zi'net a'ldståna zoon bhas-in-t veldj,
11 'na mins na thhii' zeecen. 12 an he verdei'yden zi ghood o'gar ein. 15 om ver'raan to heed'van. 18 vaar'ar, [formerly (tanta) i]k ik heb zeeci ghe'daan teeg'ha cekh. 22 laup't mar ghou ['quickly'] je be'sta kle'er haal'en, en dootj za-n-oem aan: dootj eem ei'nan riik in zin viqar en shoorn aan zin voec. 23 net vet kaaf. 24 bhaht de zoon dek ik mendjen ['minded, thought'] det doo't bhas, es bhrom vonjen. 25 zi'i'en aad'ste zoon bhaas op-t veldj, bhiil zee'die vor ['homeswards'] khaam, en doon'dar bi't huus kwaam, heed'rdj-an-er det binnan-t speel ghieq ['heard that within play was going on']. 27 aoe broor. 29 om ens met mijn vrinj keremis ['Christmas,' feasting] te heed'van ['hold']. 31 joq, duu best a'ltiid bi mikh.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 17 zeeft sagt ['but 12 sagt (zaght)']. 18 zeggheen sagen. 19 miit 'mehr.' 20 kompa'si ['compassion, used also in Belgium and Zeeland, where medelijden is as unknown as kompassi is in northern Netherlands.]

XVIII. Noord-Brabant, in English Dutch Brabant. I. 294. [Closely related to No. XXX. 152, etc.]

57. Helmond, town (51 n 28, 5 e 39).

11 ana mens naa thhii' veens. 12 an tuu niil za va'dor daar'diq ['dealing,' dividing]. 15 dii ma'kto n'm vee'tsansyj. 18 vaar'ar, 'k heb't n'eve'ggho ghaadden [German tuch habe neben gathan, I have done besides—what is right, i.e. wrong, a euphemism] t'ghe'a du. 22 ghaa ghau ['go quickly'] in heis on vaat 't skhaan'tso joy'sta, det i-t aacndy ['on-do, done'] an skhuun an z'n vos'at: en hafi deem-an anan riik an z'n hand. 23 't vat kalfe. 24 bhaht mene yöja hieer bhaar zooveec'el as daad en nau heb k'm bhore'm [Dutch wederom, again]. 25 en zonan aar'tsta yöja bhaas op-t veld, a as i tois [(toacios] to the house) khhamp, haa'st'ar'an i-t z'ioq en-t daans. 27 aoe bloorj. 29 dor ik m'n ka'ma'al$a'to op kos trak'tce'. 31 mano yöja, aub ik e'val al za le'e voii'jaer, aub was ik heb is e'val ook t-aan.

58. Sambeek, village in the north-east part of North Brabant, the
so-called Land of Kuik (51n37, 5e68). I. 299.

11 dar bhas-as ['was once,' (os) is the remains of eens] 'n mins dii tbhee zoons haj. 12 an de sawa'dar dét-l'da z'n ghoud en ghafa'-m' ziin persi. 15 om de veerkes to noo'een. 18 vaar'or, 'k-her bi'ter ghazœndight teec'ghan ou. 22 haal-s gau ['quickly'] ma zo-ndaghsa ['Sunday's'] spær-en yyt de kiis en trek'-m dii-s an, en duu-m 'een riék an ziiin hant en skhyun en do vytt. 23 't ve-'t kalf. 24 bhaant noo'een miirna zoon bhas doot, on ii is bher ghav'onda. 25 en de áura-zoon bhas in-t veld, maaaar tuu in kort bôi 'gyys kwam, noo'erda h-t ghâriq on ghédaans. 27 uu bryyr. 29 om ris ['once,' apparently daer-ensen, German darein'] vroolik met de vrynda to bhee'nda. 31 nooer ez rjuq, jôi bint en blesfit ait'id bo'i mee.


11 o'na mins na tbhee zoons. 12 an de vaa'dar dét-l'da mee o'lo ['con- traction of Dutch huniden, 'them'] af. 15 op de verkes to paas ['attend'] t. 18 vaa'or, 'k mee-t'te noo'ee ghôdaan 'n 'k bin una sle-khtes mins. 22 laq ma do beesta keel [Dutch lied, a peculiar fock worn by the Brabanters] on laat i'm an'ski'ta on duu-m 'na riq aan zaan haad on sknuu-aan aan de vuurta. 23 't ghame'sto kalif. 24 bhaant duu zoon bhasar doód, on ii is oovanda. 25 on d'un 'urdsta zeecon bhaar op d'n akar, on kwamp op haris eaan, on noo'erd-aait ['somewhat'] af 'nuu-tar se-trêdâ. 't was jolly!'] 27 jô bruurar. 29 om to varteeró. 31 joqk, ghoo zoit ait'id bo'i mee.

60. Risbergen, village (51n31, 4 e 41). I. 306.

11 no zec'koro meens haaj tbhee zec'oon. 12 an de vaa'dor ghâf aann a'sebâa bhatar ouw-khâam. 15 daar mos i de veyorka hyy'a. 18 vaa'dor, 'k heb misdaan 'tèeghó hou. 22 haal de beesta kleer on shkhiit za'm aane, on duut- 'm ane riq aan zana vîqer en skhuun aän z'n uut'ta. 23 't meirskalf. 24 bhaant duu zoon bhas doód, en is bher ghovóna. 25 den ou'dstan zoecon bhaar in-t veld, en tean i op de bher ['whart', barn, home- stead] kkhâm, nooordan in dat-ar ghos- spoeld en ghedaanst bhuir. 27 zoé'lian

[=Dutch jelledeor or jeunieder for uilder, your] bryyr. 29 om mee ma kama- ra'do deegh to maak're. 31 jo'qa, ghoo zoit ait'i bai' mee.


11 ins bhas-tar is ['once was there once'] na miînshk dii-dar ghoud bo'i kост, en dii na tbhee zec'oons. 12 en i deel'da aan iilk zon paart. 15 om veerkes to hyy'ya. 18 oo vaa'dar! ik vyyl in man maart da-k groo'ta zynu gadaan nèb. 22 ghaa'da ghoo is ['once'] set'ses ['quickly'] -t beesta stôk kleer yyt de kaast haal's an en na-to -m aan'ski'hita, on stekt en moo'jo ['beautiful'] riq aan zana vîqar: briq dan medze'-na ['at once'] 'n paar skhuun mee, da ['a (quite short, "as if the consonant were to follow")'] ni i dei'ler beravuu-ts uuut'n to ghään. 23 da ghâmi'sta ka'lef. 24 nòn-k maa' Jo'qa, dîk'v yyr doò'd uii, bher leere-vándigh [the Germans accentuate leben-deg] boi'miir magh ziin en dîk' bheer ghâv'onda heec. 2s s-bhoo'laas da da a'sas vée'ghavála bhas, bhas dan audsta zeecon op-t veld. tuu i on'derdenh bher naa haris'ks khâamp en dikhtë bo'i bogo'st te ko'ma, doikt i; bha's da nòu voor-n a'lrorm da za in haris maak'ko. 27 z'n jo'qaro bryyr. 29 daar -k ma kamaraa't's is ['once'] op trakteer'a kos. 31 zoé'da ghoo'dan niu al'ta'i bai' mee?

XIX. GELDERLAND. I. 317.

62. Betuwe district, between Arnhem, town (51 n 58, 5 e 53), and Nijmegen, town (51 n 51, 5 e 52). I. 318. [This may be taken as the type of the Frankish dialects in Gelderland].

11 'n zec'koro mins nadha zeecon. 12 en ni dét-l'da noorely'-t ghoud. 15 om de verkes to hyy'yaan. 18 'k bin 'n zo'ndaar vooer ou. 19 vaa'dar. 22 breqt 'k ka'stantyevygh ['the chest-dress', stored clothes] vortbekheg niir, on trekt 't hoom aan en stekt-en-on riq aan do viqar, en duut-en skhuun aan de vyt. 23 't ve-'t kalf. 24 bhaant duu zoon, miin zoecon, bhs dood, e ii is bher'ghav'ondan. 26 an ziin ou'dsta zoecon bhas hin-t veld, an tuun in naar 'gyys ghuun, on dikhtë bo'i de ho'stee kkhîm, tuun noo'erd'-ii-t gheshîq on ghedámn. 27 uu bryyr. 29 da-k ook is ['once'] mit miin kamaraad'ks vroolik zin. 31 kiind, ghôl bint ait'id bo'i mea.
63. Tielerwaard, district
(51 n 35, 6 e 27). I. 322.
11 'm mins na tbhee zooms. 12 en i deel'de hoeli'-t ghud. 15 om de vete's te hyy'ja. 18 vaadar! 'k hee kbbaad ['sin'] ghadaan teeghan ou. 22 breand gheeli'-t besta kle'de en trekt-at-am aan, en gheef't-am -onan riq aan do naand, en skhuun aan do vuuta. 23 't vete kalft. 24 bhant deenez m'n zoon bhas dood, ei ii is ghavonda. 25 en z'n ou'dste zoon bhas in-t veld, en tuu iit he'es kbbam, haa'er'dan ii-t si'qan en-t myyyiz-i. 27 uu bhryar. 29 da-k mee m'n vri'nda kon vree'lik bhee'a. 31 ko'ind! ghi' zi'it a'tlot'di boi me'i.

64. Uddel, village (52 n 16, 5 e 46). I. 326.
11 'n mins aar'gheens nad tbhee joo'qans. 12 en zii doq-t ['did it']. 15 om de kwee'on te hyy'ja. 18 vaajar, ek nbe-t nii zoo best amaak't met juu. 22 kriigh-t beets ghaar'i [or (gharei), clothing, in Friesland 'gereid is 'horse-cloth'] yit do kast-o, en trekt-at-am an, en steekt-on riqo an z'n virger an laat ni skhuun-en an duun. 23 't vete's van de kyy'skas [or (kyy'shas), 'calf,' occurs in other Gelder dialects, but Winkler does not know its origin.] dii bhe bheet'or ['water,' that is, fatten, eat and drink]. 24 bhant di'sa miin zoos bhas yit do tiid, ani is bheer akeman. 25 tuu do ol'dste joq bi nh kbbam, haa'er'da nii-n ghaziq an ghaa'biir as van-an he'e'lo vizii't. 27 un brocer. 29 dat ik-s met-'t joqo volk skhik ['jollification' same as Dutch ge'k] sol na'ben. 31 joqoan, ji bheee'a a'latidi bi miin.

11 'n man dii tbhee joo'qes nad. 12 en z'n vaa'ar dii dee hath ii-m vreecogh en ghaf 'm z'n part. 15 om op de koo'on te pas'en. 18 vaa'ar,'k hee nii ghud ou'daan teeghan nuu. 22 breq zoo ghoo a jo kynt ['as fast as ye can'] da besta kleer biriien en trekt'm dian, en duut-am-an riq an z'n viqer en trekt'm ook shuurn [or (shuurn)] an. 23 't fiir'sta vete'alf. 24 bhant dees'zo joq van mee bhas dood, en nuu nee bheee'm bheer tera'g oveend. 25 de ou'sta joq, dii bheer op-t land, en tuu dii bhee en ney's an ghoo, en kort bi nh kbbam, tuu haa'er'da ii zo zi'qen an daans. 27 z'n brocer, 29 da-k ook ees met de aat'eo joo'qes pleziir' kost maakan. 31 me joq, ji bii'n eal'tit bi m'n.

66. Scherpenzeel, village (52 n 4, 6 e 30). I. 333.
11 dar bhas as 'n man dii tbhee zuuns had. 12 on das ghaf z'n vaa'ard-on. 15 om de varte's te hoo'z'en. 18 vaadar, 'k het zoan oda'an en juu hee-k sleekh bossan'deld. 22 ghaat daad'dilk ['quickly'] do beste kleer haa'len en trekt-em dii an, en diu-en riq an z'n naand en gheef'am shuun [(or (siuun)] an z'n vuuta. 23 't am'e'sta kalft. 24 bhant m'n zuun bhas dood, en ii is bheero'om ovondo. 25 en z'n ou'sta zuun bhas op-t laand, en tuu dii dikht bi nh kbbam, noo'erdan ii za'qen en daansan. 27 zo brocer. 29 om-s vreec'lik to bhaar'zon mit m'n kammera'as. 31 kiind! ji bint a'ttoos boi me'i.

67. Dinxperlo, village (51 n 52, 6 e 30). I. 337.
11 iir'mes nad tbhee zooms. 12 en de vaa'ar der'de eerc't ghuid. 15 om de varte's te hyy'jaan. 18 vaadar, ik neb ooz'ndighd teeghan ou. 22 naalt 't besta kleed en trekt-at-am an, en dood-am-on a rik' en da hand, en skhuu-na en de vyy'la. 23 't vete' kalft. 24 bhant di'so miin zaan bhas dood, en s'oo'nonan. 25 en zii oold'tan jooq' bhas op-t land, a too a kort bi' [like a short Dutch it followed by j, possibly (be')j], which is on the way to (bei'j)] 't nh kbbam, haa'er'da mii-t zi'qen an-t daansan. 27 oo bry'r. 29 om met miin'vree'nd vreec'lik to bhee'zan. 31 kind, bi bont a'l'tiidi bi mi.

68. Varsevelde, village (51 n 57, 6 e 28). I. 340.
11 iimes na'de tbhee zooms [a brighter (that is, open) sound than o in French sommet]. 12 en zii der'den eerc't ghuid. 15 om de vartens te hyy'jadan. 18 vaadar! ik neb ooz'ndighd teeghan ou. 22 kriigh do besta kleer ro'ir en duut za-am an, stek-on rik an zi'rn'an maand en skhuu na en de vyy'laa. 23 't me'sta kalft. 24 bhant dir'sen mi'non zaan bhas dood, o ii is bheer ovo'nonan. 25 en zii'nan oold'tan jooq' bhas op-t land, an es eek kort bi nhk kbbam, noo'erdan eet'zi'qen en-t daansan. 27 oo bry'r. 29 om mit miin'vree eek vreec'lik to bhee'z'. 31 kind, bi bont a'l'tiidi bi mi.
69. Winterswijk, small town (51 n 58, 6 e 43). I. 342.

11 daar bhas ens-onna man, dii thbi zøens na-da. 12 na'ghi ghiqk daaq:er na toot da di'i-lqo aa'vaar. 15 eem da varkens ta hyye-aa. 18 vaa'dar, ik heb ma'i bazøen-dighd teq:ghan ou [ou] is said to be obscure, that is, close]. 22 Haa'l-at on na' pak kleer-o, on trekt 'm dat an; duut-onna go-ldan riqk an dan vi'gar an skhuu'na an da vy'te. 23 't mwar-ta kalf. 24 omda't 'k mi'na ze'n'a heer akre'ghan he-ba. 25 dan o':ldan ze'n'a khbham teq:ghan don aa'vond van-t land, an hoe'er-da, duu a nogh bhid van huus bhas, al dat ghaza'qk on ghæpe'y'ol. 27 zin broe'er. 29 eem mi'na vrenda ta trakte'er-on. 31 miin kind, duu boe'to tokh a'liiid boi mi'i.

70. Zutphen, town (52 n 8, 6 e 12). I. 346.

11 een-mard nad thbee zøeens. 12 on thee de'el'dan eer-t ghued. 15 eem da varkens to hoe'er-aa. 18 vaa'dar, ik heb ghazøen-dighd teq:ghan uu. 22 breetiui voor'c 't besta kleer on doot-at-on an, an gheef't-on-aa riq an zii hand an skhoq:an an da vor'tan. 23 't ghame'sta kalf. 24 bhant di'or miin zøezen bhas dood, on is ghavo:ndan. 25 on zii o':ldan zøezen bhas in-t veld, on teo ee khbham an-t hyys naa-dar'dan, hoe'er'don eer-t ghaz:q'q on-t ghoda'ns. 27 uu broe'er. 29 dat ik met mijn vriinden vrae'liik mokk bhe:er-zo'en. 31 kind, i bint a'liiid bi mi'in.

XX. Utrecht. I. 349.

71. Soest, village (52 n 10, 6 e 18). I. 350.

11 'n neekar mins nad thbee zuu'na. 12 on mi de'el'do nem't ghued. 15 om de varkses ta bhie'tan. 18 vaa'dar, ik heb azøen-dighd teq:ghan joo. 22 briq: de besta kleer:ra niir on duu heem dii aan, on gheef't '-riq aan z'n hand an skhuu'na aan da be'er-na. 23 't ghe'mster half. 24 bhant deee' ze miq zuun bhas dood, on is ovo:qan. 25 z'n ouste zuun bhas in-t veld, on tuu dii khbham on dikht bo'i-t nuus kham, noordo' ni'i -e ghe'ziq an-t ghora'a's ['noise']. 27 juu broe'er. 29 dat ik mit miq vrienden skik kon nee'ban. 31 kiqd! i bint a'liiid bi miq ['the (i) in (miq) is somewhat longer than the usual short (i), so that the word sounds between (miin) and (miq)]; this pronunciation of (n) as (q) was usual in peasant speech of the xvith and xviiith centuries in other Dutch dialects, especially in Holland. It is still found in some dialects on the lower Rhine.)'

72. Utrecht, city (52 n 5, 6 e 7). I. 353. [Older dialect, formerly common in Utrecht, and still spoken by older small-tradesmen or workmen].

11 dar bhas is 'n man'en dii ad thbee zøeens [ma'n], "clear, or open short a rather lengthened, followed by obscure e," (ad), "the h very weakly aspirated, and sometimes quite mute""). 12 in i di'lda za de buul ['household stuff, all property']. 15 om de ver'kkes ta hoe'er-aa. 18 vaa'dar, ik heb ghaza'q-dighd teq:ghan joo. 22 briq de besta kleer'a, in trek za-m an, in ghif-on-aa riq an z'n ha'nd in skhuu'na an z'n be'ena. 24 bhant ma zøezen bhas daad, in iis is hheiro'm ghavo'ndan. 25 maar z'n ouste zøezen bhas op-t la'nd, in tuu dii dikh bo'i-t hoop kbia'm tuu haar'ond ii-t ghaza'q in da da'ns. 27 ja bruur. 29 om mi'ma [for (mit ma), that is, (met mi'i)] ka'mara's pret ['feast'] ta haa'k. 31 jo'qo, zii bint a'liiid boi mee.

73. Utrecht city, I. 357. [See specimen 72. This is the dialect of the lowest classes heard in low pot-houses in the back slums. As this does not follow the verses enough to give parallels, and is curious, I transcribe the whole.]

dar bhas ces ['once'] 'n man, dii nad thbee z'y'ins. da joo'qsta zee ['said'] : vaa'dar, gee ma m'n oer'fanis ['inheritance,' Dutch erfenis], dha ghau ik da ba'ha ['wide'] bhoew'rd in. z'n vaa'dar deet-ee ['did it']; in ['and'] 'n hortsi ['short-time'] dar an snee't rokhi yt 't the young one cut out, went off'. MAAR ['but'] al hee'l ghau ['all whole quickly'] bhas al z'n li'va ghel'etsi ['money'] naa da maan ['after the mouth, swallowed up']. da ghruoo'sta porsii ['portion'] na'da da mooi' mesis ['the pretty misses, girls'] ma aig'huvo'ka ['stolen from him'], bhant dar ghooq dii reiidytt ['constantly'] naa tuu. noo dexe dii z'n bes ['his best'] om hi'bhers ['somewhere'] an-t bheerk ta ko'ma, maar i kon niir'bhers tore'kh ['to-right'], he could succeed
nowhere] omdat i dar zoo ro'tigh yyr'tzag! ['because he looked so nasty']. ho'i liip lans da hyy'za ['he ran along the houses'] ta skhooi'sa om 'n sner'tai braad ['to beg for a slice of bread']. op-t la'qas les ['at last'] khamm dii bai'i imand, dii -m naa-t land lii khaan ['let go'] om do ver'kes ta hyy'za, da fond in 'n arch [Dutch erg], 'terrible'] lez ['bad'] bherc in i doki ['thought'] in z'n ai'ghes : bhaa bin ik tuu gheko'ma ? ik zee maar bheer naa m'n vaa'dar tuu khaan, in vaa'gho oft ii m'n as knekh bhil ghbabry'ka, bhaant noo le'i tokh er'amai.

zoo gheee'd, zoo gha'daa'n ; maar tuu z'n vaa'dar-m an zagh ko'ma, liipt i ai'ghes naa-m tuu in hyy'lida van blo's'kap. ho'i had nit ['exactly'] 'n ka'laaf vet ge'mes, in daa mos voort ghesla'kh bho're daa in dhor bhir 'k hkrhoote fees ['a great feast'] gheeviir'd ['celebrated,' German, gefeiert]. tuu da ou'sta zyy'n na hyy's kham, dokht i : bhat zou dar tokh ta duun bheer'a da zaa z'n pret he'bo, in i vaa'ghada't an 'n kne'kh, an dii varte'lida-m 't hee'lo ghava'. tuu bhiird i erkh boos ['angry'], bhaant i bhas 'n re'khto lez 'jas ['bad one'] z'n vaa'dar ghqo naa-m tuu, in zee : ro'khi, kom noo tokh bi'na, bhaant ja bruur, dii bhekhe khabbree is ['who has been away'] ; is bheer tero'k khako'ma ! maar i bhoo nii, in i zee : nee'! ik ob a'les'hi kuud ['good, well'] op'ghepa's ['given heed'], in zee heb nogh nooit 'n geer'tsi ['little goat'] voor mee ghesla'kh, maar voor heem, dii al z'n leev'a nit khadoo'kh neit, in dill al oo gheeld bai'i da nuu'ran ghabar'kh neit, voor zoo-'n ro'tzaghe maak i zoo 'n start'i ['for such a nasty fellow you make such state'].

XXI. OVERIJSSEL. I. 360.

74. Oldenzaal, city (52 n 19, 6 e 66). I. 362.

11 ee'ne ha'da thbee zooens. 12 en ha de'e'da eer 't ghood. 15 en da zhibriha ta hoo'erdan. 18 va'adar, ik he'bo zood a'daa'n teeg'hban ou. 22 bre'qat voort 't ki'sten'tyyghe an trekte-stam an, en doot-em-on ru'ik an da hand on skhoo an da vee'ce'ta. 23 't ghama'sta kalf. 24 bhaant dor'san miinan zo'on bhas dood, en hee is bheer ovendan. 25 en zii'n zoon o'leesn zo'on bhas in-t veld, en doo a bi' bi't huu's kham, hord-o't zi'qen an dav'nsan. 27 ou broecer. 29 om met mi'n na vrond' te he'boan. 31 kind, don bis a'loos bij mis.

75. Deventer, town (52 n 19, 6 e 9). I. 374.

11 zee'kar iimand had thbee zoens. 12 en hee de'e'da-t. 15 en do va'rken op ta pa's'en. 18 va'adar, ik heb aze'-ndighth vozer uu. 22 breqt daa'delik ['workfully,' immediately'] 't besto kleed miir an doo'm dat an, an doo'em-on riq an da hand on skhoo'an an do voor'tan. 23 't gheemesta kalf. 24 bhaant deee'ze joq bhas dood, en is oov'en dan. 25 en zii'n o'leesn zo'n bhas in-t veld, en tuun dez khmaap en-t hyy's nai-dardan, hee'erd'en-ee-t ghzaar an-t ghdaans. 27 uu broece. 29 om miin met miin vri'nden -s ['once'] vroe'erlik to maaa'ken. 31 kind, i bint a'tiijd bij mi.

76. Zwolle, city (52n31, 6e5). I. 378.

11 dar bhas-as an ['was once a'] man dii tbhii zoens ad ['(a) is the shortest possible long a, not the short a']o Dutch ladder, but nearly so']. 12 en da va'dar de'e'da zii'n ghuid in tbhii'nn. 15 om op de vee'kes ta paa's'en. 18 va'adar, k-b-eet el, eel slekht am'kta. 22 alt ['fetch'] 't besto kleed op an duut-stam an, steek't-an riqk en zii'n viqer an trekte-stam skuun'an. 23 't vet-o kalf. 24 bhaant miin zo'on bhas dood, en is oov'en dan. 25 da ho'ldsta [(n) prefixed, but (n) omitted in (ad, eel, yys)] zo'n bhas naa by'tan, a tuu a bheer dikht bai'i-t yys khaman, ovend dan ee-t zi'qen on dav'nsan. 27 uu broece. 29 om-s-an feesi'n te oolden mit miin vri'nden. 31 kind, i bint a'tiijd bij mis.

77. Zwartsluis, town (52 n 38, 6 e 12). I. 381.

11 en va'dar ad tbhii zoens. 12 en mi' die'i'da oer 't ghuut. 15 en do va'rken ta be'er'dan. 18 va'adar, ik heb aze'-ndighth toeg'han uu. 22 bre'qat 't besto kleed iir, an duut 't oen an gheef oem 'n riqk an zii'n aant ['hand'] on skhuu'an an da voo'ten. 23 't gheemesta kalf. 24 bhaant miin zo'on bhas doot, an is bheer ov'en dan. 25 en zii'n o'leesn zo'on bhas in-t laant an as i drighs bi-t yys khaman, ov'erdai ia 't ghazaar'qk en-t ghara'a's. 27 uur byr'ryr. 29 da -k iis mit miin vre'nden vroe'erlik kon bheer'zon. 31 kiint, i bin a'tiijd bij mis.
XXII. Drenthe. I. 387.

78. Meppel, town (52 n 42, 6 e 11). I. 388.

11 na zee'ker mens'ma'da thbhei zoeens. 12 en na'oi ghaaf-t aem. 15 en daar maes na'j on da zbhii'nan pas'an. 18 vee'se'dar, ik neb'ba ghroot kbhaad ada'an. 22 na'el ghou' n zændaspak ['the Sunday's pack' of clothes] en laat 'm dat an'ntre'ken, en gheef 'm ook 'n riqk an zii vin'qer en no'te skhoo-.nan. 23 't diikst'a kalf. 24 bhan't ik mee'ende dat miin zoe- na dood bhas, en-k neb 'm beheer aev'-nandan. 27 ziin broe'or. 29 am 's pleizii't te maa'kon met miin kamere-aat's. 31 miin kiind! in koent a-ltiid boi ma'oi blii'ven.

79. Zweeloo, village (52 n 48, 6 e 44). I. 391.

11 daar bhas iis 'n maes'm an die ha'da thbii zoeens. 12 en de vaa'daar ghaaf kob ziin part vaa -t ghuu'd. 15 om zo zbhii'nan te byy'on. 18 'k hee'ba zændighed vec'er da'i. 22 krui'go maji na'digh 't be'ste ghuud' iiis uut 't karmet [cabinet], en trek 't koem an, en gheef om-an riqk an zii vin'qer en skhuun an de vuurtan. 23 't vee'ta kalf. 24 bhan't miin zoeen bhas dood, en is bhee've'nan. 25 en zii o'ldste zoeen bhas krek [direct, correctly, exactly] in-t veld, en duu nii diikt boi'nuus kbbham, duu nooe'nde xii dat zo zoe'gon en daarnston. 27 diin broe'or. 29 da -k er met miin klas'en iis pleizii't van keen maa-kon. 31 dou ziis jaa a-ltiid boi ma'oi.

XXIII. Groningen. I. 396.

80. Sollingen, village (52 n 57, 7 e 10). I. 400.

11 dor bhas eis 'n man an do'i nar thbhei zoeens. 12 en na'dal'-do' heez -t ghout t'ou. 15 ba'ar ko op de zbhii'nan pas'an skol. 18 'k kan-t nikh vee'on juu verat'na'bhoondan. 22 ghlaat hen en haal't 't alar'besta kla'id, en dou nom dat an; dou nom ook-an riq an da vin'qer en see'evals [boots] an da vout'ta [with these 'boots on the feet' compare the 'shoes on the legs,' frequent hereafter, see spec. 101]. 23 't a'lardi-kste kalf. 24 'k do'khdo nikh a'nders as dat ho dood bhas, on syy'oi leeft tokh nogh no'i is fot bheest en is ter niiu bheer. 25 on de o'lasto zoeen bhas op-t land, en dou do'i bi nuus kbbham, nooo'ra'da noi daar zir'gan en dan'son. 27 juun bre'eir [compare (re'ip) called (vroe'igh) asked]. 29 dat 'k bhath pleizii't maa'kon kon. 31 miin joq! dou bist jaa a-ltiid bi mi.

81. Oldambt, district, containing Winchoten, town (53 n 8, 6 e 57). I. 404.

11 or bhas is 'n vaa'dar de'i thbhei zoeens na. 12 en o'i moouk dat elk bii zii part kbbham. 15 om op zii zbhii'nan to pas'en. 18 'k nee' zændighed teeg'han juu. 22 gaat'i hen en trekt hom 't ne're zændagspak an, en dou't in hom en riq an zii vin'qer, en skoorn an de vuurt'an. 23 't vet'a kalf. 24 bhan't d'ree miin zoeen bhas stoo'vern, en is bhee'er te re'khte. 25 en zii o'ldste zoeen bhas op't land, en daa de'i hen ghoq an sik'kom bii ['close by,' Winkler has not been able to trace this word] nuus bhas noo-e'ra'da o'i spat'ow'en en dan'son. 27 diin broe'or. 29 da -k miit miin kamaa'ten eis blii'de kon maa'kon. 31 miin joq, duu bist dagh en deecer ['day and night,' local] bii miir.

[Winkler remarks that most writers in this and the Groningen dialect write y = (o'i) in many words which have ie = (ii) or ee = (ee, ee) in Dutch. In his opinion the real sound is (e'i), not (o'i), nor (ai). But where ei is an original diphthong, as in ei, meid, leiden = egg, maid, suffer, the sound approaches (ai), and cannot be considered anything else in some mouths. Such remarks are important in respect to the confusion of writing ei, ai, in Early English and modern High German. In these transcriptions my (e'i, ai, o'i, wi) indicate Winkler's ei, ai, ei, wi.]

82. Woltersum, village (53n16, 6 e 44). I. 408.

11 dar bhas ais 'n mensk da'i nar thbhe'i zoeens [(ais, da'i, thbo'i), specially identified with German as and nearly Dutch y']. 12 in hii daal'-do' heez -t ghoul. 15 om zbhii'nan te bhaiv'd. 18 voo-ar, ik nee' zændighed vee'er zun. 22 briet ghau' t be'ste kla'id, in dou't 't nom an; en gheef 't riq an zii hand, in skoornen om a' vout'tan. 23 't vet kalf. 24 bhan't di'za zoeen van miin bhas dood, en is vor'emon. 26 in zii o'lasto zoeen bhas iin-t land, in dou o dikht bi nuus kbbham, nooe'ra'de cyc myzy'iik in dan'son. 27 juun bre'eir [also (vroe'igh), but (rapi)]. 29 da -k
mit miin vroe'ndan bliid ['blithe'] bheer'zon kon. 31 kind, duu bi'zo a'ltiid bi mi.

83. Ulrum, village (53 n 22, 6 e 19). I. 411.

11 daraas bhas rai's ['once'] 'n man dai tbaai zoecn naar. 12 on hii dai'dla-t ghoud teeskhan ['kh'] neeer. 15 om op zo'zhi'nan te pada'san. 18 vaa'dar, ik heb mi bezoe'ningh an joo. 22 briq't o'vonsaans ['at the hour,' at once] 't a'lorb'sta pak kla'fer neeer, en trekt 't hom an, en daalta hom 'n riq om vi'gor, en skou'ran om voo'ton. 23 't veto kalf. 24 om di'za miin zoecen bhas dood, an is bheer'vnoon. 25 in ziin o'lsta zoecn bhas op-t laand, en dou deii dikht bi nuus kbbham, nee'arda neeer ziqan en daa'ran. 27 joon bro'er [but (vroog) asked]. 29 om mit miin vroe'nden rai's plezi'ar te maa'kan. 31 kind, dou bi'zo ja a'ltiid bii mi.

84. Groningen, city (53 n 13, 6 e 34). I. 415.

11 dar bhas rai's 'n man dar tbeheii zoecn hadd. 12 en dou deii'dla no'i neeer uut hait za krii'ghen ko'n'an. 15 om op da zbi'ihrnan te pada'san. 18 vaa'dar, ik heb zo'endigh teeg'han jou. 22 breq hiiir vort 't besto kleid en trek 't hom an, en dou-am-an riq om ziiin vi'gor, en skhoo'ran en ziiin voo'tan. 23 't veto kalf. 24 bhant dlee za zoecen van maa'i bhas zoo ghoud as dood, an is bheer'voonan. 25 da o'lsta zoecen bhas jyst op-t veld a dou a dikht ba'i nuus kbbham, nee'arda no'i da myxzi'k, an hoo' za daa'rsan in da riig'ba ['rows,' as in country dances]. 26 joo bro'er [also (vroip), (vroigh), called, asked]. 29 om met miin vroe'ndan bhat plezi'ar [printed plezeir, I have presumed by mistake for plezeir] ta maa'kan. 31 joo'ga, dou bist ja a'ltiid bo'i no'i. [Winkler remarks that t, v, s, j are constantly pronounced by the small tradesmen as (d, b, z, v, j).]

85. Den Ham, village (53n17, 6 e 27). I. 419.

11 zec'er man nad tbihei ['not (bi), rather (be)] zoecn. 12 in no'i vor-deii'dla-t ghoud o'ndar neeer. 15 om op do zbi'hin na te pada'san. 18 vaa'dar, ik heb zo'endigh teeg'haan jou. 22 breq hiiir vot ['forth'] 't besto kleid, in trek hoom dat an, in duu-am-an riq an ziiin hand, in skhou'ran an ziiin voo'tan. 23 't veto kalf. 24 bhant di'sa zoecen van mii bhas dood, o is bheer'voonan. 25 maara o'o'lsta zoecn bhas op-t land, in dou deii bo'i nuus kbbham, nee'arda o-t ziqan in daa'ranen. 27 joo bro'er [(vroip) called, (vroog) asked]. 29 dat 'k ook rai's met miin vroe'nden plezi'ar maa'kan kon. 31 joo'ga, dou bi'zo a'ltiid bi mi.

86. Grijpskerk, village (53n16, 6 e 17). I. 421.

11 'n man nad tbihei joo'ga. 12 en no'i partihees 't ghuud. 15 met de zbi'ihrnan. 18 vaa'dar, ik heb var-kee'rd handeld teeg'han soud. 22 briq hiiir daad'elk do besta kleeran, in laat-am dii a'mtre'ken, in ghee'nto riq om ziiin vi'gor, in sknu'ran an e voo'tan. 23 't besta kalf. 24 bhant miin joo'ga bhas dood, in noo 'k hiiir bheer'voonan. 25 in ziin o'lsta zoecn bhas naar 't land, in duu dii bhecero'k kbbham, in dikht bo'i nuus bhas, hoo'arda no'i-t ala'tm. 27 jou bruur [(riip) called, (vroog) asked]. 29 om mit miin vroe'ndan-s plezi'tir te maa'kan. 31 miin joo'ga, joo'ga bin ja a'ltiid bo'i no'i.

XXIV. FRIESLAND. I. 424.

a. FRIESIAN IN FRIESLAND. I. 428.

87. Friesland, province (53n5, 5 e 50). I. 433. [The present Dialects Communis of the whole province. The spelling of the original is that of G. Colmon, and no explanation is given, being of course well known—in Friesland, as this dialect is spoken with tolerable uniformity over the whole province, except at Hindeloopen and in Schiermonnikoog. Hence my interpretation is more than usually doubtful.

—The above was written before I had had the assistance of my two authorities from Grouw (see the next specimen), but I let it stand, together with the interpretation I had given, in order to shew the difficulties I had to contend with, and the degree of approximation to correctness which my renderings may be supposed to furnish.]

11 dar wi't ['the (w) is very doubtful to me, but Winkler speaks of the Friesian w being the same as the English, and hence I have used it for this dialectus communis, but I think (bh) more probable'] 'nkær en man (minska) end da'mi't twaa so'nan. 12 en no'i di'i'dla naar'en 't ghuud. 15 om da
87*. Grouv, village (53 n 6, 5 e 50).

[Mention is made of this place in Winkler I. 428, but no specimen is given. I was fortunate enough to find two London merchants, who were born in this village, and who spoke the dialect as boys—Mr. de Fries, and Mr. van de Meulen, and they were so kind as to read me the specimen 87 separately. I made notes of their pronunciation at the time, and wrote out the following attempt to reproduce it, on the next day. But on hearing the sounds for the first time, with only one reading from each native, I have doubtless made many errors. The following will, however, probably give a sufficiently approximate representation of the real sounds. As this dialect is, of all others, most interesting in relation to our own country speech, I give the whole parable at length. The fricatives should be especially noticed, and at the same time the difficulty I felt occasionally in determining which vowel had the stress, as in English (p. 1312). The length of the vowels varied with the two authorities in several cases. The ve seems to be generally ('v), varying to (f) rather than (v), and I have written (i) throughout, following Winkler's spelling. The ve seems to be (rh), judging rather from the English of my authorities, who did not then seem to use (w) at all. But a clear (u), etc., occurs, so that there is a false appearance of (wa). The (sh, tsh, dzh) seemed to be clearly developed out of dj, tj, s, although occasionally I seemed to hear (si, ti, di). I did not attempt to distinguish (t, d) from (t, d), but I believe the dental form is correct. Where I have written (i), I did not hear a trill, but only a vocal effect. Sometimes the r was quite lost. There was no great certainty about (s, z), or about final (t, d), and the two authorities did not always agree. The g was certainly not

always (gh, gh), but was frequently

simple (g).

I adopt Mr. de Fries's pronunciation and variations from the text of Winkler's specimen 87, simply because I heard him read first; but I add any variants that I noticed in Mr. van de Meulen. F. and M. indicate my two authorities.

The following couplet I give as it was pronounced first by Mr. de Fries, and secondly by Mr. van de Meulen.

1. (bu'tor bräa en tsiiz
dar dat net see'za kæn es geen
epri'O-khë Friz.

2. bu'tor bräa en gri'na tshiiis,
dii dat net sez'æ kæn es net en
ro-khë Fris.)

I am inclined to consider the second most correct. This couplet reminded me of one I had seen cited in Mr. C. C. Robinson's writings, as current in Halifax, Yorkshire.

3. (gauid bre'd, bot'ær, en tshiiiz,
iz gauid Et-rieks en gauid Friz),

implying a felt resemblance between the pronunciations. Mr. C. C. Robinson says that (net) is used for not, and that the same fracture as (ii) is not unheard in Halifax, but is more characteristic of Leeds, where also (butær) is used. Mr. Robinson had no faith himself in the correctness of the assumption that Halifaxish is like Friesian; but it occurred to me that it would be interesting to contrast this very singular Yorkshire dialect (23b of the following classification), which has adopted the popular Friesian test as a rhyme of its own, verse by verse, with the Grouv Friesian version, which I had already obtained. Mr. Robinson was kind enough to attempt a version, which I here annex, with notes principally due to his observations. The resemblance is very far from close, but there is sufficient similarity of pronunciation to justify such a popular rhyme.

Here then follow, first, the Dialectus
Communis of Friesland in the orthography adopted by Winkler, with, on the opposite column, a verbal translation, the English words which differ from the Friesian being in Italics.

Then, also in parallel columns, come the Friesian pronunciation taken from Mr. de Fries, with the variants of Mr. van de Menlen, who agreed with the former generally, and the Halifax rendering of the English verbal translation of the Friesian by Mr. C. C. Robinson, who strove to keep to that version for the sake of comparison, as far as was consistent with not straining the dialect.

Finally, I add notes, referring verse by verse to both the Friesian and Halifax versions, giving translations or other remarks which were suggested by the text.

1. Winkler's Friesian Orthography.
11 der wier ienkear en man (minske) end dy hie twa saonnen.
12 de jungste fen dy twa sei tsjin sin heit: heit! jow my 't diel fen 't gud dat my takumt. end hy diele hiarren 't gud.

13 end net fulle dagen der nei (end en bitsje letter) forsamm'l de jungste soan alles by enoar, teach forth up reis nei en fir land end brocht der al sin gud der thruch in en oerdwealsk libben.

14 do er alles der thruch brocht hie kaem der en greate krapte aan item (hungersnreed) in dat selde land, end hy bigûn brekme to lyen.

15 end hy gung hinne end gung by ien fen de borgers fen dat land end dy stifürde him up sin land um de bargen to wiejdjen.

16 end hy woe wol jerne sin bûk fol ite mei 't bargeoer; mar nimmen jœch him dat.

17 do kaem er to himselm end hy sei: ho fulle fen m'n heitie fulk habbe oerfoelidig hiar brea end ik kum um fen hunger!

18 ik scil upstean end nei ûs heite's gean end ik scil tsjin ûs heit sidze: heit! ik hab sündige tsjin de himel end foar (tsjin) ju.

19 end nu bin ik net mear wirdig juw soan to hietten; meitsje my mar lik as ien fen juw arbeiders.

20 end hy stoe up end gung nei sin heit ta. end do er yette fir fen him of wier, seach sin heit him al, end dy waerd mei inerlike barmhertigens.

2. Verbal Translation.
11 there were one-turn a man [person], and that-one had two sons.
12 the youngest of those two said against [= towards, to] his father: father! give me the deal [=portion] of the good [=property] that to-me to-comes. and he dealt [=divided] to-them the good.
13 and not many days there after (and a bit later) collected the youngest son by one-another [=together] marched forth on journey after a far land and brought there all his good there through [brought there through =spent] in an over-luxurious living.
14 then [when] he all there through brought had, came there a great pinch on eating (hunger's-need) [=famine] in that self land, and he began breaking [=want] to suffer.
15 and he ganged (=went) hence and ganged by one of the burgheers of that land, and that-one steered [=sent] him up his land for the farrow [=swine] to feed.
16 and he would well yearningly [=willingly] his belly full eat with the farrow-fodder [=pigs' food]; but no-one gave him that.
17 then came he to himself and he said: how many of my father's folk have over-flooding [=superfluous] their bread and I come round [=die] of hunger.
18 I shall up-stand and after our father's go and I shall against our father say: father! I have sinned against the heaven and before (against) you.
19 and now be I not more worthy your son to be-hight [=be called]; make me but like as one of your work-men.
20 and he stood up and ganged after his father to, and then [=while] he yet far of him off was, saw his father him all, and that-one became with
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oandien; by rûn up him ta, foel him um sin hals end patte him.

21 end de soan sei tsjin him: heit! ik hab sündige tsjin de himel end foar ju, end ik bin net langer wîrdich juw soan to hietten.

22 de heit likwol sei tsjin sin fulk; bring forth 't beste pak klean hijr end tsjean dy oan end jow him en ring oan sin hand end skoen oan de foetten.

23 end bring 't meste keal end slacht it; lit ús ite end frolik wêse.

24 hwent disse soan fen mier wier dea end nu is or wer libben wîrden; hy wier forlern end nu is er werfûn. end hia bigûnen frolik to wîrden.

25 end sin aldste soan wier in 't field en do dy nei hûs gung end thichte by hûs kaem, hearde hy 't siüngen end 't dûnsjen.

26 end hy rûp íen fen sin heite feinten by him end frege him hwet dat to bitsiutten hie.

27 end dy sei tsjin hem: dîn broer is kund end jimme heit heith 't meste keal slacht, um 't er him sünd wer kringe heth.

28 mar hy waerd nûch end wol net in 'e hûs gean: do gung sin heit nei bûte end bea him der um.

29 by likwol jœch sin heit to 'n andert: stîch! sa fulle jierren tsienje ik ju al end ik hab nea net hwat tsjin juw sin dien end dochs habbe ju my nimmer nin bokje jown, dat ik mei min friûnden ek 'ris frolik wêse muchte.

30 mar nu disse soan fen ju kummen is, dy juw gûd mei hoeren der thruch brocht heith, nu habbe ju 't fetmeste keal for him slacht.

31 do sei de heit tsjin him: bern! du bist altid bij my end al hwet mines is, is dines ek.

32 me moast den frolik end blid wêse; hwent disse broer fen dy wier dea end hy is wer libben wîrden; end hy wier forlern end nu is er werfûn.

inward compassion on done [= attacked]; he ran him to, fell him round his neck and patted [= caressed] him.

21 and the son said against him: father! I have sinned against the heaven and before you, and I am not longer worthy your son to be-hight.

22 the father like-well said against his folk: bring forth the best pack clothes here, and tug [= draw, put] him them on, and give him a ring on his hand and shoon on the feet:

23 and bring the masted [= fatted] calf and slay it; let us eat and frolicsome [= merry] be.

24 because this son of me were dead and now is he again living become; he were lost and now is he again-found. and they began frolicsome to become.

25 and his oldest son were in the field and then [= when] that-one after house ganged, and thick [= close] by house came, heard he the singing and the dancing.

26 and he rooped [= called] one of his father men by him and asked him what that to mean had.

27 and that-one said against him: thy brother is come and your father hath the masted calf slain, for it [= because] he him sound again caught hath.

28 but he became angry and would not in the house go; then ganged his father after be-out and begged him there for.

29 he like-well gave his father to an answer: see! so many years serve I you all, and I have never not what against you sin done, and though [= yet] have you never none buck-ling [= kid] given, that I with my friends also once frolicsome be might.

30 but now this son of you come is, that your good with whores there through brought hath, now have you the fat-masted calf for him slain.

31 then said the father against him: bairn! thou be'st all-tide [= always] by me and all what mine is, is thine eke.

32 men [= one, Fr. on, Old English me] must then frolicsome and bliethe be; because this brother of thee were dead and he is again living become; and he were lost and now is he again-found.
3. Friesian Pronunciation.

11 der bha' i'neke'r' an man2 (me'nsko), aen di2 nhia tu'a su'nan [soon'n M'].
12 do ro-qsta1 feen3 dui tu'a sai'i5 tshen' sin3 nhai'it5; nhai'it: jou man'i-t
d'il feen-t gu'd' dat me3 tak'om,9 aen nha'e'i deel'da9 nha'ren [jaron M']
t gu'd'.
13 aen nai flo'a daan'gah1 dar nai7 (aen bi'tsh3 [biitsh3 M'] las-tor)
fasaamla2 do ro-qsta suan' [soon M'] alos ba'i enudaar3 tskak6 fuert7 cep
ra'is nai' an fiix lan' aen brokht8 deer al10 sin gu'd' trokch en uu'ru'dulc11
leban.
14 doo ar a'las deel trokch brokht
nhia, kaam 1 daz en graa'ta krep'ta3
o3 it-tan [jhoaqarsno'd M'] in
dat seel'da lan, aen nha'e'i begoq6
gre'ek [bre'k'm M'] to lae'ani.
15 aen nha'e'i goe'q nha'e'an goe'
ba'i in feen da bua'g gaars [baa'gars M]
feen dat lan, aen dii stuuwrda3 [stuuwrda M'] nhem cep sin lan oen
dazergen to bha're'dzhan.
16 aen nha'e'i bhuu bhol serne
graakt, graagh M') sin flo'a fol i'ta
maei-t bargafu'r; maa'ar ne'mon4
rugn [ruukh M'] nhem dat.
17 dui kuem [kaam M'] e too
hemsae'lm³ aen nhai'ei sai'i: nhoq
flo'a feen min nha'e'te feel nhubha
nuuludog³ nhax [jaro M'] bra'e,
and ek kem oen feen nhoeqar!
18 ek sel³ opste'n² and nai'i us³
nhai'it ge'n² en aek el seel tuhns us
hai'it seeza [sceza M'] ; nha'it, ek
nhab zan'dega [son'dagha M'] n adversely
do nhemal [nheemal M'] an fo'r
(tshen) jou.8
19 aen nou³ ben ek ek meteá
bhaqgh [bhaqgh M'] buqgh [buqgh M']
ro suan [soon M'] ta nheto-tan [jaetan M']
mae'tshe ma mar lik as i'na faen
jou aroba'idars³ [arobai'dar M].
20 aen nhai'i stili³ cep and goeq nai'i
sin nhe'iit taa, eend doo or noki² fiix
fen nhem baa² bhooq, sebek sin nhe'iit
nhem al, and dii bhaar [bhaar M']
mae'eniari'ke bar'mahre'taghams³
ondin³; nhai'i rumn [raen M'] cep
nhem taa, fuul? nhem oem sin nhals
an par'ta³ nhem.
21 aen de suan [soon M'] sae'i tshen
nhe'iit ek nhab zan'dega [son'dagha M']
tshen do nhem-al [nheemal M'] an fo'r (tshen) jou.
22 do nhe'iit lik'bhoo sae'i tshen sin
feel: breq⁴ fuert² 't ba'csta pak kle'n
4. Mr. C.C. Robinson's Halifax Version.

11 dh' we wan taim⁴ a man, aet-ad
tuu ledz.6
12 th-juq'ris¹² on om sed tal-t feern-
dhaw¹³; fec-dhaw¹⁴ gi-mo-t shee'r-a-t-stud
wots ta kum tu-ma,¹⁵ aen-i deel'd t-stud
tal-am.
13 on a pisa ot-af-ta¹² th-juq'ris led
sam¹³ ool up, an meed iz run¹⁴
tel-adz¹⁶ a fua lend,¹⁶ en broiit sen-
thro ool at i' ed,¹⁷ wi wi-iur-ap-i¹⁸
lev'in.¹⁹
14 wen i'd dhii' broiit seno' throo
ool, dha kum a got³ uqar⁹ i't lend,
aen-i b'guon to telem.²⁰
15 on-i went agaetadz³ on-went
bi-wan an-t te'mmen⁴ dhii' o that
lend, otsent im i't wu'dz,²⁰ fo-to rati
ngs.
16 an i'd feexə e et⁴ iz bel'i ful-
pi�ment,²¹ bod nor'di gav im noub.
17 wen i kuum tal iseel,²⁶ i spek up,
an sed: a mi fec-dhaw-fouk ee man'i on-
em ev over-me'f e bre'd,²³ an oom-kom
to pe'rish o uqar.
18 oo-shal up on gu' tal ez feerdhar
on oo⁰⁹ see tal-im : feerdhar, oo-v²⁰
gai's' ev'an, an agi's'¹¹ dhii.
19 an neex⁶ o amqet⁶ woth bhin koold' dhii sam; mek ma nob'et⁶ see'm az wan
a dhii waa'kaz.⁹
20 on-i up an went tal-adz to-t⁲
feerdhar, on wolo¹⁰ i woix a giuid pis
of-on-im,¹¹ iz feerdhar siid im, an bi-
kuum o vomme'c'ed at eet¹² for-im,
an-i ran tal-im, an fel stop'-o-iz nek,
pat-ad¹³ im.
21 on-t sam sed tal-t feerdh: feerdhar
oo-v send ogi's' ev'an an ogi's' dhii,
on o amvet woth to bi kool dhii sam
on'i laq-ar.*
22 on-t feerdh sed tal iz fook: breq
oz'-best thouz' i',⁸ on don-om on-im,
§ 2. No. 8. ii. LOW GERMAN AND FRIESE DIALECTS. 1401

[klee'-n M] aar, een tehe'n [tshohk M^3] theem dii o'n [oon M], een ou nhem on req o'n [coon M] sin,^4 een skuon o'n [oon M] da fe'-taan [fiee'-tan M^3]. 23 and breq-t mae's^3 ke'1^2 een slaakt et: let us ir'te ae froo'lek bheer'za.

24 bhaent^4 dessa suan [soon M] fene mae'i bhi'ir dea aen noud es or bheer le-ben bheerdan; nhae'i bhi'ir faulfe-n^2^2 aen noou es er bheer'ren' [bheer'fon M^2]. aen ra bago'-qan froo'lek te bheerdan. 25 aan sin a'1^4^4 suan [soon M] bhi'ir en'-t field [tie't M] aen dii na'i nahuus geq, aan tek'ta^3 bae'i nuhuus kum [kaam M] nheart [seer'de M] nhae'i tshog'van aan-t do'en'shan [doon'shan M]. 26 aan nhae'i roop in fen sin nhae'ta^1 fae'ntan bae'i nhem aen free'gho nhem bhat dat te bi bheer'ta^2 nhia. 27 aen dii se'i shen nhem: dinn bruau es keemd^1 aen 'ama nhai'it nhait^2 't mae'sta keal sla'kh'te, cem-t a nhem suund bheer'gho nhet.

28 max mae'i bhaar nii'dakh^1 aen bhuu^2 naet in-t^3 nuuu^4 ge'n; doo goeq sin nhai'it na'i bun'te aen bhe'a nhem de aem. 29 nhae'i lik'bhol rukh sin nhai'it te'a a'ntast^1 [a'nthaat M]: shiek^1 [shoek M]! sa far'a re'en tshaa'n^2 ek jou, aen ek nhab naa naet bhat shen jou sen diin, aen dokhs na-bo jou me ne'mar nan bok'aa joun, dat ek mae'i min fre'en^n3 ak-re^4 froo'lek bheero'ke meakt'e.

30 max noul de's^3 suan [soon M] fene jou koe'mon es, dii jou goud [guoe'd M^2] mae'i nuhuvar [woam M] de trook brookt nhait, noul na'bo joun't mae'sta keal sla'kh'ta.

31 doo se'i de nhai'it tshen nhec: ben [ben M]! doun best a'litid beemo [be'i ma'i M^2], aen al bheer mii'nas es, aen dii'as nuc.

32 me mo's^1 dane froo'lek and bliid bheer'za; bhaent dese^2 bruau fan dae'i bhi'ir dea and nhae'i bheer le-ben bheerdan; aen nhae'i bhi'ir farlce'n aen noou es er bheer'ren [bheer'fon M]. en gi-im a req on-t and,^7 en shu'm a-t fit (fit).^8

23 an breq-t fed koof, an sleet-ta^3 let-s eet, an bi mar'i.^4

24 kos dhis led-a main we di'd^5 an nee iz levin agri'n; i we lost, an nee iz fan^6 agri'n an dha bigoa' te bi gams'men.^7

25 an-o't woor'd^6 led war-i't_floor'is,^7 on wen i went tul'edz t-ee'z, an kum tlois^9 bet-i, i ri'd^10 t-se'q in an doun'sin.

26 an-i koold wam a iz feerd'h^3 men bi im, an ekst im wat it wa.^4

27 an-i sed tol-im: dhi bruddha-z kom, an-dhi feerd'haz sleet-tad t-fed koof for-im kamu' bek see'nd.^3

28 bot-i get med^6 on wodi'nt goo in',^7 soo iz feer'dha went eet', an bisou't^8 im tul.

29 dhen i spek ta-t feerd'haz d hses ruu'd,^9 sez-i: nabat 'aa ee 6 man'i: 'ran' oo-v saavd j-o-ol,^8 an-z nev'aan dun nout raq agii'n jo, bod^10 soo-v niir 'mii nu'n-o o ked gin,^11 soo az oo snoo1'12 mod^13 fa wuns bi mar'i wi dhem at o noo.14

30 bod 'nee ot dhes led o see'rz' ez kuum, ot-a get'n throo wat si'ev wi' oo-n'z,^4 'nee soo-v gwean^6 an sleet-tad t-fet-fed koof for-im.

31 dhen sed t-feer'dhar tol-im: bee'n,^3 'dhaa-x' oo-la bi-ma, an ool ot-a main iz daain snoo1.5

32 wi-mom dhen bi mar'i an dled-sam^3 laik, kos dhes bruddha-o-dhe war dui'd, an-i war lost, an nee iz fun agii'n.


11 Fr. 1) approaching (kær). 2) at times approaching (mon, mon, man), and sometimes rather lengthened, as also in (lan, nhen), both F and M. 3) although 'written dy', both F and M agree here. 4) "almost three o's," as M said; but I sometimes thought I heard (so'o'on, soo'-mon). F called attention to the resemblance and difference between the word and Dutch zwaan, swan.

Ha. 5) Mr. Robinson marks (taw'im), as a general rule I have marked the medial vowel in diphthongs as short in
diatational transcriptions, its real length is in such cases rather variable. 'hunger,' (aa) is then by the whole (aa) seemed to be nearest. thongs y, et, were both pronounced alike, but both seemed unfixed, and hovered among (a'i, a'i, a'i) for the first element, and (a'i, a'i, a'e, a'e) for the second. as I use (a) in fen (faen), I write (a'i) as a compromise throughout. (tsh) was distinct in both F and M, and hence probably in all the other Friesian specimens it ought to be used. but occasionally I seemed to hear (ti-, tsi-). the vowel was unfixed as (e, e), at least I could not feel certain, except that it was not (e), and not (i, i). (sin) had distinct (i), not (e), and hence is clearly (sin) shortened by rapid utterance. (r'h) was generally distinct (rnh), not simple (r). this is the general word for father, as (maa'm) for mother. F and M did not know tete, tata. the (g) seemed clear, not (gh, gh), as in Dutch, but in Emden, sp. 37, it was (ghout). (u') seemed to vary as (uo'), thus (gu'd, gua'd, gua'd), exactly as in English, in both F and M. (d) final was distinctly not (t); I did not sufficiently notice the dental (d) to be sure of it. (me) for (ma'i) when without force, shewing that (me, me, me, ma'i) were the probable stages; it is not a change of (a'i) into (ee). the short vowel in (te) must be noticed, it was quite run on to the consonant, as I have indicated. in Winkler (di-lba), but F knew only (deo-lba) here F and M differed materially, one ignoring the inserted (i), and keeping the aspirate, and the other allowing the aspirate to be driven out by the inserted (i); both occur in English dialects.

Ha. 'youngest,' no t. 'till = to the father,' the r vanishes frequently. " when the word stands isolated, or when it ends a sentence, or is followed by a word beginning with a vowel, then the r must necessarily be heard; in other positions the word is, by rule, deprived of the r."—C. C. R.

15) 'give me the share of the stuff what is to come to me,' or, more characteristically, (de′l az e′t az oon) 'deal us out us=our own.'

13 Fr. 1) here I seemed to hear (gh) clearly. 2) Dutch na, German nach, 'after, towards.' 3) F's (bi'tsha), not (be'tsha), may have really been (bi'tsha), as M lengthened the vowel; short (i) seems most probable, as a representative of long (ii). 4) both F and M agreed in long (aa), though the original has short (a). 5) I doubt the (aa), it may have been only (ennu'da); (aa) does not seem to occur intentionally, but only to be generated by following consonants. 6) the (ea) was here distinct; it is the German zog (tsoog). 7) (fœrt), both F and M agreed, in (as), in trilled (r), and in final (c), and not (th) or (dh). F said that so far from (th) being Friesian, he had had very great difficulty in mastering it. 8) (lan), at times (laen), and nearly (laen), quite as in Scotch. 9) (broht) with (o) rather than (o). 10) (ul) was always very like (ul). 11) Winkler, noting the Hindeloopenish (sp. 89) form oervealsh, which he considers to be more correct, translates it into Dutch as oerveeldigen, over-luxurious or wanton, and derives it from old Friesian weold, English 'wealth.' as respects the d, however, we must remember the old Saxon forms glot-uuelo, gold-uuelo, ãd-uuelo, for riches in the plural, see Schmeller's glossary to the Heiland, sub uuelo.

Ha. 'a piece at after,' a little after that, observe short (i), not (i). 'gathered,' this is quite Friesian. 'made his road.' 'till-wards' =towards. 'a far land,' the refined (lend) is most usually heard, the unrelined is (lond). 'brought himself through all that he had.' 'over-high,' or, equally common, (o-wär-den-të) 'over dainty.' 'living.'

14 Fr. 1) F preferred (kuum), M said that was Dutch. 2) Dutch krop, narrow. 3) or (oo'n, oon). 4) this was the form M knew, not (nëad). 5) both F and M seemed to say (q) at the end. 6) F said brekme was quite out of use, Winkler says it is becoming rapidly obsolete, and is replaced by Dutch gebrek, M admitted (bre-k'k'm). 7) for leiden, the d lost as usual.

Ha. 8) for (gær, gaar), 'great.' 'hunger,' observe absent aspirate, and the (q) for (gg). 10) 'starve,' a common Yorkshire word, usually written clem, clam; another phrase is,
low german and friesian dialects.

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[kud-\textquoteleft nt baid], could not bite or last out.

15 Fr. 1) both F and M agreed in (sh), but with F the (i) seemed to have exhausted itself in making this change, while in M the (i) remained with its original stress. the Dutch has made the juncture (yy) in sturen (styy'ron) to steer, or send. 2) (dhz) was clear in each, the word stands for Dutch vooiden (bha'dam), and the change of (d) into (dhz), instead of (j), or simple omission, as in (Iar'\textquoteleft en) v. 14, is noticeable, the two seem to point to an intermediate (bha'djan), which would easily fall into either. the word is connected with English weed, with.

Ha. 3) 'agatowards,' on his gate or road; although gang is known so near as the Craven district, it is not used in Halifax. 4) 'townsmen,' burgesses, citizens. 5) relative at = that in meaning, but the derivation is disputed. 6) 'woods.' 7) 'root,' give roots to feel.

16 Fr. 1) (\textit{ruu}na) was pronounced by both F and M as obsolete, they did not know it, and both used the Dutch word graag, eager, desirous, hungry; but F seemed to say (graakt), possibly my mishearing for (graakh), while M said (graagh). 2) this seems to be Dutch vooder 'fodder,' with the (d) omitted. it is curious that (\textit{uu}) is sometimes spelled (oe as in Dutch, and sometimes \textit{u}). 3) 'more,' and hence 'but,' as French mais = Latin magis.

4) Dutch and German niemand. 5) although I noted (ruug), F may have said (ruugh).

Ha. 6) I shall, or Ise. 10) 'sinned.' 11) '\textit{fook} is common in this position in the southern dialects (classification, subdialect 23); at Halifax it is called (\textit{fou}).'—C. C. R.

17 Fr. 1) see v. 14, note 1. 2) this was from M, I have not noted F; observe the final (\textit{m}). 3) the (-dagh) as in Dutch, a short faint deep guttural vowel sound, possibly (-dahoh), very peculiar in character. 4) see v. 12, note 11; it is the old English here. 5) final (d) omitted, the fracture strong, the (a) clear.

Ha. 6) 'himself,' the vowel in (seel) is rather medial than long. 'in the villages about Halifax and Keighley, and generally in the Lower Craven district (classification, variety 23a), the i is usually followed by n, as (is\textit{ee}ln, wosce\textit{in}, o\textit{see}ln, m\textit{isee}ln, dhasee\textit{in}), and these are casual Halifax forms; so also n is added in (m\textit{ln}, m\textit{lm}) for milk. sometimes the i is lost to the ear in (sen) for self, and when i is heard in this word, n is lost, as (seel). I have also often heard people add on an m.'—C. C. R. 7) '(bre\textquoteleft d), usually (bri\textquoteleft d) in South Yorkshire, and many Halifax speakers use this sound; the vowel in this word, is unsettled and varies in localities but little distant from each other.'—C. C. R.

18 Fr. 1) the e in seil was not noticed in pronunciation, it seems to be entirely etymological. 2) (\textit{cn}), and not (\textit{can}), in each. 3) (us), this is merely remembered, not noted, in other Friesian I find (yys). 4) both F and M objected to the d in midge, but F seemed to lengthen the vowel. 5) neither F nor M acknowledged \textit{san} = (suun), but I seemed to hear (xon) from one, and (son) from the other; the (z) was slight, more of a s as F said, and may have been (sz). 6) here there was the same difference in the length of the vowel as in note 4. 7) both objected to fouar, and Winkler says 'or bfoar, but tejin is better Friesian.' The Greek \textit{eis} τον οδρανων καλ \textit{evnaiν} τον \textit{soov} seems to have led all translators to adopt a real Hebraism in this place. 8) both F and M said (\textit{dou}) exactly as in v. 12 for 'give,' and objected to the ju of Winkler.

Ha. 9) I shall, or Ise. 10) 'sinned.' 11) '\textit{fook} is common in this position in the southern dialects (classification, subdialect 23); at Halifax it is called (\textit{fou}).'—C. C. R.

19 Fr. 1) I am not quite certain whether F said (nuu) or (nou), but I think the latter; and M certainly did say so. 2) F gave the two first, and said that (buahugh) was commonest, 'as if written with Dutch u,' M omitted the (d), and made two syllables. 3) same variety as in v. 12, note 11. 4) this (\textit{a}\textit{ra}a) may have been accidental.

Ha. 5) 'now.' here (nee), because of the following (a) for I; (nee) is the usual form in Lower Craven; (net) is also used.'—C. C. R. 6) 'I am not.' 7) 'worth being called,' (\textit{bhn} is in v. 21 (to be)), both forms are in use, but the first is considered to be most refined.'—C. C. R. 8) 'nought but,' only. 9) 'workers.'

20 Fr. 1) both F and M objected
to *stoe* (stuu), but M said (stuu) could be used, though (stiu) was more common. 
2) F said (*aw-ta*) was not heard, M said it was still used "by old-fashioned people." 3) (AA), the (f) of *off* dropped. 
6) F did not pronounce the *d* or attend to the *e* in *ae*, but M did both. 5) both seem to be old-fashioned words. 6) this is another confusion of short and long. 
7) this was from M, I have not noted F. 8) "patted," not "kissed," as I was told, but Winkler says, on the Hinde-
loopenish *paaike* (specimen 89, v. 20), "kissed, from *paaike*, to kiss; the usual Friesian is *patje*, *patte*; *een zoen*, "a kiss," is in Hindeloopenish *en paaike*, and in usual Friesian *en patje*, and formerly, as still found in Gysbert Japicx, *en paa*.

**Ha.** 9) "to the." "in the Leeds dialect (tat, tat), the latter emphatic and before a pause; in Halifax the heavy sound may be either (tat, tat), but seems most like the latter."—C. C. R.
10) "while." 11) "off on him," off of or from him. 12) "overmastered at heart," or (wo sluit a-t siit an im), "was sloughed, or choked with sobs, at the sight of him." 13) Mr. Robinson says there is no other word for *caress* than *pat*; *caress* would not be understood, at least when spoken.

21 Fr. and Ha. see the notes on the parallel passage, v. 18.

22 Fr. 1) *not* (breegq) or (breeqq) (breeqq) 
2) see v. 13, note 7. 3) M admitted (tseh'n), but said (tsohhk), German *zog* (tsookh), was more usual. 4) see (lan), v. 13, note 8. 5) I hesitated as to *(tseh'tan) or (tuea'tan), the (u) was clear, but the force seemed to vary.

**Ha.** 6) "clothes here." 7) "on the hand." 8) "feet," either with short (i) or short (t). "(twu'ti) is occasionally heard for *foot* in Halifax and Lower Craven, but it is more general towards the north."—C. C. R.

23 Fr. 1) *masted,* fed on mast, as beechnast, oak-nast, hence fattened. 2) the (f) lost.

**Ha.** 3) "slaughter it." 4) "let us eat and be merry." 

24 Fr. 1) I did not observe any aspirate or approach to (*shwe'un*), but I may have overlooked it. 2) no trace of (z) or (z) in the second syllable certainly, in the first I am doubtful. 3) (bhe-, bhez) "again," Dutch *weder* with omitted (d), as our old *wh'er* for *whether*, the last syllable (fo'n, foun), seemed to vary thus, but the distinction is too fine to insist on. 4) see v. 14, note 5, the (q) was in this case noted from both F and M.

**Ha.** 5) "this lad of mine was dead." 
6) "found." 7) "gamesome." 

25 Fr. 1) the *d* was not heard, the (a) was nearly (A). 2) the final (d) of *F* was distinct, and the final (t) of *M* quite as clear, the (e) of (ie) was distinct, and hence the force doubtful (fe, ie). 3) no (th), German *dicht*, "close," 4) the (sh) arises from the coalescent article (t), (sho'-qan) is the word otherwise; this serves to shew the correctness of the analysis (tsh). 5) as (dun'shan) is implied by the spelling, it was probably so heard.

**Ha.** 6) "oldest." 7) "in the close" or field. 8) "the house." 9) "close," adv. observe the difference between (l) and (r), (floo'-is, tlo'res). 10) "heard."

26 Fr. 1) uninflected genitive. 2) Dutch *beduiden* (bado'r'dan) *signify.* 3) Ha. uninflected genitive. 4) "asked him what it war was." observe that both (waa) and (wor) occur in this example, and compare (475, c).

27 Fr. 1) the final (d) distinct, almost the vulgar English *comed.* 2) final (t), not (th).

**Ha.** 3) "for him coming back sound," on account of his coming back sound.

28 Fr. 1) properly "envious," Dutch *nijdig*, German *neidisch.* 2) as both F and M said (bhuu), probably *wool* is a misprint for *woes*, which is written in v. 16. 3) I presume *in'e hüs* is a misprint for *m't hüs*, I did not particularly notice the (t). 4) the (z) seems due to the following (g). 5) German *bat ihm darum.*

**Ha.** 6) "gat mad." 7) "go in,* viz. to the house; the word *house* is generally omitted in ordinary speech, and invariably in the dialect. observe that the sound is here (goo), but in v. 18 it was (g'u); when the fracture occurs, the vowel changes, and whether the fracture should be used or not depends upon the context. we find therefore in one word, having an original (aa) vowel, *gän*, both an (oo) and an (uu) sound subsisting side by side in the same dialect; of course (goo) comes through *(gaa, gaa, gaa, goo)*, and *(g'u)* through *(guu, gua, gua, gu)*; but the example is extremely instructive, and shews the necessity of great caution in older cases. 5) Mr. Robinson says that the past participle of *beg* is scouted, except in *begged and prayed.*
29 Fr. 1) *andert* was not acknowledged; the two forms given were merely Dutch *antwoord*, with the second syllable obscured and *r* omitted. 2) a form of Dutch *diene*; serve; this is taken as *ijenje*, and so becomes (tsa'wana). 3) F almost said (fre'wan), I have not noted M. 4) German *auch der reinst*.

*Ha.* 5) 'in this road,' *in this way.* 6) 'how,' a regular change. 7) 'year,' the singular of quantity. 8) served you all. 9) 'wrong.' 10) 'but.' 11) 'you have never me none of a kid given,' observe the order of the words. 12) 'I and all.' the words 'and all' are a very common expletive in several dialects. 13) might. 14) 'those that I know'; Mr. Robinson observes that the word *friend* is very rarely heard in dialect speech.

30 Fr. 1) (g'dad, gue'd), I did not notice this variable force in v. 12. 2) this (wæm) is evidently obtained thus:

(Æ3wær'n, Ææ3wær'n, wæ'ran, wæ'm), if indeed I ought not rather to have noted (wæ'n), as I think more probable.

*Ha.* 3) 'yours.' 4) 'whores.' 5) 'gone.'

31 Fr. 1) perhaps both said (ben), the *r* was quite unpronounced. 2) the variation between (ee, aw') is here important in respect to Early English, for the speakers were two men of the same village, and nearly of the same age and standing.

*Ha.* 3) 'bairn.' 4) 'thou is.' 5) see v. 29, note 12.

32 Fr. 1) (mo'st) was M's pronunciation; I am inclined to think that his (soon), see v. 11, note 4, was rather (so'on) or (so'n). 2) for the rest of the verse see notes on the parallel passage in v. 24.

*Ha.* 3) 'gladsome,' for (dl) compare v. 14 (tem).

88. *Workum*, town (52 n 58, 5 e 26). I. 441. [As it was still generally spoken up to the year 1800.]

11 dar bhí rin en mi'nska, da'í hi' thba so'nan. 12 in na'í deel'da jæran t'ghud. 15 om do bárghan to we'dran. 18 kéit? ik nev suúndigha tshin [or (tshin)] jón. 22 bhíq jir da'álik do bësta kléan, in doogh ñ him oon; in z'éan him en riq oon sín haaan in skúr'nan oon s furtan. 23 't mesta kéal. 24 bhánt dí'zo soon fan mèi bhí'ða, in na'ís bheer fuør'dan. 25 in do man sín aa'dsta soon bhír in-t fíld [or (fíld)], in doo dí'koom, in bøi'ité nuus bhí'r he'rd de na'í t'si'o qan end -t s'pií-lsan. 27 jón bro'r. 29 dáth ik máái miin frixw'nen frou'lik bhe'zø mo'khté. 31 bár'n, dû b'íssta a'lúit bhøi' mèi.


11 siir'kar mi'nska hæoc'b thbaa soons. 12 in ni deel'da jem't goód. 15 om op do bárghan to paw'an. 18 feer, iik ñëb suúndigha tøen ji. 22 bhíq hir daad'lik 't bësta pak kláan, in dûkan it hím oon, in jæan hím ñ riq oon sín haaand, in skoon oon sín furtan. 23 't mesta kaal. 24 bhánt dí'zo miín soon hhee'r dáa, in nií iis wors fuur'don. 25 in sín eá'stø soon weer iin-t fíld in dæøh nií tikt bi hýys' [huus'?] káàm, hæc'rá nií-t ghesu'q in-t ghéduu'n. 27 díin bro'r. 29 dót iik

méi miin free'ndøn ek ris no'khlik '[argreable," genoeglijk] bæwza kaast. 31 bør'n, duú bist a'ldúdi bii mií.

90. *Schiermonnikoog*, island (53 n 28, 6 e 12). I. 458. [In Friesian (*ske rummuńtsièákh*) or (*skremuńntsìeakh*).]

11 dar bhí rin 'n man, in dii niçaa thbaa jo'ses. 12 in nar kéit ["father"] deel'da nar -t ghy'd. 15 om nar shbiir'na to hyy'don. 18 ik nev seàf'n diin tshin [or (tshin)] jøo. 22 bhíq hiir -t bst pak kläänø, in tsoeká it hím oon, in jæk'ør ní riq oon sín haaan, in skyy'ño oon sín furtan. 23 't maöst kaal. 24 bhánt di jo'qø bhíéa daaid, in nií is bhíér fían. 25 in da ördsta seçøn bhíàa iín -t laaan, in daa -t or nóol hýys to syy'ño, in t'khtø bii koom, hëeçìa nií sio'qon in dàau-nsan. 27 díin bryyr. 29 dót iik nií miín freàúna réis pesiir me'nta kyy'ño. 31 bør'n, do bísta o'ln daag'ån bii mií.

[There has been much difficulty in translating the symbols. The (uú) seems not to occur. On daa jyued = (daa jy'yd), Winkle says it is 'the people,' Dutch *de lieden,*" usual Friesian liù, liûw, which word is in some places called liue, liue, and in others liouw, lihouw,? (itu, liú's, lióú). "L and r are for Friesians, as for their national relations the English, difficult letters to pronounce, and are often omitted,
and hence the Schiermonnikoegers omit l and r in the combinations jf, jf.' Then he gives examples, juued for liu, "as the Hindoelopers say leed' = (lee'd)?; juocht for riucht, juocht for sluich, so that sluich in juocht = high German schlecht und recht, is a shibboleth of these islanders; and may be (siy'kh) in ry'shikt (1397, 5). Another curious point is the use of (-s) for (-th, -dh) final, or of (dh) or (d) medial, even in participles, as fortards = (fortaars), high German verzehrt, 'devoured,' usual Friesian fortard. "The Friesians on the continent have frequently softened the old th to d." Examples are sijsternes, 'steered, stirred, sent,' usual sturden; we sig 'worthy,' we sen 'become,' hee, se 'heard,' terse 'earth,' hers 'hard."

b. Low German in Friesland.

I. 461.

91. Leeuwarden, city (53 n 12, 5 e 47). I. 468. [This is where Winkler resides.]

11 dar bhaar-as-an man, in dii ma'da thbiis sec'van. 12 in duu fardeela da o'ルド man haar-t ghyyd. 15 op de ba'rghen to pa'san. 18 faa'dar, ik hee son'da deen too'erghen jou. 22 breq niir ghou r's t'te besta pak klee-ran, in trek rim dat an, in gheeef-am-on riq an si'n nan, in skyyn-on an si'n fyt-tan. 23 't mosta kalf. 24 bhant d'z'a sec'en fan mo'i bhar doud, in noo hee bheee'm bheero'm fornun. 25 in da man sin 'o'sta sec'en bhaar op-t land, in duu ddi gheeero'm kbaam, in dikhta boi nyys kbaam, noor'd in niu-t-s sec'qan in dansten. 27 jou bruur. 29 daas -k uuk-s met miin frii'nden froo'lik bheec'a mo-khtaa. 31 kiin, doo bista o'maors a'ltiid boi mo'i.

92. Dokkum, town (53 n 19, 6 e 0). I. 477.

11 dor bhar-as-an man, in dii nad thbiis sec'van. 12 in no'i ghaef nor noor ghyyd' "a very short perfect o precedes a long, perfect, and somewhat lengthened u, on which the stress falls," this is the noun goods; the adjective good is (ghu'd)]. 15 om op de ba'rghen to pa'san. 18 faa'dar, ik nev sondighed teec'en [and (too'erghen)] faa'dar. 22 breq daa'dalik do besta klee-ran niir, in duu niim ddi an, in gheeef-am-on riq an si'n nan, in skuu'n-an an e fuur'ten. 23 't mosta kalf. 24 bhant d'z'a sec'en fan mo'i bhar doud in noo is efo'nan. 25 in siin 'ou'sta sec'en bhaar in-t land, in duu-t or dikht boi nyys kbaam, noor'da-t-si'qan in ta'danson. 27 jou bruur. 29 dat ik ok-s froo'lik bheece'a kon met miin frii'nden. 31 kiin, doo bist a'ltiidan bo'i mo'i.


11 'n man ('n mins) nad thbiis sec'van. 12 in no'i dee'lda nyyr-t ghoo'e'd. ['"the imperfect u in put" = (past, pat), see (1292, 1'), Dutch for pit, or weel, "with preceding perfect o.'] 15 op de ba'rghen to pa'san. 18 neit, ik nef so'n'da deend too'erghen jou. 22 breq 'm niir si'n besta klee-ran, in trek see 'm an, in gheeef-am-on riq an si'n nan, in skuu'n-an an e fuur'tan. 24 't te-te kalf. 24 bhant d'z'a sec'en fan mo'i bhar doud in iis is bheero'm fornun. 25 in siin 'ou'sta sec'en bhaar op-t lan, in duu ddi dikht boi nyys kbaam, hoor'd ii-t si'qon, in -t danston. 27 ja bruur. 29 daa-k met miin frii'nden -s froo'lik bheece'a nokht. 31 kiin, doo bist a'ltiid boi mi'i. [We find 20 (lii'p) ran, (fi'll) fell, (in duu-t) i nogh 'n heel ind fan 'm o bhar) 'and when he yet a whole end from him off was,' (o) for (off) off, with (f) suppressed.]

94. Nes op't Ameland, village of Nes in the island of Ameland (53 n 27, 5 e 45). I. 486.

11 'n see-kor minsik nad thbiis sec'vans. 12 gheeef mo'i 't deel fan-t ghuu'd. in da faa'dar ghaaf se elk si'n paarzt. 15 om de ba'rghen to mu'dar-an. 18 ik nev mai an 'ou' besondiged. 22 briaq -t besta pak klee-ran niir, in trek -t im an, in gheeef 'n riq an si'n nan, in skuu'n-an an e fuurtan. 23 't mosta kalf. 24 bhant deeece'a miin sec'en bhaar doud, in is bheero'fo'nan. 25 mar da man sin 'ou'sta sec'en bhaar op-t lan, in duu ddi kam, in dikht boi -t nyys ko-man bhar, noor'da mo'i -t si'qon in danston. 26 ii'n [one]. 27 jou bruur. 29 om met miin frii'ndon froo'lik to bheece'a. 31 miin kiin, jou biin'a a'ltiid boi mo'i. ['"The pure long (ii) has often been changed into the Hollandish (o'), but the Amelanders are not consistent, and you may hear them say: (bhoi se'gba a'ltiid to'id, in ni'i't tiid), 'we all-teed (tiid) say tide (to'id), and not tee'd (tiid).'" Such in-
consistencies are valuable for shewing the unconscionableness of transitions."

95. Het Bildt, parish, a Dutch
gemeente, and lordship, Dutch
 grietjen, containing
St. Anna-Parochie, village
(53 n 17, 5 e 40). I. 492.

11 dor bhaer as 'n man, dii had
'thee seeen'.

96. Noordwoolde, village(52n53,
6 e 8). I. 498.

' n seekear meens 'na'da thhi'ii
' seeen'.

97. Wester-Schelling, west part
of island of ter-Schelling (53 n 20,
5 e 13). II. 10.

11 dir bhaer in minsk, dii hii thbaa
sins. 12 in ta ['father'] zookh ['gave']
elk siin o'n-deel ['share'].

98. Ooster-Schelling, east part
of island of ter-Schelling (53 n 20,
5 e 20). II. 15.

11 dar bhaa ris 'n minn, dii hii
thbaa sins. 12 in da man 'eeld da
ghu'd. 15 om op da bargh'on to
pas'en. 18 ta, ik ha ghre'ta so'nde
 Tshin or (tsin') ta bidiri'en. 22 brij
 de be'ta kle'n, in dokh hii dii o'n,
in jokh hii'an rig o'n siin haad, in
sko'nan o'n siin fo'tan. 23 't farta
ke'l. 24 bhaant do'za sin fai mi bhas
deed, in hii is bherfoon. 25 in de
Aa'da stin bhs in op 't frild [or 'fifld],
in as hii tikht bi hys koen, neer'de
hii siiqan in spiil'kon. 27 diin bruur.
29 dak ik mi mi min free'wan foor'lik
bhe'za kaun'. 31 miin sin, dii bost
atlidi bii mii.

99. Midislands, village, middle-
of-the-land of ter-Schelling (53 n 20,
5 e 15). II. 18.

11 dar bhaar ris-an min, dii had
thhi'ii seeens. 12 in na'di-lda har't
ghu'd. 15 om op da bargh'an ta
pas'en. 18 ta, ik hii soordighd tewe-
ghan ta. 22 naal ghau 'be'sta kleed,
in duu'n hii'dat an, in duu'n hii'an
rig an siin fi'qar, in sko'nan an siin
 fuurtan. 24 bhaant miin seeen dii ik
mi'i'n da ['thought'] dat deed bhaar,
is hii bherfoon. 25 da o'uda'na
bhaar in op 't frild, in duu'n hii
ghoq, in dikh'to bi'kh kham, neer'de
hii siiqan in spiil'kon. 27 diin bruur.
29 om mi'i met miin maats
['mates'] ris foor'lik to maak'en. 31
miin ro'qia, dii bost i'mas a'tloos bi'a
ma'i.'
mest e'ban. 24 bhaqt doe-ra jan seen bhas dhood, non o'iri fonden. 25 hen de man sin noo'dsta seen bhas hop't feld, tuu dui nee iis ['near house'] khabam, oor'den o't gha'si'ghen't gha'dams. 27 jo bruur. 29 nom ris freo'lik ta bheer'zen met min maats. 31 kiind, Jo bint hal'toed bo'i mee.

[Observe the regular omission and insertion of (n). (iis), for house, is said to have "a very peculiar sound between (iis) and (es)." (dris), once, shews the form (ris) to be dereenst.]


11 deer bhas oris 'n man dui tbhii 'seecens had. 12 on do vaa'dar deed-at. 15 om op do farkes to po'sa. 18 taat, ik nheeb ghroota'nts daan deen 'teq'gha joun. 22 briq in 'nam arari'te's [in an ave-marja's] in a moment!] min be'sta rok niir in duun-am dii an, an gheef 'rim-on rij an sin hand, an skuurun an sin bi'ne ['put shoes on his legs.'] Winkler says he has been asked by a maid servant at Haarlem to wipe his legs (instead of his feet) on the doormat: meheer! sel 'nees assi-blief je beatine of feet? see spec. 80, for boots on feet. 23 't fet me'sta kolf. 24 bhan doeo-ra 'seecen bhas foor ma'l net [i'neat, quite] so ghuud as dhood, en o'ri is bheer'om fonda. 25 on do o'rsta 'seen bhas op't land, an duu in bheero'm khabam, en diikht bo'i nysis bhas, noord i st'e en speeco'la. 27 jo bruur. 29 om mit me frr'udan oris 'n parto'i an te le'gho. 31 kiund, o'ji bent im'sma o'lan bo'i mee.

102. Wieringen, island (52n55, 5 e 0). II. 30.

11 dor bhas oris 'n man dii joo'qjes had. 12 iin fan dii joo'qes, do joo'qest, fruug an sin taat ['dad'] om sin 'meme [m'mamy's] bobbhiis; on dat keegh 1. 15 om do farkes te bha'dian. 18 ik sel teq'ghaan taat se'ge hat ik sondigdh nec. 22 maar sin taat e'jo-do teq'ghon sin knechs, dat so sin be'sta klee'ro bre'qa mo'sta, en so-n a'ntre'ko mo'sta, en dat so-n rij an sin haqd, an skuurne an sin bi'no duun mo'sta. 23 't me'sta kalf. 24 bhat sin secen dui i dikht dat dhood bhas, bhas noo' bheero'm fo'qen. 25 maar tuu khabam dii aar'a ['other'] joo'q fan-t laqd-t nysis, on dii noo'de huu-r so'qen en daagst bhii'rd. 27 sin bruur. 29 bheer no'hi met aar'a joo'qes ris kluhkt [local word for 'pleasure'] mee ma'ko mo'khite. 31 kiin, Jo'i bin a'looze bo'i mee.

103. Schagen, country town (52 n 47, 4 e 47). II. 35.

11 dor bhas-or-s 'n vaa'dar en dui nad tbhie 'seecens. 12 no'i ghoq ar den maar tuu over om om z'n porsii te ghee'van, deer i'anpras a op had. 15 op do vartkaans pas'a. 18 m'n vaa'dar is zo'non gujia keer'as, as k-o-seem 'm tuu ghoq, an zër'i dat -m'n spiel'it [i'field] daa -k zoo raar deen nep, dan, deek ik, zo-n khef bheer in noes ko'ma ma'gha. 22 no'i most in i'n nan dii sti-kanda klee'ro 'ii duun, an de kneck most nyya ma'la'an, an dii most i a'ntre'ko, an i keegh 'n ghews'en rij an z'n viqor, en skuurne an 23 't mee's'tkalf. 24 bhan m'n 'seecen bhas zoo ghuud as dhood, noo is i c'neverbah'ken bheer op'ordan [Dutch opwaarts an, upwards on] ko'man. 25 bho's is zon noes a'les klaar maakt na'da, bhas do o'rrs za'oon nogh op't land, an tuu -t zoo bhat ome'naan'be [Dutch om ende bij, nearly] skhee'mereev bhas, hat i'zen en tuu ghoq in mee noes tuu, maar tuu i bhat dikhter bo'i noes khabam, noord i dat ze zoo o'salo'k ['awfully'] troo'loka bha'za. 27 jo bro'or'. 29 tuu ik mi'meaa'g'ha korraan's bo'i m'n had. 31 m'n joo'qen, jee bin a'looze bo'i m'n bheest.

[The open long e and o are clearly pronounced and kept distinct from the close long e and o. The open long e in West Friesian pronunciation sounds "almost like the Friesian diphthong ea," or (ea, ea, e), "and the open long o nearly agrees with the Friesian ea," (ea, o, o'); but I have put (ee, oo) in the transcription, because the fracture was not sufficiently clearly indicated.]

104. Benningbroek, village (52 n 42, 5 e 2). II. 41.

11 deer bhas or-s 'n man, in dui had tbhie 'seecens. 12 on nai deel-iile nooreel'i-t ghuud. 15 om do vartkaans te bha'dian. 18 vaa'dar, ik neeb khabaad deen teq'ghon joun. 22 broq niir ghoo do be'sta pleon ['clothing', old (pil'ya'ne), in Ostend (plo'ttejai), origin unknown], in duun 't m'an, in gheef am-on rij an s'n hand, in skuurane an s'n bi'na.' 23 't meest kalf. 24 bhan doeo-ra m'n 'seecen bhas dhood, in
107. Urk, island (52n40, 5e37). II. 54. 

11 dar bhas ar-s 'n man, in dìi a'da thihii Zyyns. 12 in z'n taat'a dii'-lda t'ghuud, on ghafl'm 'n part. 15 om op do varkas op taasen. 18 taat'a, ik eav azeon-digdh tyg'ghan juu. 22 briq iir daal'delik 't besta kliid, in trek'-ot-am an, in ghiif'-om-on riq an z'n aand, in skhuu'on an z'n biinan. 23 't ghaome'sta kalf. 24 bhat m'nt zyyn bhas dood, in ii is bheer avuur'dan. 25 in d-o'urdsta zyyn bhas in-t laand, in dua o'i kort boi'-t oec kbum, oord ii-t ghasaq in-t ghedaams. 27 bii yrr. 29 dat iik mit m'nt vr'iind an ar-s vr'eelik bheeza mokht. 31 keend, iji bi-nan o'mars a'toos bo'i m'nt. ['Long a has four sounds, as long o in goom, soon (oo); as oo (aa) in doar, toate; as pure a (aa) in dagen, maak; and finally as o (aa) in meaar, veardirg, etc.' Although initial h is omitted, it is not unduly inserted.]

108. Marken, island (52 n 27, 5 e 8). II. 58. 

11 dar bhas eas 'n eregh roik heer dìi tbheee zoeens hed. 12 ma taat, jo mōsta m'ùn m'n muur'ars behsah'i ghevee. 15 op z'n var'kens in-t land ta paa's. 18 taat, zoondighe heb ik, voor joo. 22 steekt jοlk'ri di joq' dar's ghaw ferm in do plenea ['cloth-' ing'] dat ii-r bheer kadree ['smart'] o'rtziit. 23 't vetka ka'lef. 24 bhatm me ruqa bhas zoo ghuud as dood maar nùn kan a-les nogh bheer in-t efo ko'ma. 25 maar noù d'urdsta zoeen dìi kbum-t nd'is van-t land an dìi noo'rdat labhài [' uproar', row, used in all Dutch dialects] an dìi zagh dat spektaa-kal. 27 z'n bruur. 29 dat m'nt eigrhe mit ma kameraats verdiitr'varte kon. 31 rhoa, jài bi'no o'mars a'to'd høn an on'trintm mee.

109. Hoorn, town (52 n 36, 5 e 4). II. 47. [As a workman would relate the parable to his children.]

11 dar bhas eas 'n eregh roik heer dìi tbheee zoeens had. 12 ma taat, jo mōsta m'ùn m'n muur'ars behsah'i ghevee. 15 op z'n var'kens in-t land ta paa's. 18 taat, zoondighe heb ik, voor joo. 22 steekt jοlk'ri di joq' dar's ghaw ferm in do plenea ['cloth-' ing'] dat ii-r bheer kadree ['smart'] o'rtziit. 23 't vetka ka'lef. 24 bhatm me ruqa bhas zoo ghuud as dood maar nùn kan a-les nogh bheer in-t efo ko'ma. 25 maar noù d'urdsta zoeen dìi kbum-t nd'is van-t land an dìi noo'rdat labhài [' uproar', row, used in all Dutch dialects] an dìi zagh dat spektaa-kal. 27 z'n bruur. 29 dat m'nt eigrhe mit ma kameraats verdiitr'varte kon. 31 rhoa, jài bi'no o'mars a'to'd høn an on'trintm mee.
29 om mit m'n maats ars vroolik to bheeza. 31 ka'ind, Je'i binna a'ta'id bo'i ma.


11 deor bhas ar-s'n man dui tbhee zoeens had. 12 an tuu vardeel'da do vaa'dar z'n ghoud. 16 om de vara's ts dra'i-va ['drive,' Dutch]. 18 vaa'dar, ik heb ozo-nidhgd tooeg'ghe Jou. 22 breq do besta klee'rea niir, en trek-am dui an, en gheef-am-on riq an z'n hand, en skhurna an z'n b'ina. 23 't vete kalf. 24 bhant dceoeza zoeen van mee bhas estee'reva, en is beere oovnda. 25 en z'n ousta zoeen bhas in-t land an tuu dui deor c't ghooq, en dikht be'i ne'e's khiham, noordan ii-t ghaza'q an de myyziik. 27 je bruur. 29 om met me ka'maerarrs ar-s pret to hou'o ['hold'].

31 zoeen, Je'i bent a'ta'id bo'i ma.

110. Zaankant or coast about Zaandam, in English Saardam, (52 n 26, 4 e 49). II. 65.

11 dar bhas 't's man, an dui nad tbhee zoeens. 12 an de vaa'dar dec'lda-n-t ghoud. 15 om oep de vara'kas te pa'sa. 18 vaa'dar, 'k nev ozo-nidhgd tooeg'ghe Jou. 22 naal an stons ['at the hour,' immediately] 't moo'ste klee'd, en duu-m dat an; steek-on riq an z'n hand, en trek skhurna an z'n vru'ta. 23 't deo'st' ka'l'f. 24 bhant deoceza zoeen van mee bhas estee'reva, en is oovnda. 25 en do ousta zoeen bhas in-t veld en duu ii-t 'tani's kwam ['the ui of huis, etc., is nearly between ai (ai) and oi ('oi')'], noordo ii-t ziqq on-t da'naa. 27 je bruur. 29 om mit me vridne bhet plaatii'g te dage bo'i mee.

111. Heemskerk, village (52n30, 4 e 41). II. 68.

11 dar bhas reis 'n man met tbhee zoeens. 12 on de vaa'dar dee -t. 15 om op de vara'kas te pa'sa. 18 vaa'dar, ik heb ghazo-nidhgd tooeg'ghe Jou. 22 breq niir 't besta pak, trek-am an, gheef-am-on riq an z'n viqu'er, en trek-am skhurnen an z'n bi'mon. 23 't vete kalf. 24 bhant deoceza zoeen van mee bhas doo'd, en ik heb 'm bheer akree'ghan. 25 z'n ousta zoeen bhas in-t veld, an tuu i ba'i xogk ['home,' a good Friesian word, in full use in Friesland] khiham, noorden ii-t ziqqan en da'se. 27 je bruur. 29 dat ik met me vri'nda vroolik kon bheeza. 31 kind, Je' bin a'ta'id bo'i mee.

112. Egmond aan Zee, village (52 n 36, 4 e 38). II. 71.

11 deor bhas 'n man dii a'de tbhii zee'en. 12 non ai deel'da z'n ghoud o'gor [Dutch onder 'among'] derloi [for heriwill, Dutch hunieden, literally them people]. 15 nom hop de varksz ta pa'es. 18 taat, nik ee'bha zoqidhgd tooeg'ghe Jou. 22 breq prakhktai ['immediate,' a word in daily use among the Egmond fishermens, of unknown origin] 't zi'nadaghs pak ['Sunday's pack'], non trek't im an, han gheef-im-on riq, an z'n aq' [hand'], non skuur'na an z'n bi'no. 23 't ghamees'ta kalf. 24 bhint ma zeeen bhas doud, non ai ris bheer oov'oqa ['found']. 25 non z'n ousta zoeen bhas in-t laq, non tuu ii bai 't ois khiham, oord ai rai'kalik ziq'a en da'qa. 27 je bruur. 29 nom ris mit ma markar bla'id to bheeza. 31 kind, ja'i ben a'ta'id bai mee.

113. Zandvoort, village (52n23, 4 e 32). II. 74.

11 dar bhas era'eris 'n man, en dui had tbhii zoeens. 12 on tuu ghaf de vaa'eerd-am z'n porsii, en liit 'n gheen. 15 ja, bhai ['yes, feed'] ma varkes meester. 18 vaa'eerd, ik heb ozo-nidhgd tooeg'ghe Jou. 22 meeel deo besta pleen'a, en duut-am dit an, en gheef-am-on riq an z'n hand, en skhurna an z'n b'ina. 23 't vete kalf. 24 bhant mo zeeen bhas doud, on is beremo [Dutch wederom 'again'] o'ko'me. 25 on z'n ousta zoeen bhas in-t veld, on tuu dui mees khiham, noordan ii al in de vorta 't zi'q'a on-t spr'qa. 27 ja free'ra. 30 om mit mo vriind'na vroolik te bheeza. 31 kind, ja'i bent a'ta'id bai mee.

[On the west coast of Holland generally, long a is (are), ai and ia are (aa', ii), ui is (oi, joi), close e is (i); a is usually left out and put in exactly contrariwise, but this is not so in Zandvoort.]
116. Amsterdam, city (52°22', 4°53'). II. 93.

[The better classes speak literary Dutch, small tradesmen and journey-
men still speak Amsterdamish, which was original Friesian; in the xiv th
and xv th centuries it was still half Friesian; in the xvi th and begin-
ing of the xvii th it agreed most closely with the speech of Leeuwarden,
specimen 91; and Winkler thinks that old Amsterdamish is nearer to Friesian
than the present Friesian itself, and refers to the verses of Gijsbrand Ad-
riaenszen Bredero for proofs. The "watering" of its spirit began in the
latter part of the xvii th century, and now barely half of the genuine Amster-
damers speak Amsterdamish. "Busy intercourse with fellow-countrymen and
strangers, improved education, greater wish to read, and above all fashion,
which rejects all that is original, or that is inherited, has made old Amster-
damish what it is." Winkler re-

cognises at present nineteen varieties of Amsterdamish, and gives as the fol-
lowing specimen, the Kalverstraatish, or speech of Kalver Street, which runs
South from the Palace; this mode of speech is spoken in parts which are
"zeer falsoendelijk" (very fashionable), and is corrupted by "elegante ex-
pressions" (elegant expressions); but by old gentlemen, born and bred in the
Heeregracht and Keizersgracht, it is still spoken purely. Modern inhabit-
ants of Kalver Street speak Frankish, High German, Italian, Flemish or
Brabantish, or Jewish and modern Hollandish.]

111 der bhas-erisii's 'man-an [the

hypthens are here all in the original, and shew rather a different union of
words from that used in English] dii

nat bheee zoons. 12 an na'g ghat 'm

tuur-khish. 15 ghiaa mar na be'to-n-op ma lant, tan kei-z-
op ['then can ye upon'] mo varekes p'ase. 18 och-ik nep ghasoendight
tee'ghe-a-nye. 22 naal zo'i reis-as-
ta-bhint m'n zo'ndaghas rok niir-on
trek 'm dii-j-an-an gheef 'm-as 'n
fatsuunndelik mans kind ['as a fashion-
able man's child'] 'n riq-an z'n viq'er;
on ja, skhu-na mot-i-j-ook-an me'ba!
zeigh! breq ma besto nyyo mar mee-
ian dun 'm dii-j-an-an z'n vuuta. 23
't ghamest'ka kalef. 24 bhat ma zoon
bhas zoo ghnut-as doot-on 'k neb 'm
bheero'm ghavo'nda. 25 an d ouste
117. Laren, village (52 n 15, 5 e 13). II. 98.
11 'n zee-car mins a do tbhee zee-oens. 12 en o'i dee-l'da noen 't ghooed. 15 om de varkes te noen. 18 vaar'dar, ik e-bzenundigh teec-ghan Jou. 22 breq ghoo-t be'te kleed ir, en doo-oem an, en gheef om-en riq an z'n aqdi, en skhoon-en an z'n bee'enan. 23 't vete kalb. 24 kalb dii zee-en van mee bhas dood, en is oz'ojen. 25 z'n ous-te zee-en bhas op-t veld, en too o'i khbham an kort bai eec-es khbham, oorto nei ghooziq en ghada-eq. 27 je brecer.
29 om met m'n vri-xen is vooro-liik te bhee'enan. 31 ka'ind, jo'i bin alt-ar't bai mee.

118. Huizen, village (52 n 18, 6 e 14). II. 102.
11 'n mins nad tbhee zee-oen. 12 o'ei dee-l'da z'n ghooed. 15 om de var'kan to bhe-o'en. 18 vaar'dar, ik e-bzenundigh teec-ghan Jou. 22 brie daalak 't be'te pak an toud-oet noem an, gheef-om-en riq an z'n hauq, en skhoon-en an z'n beelenan. 23 't vete kalb.
24 wagt doec-zee'en van mee bhas dood, en is oz'ojen. 25 om de ous-te zee-en bhas op-t laqd, en too o'i diikht bai nei's khbham, zagh nii 'n ghoo'o-te vera'qariq [Dutch verandering, 'change']; zo zo'qan, spec-l'edan an da'qstan. 27 je brecer.
29 om met m'n vri-xen vooro-liik te bhee'enan. 31 ka'ind, jo'i bint a'lt-a'id bai mee.

XXVI. ZUUL-HOLLAND, in English Province of South Hol-
land. II. 105.

119. Woubrugge, village (52 n 10, 4 e 37). II. 106.
11 dor bhas asris 'n man diei tbhee zee-oen had. 12 en d-uwa man var-
dee-l'dan z'u ghelld an ghooed. 15 om de varkes te hooi'en. 18 vaar'dar, ik e-bzenundigh teec-gha Jou. 22 breq 's ghoo-t zoe-daghshkha ghooed miir o trek-st-o'm an, en steek-en riq
an z'n vi-qar, en trek-am skhuu'nan an. 23 't vete kalb. 24 bhaant doec-zee'en van mee bhas dooud ["long o with the accent, and a faint aftersound of ou") en ik neb 'n bheer ovoenda. 25 zain ous-te zee-en bhas 't land in oghaa-n, en tuu dii bheer op nei's an ghooq, an op de boerf [Dutch woerf, 'wharf', homestead], noo-nda naal za zriqan en da'nsen. 29 om met me kamaraas's skhik to ne'ko. 31 ka'ind, Jill bent o'mers a'lt-a'id bai mee.

120. Leiden, city (52 n 10, 4 e 30). II. 111.
["The speech of Leiden is undoubtedly by far the ugliest (de leelijstse), most unpleasant, and most countrified (plaint) sounding in all Holland."]
The open country is said to be plat, 'flat', in contradistinction to the town, so that when those who speak Low—
that is Lowland—German, talk of a plat pronunciation, they mean one which prevails in the country, which is so flat that the plain is not even broken by a collection of houses! All the terms high, low, flat, upper, applied to
German, have reference to the con-
formation of the country, like Lowland and Highland applied to Scotch. The educated speak literary Dutch.]
11 dor bhas eris 'n man diei tbhee zee-en had. 12 en tuu deet-lo dea-
vaar'dar z'n ghooed mit a'ly ["the
diphthong ui is not pure oi (6i), but has something of the ou sound",] and Winkler writes oui, which I interpret (6y)].
15 om om de varkes te pa'a.
18 vaar'dar ik e-bzenundigh ghadaa-
toe'gho Jou. 22 naal eris ghau-t-
sendaso pak, en trek-st-o'm an, on stiek 'n ghoo'o riq an z'n viqar, en trek-am skhuu'nan an z'n vuurts. 23 't ghe-ens-ta kalaf. 24 want doec-zee'en van mee bhas dooud, en zai is behir teroregh ghavoerda. [The (ei, aii) are here separated, according as Winkler writes ei, ai, but he says ei and ij are not pure ai, but are some-
what prolonged, as a-ai.]
25 en om
25 en om
dan z'n ous-te zee-en bhas op 't land, en tuu dii ghadaa-n ad mit bheraka, en naa hoo's ghooq en diikht baii noys khbham, noo-nden il dat zo zo'qan en da'nsen. 27 je bruur. 29 om mi'ma ['with my'] kamaraas's vroot-vlik te behi'xa. 31 jo, zaii bint a'lt-a'id baii maa'in.

121. Katuik aan Zee, village (52 n 12, 4 e 23). II. 122.
11 dar bhas ari's 'n man, dii tbhee joveq na'ai, de in'n pe aer bestoshos [or (taa)] auror ['older'] as d'andor. 12 in tuu deel'da de vaahedar z'n gheld in ghud, in ghaft 'm z'n porsai [or (porsa)]. 15 om de vairkos te bha'ai. 18 vaahedar, ik neb azoe-ndighd tce-o'-gha jou. 22 meel ari's ghout meo-i'sta pak kleeeva, in trek-st-am an, in ghee-f-am on riq an z'n viqar, in skhuu'na an z'n bira. 23 't ve'ta kalf. 24 bhant dce-o-zaa zceen van mee bhas doo'd, in nai ne'bo bhee-m beeh avon'da. 25 de austo zceen bhas in-t veld, in tuu dii-teks is khabam, noor-di-ti zi-qon in-t dan'son. 27 jau bruur. 29 dat ik mit me kamara's ari's vroo'-lik kon bchee-zaa. 31 ma zoe'aa, zaj bint a'tla'id bai mee.

122. Scheweningen, village (52 n 16, 4 e 16). II. 126. 11 dar bhas ari's-'n man, en dii ad tbhii zceens. 12 on in z'n vaee'dar deel'da de buul of voor zceen ['him,' Dutch zijn, properly 'his'] on z'n bruur. 15 om de varakes te uu'i'aa [remnant of hoeden (huur-dan)]. 18 vaahedar, ik eeb azoe-ndighd tce-o'-gha jou. 22 laq dce-o-dalik 't besta ghudn, en duut-am dat an, on duu-n riq an z'n an on gheef on skhuu'na an z'n bii-na. 23 't smeesta ka'i'f. 24 bhant dce-o-zaa zceen van mee bhas doo'd ['written dood, and said to be the "Friesian and English oo in boat," the former is (oa, o', ooo), the latter is certainly not so in lettered English], an ii is bheero'm ako-ma. 25 an de man z'n ousta zceen dii bhas op 't land, en tuu dii mee cees ['house'] ghig, oo'roo'-ni za zi-qon an da-na. 27 jau bruur. 29 om mit me kamara's ari's vroo'-lik to bchee-zaa. 31 joo'i ['young one'], zaj ben a'tla'id bai mee.

123. 's Gravenhage, in En- glish the Hague, city (52 n 8, 4 e 18). II. 131. 11 dar bhas ari's 'n man, on dii nad tbhe'i zaana. 12 an tuu deel'da de vaah dar z'n ghudma on'da lle'il: 15 om de varakes te nuui'ja. 18 vahuur, ik niegh ghaoo'ondighd tce-ghan yv. 22 breq niir riis ghaan best kei'd on duut-at-am an, on ghuif't-am-an riq an z'n hand, on skhuu'na an z'n vuurt'a. 23 't ghomesta ka'ta. 24 bhant dce-o-zaa zaan van mee bhas daad, en nou hee-m-am tce-o'-ghaavon'da. 25 on z'n ousta zaan bhas in 't veld, en tuu dii khabam an diikt bee-t hau'i's bhas, noor-da-ni-it ghazaa'q an-t ghads-a. 27 ja bruur. 29 om dar met me vri'nda vri'a'llik ma'e't te bchee-zaa. 31 m'n kind, jee bin a'toos bee m'n. ['i'e' o and o are very broad; e comes near ai, and o near ao (aa). ei, ui, ou, iy, are close and pinched (benepens); ei, iy, are almost long French e; ui is eui with second eu in French heureusement, and ou is very near oe (uu)." In the text I have followed his spelling, where I have used (a'i) to express an "imperfect, obscure" ai, because he says that where it stands for e long, it must not be spoken "perfect" nor "too clearly," and that long a "approaches the bleating of," which I have represented by (ah).]

124. 's Gravesande, village (51 n 59, 4 e 10). II. 134. 11 dar bhas is 'n man dii tbhee zceens nad. 12 on op 't laq'a lest ['at the long last'], doezer z'n zani-ke an drine mos z'n vaarder bhal tuuur-gheeova, an zoo kreegh-d-i z'n zin ['he got his mind,' got what he wanted]. 15 on de vairkos te nuui'ja. 18 vaarder, ik teb ma ergch sleekt tce-o'-gha jee gheedraa gha. 22 breq in 'n o'mazini'enha [or (-tso)] da beesta kleevaa dji jo vindo ken, an duu z'am on an, on gheef-on ghou'aa riq an z'n vioq on skhuu'na an z'n vuu'ta. 23 't ve'tghomeesta kalf. 24 bhant dce-o-zaa zceen van mee bhas dood, an nou is-t-i bharom gavoonda. 25 tuu dat zoo plaas nad, bhas den ousta zceen in't veld, an tuu dii van 't land khabam, en dikhte bai hau'i's bhas, noor-da-ni-it ghaazaa'q an-t ghads-a. 27 ja bruur. 29 dat ik mi'ma vri'nda ris vroo'-lik mokh ['might'] bchee-zaa. 31 okh, ma kind, jee ben o'maa a'tla'id bai mee.

125. Groot-Ammers, village (51 n 54, 4 e 49). II. 138. 11 dar bhas-os 'n man an dii nad tbhee zceens. 12 on de vaarder deel'da-n-or-t ghudu. 15 om de verkaus te nuui'jan. 18 vaarder, ik nee ghaoo'ondighd tce-ghan jou. 22 breq ma m'n besto kleevaa, an duu za-am an, an gheef-on riq an z'n hand, an skhuu'na an z'n vuurt'a. 23 't ve'ta kalf. 24 bhant m'n zceen niir bhas dood, an niei is gavoonda. 25 de man z'n ousta zceen bhas op 't veld, en tuun niei bi't hyy khabam, noor-da niei -t ghaaza'q an ghoda's. 27 ja
bruur. 29 om mit ma vri‘nda vroo‘lik to bheeza. 31 kind, jee bint a‘l‘iid bii mee.

126. Gorinchem, town (51n49, 4 e 59). II. 140.

11 daar bhas is na man mi tbbee zoons. 12 on tuu deec‘lda de vaa‘dar z’n ghuud. 16 om op do verkas te pass. 18 vaa‘dar ‘k heb zoe sakht gheleo‘t that t’ skha‘nda‘n is vcoe‘r joo. 22 haal is ghau, zee i, ‘t mo‘o‘ste kleed, on trek-at-am is [‘once’] aan, on-on riq mot i aan z’n hand he‘ba, on duut-on skhu‘un on okay aan z’n vuut‘a. 23 t’ ve‘to kalf. 24 omdaa‘t mana-jo‘qon op d’n hol bhas ghoo‘laan [‘had gone to the hole,’ as it were ‘to the bottom,’ the word hol is very idiomatically used in Dutch], on nou bheer boo‘vo waat‘er is [‘and is now above water again’]; — no‘i bhas op-onen dbhaa‘l-bhegh [‘lost path’], on ii is bheer te rekht. 25 nou bhas d’n ‘ortse qua net [‘exactly’] op t’ land, on tuun inNaa no‘is tuu‘kkham, dook ii [‘thought he’]: bha noor-ku vcoe-on ghaz‘i on-on ghoda ns? 27 jo brryar. 29 om is mi m’n vri‘nda te smc‘lo [Dutch ‘feast, gormandise’]. 31 jo‘qaska, jee bent o‘mers a‘lts‘id bii mee.

127. Rotterdam, city (51n55, 4 e 29). II. 145.

11 dor bhas iis ‘n man dui tbbee zoens nad. 12 in da vaa‘dar ghosaf-on z’n porsir. 15 om do varkas op to pasa. 22 maal ma iis ghau d’a saka kee‘ran o‘i-t a kast, in duut-on dui an; ghee‘fe-on riq an z’n viqar, in skhu‘nna an z’n vuut‘a. 23 t‘ ve‘to kalf. 24 bhint mo‘zoen dui -i dokk ‘thought that’ that dud bhas, heb ik bheero‘m ghoo‘vanda. 25 tuu zon nou braaf an do ghau bhaa ra, kkham do ‘ortse zooen dui van t’ ghavo‘l nogh niit on [this (on) is a mere expletive associated with (niit)] bsthit, in in-no‘rde zo z’toqen in dan‘sen. 27 ja bruur. 29 dat-i [that he, the words are reported in the third person] voor ‘kem of z’n vri‘nda nogh nooit zoe o‘t‘tgh‘e‘naa‘l‘d [‘fetched out’] nad. 31 kind, jee bint o‘mers ba‘r‘i mee.

[‘The sound ai must not be pronounced too broadly (volmondig), it is intermediate between ei and ai; the orthography ai, with high German a, comes nearest to the sound.’ Hence my (a‘i). Compare the note on (a‘i) at the end of specimen 123.]

128. Vlaardingen, city (51n54, 4 e 21). II. 150.

11 dor bhas aree‘n’ man, in dui ad tbhee zooco. 12 in tuu deed‘ldoo‘t-i. 15 om do varkas te duur‘on [remnant of (were‘don)]. 18 vaa‘dar, ik eb azood‘idgh teec‘ghan joo. 22 saat oleei m’n beets kee‘r‘a-s iir, in duut-on dui an, in steak-on roq‘an an z’n and, in ghee‘fem skhu‘un on an z’n vuu‘ta. 23 t‘ gheem‘ste ka’ll‘f. 24 bhint dace‘er zoosen van mee bhas doood, in ii is ovo‘nda. 25 z’n ‘ortse zoosen bhas in -t veld; in tuu dui kkham in dikht bo‘i z’n varkas‘dor o‘is kkham, oor‘den-iit zo‘i‘qon in-t dan‘sen. 27 jo bruur. 29 om mit m’n vri‘nda vroo‘lik te bhee. 31 ko‘nd, joi ben o‘mers a‘lts‘id bii mee.

129. Dordrecht, in English Dort, city (51 n 49, 4 e 41). II. 154.

11 dar bhas oe na man, an dui had tbhe‘ zoosen. 12 on tuu ghaf de vaa‘der-on z’n zin [‘mind’] on do zoosen kreegh de hellef. 15 om op de verkats te passa. 18 vaa‘dar, ‘k heb ghazo‘ndigh teec‘ghan yy. 22 saat de beets kee‘ra, treekt-on dui an, duut no riq an z’n hand, an skhu‘nna an z’n vuut‘o. 23 t‘ gheem‘sta ka‘l‘ef. 24 bhint niir nob jee man-on zoosen dui bhe doorkhto dat doood bhas, on ii is bheer ghoo‘vanda. 25 de ‘ortse zoosen dui op-t veld an-t ar‘ob‘eran [‘work’] bhas, bhas in-t ghase‘l [‘altogether’] niit in z’n skhik [‘delight’] tuun-d-i dikht bo‘i t‘ noor ks ham, on-t ghaza‘q on-t ghoda‘ns noor‘da. 29 om metna‘r vri‘nda vroo‘lik te bheezenia. 31 kind, jee bint a‘lts‘id bo‘i mee ghabeheest.


11 deeer bhas ris ‘n man, on dui nad tbhee zoenen. 12 on tuu deel‘da de vaa‘der-z’n ghuud. 15 om de verkons te bha‘r‘e. 18 vaa‘dar, ik heb ghazo‘ndigh teeg‘ghan joo. 22 breet ris ghau m’n beets spee‘r voor dan dagh, in duut xo-a-m an; gheet ook-on riq an z’n hand, on skhu‘nna an z’n vuut‘a. 23 t‘ gheem‘ste ka‘l‘ef. 24 bhint dace‘r zoosen van me bhas doood, en is ghoo‘vopa. 25 on ad man z’n ‘ortse zoosen bhas in-t veld, on tuu dui kkham on dikht bo‘i noois kkham, tuu noor‘dan ii-t zi‘qon on dan‘sen. 27 ja bruur. 29 dat ik mit m’n vri‘nden ook ris vroo‘lik mokh bhee‘za. 31 kind, joi bin a‘ltoos be‘i ma‘in.
131. Brielle, or den Briel, town (51° 53', 40° 10'). II. 160.
11 Dar bhas is 'n man [main] in country Brielligh, dui nad tbhee zoo'na. 12 en ha'v ardeedo -t ghuud ondor nolli [Dutch huintied, 'them'] bie re ['both']. 15 op de varokes te paa. 18 vaa'dar, ik neb z'nda gheada'n teegh' jou. 22 breq 't besta kleed niir en duut-t-am an, duut-am-an riq an z'n viqar, en shhuun an z'n vuut'n. 23 't ghamerste kal. 24 bhant deez' zaeeen van mee bhas dood in ii is ghovo'n'da. 25 z'nu ost'e zaeeen bhas in-t veld, in tuun 'n kham in-t hyyg gheemaka't [Dutch, 'neared'], tuu noor'da-n-t ziiqan in'nt sprit'qon. 27 ja buur. 29 dat ik mit m'n vri'n'dan ook is vrooi'k mokht bheeeza. 31 kind, juu bint a'ttiid bi m'n.

132. De Tinte, hamlet of Oostvoorne, village (51° 54', 4° 5'). II. 163.
11 deeu bhas is 'n man dui tbhe' zaeeen nad. 12 en de vaa'dar deew. 15 om de varke te bhier. 18 vaa'dor, ik neb khbae'de gheada'n teeghan jou. 22 breq deeo'dalik 't besta kleed niir, en trek-st-am an, en duu-i riq an z'n hand, en shhuun an z'n bee'nan. 23 't ghoo'mste kalf. 24 bhant dees' zaeeen van mee bhas dood, en is ghavo'o'n svoor. 25 en z'n ooste zaeeen bhas in 't veld, en tuu i bieiegh ['away'] ghioq on bi hyyg bahgo'os te ko'ma, noor'da ii't tromee'il [French tumults, in a form spread over all the Netherlands]. 27 ja buur. 29 om is locoet [see sp. 131] te e'bha mit ma kamaraa's. 31 kind, juu bint a'ttiid bi miin.

XXVII. ZEELAND. II. 176.

135. Burg, village on Schouwen island (51° 42', 3° 50'). II. 182.
11 'n zeeker men as thbee'zaeeen. 12 in i deez'lda zo't ghuud. 15 om de varke to bhier. 18 vaa'dar, ik neb ghoo'ndigh teeghan jou. 22 briiqt -ot besta pak kleer' tir, in duut-am dat an, in gheen-oo riq an z'n and, en shhuun an z'n fuu'tan. 23 't ghoo'msta kolf. 24 bhant dees' zaeeen van mee bhas dood, in ii is ghavo'n'da. 25 in z'n ooste zaeeen bhas in-t veld; in tuu i dikhto bii yys khbaeem, oordiit gheewaq in't ghed'a'n. 27 ja buur. 29 da-k miin ma vri'n'dan is vrool'k kon bheeeza. 31 kind, jii bint o'tteos bi m'n.

136. Tolen, island (51° 32', 4° 6'). II. 185.
11 'n zeeker me'nso a [had, the final consonants are constantly omitted] thbee'zaeeen. 12 on i deez'lda oolder [Dutch hunieden 'them', -r universally
used in Zeeland] 't ghund. 15 om de verkas ts bha-khtan. 18 vaa'dar, k-w ["I have"] kbhAed ghadae teerg'han jun. 22 brijq m'n ghau-t besta kleed, on duut om dat an, an gheeft-em-an riqk an z'n and, an skhuunn an z'n vuutan. 23 't ghaste-kaf. 24 bhant m'n zoee'na bhas zo ghund as dad'd, an is vrom [Dutch wederom, again] ghavo'nda. 25 en z'n on'sta zoee'na bhas op-t land en tuum-an van't land vrom khaban om a ['quite,' Dutch af] di'khta bi yys bhas, z'o'r'dan ii da-z'a zo'qan an da-z'a da'ntan. 27 jo bruur. 29 om mee m'n vrii'ndan is pleezir't e'ban. 31 kind, see bint o'tiid bii m'n.

137. Zuid Beveland, in English South Beveland, island (51 n.27, 3 e52). II. 190. [Lowland language of the greatest part of the island of Wolfaartsdijk.]

11 di bhas is 'n man, dii thihe' zoee'ns a. 12 en i vered're'dan 't ghund. 15 om de verkas ts bha-khtan. 18 vaa'dar, 'k zee zo'nda adae' teerg'han jun. 22 wael't iir 'n best pak kleer'en en leest-em dat an duu', an gheef't-an riqk an z'n aannan ['hands'], en skhuunn an z'n vuutan. 23 't vete' kalf. 24 bhant iir zoee'na bhas doi, an ii is a'vondo. 25 en z'n on'sta zoee'na bhas in 't veld; an as 'n vrom khaban, an kort bi yys khaban, oor'dan ii't ghaz'arq an't ghada'ns. 27 je bruur. 29 om ok is m'i m'n kamaraas' plazir't ou-on ['hold']. 31 kind, jii bin a'tiid bii mee.

[The word (dt), v. 11, is written di'ran, and Winkler notes that this r is not spoken, but serves to give the preceding vowel its sound in short syllables; this is theoretically (dt), but practically (de). Similarly for (mi), v. 29.]


11 'nee'er me'nds a thihe' zoee'nan. 12 an da dee z'n vaa'dar. 15 om de verkas ts bha-khtan. 18 vaa'dar, ik zee a'vondo'dh teerg'han jun. 22 brijq iir is 'n moo'ns pak ghund, an duut-an dat an on gheat-an-an riqk an z'n viir'qar, en skhuunnan an z'n vuurtan. 23 't beste' kalf. 24 bhant m'n zoee'na bhas d00'd, an i is a'vangaan. 25 an z'n on'stra zoee'na bhas op-t veld, on as dii yyt 't veld nir yys khaban, oor'dan ii z'a ziir'qan on spiir'qan. 27 je bruur. 29 om m'i m'n kamaraa's is pleziir 't aea ["have"]. 31 jo'qan, see bint o'tiid bai mee.

139. Goes, or ter Goes, town (51 n 29, 3 e53). II. 196.

[Winkler remarks that the close and open o and e are distinctly separated, and ie, oe, are diphthongal.]

11 'n man a thihe' zoee'nan. 12 en tuu varden'ldan i eeldar 't ghund. 15 om de verkas ts bhE'ran. 18 vaa'dar, ik zee-k ghaz'oondigh teerg'han juu. 22 brijq iir daad'alki 't beste' kleed', an duut 't um an, an gheeft 'n riqk an z'n and, an skhuunn an z'n vuurtan. 23 't ghave'ta kalf. 24 bhant dii zoee'na van mee bhas d00'd, an is ghavo'nda. 25 an z'n on'stra zoee'na bhas op-t land, an tuum-an di'khta bi yys khaban, oor'dan ii t ghaza'q an't ghada'ns. 27 je bruur. 29 da-k mee m'n vrii'ndan is pleziir'e kon. 31 kind, jii bin a'tiid bii mee.

140. Noord Beveland, island (51 n 33, 3 e47). II. 199.

11 di bhas is 'n man, dii thihe' zoee'ns a. 12 en i varden'ldo't ghund. 15 om de verkas ts bha-khtan. 18 vaa'dar, k-sae kbhAed adae' teerg'han juu. 22 wael't iir 't beste pak ghund, an leest-em dat an duu, an gheat-ean-an riqk an z'n viir'qar, en skhuunnan an z'n vuurtan. 23 't vete' kalf. 24 bhant ii m'zoe'na bhas d00'd, an ii is vrom a'vondo. 25 an z'n on'stra zoee'na bhas in 't veld; an as dii vrom khaban, on kort bi yys khaban, oor'dan ii't ghaz'arq an't gha'dahn. 27 je bruur. 29 om ok is m'i m'n kamaraas' plazir't ou-on ['hold']. 31 kind, jii bin a'tiid bii mee.


11 dar bhas is 'n man en dii naa thihe' zoee'ns. 12 en de vaa'dar skee'daz'n ghund an ghaf'ndan juu-quaan z'n e'rfo'si ['inheritance-portion']. 15 om op de verkas ts parson. 18 vaa'dar, k-a-a-k ['I have I,' repeated pronoun, frequent hereafter] zo'nda ghadae' teerg'han juu. 22 brijq ghau da beste plae'nnan, an duut-an dii an, an gheat-ean-an riqk an z'n viir'qar an skhuunnen an z'n vuurtan. 23 't gha'maste ke'lff. 24 bhant 't is net x'ndar of deez'aa zoee'na van mee d00d ghahbi'st eit, an bhee ghavo'n-dan is. 25 an z'n on'stra zoee'na bhas
144. Aksel, or Axel, town (51 n 17, 3 e 55). II. 212.

[The Roman Catholic peasantry in the southern part of the Aksel district speak as in specimen 143, but the Protestants as follows. The close and open e, o, are said to be very distinctly separated.]

11 or bhas aarghans iimand dit bhee zae'anan AA. 12 on zaa vaad'or deeld o'dlar yrt bhaa ze noodigh aan, om te ko'ana leeven. 15 bee'stan an veerc'kans op ta paa'san on ta vruur'an.

18 vaadar, k -kwan zaawonde ghada'aat an ni'a-modal ghund mee juu ghارد 'del'd, dealt). 22 breqj-am dan nie'bhan laq'kroen, an duut-an ghо'na koe'pa'an an z'n aaw-mibizan [gold studs on his shirt-front], hemedboord of boezem, the pro- digal son is treated as an Aksel peasant lad, on zвлпav roork'iikan 'silver breeches-seams' an, on skuu'na mee ghits пен ['buckles']. 23 on woord'lar zwan ['we shall'] tuk-ro ['cakes', take the place of the calf] laa'tan ba'ka'n. 24 bhan man zoe'ana bhas for our zoo ghund as dood, an ii is ghavo'den. 25 dan gurd'en van de zee'ens bhas in -t land, en tuun in dikhtor bi yys kbbham, oordian de zii'g'an on spriiq'an. 27 ze buur, 29 om plesiri't t'aan mee d -andre juu'qars. 31 bel [ 'well'], man juu'qan, see bent o'lebi'ti ii bii mon.

145. Kadzand, village and district, formerly an island (51 n 21, 3 e 24). II. 216.

11 daa bhas ees 'n mens dit bhee zoe'ens a. 12 in i dere-l'dan ghund onder oeldar. 15 op de veerkans te paa'san. 18 vaadar, ik ueen zoe'ana gho'daa'n teeg'ihan juu. 22 aalt 't mool'sta ghund, in duut 't man, in duud 'n riq'k an z'n viir'qor, in skhuur'an an z'n vru'aten. 23 't ghave'ta kalf. 24 bhan man zoe'ana iir bhas dood, in is ghavo'nan. 25 in z'n ou'sta zoe'ana bhas in -t land, in as ik kbbham, in kort bi yys bhas, oordian iit ghaza'q'k in-t gheda'nan. 27 ze buur. 29 om mee mo riir'den ees-een pleziry-ighon dagh t'seen. 31 juu'qan, see zii'aitiid bi mee.


11 'n zee'kar mens a bhee zoe'ens. 12 an i dere-l'da -t ghund oonder oeldar. 15 om de veerkans te baar'kten. 18 vaadar, ik en ['have'] kbbhаa't
ghoda'a'nm teeg'en juu. 22 aal -t be-sta klee'd, in duut-o-t om an, in duud-en riig an z'n and, in skhu'un an z'n vuur-t'on. 23 't gheve'to kalf. 24 bhant deee'za zoom van mee bhas dood, in ii is ghavon'dan. 25 in z'n oorsta zoom bhas op -t land, in ai dikht bi yys kham, oordan ii-t ghazaaq in-t ghodans. 27 je bruur. 29 om mee mo vrii'dan leec-tigh to zii'n. 31 kind, jee bind a'tlii bii mee.

147. Aardenburg, town (51n16, 3 e 27). II. 222.
11 daa bhas 'n keer [and (oke'r') 'once,' Dutch eenkeer, much used in Belgium] 'n man dii a tbehe zoomens. 12 on ii verdee'dan 't ghuid. 15 om de vaar'konks to bhaar-kht'en. 18 vaar'dar, 'k deee'-ka-ik [this repetition of personal pronoun is common in Flanders] zo'nde teeg'hen juu. 22 aald-o-keer 't beest klee'd en duu-dat im an, on-an riigk an z'n viir-gar, an skhuu nan an z'n vuurt'on. 23 't verte kalf. 24 bhan d'n deec'ze m'n zoomen dii bhsaas, ii is ghavonnan. 25 z'n oor'ds ne zoomo bhas in 't land, en ai kham an t-yys naadord, oordan ii-t zii'gan en in de roonde dansan. 27 je bruur. 30 om mee m'n maats ess leec-te-t on ('to have'). 31 m'n kind, ghee zii ghii a'tlii bii mee.

[Really East Flemish, much mixed with French.]
11 non zee-kor'en mei'mso aa tbehe' zoomens. 12 on zonan-vaa'dar partee'zey'dan oel'dar de syykkesii ['succession']. 15 om de sbheens to bhaar-kht'en. 18 vaar'dar, k-ee'na-k-ik [the pronoun tripled!] mesdaan teegheens oon. 22 breot ihr voort 't be'ste klee'd, en duuregha-t-o aama, en laaq-t-om een-riijk an z'n aand, en skhuus an z'n vuurt'on. 23 't ghoe'me'ste kalf. 24 bhant den deec'zon monen zoomo bhaarse deesd, en ai es bhederom ghavonnan. 25 en z'n aairstan zoomo bhas op de stiikan en ee-t-en kaaxe en t-ois genaa-k'tego, oordan ai den zaq en-t ghoro-kht'e. 27 oeren bruurra. 29 opdaak mee m'n vir'ndakens en's ghee'stro'i moht zai'n. 31 kiind, ghee zai ghai a'tlaas bai mai.'

[Observe the gerundal dative (to bhaar-khtana) v. 15; Winkler remarks that this linguistically correct form, which has almost entirely disappeared in North Netherlands, is still in full use in this and many other Flemish dialects, and that the dative is even used after independent nouns, as v. 13, bacht'en lettel daagene, 'after little (a few) days.']

XXVIII. ZUID- NEDERLAND, in English BELGIUM. II. 230.

XXIX. Limburg, Belgian portion. II. 234. Compare No. XVII. 51, etc., p. 1389.

149. Helchteren, village (51n3, 5 e 23). II. 235.
11 dao' bhaas ins one-mins deee' tbbii zoomens naa. 12 en de vaa'dar lyzt z'n k'inar ['let his children'] dan'len. 15 en de paarkhtor deo um de vortk on yynen. 18 vaa'dar, ik hem zon ghodann teeg'he okh. 22 duun dees de vaa'dar se'fes ['quickly,' see specimen 51] z'n be'ste kliaar-len. 23 o vet kalf. 24 da zano-joq troek [Dutch terug, back] gheko-mo bhaas. 25 o nartce'se ['meanwhile'] kbham don aadsta zoom oot oet veld, en bhei ['when'] or in hoos yyy're'd xq'an en dansan... 27 uur bryrr. 29 on veeer mikh heeman-ze ['have they'] ze eel'en zoog hiin ['none'] koer'mis ['Christmas,' fair-time, feasting] ghaa'gheen. 31 zoog, ghee zeet a'tteed bee mikh.

150. Hasselt, town (50 n 56, 5 e 20). II. 238.
[The sound of ao in kaome, etc., and o in vloog, go (quickly), zoon, lies between o, eu, and a, but "one must be a Hasseltser to force one's tongue to it." I have written (ao) as a compromise.] 11. do bhoecer ins no man dia tbhee zeen ha. 12 doun ['then'] verdil'dso de vaa 't ghuid te'sen ['between,' Dutch tusschen] nin tbheera. 15 uup z'n bhe'niq var z'n vurkes to heera. 18 vaa'dar, ik heb foet ghoria'd teeg'he ykkhe. 22 haai'dso ins ghie t'be'ste klid, en dootsh [or (dootsje)] oen da aan, en stiek-am one-riijk in zano-vexor, en skhaan in z'n veet. 23 't vet kalf. 24 bhant mona-zoom heer bhoecer dood, en noo as en bhirm [Dutch wederom, 'again'] tretgh. [Dutch terug, 'back'] ghevo'na. 25 maa zonan-aards zoom bhoecer op 't veelds [may be ('velst, 'veltsj, veldzh)] an bhee 'm in 't tregh koer'me kort an zee'nes ghekoe'me.
bhœer, niir-\'den om da-sa an-t ze\'qen on an-t daa\'son [the first (n) lost] bhœer. 27 uur bre\'ir 29 ver m\'n kameraaa\'-ton ins ta trakteer\'a. 31 juuq, dh\'ee [written \'dje, may be (\'tie\')e] zetz al\'ted bee mikh.

151. St. Truiden, in French St. Trond, town (50n48, 5e12). II. 242. 11 doo bhas one-kiir (see specimen 147) one-man, dee a tbhi\'i juu\'qas. 12 en de vaar dii\'-\'dlo en ghaf t\'em. 15 most er cem bee no buur as verkas\'-keet ['as farrow-\'herd'] verry\'-r ['hire']. 18 paa, kl\\'eeb ghaoz\'-\'ndighd teeg\'ha uukh. 22 \'dli \[\'fetch\] se\'-\'ses ni\'-\'vo klii\'-r en a paar ni\'-\'vo styr-v\'els veeer eem aan tu duun, en eem-ghoe\'n req\'k veeer en zana-vi\'qar te stee\'-ka. 23 \'t vet kalf. 24 bhant mana-zoon bhas duu\'d, an ikh oec\'em treek ghavu\'uqa. 25 zoome [\'yes, but\'] don aadsta zoon dee bhas en-\'t veld; en as-t-or t-faas k\'am, en al da labhees\'-\'en en da ghaskrit\'-f ye\'-\'de, kost-\'or nee bagho\'-\'pe bhas daa\'t bhas. 27 ze b\'yrr. 29 veeer z\'-\'n vi\'r\'den ins to trakteere. 31 kend, dh\'ee [or (\'dje, written \'dje) ze\'it al\'\-'to\'-\'id bee mikh ghehees\'-\'t.

XXX. Zuid Brabant or Bel-\'gian Brabant. II. 247. See No. XVIII. 57, etc., p. 1390.

152. Zuurbeemden, village near Haelan (50 n 67, 5 e 7). II. 249. 11 do\'s bhas one-kiir ne man, do\'-\'ta tbhi\'i zoo\'-\'non na. 12 en de vaar liit dan ales d\'erla. 15 verke-\'hee\'t to bho\'-\'de ['to become farr\'-\'herd']. 18 va\'a\'der, ikh bhii\'-\'et, ikh nem gere-

153. Diest, town (50n58, 5e3). II. 255. 11 dor bhas eems one-zeek\'ora vent ['man'], dii\' tbhi\'i zoo\'-\'non ad. 12 en de va\'a\'-\'der verdil\'e elk zo paat. 15 uum de verkas to yye. 18 va\'a\'der, ikh em khaah ghodaan\'t teeg\'ha uu\'-\'kha. 22 spuud ['has\'-\'ten] uu\'kh al ghau, breeg t\'eef klii\'-t\'en de van de skhuun\'nsta ['most beautiful'] en duugh-at-\'em aan, en gheer em onen-

154. Tienen, in French Tirlemont (50 n 38, 4 e 56). II. 256. 11 doo bhaah 'n kir 'n mins deez tbhi\'i juu\'qas a. 12 en de vaar eet oen 't ghuud gheled-\'d. 15 ver de verkas \'t yye. 18 vaa\'-\'to [this should mean 'little father,' but may be a misprint, as the word is (va\'a\'der) in v. 21], ikh om o\\'ngheleek gh\'ad ['I have wrong had'] teeg\'-\'hanka akkh. 22 haalet one-kiir agho\'ou [Dutch al gawu 'all quickly'] do be\'-\'s\'to klee\'-\'e deee gha viq\'t ['find, Dutch vinderel] en trekt-\'em deee aan, on steekt eem onen-\'riqk in zana-vi\'qar en skhuun in z\'n vuur\'ta. 23 de veta moe\'-\'ta ['calf,' also (moes\', moe\'ta, moe\'e\'-\'ta), (meet\'iin) in Overijssel means 'stuff']. 24 bhant mana-juuq ii bhas dood, on-e oes bhii treeg\'ghavo\'uqa. 25 ondar\'-\'e\'-\'s ['meanwhile'] bhas dan aa\'-\'dsta zoon uup 't veld, en as-t-or treeg\'h kamp en bek\'aarn ['near'] an z\'n ees (or (co\'o\'s) 'house') bhas, yya\'-\'to\'-\'ar ziq\'on en spri\'-\'qa. 27 zo br\'e\'i. 29 ver man vi\'r\'den ins o fiee\'-\'ska to ghee\'-\'va. 31 ooh juuq, ghee \'zod o\'\-'mees al\'to\'-\'id bee mikh.

[On the word slovolder, 'whore,' v. 30, Winkler remarks that it is properly the word slodder, 'sloven,' with a join inserted (een lasch er in) in the Flemish way, thus: sl-av-oddar, and in the same way West Flemings make the North Nederlandish sel, 'slut,' into sl-av-etse, with the same meaning; similarly in spec. 147, v. 14, the word schaboucelik occurs, which is schouwes-

lik, 'showily,' with a Flemish insertion of ab.]
155. Louwen, in French Louvain, city (50 n 53, 4 e 43). II. 261. 11 doo ["a simple sound, nearly long Dutch oo, nearest French ou, and approaching German u"] bhas na man dri tbeee zoons a. 12 on do voor verdeee-län-in dan 't ghaut. 15 uum or de verújks t-aava [aavva, ooavva, mooma, nûwa] from (nou'da) 'hold,' the usual (nuu'dan) keep is unknown at Louvain. 18 voor-daar, k-ëm ghemi'ist, k-ëm zoo veel kood gheedon tee'gha aa. 22 òilt serfas ot be'ta kleët en doot-at-on en; stekt enen-ríq on zenen-vi'qar on doot-at skhuurnan on. 23 't vet kalf. 24 bhaat mano-zoon bhas dood, en a'í es gheov'na. 25 joo-mo, den òur'dsta zoon bhas terva'l'led [\"whilling,\" staying\] uup 't velt, on as d'ai'na bhee kbbhamp en baka'inst [\"almost\", on a'is bhas, oo'dom-en vaa bai'te daa z oo doo bee'zigh hboor en mee ziqan en dartso. 27 uu brii. 18 uum man vrii'nden ins to trakteear. 31 mo kint, ghai za'id a'hta'id ba'í mai', [(\'a\')] is said to "sound nearly like the English boy, but the (i) is very obstrusely pronounced," more as (\'a\') perhaps, 'but it is a mere variety of (\'a\').]

156. Brussel, in French Bruxelles, in English Brussels, city (50 n 52, 4 e 21). II. 268. [The sneeze of the Brusselers is stated not to be exactly Dutch sj, or French ch, or German sch, but resembling all, and to have something of l and n nouilles in it; hence I write it (sj) or (shj).] J. F. Willems wrote it j, as hitj 'hot,' and S. C. A. Willems wrote it ijsch, as hitjche, and Winkler writes it sj. The Brussels population and the country about is distinctly low German, not French. The following version is the genuine old language of the lower city.]

11 duu bhas one-kii one-man dri tbiirj ve zoo'na en. 12 en da voor ghaf uun ëlde ze poot ['part']. 15 uuom do vèrksas t-aava. 18 voor, t-es bhooor ['true'] k' am-ik-ik veel, gh'di'll [Dutch geheel, altogether] veel kbbhood ghadoom tee'gha aa. 22 spúaid aailen isi al ghaa, o'tij [\"fetch\"] o skhooi ['beautiful'] nytt kliit' veec ['fore'] en uum ta duun, sttek em onen-ríqk uun zana-vi'qar, an gheeft-em-o poor skhuurnen uun z'n vur'to. 23 o vet kalf. 24 bhaant mana-zoon duu bhas dódoid, en naa ema bheee 'm bhee gheov'na. 25 moo dan òur'dsta zoon bhas bóoitu nuu 't feltjís ghabheest, on as en zum abhar [Dutchietwatu, \"somewhat\"] in de ghabyrra [\"neighbourhood\"] van z'n òoís kbbhamp, òoidan aái al-t si'qan en dartso. 27 a bryy. 29 om mën m'n kameroor'dan isja braa te sme'wlaa. 31 zoon, ghee zaa'i ghaa imees a'ltáaid btaa m-t-oois.

157. Noord-Brussel, Schaar- beek, etc., the suburbs on the North of Brussels, see No. 156. II. 273. 11 doo bhas one-zee'køre man dri tbihi' zoo'nen a. 12 en do voor diitjesan ce'c'leen ce'c'le [Dutch hunitleden repeated] poot. 15 uum z'n verkks ghuuni 't slooyghe [Dutch gade te slaan, \"notice to strike,\" to mind]. 18 voor, t-es bhooor k-ëm tee'ghan a kbbhood ghadhoo'n. 22 ghef ghaa e kili'd on de jaurqa, en in'n ['one'] van de ëste; duutij's em onen-ríqk on zana-vi'qar, en skhuurnan on z'n vyr'ten. 27 't vet kalf. 24 bhaant mana-zoon bhas ddóoid, en aa e bhee gheov'na. 25 dan aad-sta zoon bhas in 't feld ghobleleir; moo as en noo z'n òuís kbbhamp, tees-'dan a myyzii'k, dartso en zank. 27 ce'c'le bryy. 29 uum mee man vriirtjes moo'lttaad t-aavo. 31 juureqa, ghee zaat a'lttaa baa maa.

XXXI. Antwerpen, in French Antvors, in English Antwerp. II. 279. 158. Tielen, village, near Turnhout, town (51 n 19, 467). II. 281. 11 dar bhas es na vaa'dar mee tbihi' zoo'nen. 12 nee, de vaa'dar dii\' bhas droor'vor kontent, on i liit z'n juureqa daaloon. 15 do verkas deec heyven. 18 vaa'der k-ëm veecl kaad ghaadaan. 22 duut-at en ghau skhoon dii'qan aa, on-no riikk aa z'n viiqar on-skhuun aa z'n vur'to. 23 't vet kalf. 24 bhaant mana-zoon bhas dood, on-ik em terewgh ghvo'na. 25 jaa'mor den eerdstan juurqan bhas dan uup 't veld aan 't bheerken, on as a tee'ghan 's aa'vas ['evening'] uup hois aa kbbham, oor'den en va vaas da labahir'd on-e kost or ghana kop aa kraifghi\'f [\"and he could there no head on get,\" and he could not understand it.] 27 e bryr. 29 om mën vrii'nden es te trakteear. 31 juureqa, ghee zait uur'mes a'ltái bái mái.
159. **Mol, town (51n12, 5e7).**  
II. 284.  
11 daa bhas 'na man dii' thber' zoonmen aai [ 'had' ], 12 en de vaader vande'dla dan 't ghund. 15 de ver'eoks yyo. 21 vaader, 'k om onghala’ik. 22 breekt se-fas 't besta kleed, on duu ghoo 't aan; stekt-on riqk een zone-ve'gar on duut-on skhuu- 
man aan. 23 't vet ka'laef. 24 bhanh mana zoom bhas doot, en ii is ghenvna. 25 den aunts zoon bhas to'san dii'n to'id oit; as o't-oîs khamp, y'y'rdan o'i va bör't-t labhaat. 29 om mee m'na vre'nden uup 't eet'en. 31 de va'da zee-m dan dat noii al't's bi'o -m bhas.

160. **Antwerpen, in French Antwerp, in English Antwerp (51 n 13, 4 e 23).**  
II. 293.  
[Considering Antwerp pronunciation to be the 'type' of South Netherlandish or Belgian forms of speech, Winkler gives rather a long account of it, which is here condensed. ]

A long is oo, nearer o than a, almost the French é in fantôme [that is, (AA)]. When without stress, it is like a common short o, (o, a), as maar = mor.  
A short is very like e short or German à short; man, had, kwaam, sound as German män, ädd, kwaüm [that is, (e)]. But when it has the stress, it sounds as half long A, nearly as French ône [that is, (a)].  
E long and close becomes one of the lowest classes ei, or rather eë, eef [that is, (êi, êéi, êee)] or (êi, êêi, êëi).  
E long and open becomes a diphthong ië or iëë, exactly like the Friesian te or ia, and this is general Belgian [that is, (io, i'ë)]. When without stress, it becomes in Antwerp simple i [(i, i, e], e').  
E heavy, "de zware e," is a bleating sound between a and e, the æ found in many Hollandish forms of speech, the French faire, père [as distinct from (e)], given to short e above, this is certainly (ææ)]. It often occurs before r, where the genuine Netherlandish has aa or e, as garme. In Friesisch towns, Groningen, etc., these words have eet. The same e or æ sound is used in other words at Antwerp, which in Belgium generally have ei (êi). The final -aar, -laer, have (æ).  
E short before r becomes a short, as werk, kerl, sterk = wark, kark, stark [with (e) f].

IE diphthong has the pure, not the Hollandish, pronunciation [that is, (i), not (ii)]. The lowest class, however, change it to a close long e followed by j, as ziel = zeej [that is, (zëh, zëé j)].  
I short is pure i, as in German, especially when it has the stress [that is, (i), not (i, e), e].  
O close and long is generally as in genuine Dutch [(oo) ?], but the lowest speakers add on an obscure w, as kawmen for komen (kóum-men); zoon, koning, are zeun, kewnik (zeoon, zoon; kæen-nik, kæw-nik).  
O or OO open and long is pronounced oëe, that is, as oe with an aftersound of unaccented e, just like Friesian oe or wo [that is, (u4, uö)]. This pronunciation is peculiar to Antwerp, Limburg, and part of Belgian Brabant. But in the two Flanders and the rest of Belgian Brabant this o is called ué, (yy'), as schuun or schvëen (skeyn, skyyn').  
O short has generally in Belgium three sounds; 1) regular, in top (top, top ?); 2) as Hollandish oe, or German u (uu, u), in most words, where Hollandish has the obscure short o [apparently (o, o)], as oep for op; 3) before r, as short eu, or as German ø [perhaps (ö), and not (œ), may be meant]. Many of these words have short u [(œ) in my transcription].  
U long retains its sound generally (yy); but when followed by u, as in uu, duuven, and also in nu, it becomes au or auue (au).  
U short in Antwerp and all Belgium, except occasionally in Flanders, is pure u, like German ü (y), as ët for hut (yt).  
Ij and EI under the stress become aai or ai or oai (hai, ai, ai'); without the stress, they fall into simple a.  
UI, AAI, are both ooi (boi), as oois for huis.  
OEI and OOI are both oëi or oëj (dui, ûj) at Antwerp. In OOI the i is sometimes lost, and the long open oo becomes oëe (uuë) at Antwerp, as (nuu't) = nooit.  
AUW and OUW are both auu (au).  
EEW is ëwr, "that is, the long open ee, which in Antwerp becomes ië or iëë (ii'), ending with a w" [ii'u' ?].  
IEUW is generally iëf (iií, iëí').  
H is not pronounced in Antwerp, the two Flanders, and the western part of the province of Antwerp, and Bel-
gian Brabant. In Eastern Antwerp and in East Brabant, as well as in Limburg, h is pronounced.

N before some consonants becomes ng (q), as *kiingd for kind. N is omitted in the termination en, where the next word does not begin with a vowel, as waes moeten alle dooge werkz.

T is omitted in dat, wat, niet, met, etc., as is also common in Zeeland and North Brabant.

D between two vowels is frequently i or i, as specieen for species.

Cases do not differ in adjectives, but genders do. Article: masc. ne (na) before all consonants but b, d, h, t, and 'nen (nen) before these and vowels; feminine n always; neuter e (a) before all consonants but b, d, h, t, and 't before these and vowels. Definite: masc. de, den; fem. de; neut 't. Possessive: m. m'ne, m'nen; f. m'n; n. m', m'n. Demonstrative: m. dieé, diéen; f. die; n. dat.

Pronouns: gij or ge placed after a verb becomes de, as oor de nie? = hoort gij niet. Hij, otherwise a or a, becomes in that position em, as zal em komen = zal hij komen; but older people preserve i in this case. Wij, not under stress, becomes me. As object of a verb, the third person plural is always ze; of a preposition, always un.

A long vowel in verbs is shortened in 3 pr. sg., in 2 pr. pres., and in imp., tk ném, a mènt, we nèmen, go nème, ze nèmen; nèm, nènt.

11 dor bhas nè man on dii'n ed tbhii' zooma. 12 on a-r-oet en ii'dor zo kiingheidhi'ita [child's portion] ghehgeeva. 15 uum do varrokos u u'ja. 18 vaarder, k-em khbaa ghado'n teegha an. 22 ma'ren, ghàn, brekt a paasbe'sta ['pastoral best,' the custom being to put on new clothes at Easter] klí'd an duu gheee-t-em aan, stekt onan-riiqk on zoom-viiqar, on tekt skhuuur-an on z'n vuu-ta. 23 't vet ka-lof. 24 bhant mana-zoom bhaas du'd, on a-r-is trygh ghavo'qo. 25 mor terháa'i-lot bhas dan auster zoom uup-t veld; en as om bheer kkhem, on ael dikht baa z'n dois bhas, uu'-rdan on zi'qen an daarsa. 27 uu bryrr. 29 um m'n vriiqdan is to trakteer'a. 31 sii, ju'qa, ghee za ghàai a'la be màaì.

161. Lier, in French Liére, town (51 n 8, 4 e 34). II. 297. 11 no man ad tbhii' zooma. 12 on a verdii'ldan-at ghudh oonder voorla. 15 om zon vee'rokos t-ee-bha. 18 vaarder, k-em teeghan an ghazo'ndighd. 22 breqt dan ii'rston te-bard [tabard; frock, a Dutch word] dan be'esten, duut-am-on ön, stekt-am nan-riiqk on z'n and, an skhuuur-an on z'n vuu'tan. 23 a mes'tkaf. 24 omdat maar'na zoon doud bhas, en is bheerun'm ghavona. 25 mor dan aardsta zoon bhas op't veld, en tuun a bheer kkham, en z'n òous noud'arda, oor'dren-aa-t ghaza'qk. 27 uu bryrr. 29 om mee man aand te-eeten. 31 zoon, ghaa zaad a'taa baa maa.

162. Mechelen, in English Mechlin, in French Malines (51 n 2, 4 e 23). II. 299.

11 dar bhas no kii' na man, dii tbhii' ju'qas aa. 12 on da va'i'dor verdii'-ldan oorla paatt. 15 uum do verkas ghoi to slà'igho. 18 va'i'dor, k-em ghazo'ndighd teeghan aa. 22 gheeft al ghaa o klíi'd on-t be'sta dat er is, gheef-am nan-riiqk aan z'n and, en skhuuur-an aan z'n vuu'ta. 23 't vet kalj. 24 bhant mana-ju'qo bhas du'd, on a-r-is bheer ghavona. 25 aan-mor dan aardsta zoon dii' bhas up et veld as daa vooxor viel; en ghala'k om nor dois kkmhp, oor'dren-on der o labhaa't van ziiqoon an sprii'qo. 27 uu bryrr. 29 um mee m'n vri'nde na kii' blàài to zàain. 31 ghee zaa ghàai uum's a'reíad bà màaì.

163. St. Amands, village (51n3, 4 e 12). II. 302.

11 dòu bhas no man dii' tbhii' zooma nanaa. 12 on da vou'dar ghaf' t om. 15 do verkas ghoi slòrughan. 18 vou'dor, k-em kkhoud ghadö'n teeghan aa. 22 gheeft al ghaa o klíi'd òun de ju'qan, ii'n van de beesta; stekt dan nan-riiqk òun zii'rran viiqar, on gheef-am skhuuur-an òun zàin vuu'ta. 23 't vet ghoom'o-kalj. 24 bhant ons kiind bhas du'd, on òí os-bheer ghavona. 25 dan aardstaan zoon bhas inn't feld gheelbrevon, en as on noor o'is kkmhp, uur'dan úi daa sa bheezigh bòru'n me to ziiqan an tà daans. 27 a bryrr. 29 um no kii' mee màin vri'nde kerr'mis t-aavon. 31 gha zait uum's a'atad bai mài.

XXXII. OOST - VLAANDEREN, in English EAST FLANDERS. II. 306.

164. St. Nicolaas, town (51 n 10, 4 e 7). II. 308.
11 hour bhas na kii't na mens, dii thbii' zo'en na AA. 12 on de vou'der ghaf z-ek a'dler pört. 15 on de verkas ta bhàrk'het. 18 vou'der, k-six mis'dou'n. 22 oust a'dler ['haste ye'] on oult an ghaf de b'ec'te klee'ran on duu zo-m ouu; stikt-am-no rięk on zai'ra vix'qar, on skhunnon on zai'n vuurt'on. 23 't vet kal. 24 bhant mài-ne zoon bhas doot, an ái is bheer ghavone. 25 den a'dste zoon khbham intôren van-t veld bheer, an as ái nogh on boo'ghshkeocot ['a bow-shot'] van 'eis bhas, kost ái al-myzz'ik, en-t labhâit oo-ren. 27 't kett. 28 on doo-bar, an na ke'k rdagha in. 29 te'n vriitt, vriiq vâ-rkâns zo'oens. 32 'n ghe-bha al'ted bii mâi.

165. Eecklo, town (51 n 12, 3 e 33). II. 311.

11 tar bhas na kii't no ra'ík'an etee [Dutch heer, gentleman] dii thbii' zoëens AA. 12 in de vâa'dara vardi'ildegh a'dler zo'i ghuu't. 15 de vetkons te bhàrk'het. 18 vâa'dara, k'en mis'daan vooer ee. 22 briig tîr al ghe'bha [Dutch gauwe, quickly] zaïn bête di'qon, in duu'gha-t-am an, in stek-am-no riék an zai'ra vix'qar, in skhunnas a zai'n vuurt'on. 23 't vet kal. 24 bhant mono-za'oens bhas dyi't, in òi is bheerom ghovon-dan. 25 maar binst ['in the mean time'] bhas zo'na nan eh'bsta zoëens in dan ak'era, in òs dan diir-nan bheere kii'rdogha in an 'ei's kbbamp, in yyr'dagha zir'qan in labhêit e'bben. 27 ee bru'ra. 29 om méi mee mo'i vriitt'en no kii't bhal te duun. 31 tuut, tuut, mo'i kind, gh-ee ghoo a'ito'id boi mo'í ghabhice-st.

166. Maldeghem, village (51 n 13, 3 e 27). II. 315.

11 de bhaarl na keerte na re'teke man, dii thbee zo'gens AA. 12 ee laa'tar [?] mo.sta deele'en. 15 bhaarl ghawdwoqan ['forced'] van de zbohsons te bhàrk'het. 18 vaa'dar, ek en mis'daan teç'ghon un. 22-24 ee liipt-am teq'ghon ['he ran towards him'], vlâgh an zonen-als ['flew at his neck'], ke-sta-am, an ee dée ['did', caused] van bli'skhap ['from blitheness'] 't向下 zoon te kalf slârk'het. 25-30 den ан'dere zo'gens bekla'ghde om ['complained'] daa ovo're dat ee ak'ens ['ever', Dutch al keerens] bhaa'te ghabhice-st bhaa'te, an dat dii loe'te ['scamp']

zyy' ghuu o'taald bhiirô. 31, 32 maar de vaa'dar zei: 'mea kend!' -on os nii meer of rehkht ['it-not is not more of than right'] daa mee daar voor loo'te ['feasting'] maak'ên; bhant uu bruur'ee bhaarl dâad, an ee os varree'zon ['risen from the dead'], ee bhaarl varloo'o'ran ['lost'], en ee os bheere ghavond'en.

167. Kleit, a hamlet belongiing to parish of Maldeghem, 166. II. 319.

11 de bhaarl no keertke no reek'a man mat tibhe zeens. 12 de vong'ga vruug zoon deel'qaa. 15 most de zhebons bhàrk'het. 18 vaa'dara, ek een ['have'] mis'daan teç'ghen. 22-24 ee vilt om en om dan nek'aa en ee dee om vet kalf slârk'het om ka't'mes'a-t-ur-ban van bli'skhap omdaa zee'se'a [Dutch zijn zoon, his son] keko'me bhaa'te. 25-30 maar dan ârstan bruur'ee bhaa'te daa khabad 'ome, dat ee ak'es bhaa'we ghabhice-st en dat zoon vaa'dar vooer en ni on dee'. 31, 32 maar de vaa'da zit'ó: meen kend, laat ons bli'i'ra zoon, bhant uu bruur'ee bhaa'te dâad, an ee os varree'zon, en ee bhaa'te varloo'o'ran, en ee os bheer gheec'eed ['returned'].

168. Gent, in French Gand, in English Ghent, city (51 n 2, 3 e 44). II. 325.

[There are two principal modes of speech. One, the Newbridge Gentish, formerly spoken in the street of Nieuwe-Brug or Neder-Schelde, used principally by small tradesmen and workpeople. This is lower (patter) than ordinary Gentish, and much drawled (slopeend, bijmerig). The present Newbridge mode is really the general old Gentish. The other Gentish is spoken generally by the citizens, and even the upper classes when using their mother tongue; modern Hollandish is "fortunately" not used, even in churches or in most schools.

In this Gentish almost all short vowels are lengthened, as kaate or kate for kat, bruge or brungge for brug, steeme for stem, etc. The short i and e of other dialects becomes ñ ('ñ'), as driijnke, zijinge, wijnkel, schijnke, mijins, (mensch).

Long a is oo (AA) and before r often sounds as a diphthong like French oi in voir (AA).]
Open e or ee is a diphthong ie (ii') or nearer eë, eë (ee', ee').

Heavy e [the (æe) of Flemish generally] is ii, and this is the sound of short e before r, as piird, zwirpr, begirer; stirk, biirg, kiirke, viirke.

Open long o becomes ye (yy'), as buern, bruud = Dutch boom, broad.

Close long o becomes eu (ææ), as vugel, vogel.

Long u retains its sound (yy), but uu generally adds on an unaccented e (-e).

The ij is ai (ai) or even aai (aai).

The ei is also usually ai, but in some words eë, eë (ee', ee'), as geë, geët, schëen, scheiden.

The ut becomes aai (aai).

The ou and au are French ë (ëë) in some words, and Dutch ij (ij) in others; but when followed by a, are always ëw (ëë'ë); scheëwe is both schëau or schaduau, 'shade, shadow,' and schouw or schoorsteen, 'chimney'; when followed by t, these ou, au, are generally ij (ij'), as stif, stout, 'bald.'

The i in ijy is not merely long (ii), but has the secondary stress, as deeliinge, leziinge. [This is quite Chanseronian.]

The old termination -ege, -ijge, is in full use, as naaisterighe, naaisterighe, 'seamstress.'

The termination -is becomes -esse, as geschiedenesse, and -laer, properly -leer, becomes -lirre as domplërre, dompleeler, dompelaer, 'loiterer.'

The termination uu becomes em, as zwalem for zwaume, swallow (bird); but wedwe, wedwuenaar, become weewe, wewirre.

Short a before r becomes long a or o (A), as warm, woarm = arm, warm.

The h is not pronounced.

Unaccented -e is often added, as moedere, enele (hemel, 'heaven'), ende (hend, 'shirt'), etc.

When l and r occur in the middle of a syllable, they are frequently omitted, and r before s is regularly mute, as oas, als, ges for gers, gras, as in Friesic bust for burst, 'burst, breast, brush.'

But ch is heard in mussche, bossche, mintsche, menschen, where it is omitted in Hollandish.

For mp, they use np or nt, as lant, lamp. Medial d either falls into i or j or is mute. Final foreign je is called de, as famidele, famille.

Ulder, wulder, gulder and zulder are used for hen or hun, wij, gij, zij. Hij is often called jij, as 'k en ben te 'k ik nie geweste, 't estojij geweste (konbentekik nii ghehees't, teets'sjoi ghehees't), literally 'I not am it I not been, it has he been,' = 'twasn't me, 'twas him. Gentish.

11 tor bhaas na kiir ne man in, 12 in aai dib-degha-t yy'lder aisat. 15 om do viirrko to bha-khta. 18 vaa'dora, k-ee misda'an teeg'han ee. 22 aas aai na bai zai ze'lvo ghoko'rena bhaas, riep aai ii'n ' [he called one'] van zain knekte, in aï ghobiir-dagh eem-t beest-e do't'la t-aaaa lo om eem an to duun, eem a paar skhuur'na to gheev'a, in na rooqk oop zai'ne va'liger te teek'ka. 23 't besta kaalf. 24 oom aa'ma naa'nee aana, 25 ommart背后 nee ray, oo'maai raii'de me to taktee'ko. 31 maarr, ma'ine' neqoona, gheee zaiit oom'arst a'taaid bai maai.

169. Tongval van de werkliedy in de wijk der Nieuw-brug to Gent, speech of the work-people in Newbridge Street, Gent, see specimen 168.

11 nò vaa'daa'r Aàa tbió'h zoeacs. 12 om de vaa'dora'ghaafh oot eem. 16 de viirkos. 18 vaa'dora, k-een misda'an teeg'han ee. 22 aast ce'dorra! lyy'pt oom zain beeste kliir'to, in duun eem an nieço' paar skhuur'nan an, in steekt eem na ra'nqk oop zai'ne va'lqar. 23 't veest'ta ud. 24 bhant ma'ine zoee'na bhaas ghoostot'ta, in aï os bheeo'ra lee'vot ghobhott'a. 25 in aas don eebh'sto zoee'naa naar haas kham, yy'rdoghe aï van veect't moziirk in-t labh'aat. 27 ee bruurto 29 om mai meen mea kameraa'to yy'k na kiir't a-maa'ee'ra. 31 kiind, al bhad'k baiiz't, oo't=iir'ba.

170. Wetteren, small town (51 n 0, 3 e 52). II. 331.

11 daar bhaas nò kiir nò menskh, dii tbió'h zoeacs AA. 12 en o'i dib'dldaghe ce'l'dor-t ghuud. 15 om de veert'ko to bha-k'hto. 18 voudar, k-een misda'an teeg'han ou. 22 aast ce'dorra! breqt teef'st besta kli'd en duun't hom aam'aana; stek na riq aan zoi'n and, an skhuurna aam zoi'n vuu'ten. 23 't vet kal. 24 bhant mo'î-na zoee'na bhaas dyy'd, on o'i as
171. Ninove, town (50 n 51, 4 e 1). II. 334.

115 daktion bhas na kiir na man, dii thihi' zooniish AA'. 12 on de VAT' dirii vordii-ladshogha-t ghuud toek'sh'han zan zoonish. 15 om da var'k'ish to bha'khton. 18 'k zaa om zerg'han ['I shall say to him'] daa-k kaad ghada'aan en teeg'han om. 22 toewrei' te'op, oiltjsh a ghau man spli'ntarnyy' ['my splinter-new'] ple-e'nt an duu za-m aan; stikt no riikq aa zaa'na viq'er ['"in ng, the g is omitted, and n nasalised as in French'.' This direction I take to be one given by the translator, and that it was meant to convey the sound of (q) to French speakers; the same direction occurs elsewhere. I continue to use (q), but shall note the (a), on skhuun an zaan vuur'tan. 23 't yet kalf. 24 bhat maan wo zoono bhas diyy'ad, on aa as van-eert ghavo-naan. 25 mor den aurt'son zuun dhiirháliigh op-t land; on as on beere'a kkhamp en dat on bai t-oe's bhas, iyy'rrdagh on tlabb'art van-t myyiz'ikk on van-t gha'za'qksal. 27 a bry'ya. 29 om mee man vri'i'nnan na kiir' taa'faliq t-o'aun. 31 joo'qan, iyy'e na kiir', zai gha ghái nii a'tliid ba maai?'

174. Oudenarde, in French Audenarde, town (50 n 51, 3 e 30). II. 345.

11 for bhas na kiir' na zee'kar'meens dii thihi' zoecnal AA. 12 on da vaa'dar vordii-ladshogha-t ghuut. 15 om da vir'k's to bha'khton. 18 vaa'dar, kee misdaan teeg'han aai. 22 ghoo teocy'ra, haal-tat 'besta kliid an duu-t-am an, duut-an on riikq Aa ziin' v(a)q'ora, an skhuun AA zaii vuurtan. 23 't yet kalf. 24 bhat maain zoono bhas diyy'd, on ii aqno' bheer tohavo-naan. 25 dan ou'sta zoe'na bhas op-t feld, on ii an bhi'stagha ['wist, knew'] vaa niit. ois ii noii', al bheer' kiir'an, zain ois nanau'dee'gaa ['nearred'], yy'rrdighi dan za zoonan en zaak naa'na'nighon doceen ma'aattighan. 27 a'ii bruur'a. 29 on main vir'idnan mee to trakteer'en. 31 kind, uu et tok meece'ghhalail da-ghe zee'ken deit'qan van o'ii bruurtu keent zerg'hon; ghái, gha zaait a'lt'yis baai mai.'

175. Deinse or Deinze, town (50 n 58, 3 e 31). II. 349.

11 dotor bhas na kiir' na man, dii thihi' zoecnal AA. 12 om da vaa'dar dori'idagh w'e'lder zee ghuud. 15 om da
virkens ta bha’khtan. 18 vaa’daro, kee misda’an teeghro aa’aj. 22 ee
dee om do be’sta klii ’ron aa’lan voe’er zee’na zee’e’na aan ta duun, en ee
dee om a paar skhunnan gheen, en na ree’k on zee’e’na veerga steek’kan.
23 ’t vee’sta kaat. 24 omdaa’na zee’e’na, dii-t dye’r bhas, bheer’ro gha’
vo’ndan es. 25 bin’st mi’dalan to’id kham don aa’jsta zee’e’na van op-
t land; en oos ee om trent don oee’za khhamp, y’rdeeg ee-t labho’it en de
spee’lman. 27 aa’j bruua’ra. 29 om meen vrii’ndan me to trekteere’ron.
31 maar meene’na j’qon tokh, ghe zee
ghel’oms a’treed be’el mi.

XXXIII. West-Vlanderen, in English West Flanders. II. 352.

[Long a is pronounced oo (AA) before
d, t, l, n, r, s, x (except in plurals of
past tenses in verbs, where a is short
in singular, as ik bad, wi baden, and
except some b, f, g, m, has been,
made for maanged), but is pure, as a
in French a’ree (aa, a?), before b, p, f,
v, g, k and m. And sch is pronounced
sk, which is old low German, and
still heard in some low German modes
of speech. The version is too free to
be quoted exactly.]
11 dar bhas oo ker e man, on ii a
bhee zoe’e’en. 12 vaa’dar, gh’me
[’give me’] ghi -t ghoo’na [Dutch het
gheene, ‘the that,’ the thing or part]
daa’k ik muun en. 15 zhiinis.
22 i dii om zaan be’sta kleetan aa’lan.
25-30 dan uudd’tan zee’e’na bhass daar
zaluus [French jalous] van, on zee:
vaa’dar, t-on is tokk ni ghoper’met-
ec’t. jo duu meer vaar dii sloo’bor
[’slavery fellow’] of daa jo vaar
miin do’t, jaa, zee da vaa’dar, veet’ntjo
[’man’] t-on is maar reek ls of ’t
zin muun [’it is however right like it
must be,’ it is quite right], jon
bruuro bhas doud, on ii is vee’rceen
[’arisen’]; zoo is’t gheel simpal daa
mo miit’nder [for wij wijtieden ‘we
we’folk’] daa viriin. jaa viig ho
[’receive’] da baloo’niqo van jo ghuu
ghedra’gh [’of your good behaviour’]
in bhal to staana’rn mid tderreen,
versta’ja daa’? en laat ghi ons ol to
ghaa’to [’together’] konten’t zinid dat
i nogh leef.

177. Oostende, in English
Oostend, town (51’n14, 2’e54). II. 362.
[This is also very freely translated.]
11 tar bhas an keer e vaa’dar, en
j-aa sbheee zoe’e’en. 12 dii ghuu sel
ghaaat at om; ee ja, bhas moest en
doosn, ee? 15 om zen zhiinis ta
bha’khtan. 18 vaa’daro, ke- en zoon
lee’lik ghoo’aan mi jum [’I have so
ugly done with you’]. 20-24 bhaa daa
son vaa’dar mid om de’i? ’k laat she -t
ghoo’aa’n [’what then his father with
him did, I let you it guess’]. ghoo,
wa-nsjo [’jack; diminutive of Johannes
called Joonannes] zee’t et ghoo, kom
binnan, mon veend, ’k zin zoon blii’ daa
ja daa ziiit, mo ghaan se’fans ke’erme’s uur-
don, en-t vet kof most eer an, en
ehgo entbhaat a’qers [’something be-
sides’] en vaa’dar en zoe’e’n de’e’en on
fiin meel’tjo [’had a fine feast’]. 25
den uu’dsta zoe’e’na, dii van oo’oor
and dagh of tbei yit bhas, kham bin’st
en mi’dalan’ti’d naa z’n yys ta
bhee’ghhe. jaa-maar i oo’t’d-t muyyzik’
spee’lun, on jo vorkhii’t [’changes’]
ol met en keer. 29 jo bhor mo bheh
zoo vruud zee, dat ii on bhist bhas
dat on dei, on j-on woilde ni binnan-
ghaand. 31 maar vaa’dar kam ytt,
an’khter en bitsja bibolaraahus
[’after a little coaxing’] jo sbheee-tel
[’induced’] om tokh tuu bi zan
bruuro. on za koe’en meek’aar, en-t
bhas vrii’nd lik van ta voo’ren.

178. Roesselaar, in French
Roulers, town (50’n56, 3’e7). II. 369.
11 t-bhos e kee no man on ii a
bhee zoe’e’en. 12 on za vaa’daro e
voerdi’d i ol zo ghoud o’nder z’n
bhee zoe’e’en. 15 om der da zhiinis
ta bha’khtana. 18 vaa’daro, kee-k-kik’
zondo ghoo’aan teeghun juu.
22 aast jo, aal-am e kee za niibh kleed
om duu-t an, stekt ni riqk ip z’n’es
viig’qer [see specimen 173] en duu
skhuan an z’n vuurutan. 23 ’t vet kof.
24 ghe muu bheet-on [’wit,’ know
men-zoe’e’na bhos daad, on ii e bheee-
tere yyy’tghakom’en. 25 dan
uudd’ston zoe’e’na bhos ip -t land
beezigk mee bheer’kana, on en e
bheer’ka khaman van de sti-kon, en t-
yys naa’sda, i oo’dogho da za van bi
brone’toghanen en zuu’qen. 27 joen
broo’ra. 29 omdaa’k aak vaar m’n
vrii’ndan zun koe’en e kee ke’erme’s
uur’dan. 31 maar j’qan [here qg is
printed as usual], gho zii ghii o’tliid
bi mi. 
179. Kortrijk, in French Courtrai, city (50° 55', 3° 12'). II. 374.

[The Kortrijkers omit final d, especially before a consonant, as i ston me zin oe ip zin of, en i tei 'n brov in zin an = hij stond met zijn hoed op zijn hoofd, en hij hield een brood in zijn hand, 'he stood with his hat on his head, and he held a bread-loaf in his hand.' Final n is so frequently omitted that the Kortrijkers are nick-named ennebiters, 'en-bitters.' Also l and r are frequently omitted. Sah is called sk. Final ii ('a) is constantly used as a diminutive.]

11 na man a tbee zoeems. 12 an ze kree'ghan elk o'dor der. 15 dii deii om ghaan mee da zhihiuns. 18 vaa-dar, k-ee ghaozendigh teeg'han yu. 22 loop om t besta klee' an duu-t-om an; en duu-aa riik an zii an, en duu skhuunon [as skh, and not sk, is written, I copy it] an zii vuurt. 23 't vet kolf. 24 bhan mii-ua zoeems bha daa, an ii es behe es ghaovo'nda. 25 don ou'do zoeems bhaa dar binst ip-t lan. os i behe es kee'nda van de st-i-kon, en bi't yys van zi vaa-dar bhaa, oor-don-i ziiqen an dansa. 27 yu bruut. 29 om mee miin vr-ndan to ker-rameson. 31 juq'an, ghee zii o'tliid bii miin.

180. Iperen, in French Ypres, city (50° 52', 2° 53'). II. 378.

11 daa bhos o man dui tbee zoeems a'da. 12 an da vaa'da deee-o-at. 15 om da zhihiuns te bha-khtan. 18 vaa-dar, k-ein keemunaidhd [this (ex) for (gha) in participle is said to sound just as e in the French etre] teeg'han juun. 22 briiqt o keer zoe'ra ['quickly'] a niec'-'bhaen buruk en a niec'-'bhaa kaza'ka, en duu-so-m anduun. steekt o riik an za vii'ndar an geet-on niec'-'bha [(niec'-'bha) may be the proper word; niec' is printed twice and niec'one here, but es does not appear to be otherwise replaced by e] skhuun. 29 't vet kolf. 24 me juq'an [see specimen 173 on (q)]. bhos doad, an-on es behe's ekvoo'ndan. 25 ja-maan, os den uur'dsta zoeems van-t-lant kkbham, bhaa dat-an bhos ghaan bherken, dat-on bi-t yys kkbham, en oor'o daan-sen an ziiqen an spriiqen. 27 za broo'-ra. 29 om ze-ep t-er-tan ['to eat it up'] mee man vr-ndan. 31 juq'an, j-on ee ghee nii te klaa'ghan; ghee ziiit van tj'nec'khtans tuu tj'naa'vans ['from morning to evening,' Dutch ochtends, avonds] bi miin.

181. Poperingen, town (50°52', 2° 43'). II. 382.

11 t-bhos ee koe ee mens, dui tbee zoeems a'da. 12 an da vaa'dar deee'o'dar t-ghuut. 15 om da zhihiuns te bha-khtan. 18 vaa-dar, k-een keemunaidhd teeg'han juun. 22 briiqt [see specimen 173 on (q)] ma zoe'ra zan beesta kaza'ka en duu-so-m an, steekt o riik an za vii'qar on duu so skhuun an. 23 't vet kolf. 24 om doe bhi'to ma zoeems bhos dood, an-on an is ytt ekko'man. 25 tuun kan den uurd'ste zoeems van-t-stik, on os on ontrent t-ysy kam, on dat an z-oordo ziiqan on myyziik'spek'lan. 27 za broo'-ra. 29 om miin vr'ndan das tkeer-roneen. 31 joq'en, za zii ghee o'san [for ol'san, that is, als aan, always] bi miin.

182. Veurne-Ambacht, district, manor of Veurne, town, in French Furnes (51 n 4, 2° 38'). II. 386.

11 t-bhos o kee ma, an on miin a'da tbee zoeems. 12 an da vaa'da deee'o'dar t-ghuut. 15 om da zhihiuns te bha-khtan. 18 vaa-dar, k-een dàa leek mislaan teeg'han juun. 22 zoe're ['haste'] om a besta kaza'ka vaa ma zoeems, duut-on z-an, en duut-on a paar skhuun an. 23 't kolt daa m-eevat an. 24 ma zoe'men doad, an-m-an on behe's ekvoo'qen [see specimen 173 on (q)]. 25 dan uur'dsta zoeems bhos bi do bhi'to-er dap st-i-kon os on ny y van zo bheer kam, lik of on nii vett ol'mee van zan yys bhos, on oordo za daan-sen on spriiqen an myyziik'spek'lan. 27 in broo'-ra. 29 om mee ma vr-ndan o kee ker-rameso t-ur'dan. 31 zoeems, in blyf ghee o'san bi miin.

XXXIV. FRANCE. II. 389.


[In the town itself the people generally speak Flemish, and but few French; the country round about the town is quite Flemish.]

11 t-bhos an keer o vaa'dar dat on paar zoeems a'da. 12 an den uur'dan braav'van man, jaa, nem deee'o'da zn fortyynaa, 16 den buur ['boor,' peasant] bhe ['well'], xe zoq [see specimen 173 on (q)] en op son land meezon
zhiins, sensee ['only think']. 18
t-is bhaa ['it is true'] man vaad-or,
k-an zornde eedaa'n toe'ghon juun.
22 lopt, zeeght-on, briiqt-she besto abirit ['French habit'], dii m-en ['which I have'], on tre'kan-t nom an; stikt-on on-liiqk rond zon viig'or, on gheet-on on paar skhunnu. 23 et vet kaaf. 24 om-s-bhi'lo, man yugsten yug-an, diit-on doon bhas, is t-yys keko'man. 25 dan uu-dsto zoc-en, bee, an bhas op-t veld etbbaa', on diit-on bi-t yys eeveee'ra ['arrived'], an aor'da daa on rymuu'or ngaar'd, on ziiq'en an klii'qan on daanun. 27 zon freere. 29 om men ke'neson te boski'i'qan. 31 yug'en, zo blyft ghii mee miin.

184. Dunkerke, in French Dunkerque, in English Dunkirk, town (51 n 3, 2 e 23). II. 401.

11 do bhos 'n keer ee man, en 'n ad thbek zoc'en. 12 de vaad-or ghaaf an ziih t'bheke zoc'en elk-t si'me. 15 bii ziih zhiins. 18 vaad-or, k-en-on foli' ['folly'] eedaa'n eeg'heen juun. 22 an i zee; aald om te feeto ee nicee'bhan tenyyn: [French temu]. 23 't ke'rmes'kaalf. 24 van appree-tuu
['French apre's tout,'] miin zoeen bhos dood, en-on is eevomeen. 25 en os dan uu-dsto zoc-en daa rook, ee bhas eeprkeoerd ['piqued'] 29 om op-t eetaan mee-man kompanjoons [Fr. compagnons]. 31 ort, juq'en, [see specimen 173 on (q)] ik on ghi bhac-en non alett ti ghaa'tee ['together'].

XXXV. AANHANGSEL, Appendix. II. 408.

[This gives a version in the Rooood-
waalsch or slang of the South-Nether-
land or Belgian Limburgish Kempen
(specimen 185), and of Zeele in East
Flinders (specimen 186), which have
no interest for our present purpose.]

Note.—Since p. 1393, col. 2, 1. 8 from
bottom, was printed off, I have been
informed that the Dutch porsie for portion
has the accent on the first syllable, and
is (pors'il, pors'i) or (pors'sh). French
words in -sion,-sion, become words in
-sie in Dutch, and end either in (-sii, -sil)
or (-sio', -sho).

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This completes the studies introductory to the consideration of our English dialects. It may be thought at first that too wide a range has been taken, but my own conviction is that the error lies in the other direction, and that these studies will prove insufficient for the complete phonologic study of our dialects, because I have found that, since most of them were in type, on attempting to deal with some existing cases which have come before me, my own knowledge has only too frequently made default. Thus in vowels, the oo and short u of Northumberland, taken as (u); the oo of West Somerset, of North and South Devon, of Norfolk and Suffolk, taken as (yy, û), are still phonologic riddles, and I might greatly increase the list. In consonants, the different uvular r's of Northumberland, and the (glottal or reverted) r's of Wiltshire, Gloucester, and Somerset; and even the trilled r's of Scotland, Westmorland and Ireland (said to be different), are not yet discriminated phonetically with sufficient accuracy. For many of the diphthongs and fractures extreme difficulty is felt in determining the position of stress, the length of the elements, and the quality of the element not under the stress. The peculiarities of intonation, which are locally most characteristic, are as yet phonetically uncharacterized.

For those who simply regard dialectal talk as "funny," "odd," "curious," "ridiculous," or "vulgar," such like difficulties do not exist. Even philologists, who have wrapped themselves up in their garment of Roman letters, as musicians in their equally tempered drab, will not care for them. But as no scientific theory of concord can be evolved from the blurred representation or rather caricature of consonance which this temperament can alone produce, so no scientific theory of organic change of words, which forms the staple of philology, can be deduced from the incomplete, dazzling, puzzling, varying, orthography which Latin letters can alone present. The great object of this work has been from beneath this heavy cloak to trace the living form, with the pure philological purpose of arriving at scientific theories which shall help us to derive the present from the past of language. The result can be but a rough approximation after all. But in forming an estimate for any work it is usual to calculate to farthings, and then lay on a broad margin for contingency. So here we must endeavour to trace to the minutest details, however absurdly small they may appear, and then allow a wide "debateable land" for inevitable errors. The nature of such a land is well enough shewn by an example in the preceding introductory remarks (pp. 1371–3). The nature of the details is shewn in Nos. 6 and 7 (pp. 1265–1357). The guide to an appreciation of the English laws of change will be found in the changes so carefully tabulated by Schmeller for Bavarian High German (pp. 1357–1368), a language descended from the same remote common ancestor as our own, and those which can be inferred from Winkler's collections (pp. 1378–1428) for descendants on the original soil from the same progenitor. With this preparation we will endeavour to investigate the phonology of existing English dialects themselves, as a clue to the radically dialectal English of our forefathers.
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